

Mana reo: The learning worlds of endangered language
learners – *te reo Māori*

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Acknowledgements

It is regrettable that a doctoral thesis only has one name on the cover, as in reality it represents thousands of collective hours. There are four people who deserve their name alongside mine on the cover: Tessa Duder, John Duder, Mukai Hura and Mukai Duder Hura.

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Abstract

Endangered languages create learning and social contexts that are different from learning dominant majority languages. As a field with its roots in the Anglo-American tradition there is huge scope for SLA to be more inclusive of language and social contexts where linguistic and cultural pluralism is a given, not a deviation. This thesis contributes to a wider understanding in the combination of theoretical and contextual diversity and linguistic heritage in endangered language acquisition (ELA). To explore this idea in context this study focuses on second language (L2) learners and new speakers of Māori to provide a portrait of an under-acknowledged group and understand their role in the language's future at a critical point in the vitality of *te reo Māori*. This poses question around the role of L2 learners in endangered language revitalisation. How do L2 learners locate themselves in the context of language revitalisation? What are L2 learners' perceptions of the community and the individual in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*? What role does the Māori language have Māori life and has this changed over the last 40 years of the Māori language movement? What terminology do L2 learners describe themselves? What factors of L2 learning have helped language development the most? And finally, what have been some of the struggles of L2 learning of Māori?

As a study of Māori language speakers it is grounded methodologically in a framework that views and shapes all participants in Māori worlds, including the Pākehā researcher. In negotiating this space and drawing on the wisdom and experience of other Pākehā researchers, the thesis hopes to be part of an existing intellectual narrative around theoretical and practical aspects of Pākehā identity in and engagement with Māori worlds.

This study draws on four decades of experience in Māori language revitalisation through its participants, who reveal Māori language learning as a site of multi-level hegemonic resistance, mediated access to the language and disruption to traditional roles. The study highlights the possible repercussions in restricting Māori language learning to 'mainstream' tertiary institutions as it becomes increasingly vulnerable to prevailing neoliberal policies and hegemonic practices.

However, the most important and revelatory feature of the participants' stories and the literature is that we can recast the earliest theoretical and philosophical endeavours of Māori language revitalisation in *Kōhanga Reo* and *Te Ātaarangi* as pivotal to its success. And equally, to celebrate Māori language communities' extraordinary efforts since the 1970s to contribute towards a more sophisticated understanding of the social conditions of eL2 (L2 learners of endangered languages) as they take their ancestral languages into the 21st century.

Attestation of authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

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Preface

Orthographic conventions

This thesis follows the convention of using macrons to show vowel length. However, if they are not used or the double vowels are used in texts, the original spelling is retained. The exception to this is where macrons have replaced in Ritchie's (1988) use of the double vowel, in his extract in Chapter 5. This is due to the length of the excerpt, the frequency of Māori words and consistency with the rest of this publication.

Clarification of terms

The terms Māori and Pākehā take an initial capital and in the interests of consistency, the word Indigenous has an initial capital. These terms are important markers of identity and are discussed further in the thesis.

The thesis proposes two new terms to highlight uniqueness and propose fresh perspectives. The first is a term to signal that learners of endangered languages require a term to recognise a departure from learners of dominant, 'safe' languages; henceforth the term eL2 is used to refer to L2 learners of endangered languages.

From the recognition that eL2 learners face challenges and contexts different from learning dominant languages it can then be proposed that learning and acquiring an endangered language is different. In the latter part of the thesis, second language acquisition (SLA) in endangered language contexts is referred to as ELA (endangered language acquisition).

Personal statement

The world of eL2 learners is not an abstract concept from which I can ever remove myself. After twenty years of personal investment it is an incredibly important place, marked as time has taken elders, parents, siblings and for some of the participants, children. But we have also welcomed sons and daughters, nieces and nephews and grandchildren. The living and the dead contribute to the world of eL2 speakers.

It is attributable to my parents and their vision of Pākehā New Zealand and a childhood with constant references to our mother and father's ancestors as much as anything that my personal and professional life is orientated towards Aotearoa New Zealand. In 1984, I went from a large girls' high school on Auckland's North Shore goes to Ngā Tapuwae College for a year to study in a foreign world in my own country. I met Mira Szazy, Kepa and Pani Stirling and Ann Gluckman as I visited marae, attends *hui* and observe *tangihanga*. Listening to speakers on Māori education in front of Waahi

Marae in Huntly with Kepa Stirling was the moment when I decided to go to teachers college in Auckland. At teachers' college I met people who are to have a profound impact on my Pākehā and professional identity: John Macaffery, Hare Paniora, George Parekowhai, Rua Pipi and Mahia Wilson. They lived and breathed bicultural wisdom and a boundless passion for what teachers can do in the lives of young New Zealanders.

I took part in trips to Matakana, the East Coast and the Far North as I entered into the worlds of my young students and the teachers I worked with in south Auckland, with children whose lives contend with poverty and violence but whose families dedicate hours of unpaid time and labour to their marae, juggling community-spirited and communal lives with ancestral and rural demands. By this time, the early 1990s, in this urban mix are children who are the first wave of students from Kōhanga Reo.

Then, during a conversation with Dutch sailors multilingual Europe trying to understand the notion that I was only able to speak one language in a bilingual nation, I decided to learn *te reo Māori*. At the peak of Māori language revitalisation efforts in the early 1990s, I returned to Aotearoa New Zealand to find the best place to access Māori language education. Along with some of the participants in this study, I joined the undergraduate Māori language degree at The University of Waikato in Hamilton. My three years at Waikato are challenging and confronting but set a course for the future. I made friends with older, younger and much wiser students and shared their experiences of the Māori world in an academic context. Many of these students become family. At Waikato I met people who shaped my vision of Pākehā identity, Ngahua Dixon, Michael King, John Moorfield, Hirini Melbourne and Te Rita Papesch.

After university I spend time teaching again in South Auckland and in Auckland's Jewish day school and visited Italy to see the Tuscan town of my ancestors, I became an educator on the Waitangi Treaty Grounds. Much later I become a mother to a descendent of Hineāmaru. As parents, we both have a clear priority for this descendent of Māori and Italian, English and French *tūpuna* (ancestors); our son is to speak Māori. Both of us commit to Kōhanga Reo and eventually to Kura Kaupapa Māori without really understanding why it is so important other than we want our son to be bilingual. I continue to share the passage of time with my Waikato family.

I turn fifty this year. Apart from the intellectual challenge of this research the part that causes most tension is claiming a 'right' to this study. I make no claim to exceptional talent in language learning or that I am even indeed a 'speaker'. But in twenty years, I believe emphatically in the *kaupapa* of eL2 learning and what it means. One of the promises I have made to myself is to re-engage with Māori language learning again and to rediscover the discomfort and challenge that, in the greatest of ironies, has had to be postponed to complete this study. Reconnecting with my own personal understandings

of what it is to be an eL2 learner since being at Waikato University, working in community contexts and most pivotally being a Kōhanga and Kura mum, will be the biggest privilege and pleasure in finishing this research. I have taken inspiration from the participants' stories; being part of the Māori world has and remains a huge privilege. What follows is an attempt at testament to the courage, tenacity and passion that we have all had to call on at some stage in our varied social and linguistic explorations of what it means to be living in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is hoped that the narratives are familiar and reflect both collective and individual experiences. This is not to write about us or for us, but to write of us.

Chapter 1. Introduction

This thesis explores decades of exceptional social endeavour by a community engaging, for the first time in history, in L2 (second language) learning of Aotearoa New Zealand's indigenous language, *te reo Māori* (the Māori language). It focuses on L2 learners and new speakers of Māori to provide a portrait of an under-acknowledged group in language revitalisation. At the current threat to the vitality of *te reo Māori* and the diminishing number of native speakers of Māori, it is important to understand this group of people and their role in the language's future. Critical to this understanding is a recognition of significant efforts by the Māori-speaking community over the last forty years and a more sophisticated understanding of the social conditions of adult L2 learners.

Forty years ago when language revitalisation efforts began in response to community leadership, the conditions for L2 learning were quite different. There was still a significant body of native speakers able to lead, guide and encourage a younger generation's quest for their ancestral language, some of whom were not only from Māori-speaking homes but from Māori-speaking communities. However, it cannot be assumed that an older person has an ability in the language. Much of the punitive behaviour towards young Māori speakers in the early and mid-20th century was entirely successful in negating and destroying a generation's desire or ability to speak Māori.

Forty years ago access to the language was limited. There were no immersion education programmes for pre- and school-age children and limited access to Māori language learning. Now, most tertiary institutions offer Māori language instruction. There has been a significant change in the visibility of Māori language in the media, first with the rise of Māori language community radio stations and then with the launch of Māori Television in 2004 and the Māori language station, Te Reo, in 2008. Mainstream media, whether print, radio or television have yet to respond significantly in recognising the Māori language in their programming, and recent indications would suggest that Māori language content will continue to decrease.

In fact, the language's continued presence is impressive considering in the 1970s there were only a handful of Māori-speaking communities due to language shift from Māori to English (Benton, 1979, 1981), the restriction of the language to the older generation and ceremonial functions, and decreasing intergenerational language transmission (ILT) (Benton, 1979; Mead, 1997). But the 1970s were, however, important for Māori and the future of the language. These decades made possible the 'Māori renaissance' of the 1980s and 1990s, a period important to the place and pace of L2 learning of Māori. These events in turn led to Māori immersion education, significant developments in broadcasting and other language related movements. These events are covered in detail in the historic overview of L2 learning and language revitalisation in Chapter 3.

The learning of Māori by adults is a response to language shift in the Māori community from its ancestral language to English. L2 learning is a more recent development in the language's history and has presented significant challenges to the Māori community in terms of resourcing, time and money, its response to internal and external hostility while negotiating major social, economic and political shifts.

As this research will highlight, the Māori community's collective response to these challenges is remarkable. The participants' histories of endangered language learning reveal complex, dynamic, unpredictable and multi-dimensional stories. The stories show the transformational role that L2 learning of Māori can have on individuals, families and communities. As such it is an endeavour that requires leadership, awareness, politicisation, time and significant resourcing. A rethink of the future of L2 learning of Māori and the language is needed. This will require policies that target L2 learners' needs and an emphasis on new speakers of Māori and their role in language revitalisation.

Although the term L2 learner is far from ideal, it is used here to refer specifically to learners whose first language is not Māori (for most of the participants this is English) and who began major efforts to learn the language after sixteen years of age. The term does not include speakers who attended Māori immersion schooling. Some learners had had minor language instruction within the mainstream education system and, for many, Māori language had been a feature through *kapa haka* (Māori performing arts) and engagement through family and marae. The term 'native speaker' is familiar to the Māori community and is used to distinguish speakers who grew up speaking Māori. It does not appear to distinguish between first language speakers or Māori-English bilinguals. The typology of Māori language speakers is discussed more fully in the analysis section, Chapter 8.

Careful consideration has been given to the use of the term 'endangered'. In this context, it serves to highlight the status and the degree of challenge, and locates the role of these L2 learners and their specific role in language revitalisation. In other words, they are in a different context to learners of dominant languages (Grinevald & Bert, 2011; Hinton, 2011) and rather than being a background social factor that may influence their learning, this position is viewed as being critical to their experience.

The research's niche

To a large extent, resourcing and expectations of linguistic revival over the last forty years has been on immersion education. Research has focused on this too. There are sound reasons for this and much to celebrate in the efforts and successes of immersion education. But the contemporary situation, and more recent literature (e.g., Hond, 2013b; Lewis, 2014; Ratima, 2013; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010), indicate a major reprioritisation of focus is needed, essentially a more strategic allocation of resources and a reassessment of where the future leadership and potential of language

revitalisation is to come from and an increasing reliance on L2 speakers of Māori (Hond, 2013b; Rewi, 2013). Linguistic behaviour cannot be isolated from the context that both drives and reflects that behaviour, therefore the previous forty years of endeavour has to be framed against the social, cultural and political contexts that L2 learners of Māori occupy.

The social conditions of Māori language revival have changed significantly since its initiation in the 1970s. New Zealand was celebrated as a 'great country to bring up kids', led by a secure conservative government, an economy sustained by ascendant primary industries, particularly agriculture (Moon, 2009). The New Zealand population was characterised by a dominant European culture still politically, culturally and economically orientated towards Britain and Europe, a legacy of a hundred and thirty years of British colonisation and supporting Britain through two world wars. In the mid-1970s New Zealand's population was just over three million; the Māori population was around 276,000, about 9% (Pool & Kukutai, 2015).

For Māori, the 1970s was a period of rapid transition as families and young people continued to leave rural, tribal areas to find work and establish themselves in urban, pan-tribal centres (Metge, 1967). This migration had a significant impact on most aspects of Māori life, and nowhere more so than on the use of the language. Although language shift from Māori to English had been occurring since British colonisation from 1840, the combination of a major loss of young Māori speakers in the second world war (Ka'ai, 2004) and urban migration increased the rate of language shift and this came to the attention of the Māori and educational research communities.

The 1970s and '80s have been referred to as the Māori renaissance. In some ways it is a misleading term. The term renaissance suggests erroneously that Māori life had become moribund. Māori life, despite the rural urban transition, continued: *marae* still functioned as important cultural centres to confer, connect, celebrate, remember and grieve and Māori family structures and inter-tribal allegiances remained strong (Metge, 2004; Walker, 1990). What changed was the Māori expectation that European, or Pākehā, New Zealanders should recognise that Māori were *tangata whenua*, that Māori and Pākehā had signed a Treaty that assured Māori rights to key resources and political protection (Williams, 2013, p. 314), and that certain writers and academics were acknowledging the nascent expression of a Pākehā identity (e.g. M. King, 1999).

Māori expression of changing expectations included visible protest action, such as the Māori Language Petition of 1972, the Land March in 1975 and Ngāti Whātua's response to a National government's attempts to appropriate their tribal waterfront land on Waitematā Harbour. Due to serious lobbying and powerful leadership, the current government was forced to recognise the Treaty of Waitangi in the Treaty of Waitangi Act of 1975, which established the Waitangi Tribunal. The Tribunal has provided

an official channel for Māori to challenge the Crown's breaches of the Treaty. Although most claims referred to long-term and aggressive land acquisition, a seminal 1975 claim referred directly to the impact of colonisation on the Māori language.

Early in the 1980s, a Labour government led a dramatic economic change in New Zealand that saw a tightly-controlled fiscal environment become one of the world's most free-market economies (Moon, 2009). For the Māori community this meant job losses in the unskilled labour sector, which impacted severely on small towns, often with high populations of Māori. This trend continued through the 1990s and the first decade of the 21st century. It is important to acknowledge that the same community that has led language revitalisation and cultural continuity is also the same one that has fought for decades for redress through the Treaty of Waitangi, has fought for every teacher in every Kōhanga and Kura and buries its elders nearly ten years earlier than their Pākehā counterparts due to the illnesses related to poverty, poor health and over-crowded housing. It is a community that devotes hours of voluntary labour at marae and watches a far too high percentage of its young men end up in prison. As uncomfortable as these facts are, they are part of the Māori reality of language revitalisation in New Zealand. To ignore them is to deny the extraordinary courage, determination and sheer hard work of a community as it continues to challenge hegemonic interests both from within and outside of its own community.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the fight for resources, land and cultural expression continued. In these decades several pivotal Māori institutions were set up, such as Te Ātaarangi and Te Kōhanga Reo, Māori language immersion pre-schools. Both of these institutions were aimed at transforming communities through *whānau* (family groups), in that they targeted *whānau* but they were also driven by a *whānau* philosophy (J. King, 2014). Both these institutions are covered in greater depth later in Chapter 3. Their emergence is linked closely to the development of a recognised academic Māori research paradigm and a concomitant demand for greater Māori leadership in the education system.

Te reo Māori, an endangered language with a high symbolic value to its community and the wider New Zealand community, comes with attitudinal caveats towards the language and its speakers (Nicholson, & Garland, 1991; de Bres, 2011). These paradoxes account for why, on the one hand, the language is entrenched in a national ritual like the All Black *haka* (spirited posture dance) before an international rugby test match and yet only last year there was alarmist public debate when an announcer on a national TV station included Māori language content when giving out the weather forecast (Cook, 2015). The New Zealand public endorses the language when associated with representing New Zealand's uniqueness, such as of the *haka* by the All Black and the New Zealand Olympic team. The New Zealand public is unequivocal about the spending of public money on *te reo Māori*; it is apparently

comfortable with its value in the public domain but not in committing funding to the language to promote it or to ensure its future (Nicholson, & Garland, 1991; de Bres, 2011).

The social lives of L2 learners of Māori reveal a parallel story. The high symbolic and cultural value placed on the language within the Māori community is upheld by L2 learners willing to drive from one end of the country to the other for access to develop their language proficiency, or move entire families and travel large distances every day to access Māori immersion education for their children. The participants of this research revealed the degree of commitment in time and money, e.g., cooking all weekend at *wānanga* (residential educational seminars), driving long distances to attend *tangihanga* (funerals) in weekends, taking on unfamiliar ceremonial roles and coping with overt and covert hostility. The fight is fierce and is being carried by a minority of the community (O'Regan, 2012).

Purpose and aims

A primary aim of this thesis is to draw attention to the conditions of endangered language learning as different to those of dominant language learning. While community groups and individuals have long known this, it is unaccounted for adequately in the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) literature (Hinton, 2008, 2011; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). If we are serious about preserving languages that face the consequences of language shift, this has to be a central feature of endangered language acquisition. The differences have to be acknowledged and catered for in policy, planning and resourcing. It is not acknowledged enough that language revitalisation often occurs in communities that already face enduring challenges arising from colonisation in health, employment, education (Cameron, 2007). A secondary aim is to develop recognition of L2 learners as speakers of Māori in their own right and that comparisons to achieving 'native-like' competency are not only unrealistic but unhelpful (Pavlenko, 2002).

In the literature, complexity and diversity are terms rarely heard in relation to L2 learners of Māori. If this thesis results in highlighting the complexity of L2 learners' realities it will have achieved its purpose. The participants' responses highlight diverse experiences in their language learning journeys: as parents navigating the challenges of carving out different cultural and linguistic paths for their children; as learners actively pursuing opportunities for language development with ordinary life experiences like earning a living to support their families; as individuals dealing with trauma and sustaining cultural obligations to their marae, families and communities, and as members of a community who have high expectations placed on them with competing ideologies and agendas.

Policy and planning need to reflect a more sophisticated understanding of L2 learners' realities to address L2 learners' needs and concerns and to provide explicit and coordinated pathways from beginner through to more advanced speaker levels. Simultaneously policy and planning needs to drive

and respond to the twin crucibles of future Māori language revitalisation: the need for proficiency development in L2 learning and a critical number of speakers using the language in key domains (Bauer, 2008).

Related to that is another secondary aim of this research, which is to recognise the current transition in language learning from native speakers to L2 learners in terms of leadership and direction of language revitalisation efforts (J. King, 2014).

Methodologies and methods

This research was carried out within a kaupapa Māori framework. In Chapter 4, this is examined through the experiences of other Pākehā researchers. Attention is paid to how Pākehā researchers contribute meaningfully to research in Māori contexts and consider Pillow's call to remain cognisant of *how* researchers know what they claim to know about the groups they are researching (Pillow, 2003). The research process involved semi-structured interviews with twenty-three L2 learners of Māori. Many, but not all, of the participants are from the researcher's social networks from being engaged in L2 learning. Most of the participants have been involved in language revitalisation for some time. The participants come from a range of professions and tribal backgrounds and most are Māori.

Researcher position: inside and out

As a Pākehā researcher working within a kaupapa Māori framework, I am an outsider. I personally have no Māori *whakapapa* that connects me to my participants. But I can connect to some participants through my partner and our son's *whakapapa* and his communities. Through the *whakapapa* of parents with children in Māori immersion education. I connect to a shared belief and passion in the value of the Māori language as vital to the future of Aotearoa New Zealand for our children, our *mokopuna* (grandchildren) and their *mokopuna*.

But in the sense that I am an adult L2 learner of Māori, I am an insider. I share many of the participants' dreams and aspirations and understand intimately many of their discomforts and challenges. Two years ago in my presentation to my colleagues to become a doctoral candidate I spent considerable effort in an 'up front' style about my methodological and cultural position. Respectfully but assertively my examiners for my presentation of confirmation of candidacy into the doctoral programme, reminded me that Māori communities need to see a 'kaupapa-driven' (purpose-driven) focus to research; the research is not about the researcher but the research's purpose and its outcomes. But that is not to say that my position is unimportant. It is. With the benefit of hindsight, not to mention significant reading, I refer to Pillow's (2003) and Patai's (1994) challenge: reflexivity is all very well but does it lead to better research? (Pillow, 2003, p. 176).

Just as the participant, contextual voice is more important than the researcher's, the same is true in the methodological sense. Therefore, to focus on the complex issues of Pākehā working in Māori research contexts, I acknowledge an on-going tradition of thoughtful debate (Bishop, 1996; Cram, 1997; Jones, 2012; Jones & Jenkins, 2008; Hill & May, 2013; Metge, 1998; Roorda & Peace, 2009; G. T. Smith, 1997; Tolich 2002). This debate includes the issue of 'Pākehā paralysis' (Tolich, 2002) and the perils of the Pākehā 'self-centred default position' in response to discourse about kaupapa Māori (Jones, 2012, p. 102). In Chapter 5 these and other issues are discussed in relation for the potential for research frameworks that stand alongside Māori paradigms to support Pākehā and Māori in the important space between them.

Significance and justification

Te reo Māori is one of many endangered languages as the world's cultural and linguistic diversity contracts (Crystal 2001; Krauss 1992; Lewis & Simons 2009; Nettle & Romaine, 2000) and while the decline and loss of languages is part of history, the *rate* of language loss is 'unique to our time' (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006, p.1). Despite decades of language revitalisation efforts, Māori is still considered an endangered language with an ageing speech community not being replaced by a younger generation and restricted to usage in only a few domains, e.g., education, the marae and some church and ceremonial contexts.

Even though L2 learning of Māori was an early element of language revitalisation efforts (e.g. Te Ātaarangi along with Kōhanga Reo in the early 1980s), our knowledge of L2 learners' role in Māori language revitalisation is limited (Ratima & May, 2011). We know that some L2 learners become highly proficient speakers and there is an urgent need to increase our understanding of how this is achieved when the contexts and factors that contribute to endangered L2 learning are so different to learning a dominant, majority language (Hinton, 2011; Ratima & May, 2011, Ratima, 2013).

Research on L2 learning of dominant languages is unlikely to have to consider the realities of a dwindling native speaker base and limited domains of use. Furthermore, an endangered language is often a minority language, resisting dominance of at least one, if not more, other languages. It is often the language of the colonised and marginalised. In their own country, speakers struggle for the language's recognition and validation, with no linguistic homeland protecting the status and health of their language. Tangible resources such as funding, time, personnel, learning and teaching resources are often insufficient, or lack strategic direction and allocation. Consequently, some commentators argue that research must be relevant, effective and not only identify problems and endangerment *per se*, but provide solutions to those problems (Fishman, 1991; Hornberger & Hult, 2008).

This research project is at its heart a sociolinguistic exploration of what it can mean to be an L2 learner of *te reo Maori*. It is about how speakers who carry the *mauri* of the language and huge expectations from their families and their communities, deal with competing and complex ideologies, values and attitudes towards the language and its speakers. The next two chapters place this particular group of speakers within the wider field of endangered languages and then in their localised sociocultural context.

Chapter 2: Towards a 'social turn'? Language endangerment, sociolinguistics and *te reo Maori*

Applied linguistics and endangered languages

Applied linguistics 'deals with language use in professional settings, translation, speech pathology, literacy and language education; and is not merely the application of linguistic knowledge to such settings but is a semiautonomous and interdisciplinary ... domain of work that draws on but is not dependent on areas such as sociology, education, anthropology, culture studies, and psychology' (Pennycook, 2001, p. 3). As a field of applied linguistics, the study of endangered languages, like other fields, considers and responds to challenges about viability, scientific vs social reality, representation, interpretation and scientific vs social realities as language is both the subject of study and the means by which we investigate and represent that subject. Applied linguistics, therefore, has the dual responsibility to be not only explanatory but revelatory and to not only identify, but provide solutions to problematic conditions (Fishman, 1991; Hornberger & Hult, 2008). If applied linguistics is to be revelatory, it needs to consider its own discourse and to question self-evident positions used to express situation and context, describe communities' views of language and to pay attention to the social and political situations of those communities (Cameron, 2007). Critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001) has a role here in helping perspectives to move past simple dichotomies between theory and practice, in which we investigate 'languages' rather than speakers and their social conditions, an intentionally limiting view according to Cameron (2007).

Language endangerment is generally introduced with an overview of the number of languages spoken – around 7,000 (Austin & Sallabank, 2014, p.1) - and the projections for the future (Bradley, 2011; Krauss, 1992; Harrison, 2007; Nettle & Romaine, 2000, Turin, 2012). These figures are questioned both in terms of their validity (Cameron, 2007, p.269; Duchêne & Heller, 2007, p.3) and in whose interest these numbers are serving (Duchêne & Heller, 2007, p.3). The 'counting' of endangered languages transfers into the discourse of Māori language in a preoccupation with determining the number of speakers rather than looking at what those speakers are doing (Bauer, 2008). As Costa (2013) and Cameron (2007) argue, this preoccupation with numbers obscures the social realities speakers exist in. Moreover, some less salutary realities occur when language, vested social and linguistic interests and power intersect.

Endangered language terminology

The field of endangered languages is characterised by a range of terms. The Māori language is referred variously as an Indigenous language, or a minority language, but in this study the term endangered is used. The term minority language is avoided here as within the Māori community this has limited relevance. It is only a minority language reflected against New Zealand's majority language, English, and a perception that its status is less than English. The term Indigenous language comes with imprecise preconceptions about what and who is Indigenous (Perley, 2013, p. 246). In many cases, the term can relegate it to an 'other' position and a perceived lower status than non-Indigenous languages and a link with language rights. In this study, the term Indigenous, with an initial capital, is used when indicating the language's position as the language of New Zealand's *tangata whenua*, which signifies a spiritual and temporal connection with the landscape and associated rights and responsibilities.

Fishman used the term 'threatened' languages (1991), a term that carries emotional weight as it suggests an active vs. passive relationship between speaker communities. The term 'endangered' suggests a more abstract, less causal condition. In some cases, two terms are combined, to be more specific, such as 'threatened minority languages' (Smith-Christmas & Armstrong, 2014)

However, Costa (2013) proposes that within the terms endangerment and revitalisation are, using Foucault's term, 'regimes of truth' (2013, p. 318) and that in their contemporary use

[t]hey function as keywords, in the sense of Williams (1985) – words that bear accepted meanings and provide an appearance of continuity – but the analysis of which often reveals variation and contestation. These terms can therefore be analysed not only as concepts, but also as spaces that allow different interests to manifest themselves, and that can be invested or disinvested from by different social actors for various reasons. One thus asks: who invests in these terms, and to what ends? With what consequences? (Costa, 2013, p. 312)

Costa's closing questions are extremely relevant and are not asked often enough. They are even more compelling if we consider how the terms endangerment and revitalisation are viewed as concept and 'space', considering neither of these terms are fixed, but are dynamic and fluid. In reference to the two terms, Costa cautions that their roots are in the 'salvage' anthropology of North American linguistics and linguistic anthropology (2013, p. 318), a notion with relevance in Māori language ideologies.

Despite this, the use of the term endangered is intentional but comes with reservations. In this study it serves to establish a clear difference between the context of learning a dominant, high status language to a minority, or a perceived (at least by speakers of the majority language speakers) low status language. There is however a growing appreciation of language vitality not being measured by numbers alone, as there are instances of small vibrant language communities, as in the case of Melanesia (Landweer, 2012).

Within the Māori community, the Māori language is referred to as *te reo rangatira* (a ‘chiefly’ language, a language of chiefs – denoting a high status). Within the mainstream media there is a growing use of the shortened, uncomfortable term *te reo* (the language), to refer to the Māori language. In this study the term *te reo Māori* is used to refer to the language in its own terms.

Critical reflection on the study of endangered languages

This section attempts to reflect critically on the study of endangered languages and place this research within a wider context. This section is influenced by feminist scholar Deborah Cameron (2007), linguistic anthropologist James Costa (2013; Costa & Gasquet-Cyrus, 2013) and sociolinguists Alexandra Duchêne and Monica Heller, particularly their text, *Discourse of Endangerment* (2007). Their literature, based in Europe, asks for reflection on the discourse of endangerment as being about issues beyond that of language, and to view language revitalisation as a social response, not merely a linguistic practice. In other words, as *speaker* and *social* revitalisation. They critique language endangerment rhetoric in general, and this has provided insight towards some taken-for-granted ‘truths’ about Māori language revitalisation. In doing so, the critique reveals simultaneously how some ‘truths’ can underscore current goals and reinforces why early Māori language revitalisation efforts were so successful as powerfully ideologically-driven movements grounded in social priorities (J. King, 2015).

But, it is important to consider the precedents that contribute to this study and indeed the phenomena the field claims as a central principle, that is, that there are languages that are ‘endangered’, along with the principle that the conditions of endangered languages require consideration in the adult L2 acquisition (Hinton, 2011).

Endangerment as a field of academic study

Language revival movements have existed for over 150 years (Costa, 2013, p. 317) but the study and field of language endangerment and its accompanying applied aspect, language revitalisation, is essentially post-World War II. Eminent writers Grenoble and Whaley (2006) note that language revitalisation is related to a sociohistorical shift towards recognising the rights of minorities which have triggered ‘reacting forces as groups seek to assert, or better assert their unique cultural identity’ (2006, p. 2).

In 1951, the first edition of the *Ethnologue Languages of the World* was published, aimed at ‘cataloguing all of the world’s living languages’ (SIL International, 2016). It is now in its 18th edition, with the 19th imminent online. This publication is important in the overall landscape of endangerment as it was, and remains, a major source of data on the numbers within speaker communities along with

the print and online publication of the UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (UNESCO, 2016).

According to K.A. King (2001, p. 5), in the 1970s, '80s and 90s, there was only a small number of scholars looking at language loss and maintenance. This included Dorian's publication on *Language Death* (1981), her important 1987 article (Dorian, 1987) and her following text on *Language Obsolescence* (1989). This period includes two texts on language revival, Gaelic linguistic revival by Ellis and mac a'Ghohainn (1971) and Brandt and Ayoungman's (1989) *Language renewal and language maintenance: a practical guide*. The New Zealand Council of Educational Research's sociolinguistic research of the late 1970s is all the more remarkable given that it predates the development of endangerment scholarship in the 1990s.

The 1990s scholarship on language revitalisation was led by Joshua Fishman [1928-2015], an American scholar whose work and family life fused in the revival of Yiddish and the study of language revival. He was 'to sociolinguistics what Freud was to psychology and Skinner to Behaviourism, (Baker & Jones, 1998, p. 189). Fishman developed much of the terminology used in language revitalisation scholarship, such as the concept of 'reversing language shift' and the Graded Intergenerational Scale (GIDS) to measure language vitality. While not without critique (see Edwards, 2010), Fishman has a revered place for his contribution towards recognising the experience of language loss and those communities who challenge it as an inevitable outcome of language contact. He combined a prodigious scholarly rigour while never losing touch with the emotive factors embedded with language endangerment and revitalisation.

Krauss' 1992 paper *The World's Languages in Crisis* (Krauss in Hale, et al, 1992) is given as drawing the linguistic profession's attention to the scale of language endangerment (Austin & Sallabank, 2011, p. 2). But if we consider the range of contexts in Fishman (1991), it is clear that Indigenous communities were already engaged with language revitalisation efforts. Fishman's seminal 1991 text included commentaries from the Māori community in New Zealand (see Benton, 1979), the Hawaiian speech community and various Native American communities (see Bauman, 1980); Brandt & Ayoungman, 1989) and the revival of Hebrew in Israel.

According to Costa (2013) two events in the early 1990s collided, causing 'explicit concern for language revitalisation' (2013, p. 319). They were the Native American reaction to the unsatisfactory celebratory discourse on 500 years since Columbus' discovery of the Americas and Central American communities' response to a decade of documentary linguistics (2013, p. 319). As Costa explains, these two events prompted the Linguistic Society of America to hold a symposium on language endangerment in 1991, the proceedings of which were published in the society's journal, *Language*,

the following year. This collection of papers is cited widely, particularly for Krauss' quantifying outline of the world's linguistic diversity and dire predictions for its future (Krauss in Hale *et al*, 1992), some of which have become an unchallenged orthodoxy of the field (Duchêne and Heller, 2007, p. 3).

The development of language endangerment scholarship over the next two decades would thus indicate the academy is responding to endorsement by linguists of the field as a valid discipline, rather than recognised community efforts. As Duchêne and Heller observe about the discourse of language endangerment

the discipline of linguistics has been centrally implicated in its production and circulation. Linguists and anthropologists certainly not only use the field of language endangerment as a place to affirm expertise and professional, technical knowledge, but also to legitimize their disciplines in terms of the social relevance of their field. (Duchêne & Heller, 2007, p. 3)

Far greater attention has been paid to the affirmation of expertise above prioritising a social relevance. If a social relevance is mentioned at all, it is tacked on at the end and can betray significant misunderstandings of the social context (Eira, 2011; Costa, 2013). Sociolinguists, such as Fishman, are noticeable for their absence in any of the discussions included in Hale *et al* (1992). The capacity of linguists to reinforce their superiority in a field sustains a predisposition to emphasise linguistic priorities over social ones, and a perpetuating of linguistic expertise over social knowledge and ultimately viewing languages as separate from speakers, a process Perley refers to as 'dismemberment' (Perley, 2013, p. 244). The capacity of linguists to validate a field and then dominate its discourse has parallels in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) (May, 2014; Lantolf, 2014; Ortega, 2014; Pavlenko, 2002).

Towards a social turn in endangered language and language revitalisation discourse

The endangered language literature and research reflects several major related themes.

- The phenomenon of language loss/death/obsolescence and endangerment (Crystal 2000; Dorian 1981, 1987; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley 1998)
- Attempts to predict the rate of language diversity and loss (Harrison, 2007; Krauss, 1992).
- How languages are revived and revitalised (Bauman, 1980; N. Benton, 1989; Benton & Benton, 2001; Brandt & Ayoungman 1989; Fishman, 1991, 1997, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Tsunoda, 2005);
- The impact of language loss and bio-linguistic diversity (Romaine & Nettle, 2000) and its impact on the diversity of human knowledge *per se* and specific communities (Evans, 2010; Harrison, 2007)
- The role of specific domains in revitalisation, especially education contexts and their role in language revival (e.g. Hornberger, 1998, 2010; King, K., 2001), policy (Spolsky, 2005a) and planning (Mühlhäusler, 2000).

The emergence of Indigenous perspectives and critique from within speech communities has been a later development (Bell, 2013; Eira, 2011; Kāretu, 1995, 2003, 2012; Kroskrity & Field, 2009; Mufwene, 2002; Perley, 2013; Reyhner & Lockard, 2009; Reyhner, Trujillo, Carrasco & Lockard, 2003).

The publication of the *Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages* (Austin & Sallabank, 2011) marks a turning point in the development of the literature as it provides a substantive overview of the field reinforcing the field's complexity. Since the Handbook there is a developing literature of critical aspects of language development recognising unique factors of endangered language contexts: language planning and policy (Jones, 2015), attitudes and ideologies (Austin & Sallabank, 2014) and intergenerational language transmission (Hinton, 2013).

However, another development may turn out to be the most significant yet, namely a critical examination of what the field chooses to study and which discourses used to frame language endangerment (Austin & Sallabank, 2011; Cameron, 2007; Costa, 2013; Duchêne & Heller, 2007; Edwards, 2010), the interests and ideologies behind endangerment (Cameron, 2007; Duchêne & Heller, 2007) and language revitalisation (Grenoble & Whitecloud, 2014; Spolsky, 2014).

Some of this critique is concerned with underlying assumptions of language revitalisation discourse. The first assumption challenged is the interests of language revitalisation as preserving human diversity (Duchêne & Heller, 2007; Cameron, 2007) and its attendant relationship with biodiversity (Cameron, 2007) as proposed by Nettle and Romaine (2000). An interesting expansion in the 'protecting linguistic diversity argument' is that languages reveal the multiplicity of human cognition (Turin, 2012). This presents challenges to reductionist views of how languages are built to common patterns, when the full range of languages portray diversity in form, structure, grammatical relations. So language diversity is a powerful source of data with the potential to challenge the concept of language universals and the potential to expand our understandings of our 'cognitive selves' (Turin, 2012, p. 861). Turin concludes that if 'language – in all its manifestations – lies at the core of what makes us human, then we simply cannot afford to stand by and do nothing as the diversity of our cognitive capacity – those creative articulations of our shared humanity – slips through our fingers into oblivion' (Turin, 2012, p. 868).

Cameron argues that language endangerment is moralised around the 'crisis' of language diversity and in

most mainstream discourse, it is the 'ecologizing' idea of diversity as a good in itself and conversely, the loss of that diversity as an injury to humanity as a whole – that is presented as the central moral issue. Far less attention is given to the overtly political, redistribution and recognition struggles in which many language preservation and revitalisation movements are actually embedded (Cameron, 2007, p. 270).

'Ecologizing' the loss of language diversity (which 'no right-thinking person' (Cameron, p. 270) would think is a good idea), conversely allows for a detachment. If the language (or species) does in fact become threatened or indeed disappear, it can be seen as 'inevitable' and 'unpreventable' (p.270).

Cameron challenges the 'natural' unassailable relationship between language and culture, a link made in the interests of seeing languages as biological species and therefore viewing language as a life form (2007, p. 272). She dismisses this notion that languages should be viewed 'as a vehicle for communication between living things, namely human beings' (2007, p. 272) and challenges the notion that languages 'are-the-repositories-of-human-knowledge' discourse (as in Harrison, 2007; Evans, 2010) as rooted in 'organicism' and the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Cameron, 2007, p. 263). She argues that the re-articulation of 'language is culture' discourse recasts 'the phenomenon of cultural transmission by analogizing it to the genetic transmission like eye colour or blood group' (p. 274),

If language stands to cultural inheritance as DNA stands to the genetic kind, that lends rhetorical force to the (otherwise disputable) idea that a community's language is the only vehicle through which new generations can inherit their ancestors' cultural wisdom. (Cameron, 2007, p. 274)

This is a common argument in the literature of Māori revitalisation but has an uncomfortable reality in the proportion of the community who speak Māori and the notion of Māori language not being a fixed determiner of Māori identity (Harlow, 2005; Rewi, 2013). In a brave move, Cameron goes on to link the entrenched organic link between language and culture as rooted in Nazism's 'race science', which, in turn, borrowed from established traditions and assumptions in linguistics (2007, p. 277), and 'language ideologies of nineteenth European nationalism' (2007, p. 278). Ideologies like this are behind such notions as 'native speaker', 'mother tongue' and the idealisation of a 'single natively-acquired vernacular which defined the people as a group and distinguished them from other groups' (Cameron, 2007, p. 278).

Ontological dichotomies continue to present major challenges for the scholarship and practice of language endangerment. Not the least is to align connections between language and culture to avoid perpetuating ideologies that originated from Europe (Cameron, 2007), which appear to support the language endangerment cause, but have real political consequences. First, that they ultimately reinforce views of 'the other' and an 'orientalist strain' (Cameron, 2007, p. 281). More critically, they can position speaker communities as 'lacking agency and choice' (2007, p. 281) and therefore create a perception that only modern societies can rescue and preserve traditional knowledge for communities 'not doing much to help themselves' (p. 281). However, this can also position Westerners as the villains (especially English-speaking ones) that caused language shift in the first place on groups who do not have 'free choice' about which language they speak (2007, p. 282).

The field of language endangerment, in my view, is going through a ‘social turn’, not unlike that in the field of SLA in the late 1990s initiated by Wagner & Firth (1997). Costa’s concern with the social conditions of language endangerment and revitalisation calls for a need to recognise language revitalisation in its broadest sense as ‘a process in which social actors compete for social power, but also for material benefits’ (Costa & Gasquet-Cyrus, 2013, p. 212). Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus observe that the existing literature focuses on languages rather than speakers (Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus, 2013, p. 212), and recommend paying attention to internal debates within a language movement. They note that

[w]orks on language revitalisation tend to be characterized by an absence of attention paid to internal conflict and struggles with social movements involved, possibly under the assumptions that such movements are legitimate per se, and need assistance with regards to external conditions rather than critique, especially in terms of their internal functioning. Even when recognised, internal conflict is treated as an obstruction on the road to greater good (Costa & Gasquet-Cyrus, 2013, p. 213)

So, in Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus’ sense, it is internal contestation, rather than external contestation, that indicate most powerfully the roles, aims and positions of the context’s social actors. This sheds light on why some participants of this research project had more to say about the behaviour of people internal to their cultural group (i.e., Māori) than those external to it (non-Māori).

A ‘social turn’ perspective in language endangerment and language revitalisation, like that in Costa (2013), Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus (2013) and Cameron (2007), is essential to re-orientate a recognition of L2 speakers as collectively-engaged ‘social actors’. Then, going beyond limiting views of speakers engaged in individual practices, reveal new understandings of speakers complex identities (Norton-Pierce, 1995) and lead to more nuanced, progressive multi-disciplinary strategies, like those called for by Ortega (2013) and May (2014). Viewing an endangered language as a discrete linguistic system allows for dissociation between commentators and speakers. In a paper that challenges aspects of the biological metaphor like those of Cameron (2007), Perley maintains that ‘linguistic science’ imposes a process of ‘dismemberment’ on Indigenous languages (Perley, 2013, p. 244) in breaking the language down into formal linguistic categories and separating speakers from language by ‘limiting speakers to the role of informant’ and ‘data source’ (2013, p. 244). The result is that method, linguistic code and speech events are the focus and not the ‘collaborative relationship between native-speaker consultant and scholar’ (2013, p. 244) and in doing this contributed further to the ‘disembodiment’ of the Indigenous language (p. 344).

To be socially involved with a speaker community, which it is assumed language scholars aim to be, is to be accountable to that community and reflexive about the terms and nature of engagement. Often, it is the model required of linguists to be ‘objective and detached from our object of study’ (Grenoble

& Whitecloud, 2013, p. 337) that creates tension when they run up against a community's expectations of and priorities for documentation and revitalisation efforts and the role of linguists. Ladefoged (1992) challenges the paternalistic, universal claims of Hale et al (1992). But in doing so, he reflects an entire generation of linguists taking a benign, detached stance that removes him of any consequence of his involvement with language documentation projects. The diverse roles of linguists in language documentation is discussed in detail in the work of Jane Hill (2002), Leanne Hinton (2001; 2010, 2011) and Mark Turin (2012) and in applied linguists (Cope & Penfield, 2011; Penfield & Tucker, 2011).

As noted earlier in this chapter, the social relevance of the field is not a prevalent theme in the literature, often couched in the need to document disappearing languages in the race-against-time mode of Harrison (2007) and Nettle and Romaine (2000). Cameron has made the point vehemently that couching the contraction of linguistic diversity as a loss to humanity is at the expense of accounting for the reasons for that loss and the social conditions of its speakers (Cameron, 2007). It is time to address the social relevance of the field. As Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi (2014) has already claimed, language revitalisation must be, first and foremost, recognised as a social endeavour, and develop the field's ideological, ethical and political origins and implications of them (Cameron, 2007; Costa, 2013; Duchêne & Heller, 2007; Edwards, 2010). This requires paying attention to internal ideologies and recognising them as potentially liberating and taking care to avoid universalism and prescriptivism in asserting that what works in one context must therefore work in another (see, for example, Eira's (2011) response to Zuckermann and Walsh, (2011)).

An investigation and review of both broad sweeps and intimate investigations of language endangerment, and in particular Māori language revitalisation, not to mention the responses of this study's participants, constantly affirms early Māori language revitalisation efforts as powerful, ontologically-driven, socially-orientated language endeavours (J. King, 2001, 2014; Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014). Ontologically, a Māori view recognises individual authority and autonomy of *marae*, *kura*, *whānau* and *iwi* (tribe). Many in the Māori language community are calling for greater tribal authority over language revitalisation efforts alongside increasing the Crown's control of centralised funding. Neoliberal policies that continue to argue for the ongoing reduction in the size of the state (Bargh, 2007), in fields such as education, will have an impact on the Māori language as the bulk of revitalisation funding has been through Māori medium education (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). How this paradox, which was not a factor of early Māori language revitalisation efforts, is negotiated at a pivotal point in Māori revitalisation history, has the ability to define and determine its outcomes (Rewi, 2013).

The sociohistorical conditions of te reo Māori

Languages in New Zealand

In line with a call for a more social orientation of language revitalisation and a contextualisation of the rhetoric that accompanies much language endangerment and revitalisation discourse, this section deals with the sociolinguistic conditions of *te reo Māori*. Given that most of the participants in this study have had long-term involvement in language learning environments it is important to understand how social contexts in Māori language revitalisation contexts have changed over this time.

Aotearoa New Zealand is an island nation of the South Pacific, a region considered one of the world's most linguistically diverse, but fragile, regions (Ingram, 2006, p.1). *Te reo Māori* is considered a language of the Eastern Pacific, sharing a linguistic heritage with Cook Island Māori and other Polynesian languages (Benton, 2007; Harlow, 2007). The Pacific's social and linguistic diversity is present in New Zealand with significant Pacific speech communities, such as Samoan and Tongan, largely due to immigration from Pacific Islands to New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s. With language communities from Asia, Europe and Africa, New Zealand is now 'super diverse'; some urban centres in Aotearoa New Zealand are home to 160 languages (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013, p.1).

But for all the quantifiable evidence from surveys and the Census, New Zealand is perceived and behaves as a monolingual country reinforcing a monocultural hegemony (Lewis, 2014), with origins in its colonial history and a progressively entrenched neoliberal ideology (Bargh & Otter, 2009; Jackson, 2011; Lewis, 2014;). Language policy, such as it is, is uneven and comes with vested interests, such as in discussions over what language should be included in the national curriculum in New Zealand schools. Samoan elder and academic, Galumalemana Alfred Hunkin, spoke personally of his community's fight for their 'place in the sun' and the bewildering lack of support from Māori towards recognising Pacific languages; he observed that the lack of support extends to 'educators, linguists, Human Rights advocates, political parties, or our own original home nations in the Pacific' (Hunkin, 2015). Hunkin's observations about the lack of support from the Māori community points to powerful hegemonic forces at work and those force's abilities to determine discourses and contestation within language communities to the extent that they reinforce external hegemonies. Language revitalisation discourse is as much about challenging expectations and perceptions of how communities and individuals should behave as it is about which language(s) they speak. While it may not be surprising that 'minority' languages are competing for resources, there are strong *whakapapa* connections between Pacific peoples. Oral tradition, linguistic and anthropological testimonies all point to the central Pacific as the ancestral homeland of Māori (Anderson, Binney & Harris, 2014).

Social processes impact on *te reo Māori*

Before European contact, Aotearoa was a monolingual country and had been for some time (Harlow, 2007). Since the arrival of Māori around 800 years ago the language developed in relative isolation until contact with the English in the late 18th century (Benton, 2007). The expansion of British colonisation after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 began the progressive shift within Māori communities from Māori to English. This was achieved by a number of methods, principally through the education system, the church, and government legislature. Ka'ai (2004) has highlighted key educational legislation and official policies that perpetuated English language supremacy as the language of modernity, prosperity and achievement. She identifies key legislation and policies that had a direct effect on the language (Ka'ai, 2004, pp. 202-203):

- the 1847 Education Ordinance Act, essentially an 'assimilation' policy
- the 1867 Native Schools Act, which asserted that only English should be used with Māori children
- the use of corporal punishment during the early 1900s and beyond, to discourage children speaking Māori in schools (see also Selby, 1999)
- the 1907 Tōhunga Suppression Act, effectively making Māori knowledge illegal
- the influential Hunn Report of 1960, which refers to Māori language as a 'relic of ancient Māori life' (O'Regan, 2012, p. 308).

From a sociolinguistic point of view, other events, as well as punitive government legislation, were to have a serious impact on the language and the lead up to the Māori 'renaissance' of the 1970s and 1980s. First was the significant loss of young Māori men in Europe and Africa in World War II (Ka'ai, 2004, p. 203). The Māori community lost brothers, husbands, sons and cousins. As young men they would have been the workers and future of their communities, providing for multi-generational families. Their loss had a profound effect on their families and communities and by extension, the language; they would have had important roles in the ceremonial and cultural future of their *marae*. According to Harris (2014), more than 17,000 of the Māori population of only 100,000 enlisted in the armed forces, and at the time there was concern at the ability of the community to withstand loss due to combat (2014, p. 374). As Harris (2014) notes, 'the casualty rate for the Māori Battalion was almost 50 percent higher than the average for other New Zealand infantry battalions' (2014, p. 375).

The second significant social process was the impact of post-World War II urbanisation as families and young people left rural tribal living and made the shift to urban centres for work and educational opportunities for their children. Urbanisation was a social response to a growing Māori population and limitations imposed by land development schemes (Harris & Williams, 2014, p. 395). Between the 1950s and the 1970s, urban migration was so significant that by the 1980s, the majority of the Māori population had been urbanised for at least a generation (Moon, 2009, p. 27) and with it came a loss

of intergenerational language transmission as Western thought influenced Māori families to raise their children in English (Ka'ai, 2004, p. 203). However, from a sociolinguistic point of view, urban life and urban schools did little to support the retention of the language among the younger people of the 1970s and as this group approached adulthood they were to have a profound impact on New Zealand society.

Renaissance and revolution: New Zealand in the 1980s

Moon (2009) provides an overview of the realities of Māori life just prior to the 1980s when the Māori population was around 400,000. In short, Māori had, in comparison with other groups, a lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality rates, higher rates of unemployment, a higher percentage of its young men in prison, higher psychiatric admission and suicide rates. Māori were less likely to own their own home, finish with the same level of qualification and *te reo Māori* was in serious decline (Moon, 2009, pp. 24-25). These social conditions were the backdrop to early language revitalisation efforts.

The official social policy of integration extolled twenty years earlier in the 1960 Hunn Report was more about possibilities than realities as the way forward for Māori (Harris, 2014). In his report, Hunn, a Pākehā Acting Secretary of Māori Affairs, encouraged Māori to engage with modernity and urban life but it is clear from Moon's (2009) summary noted above this did not deliver any of its benefits. Both Moon (2009) and Harris (2014) observe how Māori society adjusted to urban life with *marae* such as Hoani Waititi in West Auckland and pan-tribal institutions, for example the Māori Women's Welfare League. It was up to Māori to navigate the 'creative tensions' between tradition and modernity; policy and practice, theoretical Māori worlds and daily Māori lives (Harris & Williams, 2014, p. 404). Māori were creative in navigating the tensions and delivered on them.

In the opinion of D.V. Williams (2001), the term 'renaissance' to describe Māori society in the 1980s is misleading (p. 314)

it was not so much that there was a rebirth of Māori culture in that decade, but rather that Māori political movements finally broke free from the smothering blanket of the succession of assimilationist policies that governments had imposed since the outset of colonial rule. (Williams, 2001, p. 314)

Māori made it clear that there were alternatives to assimilationist policies and Māori had a right to determine them (2001, p. 314) with the Māori Language Petition of 1972 presented on the steps of Parliament and a highly symbolic 1975 Land March from the Far North of the North Island to Parliament in Wellington. Protest was evident in resistance to local and national governments' shameful attempts to take important tribal lands in Waikato and remaining tribal and valuable lands on Auckland's waterfront belonging to Ngāti Whātua on Takaparawhau Bastion Point.

According to historian Michael King (2003), it was the setting up of the Waitangi Tribunal by a Labour Government in the 1970s that was the most 'pervasive influence' (p. 484) on the rise of the renaissance and 'so changed the face of New Zealand life in the 1980s and 1990s that their cumulative effect could legitimately be called a revolution' (2003, p. 484). By 1985, the Tribunal had been hearing claims for ten years, one of them the very important claim on Māori language (discussed in detail in the next chapter). The Tribunal provided a forum for Māori to address Treaty breaches by the Crown since 1840, and 'was a marriage between the government's preparedness to confront its Treaty obligations, and the immutable urge of many Māori communities to seek redress for grievances that had existed like an abscess, scarring their development often for decades' (Moon, 2009, p. 28). The Waitangi Tribunal's hearing of Māori claims and settlements in the 1990s meant that by 2001, Māori assets had doubled in over four years to \$8.99 billion (Moon, 2009, p. 29). One of the great ambiguities of Māori language revitalisation is what proportion of settlement monies have been spent on language revitalisation, and if there is a relationship between an *iwi*'s economic base and the social and linguistic health of its members. A major contributing factor to this is how the Crown predetermines that it will only negotiate and settle with a corporate *iwi* structure (Bargh, 2007, p. 39). Corporate structures resist investing in social movements as they are perceived as expensive and having minimal financial benefit and are not easily measured.

Williams (2001) does not ignore the Pākehā response to the 'renaissance' and he observes, the 1980s was the time that shattered Pākehā ignorance of Māori and their complacency about having the 'best race relations in the world' (2001, p. 315). He goes on to argue, 'the fracturing of the "we are all one people" mythology in the 1970s and 1980s was a forceful emergence in national debates of long-held and strongly held collective Māori world views (habitually overlooked or discounted by Pākehā in the past), rather than the rebirth of Māori world views, as the renaissance metaphor implies' (p. 315). So, the term is more indicative of the group who coined the phrase than those it refers to. A 'Māori renaissance' suggests Pākehā passivity and removes them from a role in responding to the Māori community's challenge of our place in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The 1980s contain some of New Zealand's most contentious and far-reaching events. The 1981 Springbok tour caused 'unprecedented disruption' (M. King, 2003, p. 485), when more than 150,000 people protested in over 200 demonstrations in over twenty-eight centres (nzhistory, 2014) at the National government's decision to allow the Springbok rugby team of apartheid South Africa to tour New Zealand. This forced attention on New Zealand's race relations and the uneasy, unresolved relationship between sport and politics. Despite the tour taking place, rather than settling the relationship, it highlighted Māori-Pākehā relations and damaged the place of rugby as a cultural icon. A state of affairs resolved to the extent that rugby (not sport in general) and New Zealand's cultural

and political identity are synonymous: the All Black's 2015 international touring side (famous for their *haka*) was announced by the Prime Minister in the Parliament buildings in Wellington (Radio New Zealand, 2015).

Many of the seismic political and economic shifts that were to impact on Māori language revitalisation had their origins in the 1980s. Very significant was the shock landslide victory in 1984 of David Lange's Labour party and its subsequent dismantling of the ultra-controlling, 'Think Big' strategies and policies of the previous National government. In short, Labour's free market neoliberal economic policies meant major reform of the public service, transferring public departments to state-owned assets and a policy of devolving or selling 'as much of its inherited business as it could' (M. King, 2003, p. 487). Subsidies towards key economic sectors such as agriculture and farming were cut, the financial market was deregulated and controls to international markets and businesses were removed making New Zealand one of the most free-market economies in the world (Bargh, 2007). As Moon observes, Labour's confidence in 'the liberalisation of the country's economy, commencing in the mid-1980s, may have aimed to reduce unemployment, raise living standards, and boot New Zealand's aggregate economic performance, but in many instances, it was communities and predominantly Māori populations that bore the brunt of these changes' (2009, p. 25).

Moon attempts to account for how Māori 'resuscitation' (2009, p. 26), as he calls it, could occur in such a 'bleak' time in two characteristics of Māori society. He notes that the resuscitation was driven by 'grassroots Māori', who were 'unencumbered by officialdom' and it was rooted in a desire for language revitalisation (2009, p. 26). Both these points are factors, rarely acknowledged, but there is more to how resuscitation can occur at such a time. It is in a recognition that the 'language revitalisation movement in New Zealand was founded on and developed from the idea of revitalising people as much as revitalising an endangered and indigenous language (J. King, 2015, p. 213). The most essential element in this process was that the solution was driven from within the Māori community. A strong Māori cultural identity, of which the language was its most tangible expression, was not the problem, it was the solution (J. King, 2015). It was a total rejection of ideologies such as those in the 1960 Hunn report, which pushed for Māori cultural values (only for Māori) if they did not get in the way of 'modernity'. The solution, from a Māori point of view was articulated in the Kōhanga Reo movement. But, economic liberalisation, pushed to even greater limits in the next two decades, had a profound impact on the Māori language revitalisation movement as it transitioned from a flax roots movement to 'state disciplined institutions' (Skerret, 2001, p. 12), and were 'subjected to the same educational reforms of marketisation and regulation as other educational providers' (2001, p. 14).

1990s and the rise of Neoliberalism

The reforms of the 1980s were not limited to that decade, in fact, despite different governments, a neoliberal agenda has been layered on top of the free market ideology established so abruptly with Lange and his Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas in 1984. In essence, the 1980s in New Zealand heralded a beginning of a neoliberal agenda, which

aims to use market competition to lift the performance of the state. Thus, in neoliberalism, citizens become consumers or resource units, while it emphasises the personal freedom from state coercion and regulation and therefore advocates economic liberalisations, free trade, and deregulation of markets, the privatisation of state-owned enterprises, and the promotion of the private sector's role in society. (Lewis, 2014, p. 199)

Bargh (2007), describes neoliberalism as

those practices and policies which seek to extend the market mechanism into areas of the community previously organised and governed in other ways. This process involves the entrenching of three tenets of neoliberalism: 'free' trade and the 'free mobility' of capital, accompanied by a broad reduction of the ambit and role of the state. (Bargh, 2007, p. 1)

As well as an advanced rate and degree of reform this ideology has achieved the ability to control the discourse and demand that it appears as 'a social representation and a social reality at the same time' (Holborow, 2013, p. 14). Definitions of neoliberalism identify it as an economic theory, a new form of capitalism, a discourse and an ideology (2013, p. 15). It has required a complete hegemonic dominance to undermine a community whose values, world views and cultural norms stand in antithesis to neoliberalism's tenets of maximum profit for a minority, at colossal human, cultural, spiritual and environmental expense.

According to Bargh (2007), Aotearoa New Zealand is a world leader in neoliberalism, and 'successive New Zealand governments since 1984 have pursued neo-liberal policies with a faith, vehemence and confidence in the success that few other governments appear to possess' (2007, back cover). Successive governments are not only undermining Treaty settlements but use the settlement process 'as a conduit for neo-liberal policies and practices' (Bargh, 2007, p. 41), by limiting Waitangi Tribunal rulings (Williams, D. V. 2013, p.312) and the Crown's use of previous rulings to defend the government's position in subsequent claims (Williams, D.V, 2013, p. 325).

All of these factors listed have played, and will play an increasing influence in Māori language revitalisation and cultural revival. Economic liberalisation has opened the New Zealand economy to international corporations and reduced employment in sectors critical to the Māori community. Perhaps most pernicious is the influence of neoliberal policies in education, where Māori aspirations for social and linguistic revival were placed. By tracking Māori language revitalisation since the 1980s,

it is possible to see how prevailing hegemonies may change shape and require different responses; essentially they reinforce the status quo and determine people's response to it.

Neoliberalism is not just abstract high level politics. It has reached every corner of Māori society. During the 1980s and 1990s, some of this study's participants were at school, mostly in secondary school, or in university, or becoming parents; in some cases, they were both students and parents. Members of their families lost jobs in this time, which meant that the participant had to become the family's breadwinner; some participants had to move to urban centres to sustain careers, leaving their community behind to maintain their *marae*. Going home for important family and tribal events meant financial strain, which precluded them taking part in contexts to develop their language. Through them it is possible to see the impact on Kōhanga Reo as their own children do not choose to enrol their children in Māori immersion education. For the older women of the participant group, some of whom were then young mothers, some began learning Māori when their children began in Kōhanga Reo. Only a few of the participants have not engaged directly, or indirectly with Kōhanga Reo, mostly as parents. Kōhanga Reo's reach into the community can be seen in the participant group. Where a participant did not engage with immersion education it is largely due to the other parent not being either a speaker or learner of Māori. The 1990s had a significant impact on them individually and as members of Māori communities and indeed New Zealand. All the participants have lived realities within the historic descriptions. The participants, and the researcher, are indeed social actors remembering, and living, the past.

Earlier in this section, Moon's overview of Māori social indicators gave a snapshot of serious disparity between Māori and non-Māori in the 1970s (Moon, 2009). Unfortunately, forty years on, the current situation does not reflect well on New Zealand's provision of health services. According to Robson (2007), since the mid-1980s, disparities in Māori and non-Māori health have increased when measured by life expectancy, cancer mortality and cardiovascular morbidity and mortality.

In summary, during the last two decades, rates of mortality have decreased steadily among non-Māori, but only minimally among Māori. Cancer mortality is actually increasing for Māori, while decreasing for Pākehā. Heart disease mortality has declined rapidly among Pākehā, but only slowly among Māori. Unintentional injury deaths are declining for both groups, but the gap is not closing. Youth suicide rates increased among both Māori and non-Māori, but did so at a much faster rate among Māori. The difference in life expectancy for Māori and non-Māori has grown to a gap of ten years. (Robson, 2007, p. 53)

Figure 1 below shows life expectancy for Māori and non-Māori. The latest figures show that in 2013, life expectancy at birth, for Māori males is 73 years, and Māori women, is 77.1 years. For non-Māori males it is 80.3 years and non-Māori women, 83.9 years (Ministry of Health, 2015, p. 22).

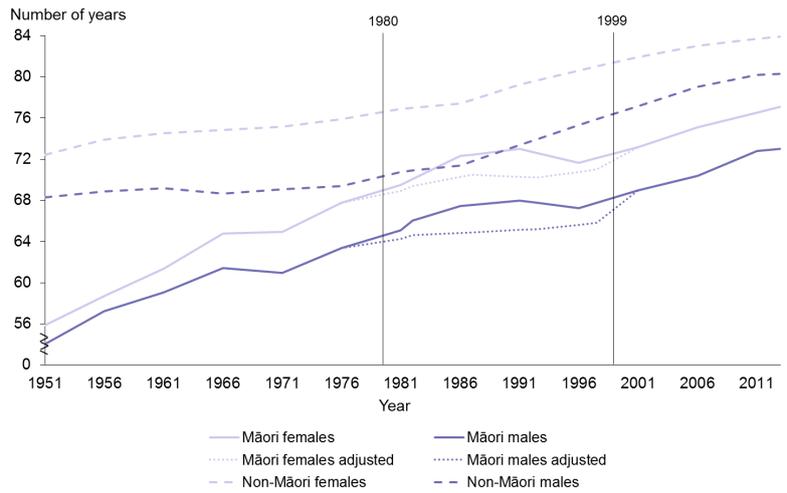


Figure 1: Life expectancy by birth, by gender, Maori and non-Maori, 1951-2013¹ (Ministry of Health, 2015, p. 22)

With misplaced sanguinity, a recent Ministry of Health report notes

that Māori life expectancy rapidly increased up until the late 1970s or early 1980s, after which it was (mostly) static, while non-Māori life expectancy continued to increase. Since the late 1990s, Māori life expectancy has been increasing at about the same rates as non-Māori, or even slightly faster (Blakely, et al 2007). The gap between Māori and non-Māori life expectancy at birth had narrowed to 7.1 years by 2012-14. This continues the trend of a narrowing gap, from 9.1 years in 1995-97 to 8.5 years in 2000-02, and to 8.2 years to 2005-07. (Ministry of Health, 2015, pp.22-23)

It is arguable whether it is acceptable that there is a gap between life expectancies of Māori and non-Māori and if the slow rate of decrease is anything to be sanguine about. The lower life expectancy of Māori affects language revitalisation as the distribution of native and highly fluent speakers is in the over 65 year age group (StatisticsNZ, n.d.a)

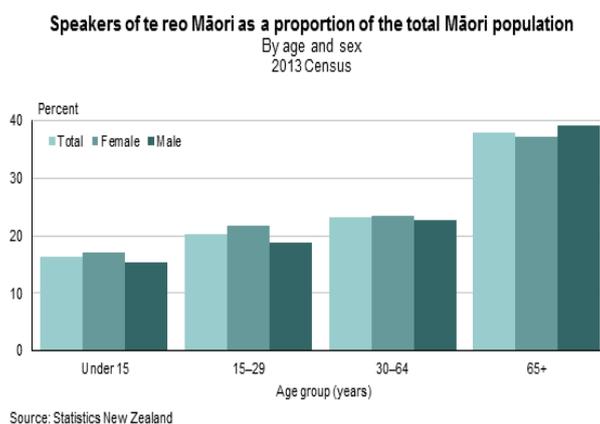


Figure 2: Speakers of te reo Maori as a proportion of the total Maori population. Source: StatisticsNZ, n.d.

¹ According to the Statistics New Zealand website, the dotted line represents adjusted life expectancy figures for the 1980s and early 1990s as Māori mortality was seriously undercounted due to different definitions of ethnicity on death registration, birth registration and census forms. [Retrieved from <http://www.health.govt.nz/our-work/populations/maori-health/tataukahukura-maori-health-statistics/nga-mana-hauora-tutohu-health-status-indicators/life-expectancy>].

Socioeconomic status – income, employment status, housing and education – is recognised as a major determinant of health (Ministry of Health, 2015, p. 11). Even now, ‘the wealthier a suburb, the less likely Māori are to live in it (2015, p. 12) and Māori have lower rates of school completion, higher rates of employment, earn less than \$10,000, and are more reliant on income support’ (2015, p. 13). More Māori live in rental accommodation without vehicle access (2015, p.12). Critically, too many Māori live in cold, damp, crowded households which impact on inhabitants’ health, particularly children (Nichol, 2016).

Many of the realities that Moon mentioned in the 1970s remain, and in some cases are worse, a critical backdrop to social and linguistic revival. Language revitalisation takes place in a community compromised by taking care of ill family members, poor delivery of health and community services to Māori, uneven distribution of health resources (Robson, 2007) and long-term educational disparity (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2009) all sustained by policies that are geared towards a majority Pākehā population (Robson, 2007, p. 53).

The Māori community is, by comparison to non-Māori, a young community, with 33.7 percent of Māori aged less than fifteen years, compared with only 18.0 percent of non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2015, p. 6). In addition to this, more than one quarter of all dependent children in New Zealand live in a Māori household (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011b, p. 2). Current projections for the Māori population, due to a higher fertility rate (Ministry of Health, 2015, p. 8) and a large proportion of its population in the main reproductive ages (2015, p.8), mean that by 2030, the Māori population is projected to grow by 16.2 percent, against that of non-Māori (13.5%) (Ministry of Health, 2015, p. 8). From a language revival perspective, a high proportion of young people growing older supports language growth. The counterpoint to this is the very low proportion of children in the early stages of Māori immersion education (pre-school) and the even lower number in the later stages, i.e., primary and secondary levels, which are important stages for sustained language development.

The success of Māori language revival efforts in the 1980s and 1990s is remarkable given that this has occurred against a backdrop of economic, educational and health disparity. The upbeat official documents distract from ongoing disturbing trends and hard social realities for many Māori families.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the role of critical applied linguistics and the development of the field of endangered languages. In line with other researchers (e.g., Costa, Duchene and Cameron) it challenges assumptions that language revival is purely about linguistic revival. If we are to value language revival for the huge social challenge that it provides to communities already engaged in the protection of their cultural and political rights, fighting for equitable access to education and health services and

continuing to challenge hegemonic processes, then we must see those communities as interacting internally and externally within complex dynamic social contexts.

The social conditions for Māori cannot be ignored. They are part of the social reality for all the participants in this study and are woven into the fabric of their stories and their engagement with the language. Through their stories and journeys we can see the social cost that abstract statistics on education and health have on communities and individuals.

New Zealand faces a major challenge in valuing cultural and linguistic pluralism and superdiversity to a much greater degree than it has in the past. Valuing superdiversity must go beyond tokenistic festivals and annual language weeks, while language communities are marginalised by the media and national and local government. If multilingualism is valued and given as a normal aspect of New Zealand life, this has the potential to protect the place of *te reo Māori* as the Indigenous language rather than undermine it. Moreover, multilingualism can challenge the monolingual mind-set, which appears to view all languages as equal while determining which languages are more equal than others (Pavlenko, 2002). This mind-set becomes more apparent if we look at the trajectory of Māori language revitalisation over the last forty years.

Chapter 3. *Te reo Māori* language revitalisation: power, ideology and practice in transition

At the time he was Minister of Māori Affairs, Dr Pita Sharples spoke from within the Māori community in his foreword to a guide to the 2014 Māori Language Strategy:

The desire or journey to revitalise our Māori language, [...] can be traced back through our history of colonisation, survival, struggle, and renaissance. The Māori Language Petition of 1972, the reo march of 1980, the 1985 Te Reo Māori Claim, and the resulting establishment of our Māori language entities are part of that history. I think of the development of Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga; I recall our Māori newspapers, our Māori radio stations and now our very own Māori Television Service; I see initiatives such as Te Ātaarangi, Te Panekiretanga o te reo Māori, Te Matatini and I see the diversity, and the richness of our efforts to share our language, to teach our language, and to lift the status of the language here in Aotearoa. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014, p. 1)

In a single paragraph, Sharples contains essential events of Māori language revitalisation and speaks to its core, which is to give status and *mana* to its speakers. Some of these events will be covered in this chapter to look at the transition of power from the community but has transitioned so that Māori language revitalisation is now an institutionalised and policy-driven activity with a resulting tension between government and community aspirations, fluid ideologies and political gain and control over funding. This tension has seriously compromised the community's ability to lead and sustain language revitalisation (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011; 2012). Comprehensive historical overviews of Māori language revitalisation movement can be found in the WAI 262 report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011) and O'Regan (2012), a detailed consideration of the impact of policy and planning in Lewis (2014) and insider perspectives in Winitana's (2011) outstanding social history.

Community roots: challenge and struggle

The 1970s are seen as the start of the modern Māori language revitalisation movement (O'Regan, 2012). Māori language revitalisation was an intrinsic aspect in the fight for Māori justice and equality and part of the emerging Māori voice calling for Government to honour its Treaty promises. Pivotal community-driven events of this time were to have significant and long-term impact on Māori language revitalisation.

Māori Language Petition & Māori Language Survey

In 1972, the Māori Language Petition was delivered to the front steps of Parliament. It contained over 30,000 signatures 'praying' that Māori language and culture be taught at schools. Other petitions

followed in 1978 and 1980 (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2016, p. 22). That same evening a rally was held in St Kevin's Arcade in central Auckland (Image 1).



Image 1: *Te reo Māori* protest, 14 September, 1972. Image: John Miller
Image supplied by the photographer, used with permission.

According to Winitana (2011), two groups, Ngā Tamatoa (a group of young Auckland University students) and the Māori Language Society collaborated to respond to 'the actions of the government to assimilate Māori' (2001, p. 17) and the current status of the Māori language.

The following year, the New Zealand Council of Educational Research (NZCER) began a 'sociolinguistic study of language use in Māori households and communities' (Benton, 1983, p. 2). The NZCER's research, often attributed to its lead researcher, Richard Benton, is an example of the levels of collaboration required in community research. Modelled on Fishman's sociolinguistic investigation on the use of Puerto Rican in Jersey City, the research required a network of Māori language speakers and researchers throughout the North Island. The 'Fishman study was particularly appealing as it involved the fieldworkers personally with the community which they were studying, an ingredient essential to the success of any similar undertaking among Māori people in New Zealand' (Benton, 1983, p. 3). The survey section of the research targeted about 33,000 people in 6,500 households in the North Island (1983, p. 3). It was an ambitious undertaking that took from 1973 to 1979 with four permanent part-time staff, and a part-time consultant (1983, p. 4). The project required delicate manoeuvring around budget constraints and was funded by a range of sources when government

grants were refused (1983, p. 6). In the latter parts of the research, especially collating massive amounts of data, the project received funding through the Department of Education and other public and private sponsors (1983, p. 6).

Benton's research has long been cited as the reason that the community came to be aware of the imminent death of the language. But as Benton himself acknowledged, the research was carried out 'against the backdrop of concern among Māori elders at the large number of young people who appear to have little acquaintance with the Māori language' (1983, p. 2). An awareness of the language's state predates Benton.

The NZCER research was unequivocal in that

if the language is to survive as a vernacular for another generation, *radical steps* will have to be taken to give the language greater status with the schools in the remaining Māori speaking areas. Even the combined influences of home and school are unlikely to be sufficient in themselves to stem the drift away from Māori unless other government departments, and local authorities all encourage the Māori language and Māori speakers to play a significant public role in the daily activities (Benton, 1983, p. 11).

Not surprisingly, given the complexities and costs involved, this kind of research has been neglected in favour of quantitative language surveys, like those carried out by Te Puni Kōkiri and Statistics New Zealand Census. In 2015, the NZCER and Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori announced they were developing a similar research project but with a much limited scope (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2015).

As the NZCER survey was drawing to its final phases, another significant milestone in the history of community-led Māori language revitalisation was in the wings.

The 1983 Māori Language Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal

In 1983, the pan-tribal group Ngā Kaiwhakapumau i Te Reo Māori Incorporated Society, led by elder Huirangi Waikerepuru from Taranaki, lodged a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. Ngā Kaiwhakapumau claimed that the Crown had neglected its obligations to protect the language under Article 2 of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, which 'guaranteed Māori possession of their forests, estates and *taonga*'. Therefore the language, viewed as a *taonga*, was, under the Treaty, guaranteed protection from the Government.

Two years later, in 1985, the first of the hearings was held in Waiwhetū Marae in Wellington. Over ten days the Tribunal heard submissions from a broad cross-section of Māori society. The list of speakers represented every major tribe and district, government and Māori organisations (Winitana, 2011, p. 130). The hearings provided the

first time Māori have the opportunity to talk publicly, in a formal and legal setting, about their experiences with the Māori language. These are the personal experiences on the ground. They are not the groomed roundups found in government reports or commissions of inquiry. They are real, live, painful experiences. They are the human face of a hitherto faceless section of society simply called Māori – and more often ‘the Māori problem’.
(Winitana, 2011, p. 130)

The denial of Māori experience occurred even at the hearings. In response to elders’ childhood recollection of being punished for speaking Māori within school, representatives of the Department of Education denied there was ever an official policy banning the use of the language (Winitana, 2011, p. 131). Sir James Henare, a highly respected elder from the north, recounted being beaten with a stick he cut from the bush (2011, p. 132). When told that Education officials refuted the official practice, Henare stood by his community, saying ‘the facts are incontrovertible. If there was no such policy there was extremely effective gentlemen’s agreement’ (Winitana, 2011, p. 131). Confirmation of the Māori experience of physical punishment for speaking Māori is in this study, revealing intergenerational consequences (Selby, 1999). As D. Williams (2001) notes, there is a discrepancy between written evidence, such as Native School log books of punishment (2001, p. 151) and recorded oral testimony (such as that in the report of the Waitangi Tribunal discussed here and Selby, 1999), which indicates that ‘such punishments continued to be inflicted as late as the 1950s’ (D. Williams, 2001, p. 151). The denial of the policy’s existence appears to have been understood by those who practised it. Research of Native School logs up to 1930 show only one *direct* reference for using ‘Māori without permission’ (D. Williams, 2001, p. 255) amongst the distressing litany of corporal punishment given in Native Schools (D. Williams, 2001, pp. 253-337). The report of the claim concludes ‘we think it was more than just a practice’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 9).

Richard Benton, who had directed the NZCER’s sociolinguistic research in the 1970s, gave evidence at the hearings, highlighting language use as a social phenomenon (Winitana, 2011, p. 133) and cites declining intergenerational language transmission and the lack of support from the wider community as major contributors to the language’s current state (2001, p. 133).

The Tribunal agreed with the central claim the language was a *taonga* and required protection from the Crown. They made five recommendations, not all of which were acted on (Winitana, 2011). This significant far-reaching claim resulted in the Māori Language Act of 1987, in which *te reo Māori* became an official language of New Zealand, the establishment of the Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori), the rise of Māori broadcasting and, eventually in 2004, Māori Television², institutions which have had a significant impact on the visibility and status of the language.

² <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/maori-language-week/history-of-the-maori-language>

The report of the claim, published in 1986, is an important contemporary document containing eloquent, impassioned statements from respected elders from around New Zealand. The Tribunal's report attempts to summarise their statements:

The language is the embodiment of the particular spiritual and mental concepts of the Maori, more closely related to oriental tradition than to our western ways. It offers a particular world view which, while not challenging our social structure, highlights alternatives to development. Its emphasis on holistic thinking, group development, family relationships and the spiritual dimension of life is not inappropriate in a nuclear age. Without the language this new dimension of life from which New Zealand as a whole may profit would be lost to us. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 23³)

This summary reveals the makeup of the panel that heard the claims with its use of a phrase like 'our western ways', and the unsubtle reassurance that Maori 'spiritual and mental concepts' do not challenge 'our social structures' (1986, p. 23). The relevance of the nuclear age is unclear but the final sentence reveals an often proposed ideology in language endangerment discourse that the true value of the language is in its benefit to a wider community, in this case, 'New Zealand as a whole' (1986, p. 23). It is part of the wider commentary on retaining the world's linguistic diversity as beneficial to all humankind (Cameron, 2007). The collective national benefit is rarely expressed by Māori commentators, but remains a strong point for validating the retention of the language.

The Māori Language Petition in the 1970s, the published results of NZCER's twelve-year research, existing concerns about the language's health and the depth of feeling revealed in the hearings for the Te Reo Māori Claim (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986) all contributed to a greater awareness of education's role in language shift and its consequences. The community responded by addressing the needs of intergenerational language transmission (ILT) by connecting them with the older, Māori-speaking generation. The needs of monolingual English adults who wished to learn Māori was addressed with a community-based model for second language learners. It was a remarkable vision.

Māori language immersion education: Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori

In its initial stages, Māori language immersion education was driven and sustained by community. It is hard to overstate the commitment and efforts of teachers, grandparents, parents, families and communities that went in to sustaining those early endeavours while at the same time lobbying and fighting for resources to secure a future for the language. Many of the people influential in gaining recognition for the language, leading immersion education and adult learning, became leaders in the wider Māori community. Many of them, such as Ngoi Pēwhairangi (*Ngāti Porou*), Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira (*Ngāti Porou*), Hana Jackson (*Taranaki, Ngāti Toa*), Sir James Henare (*Ngāti Hine*), and Hirini Melbourne (*Ngāi Tūhoe*) have since died. Others, such as Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi (*Ngāti Porou*) Pita

³ Page 17 of the one produced online at the Tribunal. P. 23 in the photocopy of the original.

Sharples (*Ngāti Kahungunu*), Huirangi Waikerepuru (*Ngāpuhi, Taranaki*), Te Wharehuia Milroy (*Ngāi Tūhoe*) and Tīmoti Kāretu (*Ngāi Tūhoe*) continue a life-time of service to their communities.

Immersion education, from pre-school to secondary school, was seen as the main vehicle for Māori language revival. The vision was to create ‘native speakers’ of Māori from contact with the older native speaker generation as tutors and teachers in Kōhanga Reo and for those children to then go on to primary (Kura Kaupapa Māori) and secondary level (Wharekura). This new younger generation would then become parents to young Māori-speaking children and sustain ILT of the language, creating Māori-speaking homes and leading the future of the language (J. King, 2014). The middle generation, English-speaking monolinguals, would become L2 learners of Māori and as such, contribute to cycle of language regeneration as parents and teachers within Māori-speaking homes and immersion schooling. This model was initiated from the very beginning of Kōhanga Reo and is presented here, (Figure 3), taken from J. King (2014, p. 217).

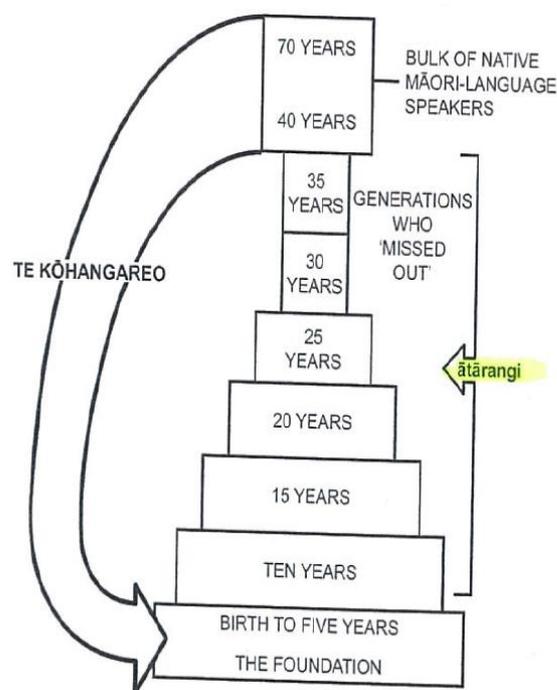


Figure 3: Kōhanga reo model (J. King, 2014, p. 217)

It is not immediately apparent, but L2 learners are recognised here in the small word ‘ātārangī’, on the right hand side of Figure 1 above. Known more commonly now as Te Ātaarangi, this parallel organisation was aimed at adult L2 learners. It is important to establish that from the earliest foundations of Kōhanga Reo (J. King has taken this diagram from a 1985 Kōhanga Reo National Trust document), there was recognition that L2 speakers had a role in language revitalisation. Furthermore, far from a role on the ‘side lines’ of Kōhanga Reo, L2 speakers came to play a major role as teachers

and parents (J. King, 2014, p. 218). The fact that the majority of parents and teachers in Kōhanga Reo have been L2 speakers and not native Māori language speakers is not accounted for in J. King's perceptive chapter (J. King, 2014).

Māori immersion pre-schooling required substantive lobbying and pressure from the Māori community and its success was achieved as a social, grass roots movement. As J. King noted, its 'pedagogy is based on the idea that answers are to be found with Māori people and their families. The practical outcome is a group that consistently looks to itself rather than outside for direction' (J. King, 2014, p. 217).

The groundswell of the Māori language revitalisation movement came about from concerted, pan-tribal effort by the Māori community, but has not continued since peaking in the 1990s. Even then the great majority of Māori children were, and still are today, in mainstream education. Currently, only about 2.5% of all school children are enrolled in Māori medium education⁴ and this number has not changed significantly over the last 15 years. As noted earlier, the community vision for language regeneration involved not just the younger and older Māori-speaking generation, but had a vision for the generation who did not speak Māori. It is possible that Te Ātaarangi and Kōhanga Reo have done more to transform the language as a community language than any other, as it was 'accessible to the grassroots' (Winitana, 2011, p. 69). The estimated number of adults who have accessed Ātaarangi is between 30,000 to 50,000 (Pohe, 2012, p. 64; Te Ātaarangi, 2011b; Winitana, 2011, p. 69).

L2 learner education: Te Ātaarangi

The Te Ātaarangi movement is attributed to the collaboration of two women. This is significant as Māori women have been and remain the backbone of Māori language revitalisation efforts: as adult learners, parents, grandparents, teachers and tutors (Bauer, 2008, Olsen-Reeder & Higgins, 2012). In the late 1970s Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira approached Ngoi Pēwhairangi with a language immersion approach based on Gattengo's Silent Way method, which she had seen used with Fijian language learners in Fiji. Pēwhairangi and Mataira determined that this would be an approach that could be adapted within the Māori language context (Hond, 2013b, p. 208) and would best meet the needs of adult L2 learners (Pohe, 2012, p. 63). Like Kōhanga Reo, it would use native speakers of Māori as the main teaching resource. A major strength of the process was that the teacher did not need formal training or qualification (2013, p. 208). In 1979, Te Ātaarangi was established and grew to support the parents and families of children enrolling in Kōhanga Reo (Hond, 2013b; Pohe, 2012; Skerrit, 2012). It required no formal qualifications or 'academic entry barriers' (Pohe, 2012, p. 64).

⁴http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/nz-social-indicators/Home/Culture%20and%20identity/maori-lang-educ.aspx

Te Ātaarangi established their own version of the Silent Way method based on an ethos that has changed little since it started:

1. *Kaua e kōrero Pākehā*
Don't speak English
 2. *Kaua e poka tikanga*
Don't be disrespectful of customs or beliefs
 3. *Kaua e akiaki tētahi i tētahi*
Don't prompt each other
 4. *Kia ahu atu te pātahi ki a koe, kātahi anō koe ka ahei ki te whakahoki*
Only answer questions which are directed to you
 5. *Kia ngākau mahaki*
Be humble
- (Te Ātaarangi, website, 2011a).

Its overarching mission was '*kia kōrero Māori te motu whanui*' (Pohe, 2012, p. 63), referring to the speaking of Māori in all contexts, and this 'imperative pervades every aspect of the moment's organisation and philosophy' (2012, p. 63). According to Hond (2013b), Te Ātaarangi initially received limited government funding when the focus was on immersion schooling in the state sector and 'the late 1980s to the 1990s saw a gradual shift in the organisational emphasis to formal qualifications, adversely affecting the voluntary community-based activity (2013b, p. 208).

As Olsen-Reader and Higgins note, Te Ātaarangi has had 'little opportunity to have their success revealed through research' (2012, p. 144). There are number of reasons for this, as outlined in L. T. Smith (1999) and Bishop (1997): the use of deficit modes to frame research on Māori; a distrust of negative perspectives and views of Māori as a 'problem' and research as merely reproducing what is already known. To protect against these aspects there can be an expectation that researchers should have close personal ties, and vested interests in the outcomes and accountability for the results, such as that by Olsen-Reeder and Higgins, (2012), Pohe (2012) and Hond (2013b), who are all members of the Te Ātaarangi movement. The recognition of Te Ātaarangi's importance to the field of Māori language revitalisation has taken time, but more recently, a greater understanding of language revitalisation has meant closer attention to Te Ātaarangi's methods and infrastructure, to the extent that 'the emphasis in the vision of Te Ātaarangi has completed a full-swing back to the intent first espoused by Pēwhairangi and Mataira, the reestablishment of communities where Māori is normalised' (Hond, 2013b, p. 209).

From the 1970s to the late 1990s, Māori took vital steps to ensure the survival of their language with community-based, *tikanga*-driven initiatives. This included Māori immersion education for its younger generation using the existing linguistic expertise and leadership, a tenacious ability to recognise and challenge hegemony with Te Ātaarangi for adult learners, and the vision and development of a

sustainable Māori immersion education system. During the 1990s Māori language learning and the control shifted to institutions and control for resources was exercised through bureaucracy (Hond, 2013b). The next section looks at how this happened and the repercussions.

Surveys, strategies and control

Health of Māori Language Surveys, 2001, 2006

At the cusp of the new millennium, Te Puni Kōkiri published a small booklet: *Te Tūāoma The Māori Language: the steps that have been taken* (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999) summarising government efforts in education and broadcasting to address Maori language loss. Te Ātaarangi, Kōhanga Reo and three *wānanga* institutions come under the heading ‘Māori determination’ (p. 7). The booklet contains the Government’s Māori Language Strategy, with policy objectives and their corresponding ministry, activities to be carried out by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori and finally the Māori language corpus development activities and policy indicators (1999, p. 12). It is clear from this document that Te Puni Kōkiri was aware of the scale of what they proposed to do but it is also clear from the current status of the language and analysis in key documents (e.g., Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011) that Te Puni Kōkiri lacked the capacity to do it (Bauer, 2008; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). The litany of failures is examined in regards to the important report on the Flora and Fauna Claim of 2010 later on in this section, but one legacy of this time is the Māori language survey of 2001 and 2006.

Te Puni Kōkiri, as part of its role in monitoring the health of the language identified in the 2003 Māori Language Strategy, had commissioned several major language surveys. The first in 1995, was found to be unreliable (Bauer, 2008), but the surveys of 2001 and 2006 are reviewed together here, based on Bauer’s penetrating comparison that revealed serious flaws in the data and the official response to the results (Bauer, 2008).

Essentially, Bauer disputes Te Puni Kōkiri’s interpretation that Māori language revitalisation efforts of the previous decades had made progress in the number of Māori language speakers. More specifically, she disputes Te Puni Kōkiri’s claim in the *Survey on the Health of the Māori Language in 2006* that it ‘shows significant increases in the number of adults who can speak, read, write and understand Māori’ (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007, p. 1). Bauer contests the claims on the unreliability of the data sets and the comparison between the 2006 survey and the previous one in 2001; she goes as far as to place an almost total lack of trust in the numbers, with such a poor standard of presentation and significant errors, that ‘the surveys have virtually no value, and we might be better off without them. At least then we would not be misled into believing that the surveys support conclusions which in reality they do not’ (Bauer, 2008, p. 45). She then presents the kind of analysis lacking in either survey and even more so in any comparison of them.

Certainly, her in-depth analysis of the second 2006 survey in comparison with the 2001 survey challenges Te Puni Kōkiri's claims of success in language revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. Te Puni Kōkiri now has a caveat on their webpage of the 2006 Survey report advising caution when using the 2006 figures against the 2001 figures⁵. Statistics New Zealand has gone so far as to provide a guide to interpreting different data sources on measuring the number of Māori language speakers (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b).

It has to be asked what drives an official agency such as Te Puni Kōkiri to misconstrue, if not mislead, a community about such an important issue as the health of its own language. As Bauer writes, it is 'in the interests of TPK [Te Puni Kōkiri] to demonstrate that the tax-payers' money that has been put into Māori language revitalisation is producing positive results' (Bauer 2008, p. 34) and secure its very existence. But surveys fulfil another function. They are important as a measurable and achievable activity of language revitalisation, providing evidence that 'something' is being done, even if it confirms what is already known. They legitimise the role of a government agency to control and determine what is essentially an activity that should be community led, monitored and developed without interference from official policy, 'expert advice', constant auditing and bureaucratic battles.

The true danger was that Te Puni Kōkiri not only believed its own rhetoric but it convinced a weary, but still committed community that the language situation was improving and instilled a false sense of complacency. Bauer's predictions and concerns about the validity of the surveys, and the future of the language, have proven to be all too real. The work of the last decades of the 20th century and the first of the new millennium came under the full glare of a Government-appointed panel and two further important claims to the Waitangi Tribunal. The three documents outlined next collectively acknowledge Māori endeavours to retain their language and graphically point to major shortcomings and repercussions of the Crown's response.

Ko Aotearoa tēnei and the Māori Language Strategy 2003

In 2010, the Waitangi Tribunal took the unusual step of pre-releasing their chapter on the Māori language, ahead of the complete report on the long-standing Flora and Fauna and Cultural Intellectual Property Claim. This was to make their findings available for an impending ministerial panel reviewing the Māori Language Strategy and sector in 2011 (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). The Indigenous Flora and Fauna and Cultural Intellectual Property Claim (hereafter as WAI 262) related to New Zealand's law and policy affecting Māori culture, identity and knowledge. The final, nearly 800-page report, was

⁵ <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/in-print/our-publications/publications/the-health-of-the-maori-language-in-2006/?s=a568a773-1f8c-433c-8669-288ae44d2c6c>

released twenty years after the claim was first lodged in 1991, meaning only that one of the original claimants was still alive when the report was presented (Waitangi Tribunal 2011).

The tone and message of the report is unequivocal about the role of the Crown in language retention. Its major criticisms are with Government policy in general and two Ministries in particular: Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education. These are ministries with prominent roles identified in Te Puni Kōkiri's booklet in the previous section (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1999).

The WAI262 report is scathing of Te Puni Kōkiri's 2003 Māori Language Strategy, describing it as a 'failure', 'too abstract' and 'constructed within the parameters of bureaucratic comfort zone' (Waitangi Tribunal 2010, p. ix). The report challenges the Strategy's claim that the document was compiled in consultation with Māori, arguing that consultation with language experts, a couple of conferences, a stakeholder reference group and fourteen local meetings is not consultation with Māori communities on an appropriate scale and in no way can be seen as partnership (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 10). They do not stop there.

In truth, this consultation was designed merely to 'confirm key components' of the draft document. The agenda had already been set by the Crown, working in what appears to have been a private process with experts and stakeholder organisations (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 10).

Shattering any doubt about the role of Te Puni Kōkiri, they state the Māori Language Strategy is a strategy by bureaucrats and

[t]he fact is, if the MLS [Māori Language Strategy] does not capture the imagination of grassroots Māori communities, and of Crown agencies, what is its point? It is after all a leadership document, and those who would follow it need to be inspired by it. We are not even satisfied that they know about it (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p 10).

Equally harsh are their criticisms of the Ministry of Education and its failure to act on research and the 'predictable demand' for Māori-speaking teachers in immersion schools. According to a report they commissioned, the Ministry of Education was aware very early on for the demand for Māori immersion schools, even though the demand was predictable from the early 1980s, due to the numbers of children in Kōhanga Reo. The shortage of Māori-speaking teachers meant that 'thousands of Māori children (there is no more need to be more specific than that) were in monolingual English education when their caregivers wanted either Māori-immersion education or (principally) bilingual education including Māori' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 11). The challenge to supply more teachers was not met by the Ministry of Education, and what it did do was 'too little, too late' (2010, p. 12). The report concludes despairingly

that a failure of imagination and planning in the education sector led to the major gulf between Māori medium education supply and demand. Moreover, it is this very real deficit

of supply that drove demand down and may continue to drive it down. There is no suggestion yet that the bottom of the renewed decline in the fortunes of te reo has been reached (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 12).

The report argues that, unsurprisingly, a failure of policy from both Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education resulted in a failure of adequate resourcing. This lack of funding and uninspiring policy did nothing to motivate Māori at the grassroots (2010, p. ix).

The implications of poor Ministerial planning, policy and implementation in Māori language education on this scale are significant. Although the report barely mentions L2 learners, most likely as they rarely feature in policy or planning, under-resourcing has had a profound effect on this aspect of the language revitalisation movement. It is barely conceivable that the efforts of a community were so compromised by institutions with the power and the resources to transform existing herculean efforts and extend a community's potential impact on social, cultural, political and linguistic revival. It is one of the unrecognised scandals of New Zealand's cultural and intellectual life.

This shocking situation is, in part, clarified by Lewis (2014), in his application of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to the WAI 262 report. He highlights that resistance, bureaucratic laziness and negligence is because

The central problematic in Māori language revitalisation (or the revitalisation of any language for that matter) is neither technical nor bureaucratic but rather political and ideological. It is intrinsically related to the negative, sometimes openly hostile, attitudes of some (mainly English-speaking) New Zealanders towards the threat to English hegemony posed by the encroachment by Māori language on domains that are primarily English-speaking (Lewis, 2014, p. 26).

Māori language revitalisation is essentially a continuation of colonialist struggles (2014, p. 26), with two Ministries mentioned in the WAI 262 report (i.e., Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education) representing a colonial legacy. The colonial struggle remains in the untenable situation that the Crown is, in relation to Waitangi Tribunal claims, both defendant and eventual arbiter of the Tribunal's reports (Lewis, 2014, p. 145). As such, the Crown controls both process and outcome (Bargh, 2007, p. 38). But the government's unsatisfactory position and retention of a final say on the Waitangi Tribunal's recommendations are indicative of the 'strength of hegemonic New Zealand-as-a-state-democracy discourse' (Lewis, 2014, p. 256).

Lewis' CDA interpretation of the WAI 262 report is salutatory and cautionary. According to Lewis (2014) the WAI 262 report's key signifier of 'New Zealand as an equal partnership' (p. 257), signals an in-group, i.e., those that support an ideology of 'partnership', and conversely, those who do not as the 'other' (p. 254). It does not present an inclusive agenda as its vision for New Zealand identity is 'largely mythical' (p. 255). But he does find that the report 'effectively exposes the contingency of the status

quo hegemony, drawing attention to significant dislocating events, and revealing the rhetorical manipulations in much of the Crown's discourse' (2014, p. 256).

D.V Williams (2013) expresses a similar sense of disappointment with aspects of the WAI 262 report. He notes the Tribunal's timidity in asserting Māori cultural ownership and that the ethos of partnership obscured discussion on 'ownership' of Māori cultural property, articulating clearly that, looking ahead, 'very seldom can Māori expect to regain full authority over their treasured properties and resources' (2013, p. 311). The report fails to answer the question of what is 'ownable' (p. 313) and refused to accord Māori full authority over *taonga* (p. 318). In fact, the report provides for a descending level of input from Māori for decisions about their *taonga*, with full decision-making by Māori rarely recommended (2013, p. 319).

The most disturbing feature of D.V. Williams' analysis of WAI 262 is the use of recommendations in past Waitangi Tribunal reports as a 'shield to protect government policies' (p. 324). Williams gives the example of Crown counsel using recommendations from WAI 262 over ownership claims to natural *taonga* (in this case water) to effectively reject Māori objections to the privatisation of Mighty River Power and Māori entitlement to shares (2013, p. 324).

The chapter on *te reo Māori* in the WAI262 report challenged many misconceptions about the success of Māori language initiatives put forward by government bodies. Any doubt about the role of ineffective or non-existent policy from both Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Education in the decline of revitalisation efforts from the 1980s is eliminated.

The Tribunal released the *te reo Māori* chapter early to enable Te Puni Kōkiri's independent review panel (Te Paepae Motuhake) to use the chapter's findings. The potential impact of worthwhile, and long overdue direct consultation, may prove to be yet another failure in policy and planning to lead, inspire and sustain Māori language revitalisation efforts where they matter most.

Te Reo Mauriora

In 2011, the Minister of Māori Affairs, Dr Pita Sharples, appointed the Paepae Motuhake (independent panel) of Māori language advocates to review the Māori Language Strategy and to engage in direct consultation with the Māori language sector. The panel met with tribal, marae and family groups, twenty-eight government agencies and national Māori organisations to discuss their aspirations for the language.

The report, *Te Reo Mauriora: Ministerial Review of Māori Language Strategy and Sector* (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011) reflects some of the Māori language community's vision and opinions on Māori language revitalisation. It cites respected language advocate, the late Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira, who argues

that too much money is directed at institutions but, ‘the future of te reo Māori lies in the hands of whānau and community’ (Mataira cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 21). In its section on expenditure, the panel makes the extraordinary admission that defining the Government’s total expenditure for Māori language *ranged* between \$225 million to \$600 million (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 57). Clearly, if a Ministerial panel is not able to determine accuracy, at the very least there is real lack of understanding about the funding and what it gets spent on. Lewis claims that these figures were over-inflated (Lewis, 2014, p. 258) and misrepresentative of the actual expenditure on Māori language revitalisation in education (2014, p. 230).

Table 1 below shows that for the period 2008–2009, the Ministry of Education received the majority (84.25%) of Māori language funding for Māori language immersion education. New Zealand as a whole would believe that the Māori Language Commission Te Taura Whiri has this responsibility, but they receive a fraction of the overall funding (.92%), compared to the Ministry of Education.

Te reo Māori expenditure by department 2008-2009

Department		Total spend	%
Education		\$502,200, 000.00	84.25%
Māori Language Broadcasting Commission		\$56,659,693.00	9.51%
Māori Television Service		\$13,011, 000.00	2.18%
Ministry of Culture		\$13,819,604.00	2.32%
Māori Language Commission	3,698,340.00	\$5,501,096.00	.92%
Mā te reo Māori [community funding]	1,802,756.00		
Ministry of Māori Development		\$4,860,630.00	.82%
	Total	\$596,052,023.00	

Table 1: Te reo Māori expenditure by department 2008-2009
 Source: Te Puni Kōkiri, Māori language inventory as at 30 June 2009. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011, Appendix Seven, p. 87)

The earlier WAI 262 claim had made reference to ‘adequate resources’ (Waitangi Tribunal 2010, p. 14). It noted Crown witnesses’ reference to the limited funding available to protect the language but made the germane observation that rather than the Crown’s imagination being curbed by budgetary constraints ‘the limits of ambition have defined the limits of resources’ (2010, p. 14).

Acknowledgement of the substantial funds that have gone into Māori language revitalisation efforts can get lost in the rhetoric. As Mataira summed up in Te Ātaarangi’s discussion paper submitted to the panel, ‘the problem is not the amount of money spent, it is how it is spent’ (Te Ātaarangi, 2011b, p. 2) and argued that funding should be allocated for community first and institutions second (p. 4).

However, while the *Te reo Mauriora* report was trumpeted as a significant milestone as a chance for government to interact with the Māori language community, caution is needed in viewing the document as representative of the Māori community or indeed, if they were even the report's intended audience. The 2011 report provides an opportunity to take note of some less salutatory aspects of 21st century Māori language revitalisation ideologies and their impact on policy and planning. Lewis (2014), applied the same CDA criteria he applied to the earlier WAI 262 report to the *Te Reo Mauriora* report. Surprisingly, considering its authorship and purpose, the 2011 report rates even less favourably than the WAI 262 report (Lewis, 2014).

Lewis provides some explanatory contextual material. Among them is that Peter Sharples (see comments at the beginning of this section) as leader of the Māori Party went into a coalition agreement with the National Government after the 2008 and 2011 elections, with no assurance from the National party that it would support Māori language sector reforms (Lewis, 2014, p. 198) and as such, the Māori Party would have to 'leverage' against their ability with the government (p. 198). A related factor was that a major justification for the review of the Māori Language Strategy was to ensure that 'Government investment in the Māori language was justified in terms of value for money' (Lewis, 2014, p. 199) and sadly not to consider efficacy in or the purpose of Māori language revitalisation but to 'enhancing value' and see what it cost (2014, p. 200).

The *Te Reo Mauriora* report was written by the Paepae Motuhake, a panel made up of speakers of dialectal regions and varying areas of expertise (2014, p. 202) that included native speakers and L2 speakers from Te Ātaarangi, Kura Kaupapa, L2 teaching and community. They were to detail their findings and recommendations for a new Maori Language Strategy, and present these to the Minister of Māori Affairs (p. 204).

The principal recommendations made by the panel in their report include:

- the appointment of a Minister for Māori language with powers extending across all aspects of the language
- a Māori language board with language representatives from the major dialectal regions to lead with the Minister above (Te Mātāwai)
- a pan-tribal assembly to plan programmes, expenditure and evaluation
- revitalisation efforts to focus on *te reo Māori* in homes
- leadership and strategy to be with *iwi*
- the entire Māori language budget of \$600 million to be placed under the control of a Minister of Māori language and Te Mātāwai.

Of critical interest here in the *Te Reo Mauriora* report is what Lewis' CDA of the report reveals. In summary, Lewis (2014) argues that the report constructs an 'in-group' to 'include only those Māori

who are seen as being committed to revitalisation of the Māori language (p. 209); refers to all other groups in the negative (p. 209) including ‘non-Māori New Zealanders (with the exception of the Governor-General and those involved in the governance and management of King’s College) and those Māori who have not demonstrated their commitment to the revitalisation of the language’ (p. 209).

Lewis’ most serious charge is that the report, through its stance positioning the government as its ‘common adversary’ (p. 210), is unlikely to increase support for the report’s aims (2014, p. 212). After establishing an existing coalition of support with institutions such as Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board, Te Ātaarangi and the *rūnanga* of kura kaupapa Māori, Lewis identifies that the antagonist stance extends to these organisations as their support base ‘as what appears to have alienated its most influential supporters is the fact that the reviewers chose not only to perform some of the tasks outlined in the Terms of Reference (p. 213) but unexpectedly manipulated a shift in identity from ‘servant to master’ (p. 213).

Members of the review panel appear to have interpreted their role, in part at least, as being not merely to assert tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty) by Māori over the process of Māori language revitalisation but also to assert their own authority by bypassing the Terms of Reference in relation to which they were appointed. (Lewis, 2014, p. 213)

This identity shift could have profound implications on levels of support, i.e. funding from government agencies. As Lewis notes, in not critiquing the amount that Māori language revitalisation education receives proportional to the total spend on education, they ‘leave themselves open to a charge of financial misrepresentation, or, at best, financial nativity (sic)’ (2014, p. 216). (The word nativity is considered a misspelling of ‘naivety’.)

The end result, states Lewis, is that the panel potentially fractures support from important allies, especially the Ministry of Education. The report does not include the ‘voices of those involved directly with the formulation and implementation of the Māori Language Strategy’ (2014, p. 216) and neglects to attribute directly many of the suggestions from the regional *hui* (meetings) and consultation meetings (p. 217). Given what the report aims to do this is a serious omission.

In regard to his criteria about inclusivity and going beyond personal interest, Lewis uses more cautionary language but his conclusions are of critical interest here. He notes that irrespective of the panel’s intentions, the number of the proposed Te Mātāwai (7) matching that of the review panel (7) and the use of very similar criteria in the executive summary and the proposed expert panel, Te Mātāwai (2014, p. 219), there is the perception that personal interests are at play (p. 219). Lewis asserts that while the panel may not have *intended* to portray self-interest, by not adhering to the Terms of Reference, the use of language that asserts their expectations as requirements and not

recommendations (p. 214), the casting of government as the main adversary and the redefining of their role, the report does little to ‘dispel that interpretation’ (2014, p. 220).

Considerable attention has been given to this report and Lewis’ (2014) interpretation of it. The report had the potential to revolutionise Māori language revitalisation in a way not seen the 1980s. Apart from the serious flaws identified in Lewis’ CDA (2014), the biggest disappointment is that it wastes an opportunity to ‘challenge neo-liberal philosophy, the application of free market rationality to endangered languages, that underpins the *status quo* hegemony and to re-define cost-effectiveness’ (Lewis, 2014, p. 229). It missed an opportunity to highlight government failure to maximise outcomes (p.231), which are often placed on Māori. This is not encouraging in a report written by Māori but points to some of the internal contestation that Costa finds is most indicative of what special interest groups bring to language revitalisation (Costa, 2013). In his thesis, Lewis notes the mixed response to the report, especially from Te Taura Whiri, who appear to have been neglected, if not completely ignored (Lewis, 2014, p. 240) and a perception that the Minister of Māori Affairs, Pita Sharples, was perceived as ‘gagging the commission’ by preventing its head, Erima Henare, speaking to the media (p. 241). Te Māngai Pāho, the Māori Broadcasting authority (p. 242) expressed concern but set themselves up as a model for ‘best practice’, a position mirroring that of the Paepae Motuhake (p. 242).

Lewis concludes that ultimately the report has confused and alienated many, including those who would have been a ‘natural constituency of support’ (p. 246) and most seriously, reinforced prevailing hegemony (p. 246). It speaks to the power of hegemonic self-interest that a report written by recognised experts of the Māori language, for a Māori Minister of Māori Affairs on the Māori language community, could have missed the opportunity to redefine the field but in the end, portrays an inefficient and deficient challenge to the major disparities between ‘claim and reality’ (p. 238).

It is important to look at another Waitangi Tribunal report of this time and to consider how the WAI 262 report, *Te Reo Mauriora* and the next report exposed a degree of neglect and a failure of political will and accountability that will resonate for decades.

Matua Rautia: The Report on the Kōhanga Reo Claim

The full impact of educational reform, social policy and regulation compliance is revealed in the Waitangi Tribunal’s final report of the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust’s urgent claim in 2011. Te Kōhanga Reo, mentioned earlier in this section, are the early childhood centres established as a cornerstone of Māori social and language revival. In the 1980s, Te Kōhanga Reo were initiated and driven by community, funded by the Ministry of Māori Affairs. By the end of the 1980s, as part of ‘wholesale educational reform’ they were administered and funded by the Ministry of Education

(Skerret-White, 2001). This meant that ‘subsequent changes of governments, structural adjustments and economic reform, under the guise of purporting to address continuing growth and equity for TKR [Te Kōhanga Reo], have in fact had the reverse effect: a stifling of the development issues for TKR’ (2001, p. 16), with serious impact on their ability to determine, drive and fund policy. Since this change, Kōhanga Reo have struggled to maintain the impetus of the initial decade and numbers of students and centres is declining (Skerrett-White, 2001).

The Kōhanga *whānau* was aware of the tension between compliance, funding and retaining elements of the Kōhanga Reo *kaupapa* and approached the Kōhanga Reo National Trust for action. In 1999, the Trust Board duly approached the Crown for a more equal partnership between the Ministry of Education and the Kōhanga Reo National Trust. The response was a report by Sir Rodney Gallen (2001) which recommended a multilateral relationship be formed between Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Education and Kōhanga Reo National Trust (Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014, p. 42). Even though an agreement was reached in 2003, the relationship never got off the ground with a lack of consistency in staff and an unwillingness to commit staff and time to a long-term relationship (Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014, p. 42).

The Trust Board’s decade-long tolerance of major reforms in the early childhood sector that ‘concentrated on incentivising participation in mainstream early childhood education services’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012, p. ii) at the expense Kōhanga Reo could not be sustained. The catalyst for an urgent claim was the publication of an official taskforce on the future of early childhood education in New Zealand. The report made recommendations for Kōhanga Reo but had not consulted directly with the Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board (Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014, p. 42).

The Tribunal’s report on the urgent claim, *Matua Rautia*, was published in 2013. In their claim, the Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board argued that the Crown had acted in a manner inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, which compromised ‘the ability of the kōhanga reo to operate effectively in ensuring the transmission of *te reo me ōna tikanga* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013, p. xv). The Kōhanga Reo movement has been a ‘key platform for the retention and transmission of *te reo Māori*’ (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013, p. xvi), despite the numbers of children enrolled steadily decreasing since they peaked in the early 1990s (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 7). In 1990, the responsibility of the Kōhanga Reo movement had transferred from the then Ministry of Māori Affairs to the Ministry of Education and with it came new compliance rules, regulations, funding requirements and conflicting policies. This had a huge impact on the way Kōhanga were run, and ‘a system of measurement often came at a heavy cost to our kaupapa’ (Kōhanga Reo National Trust, 2016).

In a dismal commentary on the failures of the Crown's role, the Tribunal found that the Kōhanga Reo National Trust and Kōhanga Reo collectively, have 'suffered significant prejudice from the Crown' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012, p. xvii). This was by

- failing to provide a sound policy framework on how the Ministry can support the language through Kōhanga Reo
- failing to promote participation and targets for the numbers of children in immersion education
- not developing with the Trust appropriate quality assurance measures
- imposing a funding regime which is inequitable for teachers in Kōhanga Reo
- not developing a licencing and regulatory system that recognises the unique characteristics or special needs of Kōhanga
- failing to measure the achievements of kōhanga 'at any time during the 30 years since the movement started' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2013, p. xvii)

Any one of these is a serious failure by the Crown, but collectively they provide insights into how Crown policy obstructs community empowerment. The report lists other serious issues and failings of the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri, all of which have compromised the Trust, individual Kōhanga, the language's viability and its future.

Official response to the *Ko Aotearoa tēnei* (WAI 262), *Matua Rautia* (WAI 2336) and *Te Reo Mauriora*

Official response to the reports discussed here has been mixed. The official response to the *Te Reo Mauriora* report has been swift and proactive. It includes a revised 2003 Māori Language Strategy, a revision and repeal of the 1975 Māori Language Act to enact the changes and structural changes proposed in *Te Reo Mauriora*.

In contrast, at no point has the Ministry of Education acknowledged the negligence and hostility exposed in the three documents discussed here, *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* (2010), *Te Reo Mauriora* (2011) and *Matua Rautia* (2012). The lack of official government response to many of the recommendations in these reports, especially those in *Matua Rautia*, is a form of response. As Tāwhiwhirangi notes, only one of the Tribunal recommendation that has been heeded is the appointment of Sir Michael Cullen as an independent advisor (Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014, p. 44).

It is difficult, due to the chronology, not conclude that there is a connection between the Ministry of Education's aggressive response, just three months after publication of *Matua Rautia* in 2013, and the subsequent public attacks played out in the media concerning governance and alleged financial mismanagement. These attacks went public through a special investigation of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust, alleged financial mismanagement and its effect on local Kōhanga Reo, carried out by

Māori Television's Native Affairs programme, *'Feathering the Nest'*. This documentary provoked some interesting responses from within the Māori community. The mainstream media, if it did at all, focused on the suggested financial irregularities and the comments of the Minister of Education, Hekia Parata of Ngāti Porou. Māori comment focused on the role of Māori Television challenging Māori leadership, and concerns of anti-Māori behaviour from Māori.

Attacks on the Kōhanga Reo have further played out in private. Since the publication of *Matua Rautia* in 2012, there have been at least ten reviews, most commissioned from the Ministry of Education on various aspects of governance and compliance⁶. In early 2013, Sir Michael Cullen was appointed as an independent advisor to the Kōhanga Reo National Trust and the Ministry of Education. The appointment of an independent advisor, or mediator, was one of the recommendations in the Waitangi Tribunal's report (2012) and acknowledged the status of the fragile relationship between the Ministry of Education and the Kōhanga Reo National Trust. Cullen's appointment was endorsed by the Ministry of Education and one assumes, the Kōhanga Reo National Trust. But again, it would appear that vested interests were being served in the appointment of a senior male, Pākehā politician who does not speak Māori and has no personal investment in the Kōhanga Reo movement required to negotiate decades of tension.

Māori Language Strategy 2013

Within weeks of the release of Māori language figures from the 2013 Census, a proposed new Māori Language Strategy was released at the end of 2013. The concerns and worries behind Bauer (2008), the WAI262 claim, the *Te Reo Mauriora* report (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011) and *Matua Rautia* became evident in the following statement from Statistics NZ's website:

Over a fifth of Māori can hold a conversation in te reo Māori

In 2013, 125,352 Māori (21.3 percent) could hold a conversation about a lot of everyday things in te reo Māori, a 4.8 percent decrease from the 2006 Census.

Of the Māori who could hold a conversation in te reo Māori in 2013:

- 26.3 percent were aged under 15 years – down 6.2 percent from 2006
- 23.3 percent were aged 15 to 29 years – down 8.2 percent
- 40.6 percent were aged 30 to 64 years – down 5.0 percent
- 9.8 percent were aged 65 years and over – up 11.0 percent (Statistics New Zealand (n.d.c))

⁶ Letter to Hon Hekia Parata from Dr Timoti Karetu and Tina Olsen-Ratana of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board, dated 26th June 2015 [Released under the Official Information Act]. Retrieved 10 March from <http://www.education.govt.nz/ministry-of-education/information-releases/te-kohanga-reo-national-trust-public-funding-review/>. The letter identifies four reviews initiated by the KRNTB; two ministerial reviews; a Serious Fraud Office investigation; two by the Department of Internal Affairs and one each from the Tertiary Education Commission and the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

The phrase 'Over a fifth' has an inappropriate buoyant feel to it, suggesting that this figure is something to celebrate when in fact the 2013 Census reinforces previous claims that the number of speakers is declining (Bauer, 2008; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Neither does the phrase identify the 75% who have not joined the language movement (O'Regan, 2012, p. 319). Of more concern is the notion that these figures might be overly optimistic considering the lack of clarity of the phrase 'a lot of everyday things' and doubts of efficacy in self-reporting (Christensen, 2001).

The decline in numbers identified in the Census points to pivotal issues in the future of the language. The first issue is the diminishing number of native speakers. These people were the backbone of the success of the 1980s and 1990s. Their absence creates new challenges for language revitalisation and the critical role of second language speakers in their absence (Hinton, 2011). The loss of native speakers is felt in every aspect of the movement: from the link between the number of native speakers and the numbers of L2 learners in a region (Earle, 2007), the impact on perception of proficiency (Christensen, 2001b), language purism and critically, leadership and guidance on language revitalisation and maintenance.

The second major issue is the decrease in numbers of children attending Māori language immersion schooling. As noted by the *Matua Rautia* report there has been a serious lack of effective marketing to Māori parents as to why the option of Māori immersion education is not just viable but beneficial to Māori children. Being bilingual is an undervalued and ignored skill in New Zealand and is linked to a prevailing monolingualism. It is unacceptable that the Ministry of Education with the ability, the responsibility and the potential to lead and support language revitalisation, has been the most obstructive (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012).

The third issue is a lack of coherence around leadership, policy and resourcing of Māori language revitalisation (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). Investigation of the power around the discourse of Māori language revitalisation exposes a speech community at a crossroads. The lack of Māori control of resourcing for language revitalisation might change with *iwi* leadership and long-term investment. Tribalism is seen as the ultimate expression of *tino rangatiratanga*, traditionally at the *hapū* and *iwi* level, in direct contrast to a bureaucratic, centralised control of people, resources and funding. But, all three documents reviewed here demonstrate that a centralised approach does not work. In the example of Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi, it is clear that Māori-led, flax-root-based initiatives succeed (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011; 2012). Somehow, there must be a revival of that faith and assumption that power in the discourse and decision-making for the survival of a language rests within its own community.

In the later stages of this research, some interesting developments arose in the ongoing story of Māori language revitalisation. As noted in an earlier section of this chapter, *Te Reo Mauriora* was the report of a Minister-appointed panel, to review the Māori language sector and the 2003 Māori Language Strategy, which had been so severely criticised in the WAI 262 report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). One of the panel's recommendations was to re-orientate the development of *te reo Māori* in the home and a 'new infrastructure for governance, delivery of Government expenditure and providing an accountability process to ensure the benefits of expenditure being achieved' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011, p. 5).

This proposed new infrastructure includes five key objectives:

1. Te Mana o te reo – increasing the status of the Māori language in New Zealand society
2. Te Ako i te reo – increasing the number of whānau Māori and other New Zealanders who can speak Māori
3. Te Mārama Pū ki te whakaora reo – increasing critical awareness about Māori language revitalisation
4. Te Kounga o te reo – supporting the quality and appropriate use of the Māori language, and iwi dialect maintenance
5. Te Kōrerotanga o te reo – increasing the use of the Māori language among whānau Māori and other New Zealanders, especially in the home. (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014, p. 2)

The most contentious aspect of the proposed strategy is not the principles or indeed the objectives, but the make-up of the proposed infrastructure, especially the role of *iwi* both at the governance level with the proposed 'independent statutory entity', Te Mātāwai (2014, p. 5) and how this is manifest at the *iwi* level. Tīmoti Kāretu questioned why Māori language revitalisation leadership should be returned to 'those who let it die' (Kāretu, 2014). Critiquing the panel's report (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011), Keegan is unconvinced, stating that

many *iwi* authorities are currently in a position to assist with increasing the amount of Māori spoken in homes. Clearly some are and active in this area (e.g. Ngati Raukawa), others lack the organisation or resources, others again, e.g., Waikato-Tainui certainly have the resources but currently don't seem to see supporting Māori language in homes as being very important. Too often it is forgotten that the majority of Māori no longer live in their traditional *iwi* regions, and too many urbanized Māori have very little meaningful contact with *iwi* organisations (Keegan, 2016).

Keegan raises important issues, not the least of which is the role of *iwi* leadership when so many of their *iwi* are not in the tribal area but in urban centres. The issue is not so much those *iwi* who have tribal initiatives in urban centres with substantial communities, such as Ngāpuhi in Auckland and Ngāti Porou in Wellington, but how to target and connect with urban Māori who do not have contact with their *iwi*. Aligning responsibility for Māori language revitalisation only with *iwi* ignores the role of pan-

tribal institutions such as *marae* like Hoani Waititi in West Auckland and the reality that most Māori are living in urban centres (StatisticsNZ, n.d.b).

As noted earlier, the role of *rūnanga* and *iwi* authorities in Māori language revitalisation is an under examined aspect of Māori language revitalisation, and more specifically those *iwi* who have received (perceived) large settlements and their ability to contribute and lead language revitalisation when they are locked within corporate agendas (Bargh, 2007).

To implement the proposed strategy and establish Te Mātāwai has required repealing the 1987 Māori Language Act, which was one of the outcomes of the original Māori Language Claim in the mid-1980s. The new bill will be known as the Māori Language (te reo Māori) Bill 2014. According to the Te Puni Kōkiri website, in October 2015 the New Zealand Cabinet agreed to the proposed changes to the Māori Language Bill (Te Reo Māori) Bill 2014.

It has been difficult to locate literature critical of not only the process of the proposed Bill but its contents. The following observations need to be read in this context, as official Te Puni Kōkiri documents have been relied on, rather than independent critique. (For an exception see Himona, 2014, Edward, 2014). The focus here has been to highlight concern where it is most relevant to L2 learners, supporting Lewis' concerns around hegemony (2014) and the need for vigilance in attending to what internal discourse and debate over control and resources in language revitalisation reveal (Costa, 2013, 2015).

One of the key areas of tension is between the role of the Māori Language Commission (hereafter Te Taura Whiri) and Te Puni Kōkiri. According to Cabinet meeting notes (available on the Te Puni Kōkiri website as at 21 February, 2016), the proposed adjustments to the Bill were agreed to by Cabinet. In effect, Te Taura Whiri changes from an autonomous Crown entity to an independent statutory entity overseen by Te Mātāwai *Adjustments to the Māori Language* (Te Reo Māori Bill, 2015, p. 1). In other words, they report to Te Mātāwai, the body made up of twelve members, seven appointed by *iwi* clusters, three members appointed by Māori language stakeholders and two members, appointed by the Minister of Māori Affairs, on the Crown's behalf (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014, p. 6). Public concern at the lack of representation of Māori language stakeholders increased this from three to four (Cabinet paper, 2015, p.4). In turn, Te Mātāwai, as an 'agent of *iwi* and Māori' (p. 6) would then oversee the Māori Television Service, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori and Te Māngai Pāho. Behind the reduction of power, roles and responsibilities, budgets are being reshuffled. For example, the Cabinet minutes show that it is agreed that several community-based platforms of Te Taura Whiri be transferred within eighteen months to Te Mātāwai and show in total, a \$7 million reduction of Te Taura Whiri funding (Cabinet paper, 2015, p. 4). Clearly, there is internal contestation for control of Māori language

resourcing and an aligning of group interests indicated in Lewis' analysis (2014) and Costa (2013). The degree of consultation with the affected entities is not known but it is unlikely that Te Taura Whiri would support a reduction in their ability to provide services.

The level of cooperation required of all proposed parties to contribute to the makeup of Te Mātāwai must lead to more overall coordination of Māori language revitalisation. But, without community buy-in, so that its strategies and policies are felt at a grass roots level (a critical factor in the success of Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi), the new Māori Language (Te Reo Māori Bill) 2014 and the new Māori Language Strategy will continue the inadequacies of previous policy and planning to either inspire or lead a community.

Before moving on to wider theoretical issues of L2 learning, a fundamental area of the social and cultural background to Māori language revitalisation is addressed.

Ideologies

According to Rewi, 'the Māori language is being strangled internally and externally at individual and corporate levels and across multiple generations of people, perceptions and attitudes' (Rewi, 2013, p. 101). He then highlights the relevance of these perceptions and attitudes in the endangered language situation to the extent that it may mean the language is 'let to die' so the community understands what they have lost and engage in a renewed effort (2013, p. 101).

Language ideologies in endangered language contexts are complex (Austin & Sallabank, 2014). Although they lack full discussion and representation in the literature, Māori language ideologies have been an unvoiced but integral part of the motivation and impetus in the language revitalisation movement. Attitudes towards language, learning and speakers contributed significantly to developing models of Māori L2 learning. Māori views of language can contribute to a wider understanding of L2 learning of endangered, Indigenous languages without claiming to define or restrict other groups' experiences or viewpoints. However, they must be seen in context. Since the inception of Māori language revitalisation efforts, this ethos has been influenced by pervasive external ideologies, which have come to undermine the efforts of inspired leadership in the first two decades of Māori language revitalisation.

Leaders of early Māori language revitalisation efforts would have never questioned that Māori views of language contain elements unique to the language and its people, nor questioned that they were critical to its success. Furthermore, adult L2 learning participation in language revitalisation was recognised as a key element (J. King, 2015), and must contain those qualities and unique features of the language as an intrinsic part in that language community's future. One aspect of this is to build

those unique values, features and qualities as part of the practice. Or, to put it another way, they saw the theory in the language, which in turn would include understanding of its speakers' language ideologies. Further exploration is needed, especially where current theory is not seen as applicable in the Māori context (Ratima, 2013).

Māori world views

Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) argue that three primary cultural concepts frame the Māori world view. The first two are the binary concepts of sacred (*tapu*) and non-sacred (*noa*). The third is *mana* and the concept of authority and control (2004, p. 14). This world view is expressed through and layered by *whakapapa*, connecting not only human relationships but extending out to the gods (*atua*) and the universe (2004, p. 13). Māori Marsden, a Tai Tokerau *kaumātua* and minister of the Anglican Church, describes Māori as having three world views and that the 'world of being' (*Te Ao Marama*) represents the contemporary world (Marsden, 1992, p. 134). He claims a subjective position, as 'only a Māori from within the culture can do this adequately. Abstract rational thought and empirical methods cannot grasp the concrete act of existing which is fragmentary, paradoxical and incomplete' (Marsden 1992, p. 136), echoed in Pēwhairangi's position that the 'Māori heart' is unteachable (Pēwhairangi, 1992, p. 11).

John Te Rangīāniwaniwa Rangihau, from Tūhoe, conceptualised the Māori world view as connecting people, concepts and values with the natural world (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 16). This is conceptualised in his well-known diagram showing the intersection between key concepts of a Māori world view locating *aroha*, (to refer, in the fullest sense, to concepts of love, affection and compassion) as the central linking concept of the Māori world view (Figure 4). According to Ka'ai and Higgins' explanatory discussion of Figure 4, Te Rangihau integrates various common Māori concepts, but avoids tribal metaphors and terminology (2004, p. 16). The concepts are not discrete, nor only linked through the concepts as defined by Te Rangihau, and should be taken as an expansive conceptual representation.

Rangihau reflects the reality of the colonial context by including Pākehā culture but places it on the periphery, linked with politics, *tangihanga* (funeral rites and practices), arts and crafts and interestingly, the Māori-specific concept of *mauri* (spiritual essence, life principal or special nature). Its placement and the two-way arrow suggest that Te Rangihau views 'Pākehātanga' [Pākehā culture & identity] as contributing to and influenced by the *mauri* of the Māori people. Rangihau's placement of Pākehātanga in the diagram with politics, arts and crafts and *tangihanga* indicates Pākehā influence on all of these critical fields. The nature of the ebb and flow between *mauri* and Pākehātanga would not be the same for each one, and Māori and Pākehā interpretations of them would be different. Ka'ai

and Higgins contend that ‘Rangihau sought to line Māori with Pākehā, as if in a shared *whakapapa*, in order to articulate a bicultural world view, reflective of an ideal New Zealand society (Ka’ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 16).

The degree to which the Māori language plays a part in Rangihau’s reciprocal interpretation would be different too, especially in terms of the agency that speakers take in these different contexts and the influence of different domains. For example, most *tangihanga* are on *marae*, an occasion that remains a significant domain for the language, although its function is mostly ceremonial. But national politics, whether national, regional or local, is indisputably an English language domain. The national kapa haka competitions, Te Matatini, held every two years, is a significant domain of the language; it would be considered unacceptable for a team to perform in English. Māori language immersion educational contexts remain one of the most significant domains of Māori language, and, as one of this study’s participants indicated, schools are now a site for language leadership, that forty years ago that would have come from *marae*.

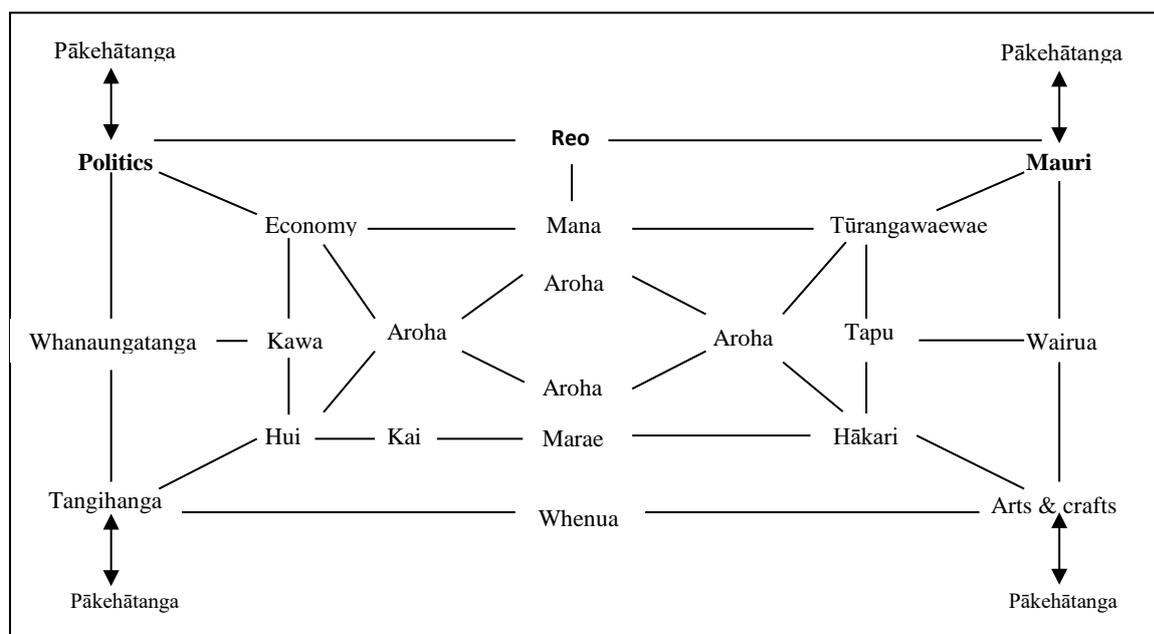


Figure 4: John Te Rangiāniwaniwa Rangihau’s model of Māoritanga (Ka’ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 16)

In relation to this study’s social context, it is important to emphasise Rangihau’s use of the language (*reo*) to connect *mana*, *mauri* and politics. The word *mana* has entered the New Zealand English (NZE) lexicon, albeit with a reduced and simplified meaning. In its fullest sense, it includes complex cultural concepts such as authority, prestige, status, spiritual power and control. Moorfield notes ‘the more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by *tapu* and *mana*. *Mana* is the enduring, indestructible power of the *atua* and inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the

greater the *mana*' (Mana, 2016⁷). Williams' Māori language dictionary uses similar words (authority, control, influence, prestige power, psychic force, having influence and power (Williams, 2003, p. 172). By comparison, the *Reed Dictionary of English* reduces *mana* to 'authority, prestige or influence' (2001, p. 691).

Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) note that 'language is central to the way Māori view the world; it is the life-blood of Māori culture, and it is related to politics *mauri* and *mana* ... *Te reo Māori* is the link between knowledge and meaning ... It is the strand that links the concepts through time and to each other (2004, p. 13). Rangihau, in a discussion in English, uses words such as 'aura, mystique, ethos and lifestyle'. In his view, *mauri* and *tapu* are 'perhaps interchangeable' (Rangihau, 1992, p. 12).

Ka'ai reiterates the powerful connection between these concepts:

Te Rangihau argued that without their language, Māori are unlikely to participate effectively in cultural debates and political decision-making on the *marae*. This point relates directly to Māori politics. They are also likely to suffer from a loss of self-esteem and confidence, which relates to *mauri*. The combination of these factors is unlikely to cause Māori people to experience a huge sense of dislocation and powerlessness in managing their own affairs, which in turn relates to *mana*. (Ka'ai 2004, p. 201)

This view of language as inherent in the articulation of Māori ways of being and the maintenance of a 'mental universe' (Melbourne, 1991, p. 130) can explain not only the role of language and power but the experience of colonisation and the impact of language loss on the Māori community. But it can also account for how language revitalisation efforts have faltered in recent years as the *mana*, politics and autonomy of language revitalisation has shifted away from the Māori community to centralised-government control, and as an activity that directly challenges hegemony in New Zealand (Lewis, 2014, p. 26).

It is disconcerting to contrast these observations against how the community acknowledges, and then acts on less-articulated attitudes towards the language' (Harlow, 2005). Harlow is concerned that the Māori community's covert attitudes towards the language are 'at best tangential to the overtly expressed attitudes and at worst contradictory, and will tend to mitigate against the goals ... for the status of the Māori [language] in New Zealand (Harlow, 2005, p. 135). He is referring to the 1998 Te Puni Kōkiri and Māori Language Commission research on levels of knowledge and use of Māori in people aged sixteen years and above. The survey revealed that not only did half of the Māori-speaking respondents feel it not necessary to be bilingual to be bicultural, but more significantly, that nearly 83% of adult speakers of Māori disagreed with the statement 'You have to be able to speak Māori to be a real Māori' (2005, p. 136). It can be assumed that the percentage must be higher for non-speakers

⁷ <http://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=Mana>

of Māori. This attitude, almost certainly more entrenched since the time of the research in the late 1990s would, in part, account for the silent majority (75% of Māori, and almost all Pākehā) who are *not* involved in the language movement (O'Regan, 2012, p. 319).

In a discussion on Māori literary traditions, Hirini Melbourne (1991) argues that to write in English (and it can be assumed to speak) is to 'accept the conceptual system of another culture' and to 'remain at one remove' from the emotional, spiritual and intellectual ground of the Māori people (Melbourne 1991, p. 130). Language shift is impacting not just on the use of the language but on the perception of its value towards maintaining Māori culture, values and political aspirations, despite Rewi's assertions that '99.9 percent of Māori will contest any inkling of a suggestion that the Māori language will die or should be allowed to die' (Rewi, 2013, p. 102).

Whakataukī – mana, tapu and noa

Some of the most expressive indicators of Māori language ideologies are found in *whakataukī* (proverbial sayings). The most well-known is Sir James Henare's submission to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985: *Ko te reo Māori te mauri o te mana Māori* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The *whakataukī* has various translations, one of which indicates that 'the language is the essence of Māori identity' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011). In the English translation of a small clip from the Māori language television programme, *Waka Huia*, it is translated as 'the language is the life force of the mana Māori' (Higgins & Keane, 2014). The use of *mana* in New Zealand English should be noted.

As far as reflecting language ideologies are concerned, the use of the term *mauri* reveals the spiritual value and place of the language, its inherent relationship with *mana*, and its association with expressions of Māori identity. The use of *mauri* indicates another critical aspect of Māori language ideology that sees the language as 'living' as the term *mauri* can be applied to sentient qualities and to inanimate objects, such as language, or even concepts (Rangihau, 1992, p. 12). Richard Benton argues that Henare's aphorism (above) articulates the central place of the language within Māori culture and explains

The term [mauri] is difficult to grasp because it encapsulates two related but distinct ideas: the life principle or essential quality of a being or entity, and a physical object in which this essence has been located. Both aspects of mauri are relevant to the status, role and viability of the Māori language. *Mana* is another key philosophical concepts in many Polynesian and Oceanic cultures, combining notions of psychic and spiritual forces and vitality, recognized authority, influence and prestige, and thus also power and the ability to control people and events. The ability to use language effectively to influence events is itself both a source and manifestation of mana. (Benton 2007, p. 164)

According to Benton the *mauri* of the language is not then dependent on the number of speakers, but on the fact that it is being heard in our media, used in bilingual signage and within public ceremonies

and its 'very presence is symbolic of its importance' (2007, p. 173). A view that language has its own tangible and intangible qualities independent of its speakers is critical to the future of the language, 'so long as *someone* speaks Māori, both the identity and the well-being of the culture and its people are guaranteed; the numbers of speakers is not vital to its survival' (2007, p. 173).

Cameron reiterates the views of eminent English sociolinguist James Milroy, to discount the view of language as living and to see it as communication between living things (Cameron, 2007, p. 272). However, in discussions around the importance of teaching the language and *tikanga*, a small group of Māori language teachers felt that the Māori language's *mauri* is in the interaction between speakers rather just than the articulation of the language. Moreover, they viewed Māori language interaction as protecting and maintaining the language's *mauri* (Duder, 2010).

There are of course, major ontological differences behind these disparate views, some of which are relevant in looking back to the initiation of Māori language revitalisation. Close attention to Māori language revival in the 1980s and 1990s indicates a strong ideological and ontological foundation for the future of the language that, far from impeding successful linguistic revitalisation, had the power to be the vehicle for social transformation as it combined theory, ideologies and practice (in the form of Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi).

Henare's *whakataukī* also reinforces Te Rangihau's links between *mana* and *mauri* and locates the position and relevance of the language as critical to Māori identity. The use of the word *mana* in the *whakataukī* and the corresponding 'identity' in the translation indicates that Māori identity avoids being limited solely by a cultural or ethnic identity, but advocates an identity defined by and expressed in Māori ideologies.

The Māori view of language includes a spiritual dimension linking speakers to their ancestors (living and dead), tribal lands, values, histories, identities and the natural world. However, the decline of the language and the recognition that language is something that may be lost has contributed to the reification of the language. Along with the notion that the language is *tapu* and imbued with a significant spiritual responsibility may have removed it from the language of everyday encounter and 'te reo o te kāuta' (Hita, 2009) and 'over *tapu*-fied' (Maclean, personal communication, March 21, 2014). According to Pohe (2012), the notion of *tapu* is still very strong in Māori language ideology; 'the language is an expression of a relationship with the natural world, the ancestors and their values systems' (2012, p.5). But Pohe addresses the binary relationship of *tapu* and its counterpoint, *noa*, so that 'language is not just for spiritual purposes but also for normal, everyday uses. A living language that is used for the full range of human communicative action, in the domains of home,

neighbourhood and community, a language for use in the kitchen as well as on the paepae' (2012, p. 5).

Waite (1992) and Chrisp (1997) identify the restriction of the language to its ceremonial as a form of diglossia, with some contexts where Māori continues to be the dominant language e.g. *marae*, ceremonial ritual and in Māori immersion education. Chrisp argues that whilst the Māori community is complicit in the diglossic use of Māori and English, it is not used as a theoretical framework within policy or planning. Consequently, funding has been aimed towards the unrealistic reinstatement of *te reo Māori* as the *reo matua* (main language) of the Māori community (Chrisp, 1997, 2005). However, in a professorial lecture last year, Higgins urged towards a 'confident bilingualism' (Higgins, 2015).

It is hardly surprising, given the complex contexts that exist in endangered language contexts, that Māori language ideologies reveal multifaceted, competing and contradictory elements. However, there are repercussions for this, best summarised by Winitana in his valuable social history:

The battle for our language has reached another level, it is now its primal essence which must be retained. If the language holds our mauri then the question becomes, what's that? How's that? And where's that from? What's more, it's my generation to feed that mauri, embrace it, and let it rip, sort of, feel the force... But just taking a step back for a second, it feels like the language is in a netherworld, fighting for its right to the sun. (Winitana, 2011, p. x.)

Learning Māori as an L2

Chapter 2 looked at the complex, fluid and dynamic social and cultural contexts of Māori language revitalisation over the last forty years to ground the research and this study's participants as social actors in a specific time and place. The first section of this chapter looked at how control over the resources, priorities and purpose of language revitalisation have shifted from community to institutional control with significant implications. The second part of the chapter investigated the nature and role of some Māori language ideologies. All these elements pool in the practice of learning and speaking Māori. Far from being a simple linguistic practice, learning Māori is a socially-driven practice, and it always was.

The learning of Māori as a L2 was part of the very earliest Māori language revitalisation efforts. In 1979, Te Ātaarangi was established to support the parents and families of children enrolling in Māori immersion pre-schools, Kōhanga Reo (Hond, 2013b; Pohe, 2012; Skerrit, 2012). Since the 1980s, most universities, polytechnics and *wānanga* have included Māori language learning but pedagogical approaches and methods of delivery vary between institutions. Moorfield's *Te Whanake* series is a widely used programme across universities and polytechnics. There is currently no empirical research

on tertiary institutions' contributions to language revitalisation and understandings of how to measure the success of language acquisition programmes is limited (Ratima & May, 2011). We have also no understanding of the geographical spread.

The total number of adults who have accessed Māori language learning since the 1980s, through Te Ātaarangi, universities, polytechnics and *wānanga* is difficult to determine. In 2007, Earle reported on an 'unprecedented level of engagement' with over 100,000 students enrolled in 51 tertiary education providers between 2001 and 2005 (Earle, 2007, p.26), most of which were enrolled with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (Earle, 2007). Te Ātaarangi is only acknowledged in this report in its relationship with Te Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, so it assumed that the Te Ātaarangi numbers are included in these figures. At one stage Te Ātaarangi's website claimed over 30,000 learners had been through its programmes, but this has since been updated to about 50,000 (Te Ātaarangi, 2011). According to the Ministry of Education's *Annual Report on Māori Education Ngā Haeata Mātauranga, 2007, 08* the provision of programmes offering *te reo Māori* in tertiary education has increased, but the number of student participants has fallen (TEU, 2009).

In 2007, Earle observed a relationship between the estimated number of native speakers in an area and the number of adults involved in L2 learning (Earle, 2007, p. 27). This is an important observation from an endangered language perspective, as it can be assumed that there is a corresponding decline in student numbers as the native speaker population diminishes. Behind the significant effort of numbers of learners and years of community determination is a lack of evidence to indicate a growth in the number of proficient speakers of Māori (Ratima & May, 2011, p 1), despite Te Puni Kōkiri's claims (Bauer, 2008). Ratima and May add, 'while there is some data on self-reported rates of Māori language fluency amongst adults ... there is no baseline data on rates of acquisition and ultimate proficiency amongst second language (L2) learners of te reo' (Ratima & May, 2011, p.1).

However, some aspects of L2 learning of Māori have been investigated. One aspect is motivation, obviously a key factor in L2 learning. Jeanette King, who has been looking at L2 learners of Māori for some time, investigated the world view of L2 learners of Māori through interviews with thirty two Māori informants, aged between seventeen and forty-four. She concludes that a more appropriate theory of L2 motivation for heritage languages would recognise the role of 'language fanatics' and cultural identity as a prime motivator and would benefit from more attention to internally and externally focused motivators (King, 2009, p 106). Ratima (2013) goes further to propose a theory of L2 motivation to address this exact issue. King also notes the undesirable mismatch between the world view of L2 learners and those of language planners. She goes on to suggest that

strategies for fostering their [L2 learner] participation in language revitalisation may benefit from emphasizing their experience of being empowered with, and use of, the Māori language. That is, instead of focussing on what these adults can do for the language, it may be more effective to focus on the benefits for the language learner and speaker in speaking Māori for such an approach would reinforce and endorse the informants' experiences. (J. King, 2009, p.106)

The same cohort of J. King's 2009 article informed an earlier piece that investigated how 'newly-fluent' L2 learners express their language-learning experience (King, 2003). She notes popular metaphors used by L2 learners that indicate the experience of being on a journey (*Whaia te huarahi*), diving into water (*Ruku ki te wai*), being 'sustained' (*Ka whangaia kia tipu*) and 'growing'. King provides insightful interpretations of these to illustrate the L2 experience and motivations and notes there is difference between the metaphors used by native speakers, who use the metaphor of *taonga* (treasure) as something that they have received. By comparison, L2 learners use the previously noted metaphors, which highlight the process of language learning and the need for engagement (J. King, 2009).

Thompson-Teepa investigated what motivates Pākehā to learn *te reo Māori* (Thompson-Teepa, 2008). Predictably, Pākehā motivations are different from those of Māori and centre on identity as New Zealanders and the language as an important factor in New Zealand's cultural landscape. This is one of the few projects addressing Pākehā behaviour from a Māori point of view.

Three recent doctoral projects indicate a growing awareness of the role L2 learners have in Māori language revitalisation. Pohe's perceptive, insider view of L2 learners within Te Ātaarangi (Pohe, 2012) argues that very early on in the learning process Te Ātaarangi established not only the expectation that learners create their own access to the language but the ability to develop Māori-speaking contexts in a process he describes as the *whakawhanaungatanga-ā-reo* – 'establishing and developing relationships in the language' (Pohe, 2012, p. 111). This ability to establish relationships is related to notions of community. Spolsky, reflecting on twenty years of Māori language revitalisation efforts, supports Chrisp's 1997 argument that Māori communities 'need to decide for themselves what functions and domains should be Māori, and the decisions are made at a community level (Spolsky 2003, p. 570). The arguments of Spolsky (2003), Chrisp (2005), Pohe (2012) and Hond (2013b) indicate that the role of community in language revitalisation warrants further investigation and implementation.

Pohe's work makes other valuable contributions to our understanding of the social and cultural lives of L2 learners. He highlights the level of commitment required of L2 learners of endangered languages to access the language and create sustainable language 'space'. He argues that language revitalisation is not just creating speakers but contexts, domains and supportive practices, and like Hond (2013), sees language revitalisation as a community process. However, this view of community is not

articulated by King's informants who see learning the language as an individual process, rather than being part of a language movement (King, 2009). This apparent anomaly between learner perception and language revitalisation advocates is interesting. It would seem that language revitalisation is not viewed as a political activity and yet the very fact that learners have access to the language now is due to decades of intense political activity.

The development of proficiency is perhaps the most under-researched aspect of Māori language learning, even though it is acknowledged by a number of commentators that L2 learners have a critical role in language revitalisation (e.g. Chrisp, 2005; King, 2009; Spolsky, 2003; Pohe, 2012). The expectations of L2 learners are huge. Even though 'intergenerational language is not part of their experience' (King 2003, p 109) there is an expectation to recreate this experience for their children. Nock acknowledged the critical role of proficiency development in her research on Māori language learners in a mainstream university. She compared students' grades within a 'fast-track' intensive Māori language course to those taking Māori language papers as part of a degree course. Comparing eight years of Year 3 students' class contact hours, course grades and averages, withdrawals and failures, she found that students in an intensive, immersion pathway 'out-perform' the other students in assessments (Nock, 2006, p. 48).

Ratima's in-depth study of proficiency development targeted successful Māori language learners (Ratima, 2013, p. i) to gain insight into how proficiency is developed. He argues that current theories of motivation in second language acquisition (SLA) are not applicable to Māori language learning. Other writers have observed this (King, 2009, 2003), although for different reasons. Aside from the issue of access discussed earlier, few theories address the cultural imperative identified as an imperative inherent in endangered L2 learning (Duder, 2010; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013). However, although proficient speakers give validity to L2 learning they do not reflect the greater sum of Māori learning experience. There is a need to clarify the total L2 experience by investigating a range of language learner abilities. Ratima's work however frames the development of proficiency as an individual endeavour as he is fixed firmly on the learner's behaviour and commitment, rather than attention to the range of activity and capital that assists the learner to reach that point.

From the recent literature the realities of Māori L2 learning are emerging, along with a growing appreciation of L2 learner role in language revitalisation (Chrisp, 2005; King, 2009; Pohe, 2012; Spolsky, 2003). This appreciation includes awareness that the motivation of L2 learners needs closer attention (King, 2009; Ratima, 2013). Some argue that language revitalisation must be approached from a community perspective to support L2 learners (Hond 2013a, 2013b; Pohe 2012; Te Ātaarangi

2011b). Related to the importance of community it is also clear that relationships with native speakers, fluent speakers and other L2 learners is integral to the L2 learning (Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013)

Ratima and May argued 'there has been little consideration of the full range of factors that impact on the development of proficiency and that 'there is an urgent need for a research agenda focused on adults developing proficiency in indigenous languages' (Ratima & May, 2011, p. 2). Both Pohe and Ratima's doctoral theses have made a significant contribution to this agenda. Research on L2 learners of Māori has made critical and perceptive evaluations of their motivation (for example King, 2009; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013; Thompson-Teepa, 2008), the role of identity (Ngaha, 2007, 2011), and proficiency development (Ratima, 2013).

L2 learners or users of Māori have not received the attention they deserve. Some major overviews barely mention either L2 learners or their role in language revitalisation since Māori language revitalisation efforts began in the 1980s. Harlow, on the sociolinguistic situation of Māori, examines language shift, the role of Kōhanga Reo, official government policy, Māori in education and the media and attitudes, but barely refers to L2 learners and does not mention Te Ātaarangi at all (Harlow, 2010). Benton (2007) and Te Rito (2008), in otherwise perceptive and comprehensive overviews of Māori language, do not mention the contribution of L2 learning. This is a serious omission if looking at Māori language in the third millennium, when most speakers of Māori will in fact be L2 users (Benton, 2007; Kāretu, 2012). Te Rito makes only passing reference to Te Ātaarangi as a popular choice for Māori adults (Te Rito, 2008, p. 4). Te Ātaarangi's success has been unrecognised (Olsen-Reeder & Higgins, 2012, p. 144) and its popularity alone warrants more than one sentence. Spolsky's reassessment of Māori language regeneration refers to adult 'relearning' of Māori and notes that 'many leaders of the language movement learned Māori in these programs' (Spolsky, 2003, p. 560).

This lack of attention to a significant group in the Māori language movement means that

very little is known about the Māori adult learner experience. While it is clear that second language learning is a site of struggle, we don't know what it means to struggle to learn te reo. It has been argued that learning te reo is as much a spiritual journey as an intellectual one, but still we only have a limited understanding of how *wairua* affects the development of proficiency in te reo. We know that agency and anxiety can influence opportunities for second language proficiency development, but we do not know a great deal about the specific identity issues te reo learners face or how they may succeed in spite of them. (Ratima, 2013, p. 72)

Wairua, referred to by Ratima above, is an important aspect of Māori language learning contributing towards spiritual growth. Browne (2005) identified *wairua* as an 'affective factor' of Māori language learning. Ratima identifies some fascinating questions with respect to *wairua* in Māori language learning; not the least is proficiency development in *te reo* desirable or even possible without spiritual growth? (Ratima & May, 2011, p. 13). Ratima's thesis has made a serious contribution to this area of

neglect, and certainly begins to provide a complex picture of language learning. But Ratima's view betrays a view of learners as individuals who reach proficiency due to determined, individual effort, reliant on internal forces.

Language learning is a social phenomenon. In the past, research and scholarship viewed language learning as an internal activity with 'peripheral attention' being given to 'external factors' (Pavlenko 2002, p. 277). Contemporary views see the learner as a 'social actor', embedded in social, cultural and political contexts and language learning as a 'social practice' (Liddicoat, 2013). Viewing the learner as a social agent impacts on language learning and in particular the role of culture in language learning, an aspect viewed as intrinsic to Māori language learning (Duder, 2010; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013).

Poststructuralist views of L2 learners

Drawing heavily from Pavlenko (2002), a poststructuralist approach of language learning is applied directly towards L2 learners of *te reo Māori*. Poststructuralist views advocate against monolingual and monocultural biases. In relation to the latter first, L2 users of Māori move between multiple and complex cultural identities and situations. Few L2 learners and users of *te reo Māori* are 'only' Māori. Māori identity is multi-layered, between ethnicity; many Māori identify with other ethnic groups as well as with different *iwi* (tribal groups), *hapū* (smaller tribal groups) *marae* and *whānau* (family). Indeed 'Māori thrive on celebrating their tribal identity in the first instance and then their collective identity as Māori thereafter, to the extent that it has been a Pākehā construct to view Māori identity over that of tribal identity (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 23). Urbanisation now contributes to this complexity with long-term, inter-generational connections to urban communities, organisations and *marae*. The impact and consequent negotiation of language revitalisation within urbanisation present challenges to language revitalisation (Simons and Lewis, 2013).

In regards to monolingualism, New Zealand is regarded, and behaves as a monolingual country. But it is not, and, from a Māori point of view, never has been. New Zealand now has several large immigrant communities. The 2013 census has revealed New Zealand's four largest language groups: English (3,819,972 speakers), Māori (148,395 speakers), Samoan (86,406 speakers) and Hindi (66,312 speakers). In fact, New Zealand's linguistic diversity now includes 160 languages (Royal Society of New Zealand, 2013). But the position of the Māori language has no parallel with any other language in New Zealand. As the language of New Zealand's Indigenous people it has protection under the Treaty of Waitangi and is recognised as an official language. Critically, the vitality of *te reo Māori* relies on being sustained in Aotearoa New Zealand, as the language's linguistic homeland.

Ratima noted that one of three common attributes of proficient L2 speakers of Māori was 'a strong and positive sense of themselves as Māori' (Ratima, 2013, p. 248). If, as Ratima is suggesting, a strong

sense of Māori identity is a precursor to successful proficiency development, and not an outcome, this has implications for how language revitalisation strategies are presented, managed and accessed. For example, many adult Māori language programmes within tertiary institutions are promoted as a way for Māori to reconnect with their cultural identity, but access to tertiary institutions is dependent on success in secondary education. The New Zealand education system has consistently failed to address the disparity in Māori student retention and achievement in secondary schools (Ministry of Education, 2016), since it was identified over forty years ago (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2009, p. 734).

A second consideration of a poststructuralist view is that Māori L2 users are viewed as legitimate speakers in their own right, rather than as failed 'native speakers' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 295). This is a significant issue in Māori language research but is not covered in any depth in the literature. The view of L2 users as deficient users of Māori is linked to linguistic purism and the monolingual bias (Ortega, 2009, 2014) and a lack of awareness about language acquisition and multilingualism, unsurprising given the majority view that New Zealand is a monolingual country. It is related also to notions of linguistic identity and changes in the role of Māori language in contemporary society. The most common expression towards L2 users of Māori is criticism for their lack of expertise in comparison to native speakers, such as an inability to use complex linguistic structures and extended vocabulary (Jacob in Dewes, 1998, p. 100; Mutu, 2005).

This view of new speakers as 'failed speakers' can be seen in the puzzling disdain for teachers in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. The situation and vitality of Māori language would be even more precarious without teachers, tutors and parents committing time and effort to take the language forward in often highly challenging contexts. Mātāmua and Temara (2008) tackle linguistic standards unequivocally in an unpublished paper aimed at the broadcasting sector. It is difficult to know what their disdain hopes to achieve; clearly linguistic standards are important but criticising L2 users for a lack of knowledge is inimical to developing not only the number of L2 users but also their ability in the language. Being 'permitted to speak' (Radio New Zealand, 2013) is a prohibitive but widespread notion among the Māori community and possibly even harsher from within the Māori language community itself (see Ester's experiences in Pohe, 2012, p.80). It highlights critical issues in language revitalisation efforts which, to paraphrase Bauer (2008) must focus more on who does speak Māori as opposed to who can (p. 63), and the issue of the proportion of 80% of a speech community actually using the language to maintain its vitality (Bauer, 2008, p. 63).

L2 users of Māori must be seen as speakers of Māori in their own right. The diminishing number of native speakers in an endangered language context changes the position and the role of L2 users. Ratima's doctoral research on proficiency development in L2 learners is an important step in this

direction, especially in accessing a previously ‘untapped source: successful adult Māori language learners’ (Ratima 2013, p. i). His work sheds light on the L2 users’ sociocultural experiences but his focus is on L2 users who are near to ‘native speaker’ and many of his participants are male. This is related to the next important aspect of poststructuralist approach, which recognises implicitly that language learning is situated within social constructs and contexts and that these impact directly on learners and speech communities at all levels.

The two-way relationship between language and identity recognises that languages serve to produce, reproduce, transform and perform identities, and that linguistic, gender, racial, ethnic and class identities, in turn, affect the access to linguistic resources and interactional opportunities, and, ultimately, L2 learning outcomes. (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 298)

The literature on the history, health or future of the Māori language rarely includes discussions that address issues of access, status or gender. Yet this is recognised more and more as a fundamental issue in language learning (Norton Pierce, 1995; Block, 2007, 2012) and that the ‘health of a language is closely connected and dependent on the socioeconomic, historical and political realities within which a language group exists’ (Christensen 2001, p. 5). But the approach favoured by writers Norton Peirce (1995) and Pavlenko (2002) and extended here, is that it is not only connected but embedded within those contexts and if L2 learning is to be meaningful and contribute to language regeneration, then the sociocultural, political and historical contexts have to be understood and framed so that they shed light on how they are mediated through a learner’s class, gender, race and ethnicity. Ratima and May (2011) include a lengthy discussion on agency and anxiety, and without a trace of irony, highlight an immigrant language learner of English who leveraged her ‘youth and good looks’ to become a proficient L2 user. In fact the researchers ‘speculate that things might not have worked out so well for Eva had she not been ‘white, slim, good looking’, and in possession of desirable knowledge (Ratima and May, 2011, p. 11). It can only be speculated as to what their prerequisites for learning Māori might be.

As is clear in the SLA agenda generally (Block, 2012, p. 193), discussions in the literature on the role of class in the learning of *te reo Māori* are not significant. Block (2012) clarifies existing notions of class, particularly those of Marx, Weber and Bourdieu and argues that Bourdieu combined aspects, without due attribution, of Marx and Weber (2012, p. 192p. 194). In short, Block distils Bourdieu’s fundamental constructs of habitus and discipline (2012, p. 192) and interprets Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’ as a system of transposable dispositions that are structured by both past experiences but continue structuring – as it shaped activity in the present and the future’ (p. 192). These dispositions, as thought and activity, ‘occur as individuals engage with fields’ (p. 192).

In turn, fields are domains of social practices. And Block gives the examples of education, the discipline of economics and the world of art and golf (p. 192). If we take the notion of habitus within the Māori social world, it is possible to extend out from those of the dominant culture to include both intercultural domains and specifically Māori domains that remain as important fields of Maori social practices (e.g., *marae*, *kapa haka*). Block lists nine key dimensions of class (2014, p.194), which would need careful application within the Māori social world. For example, the role of *whakapapa*, which are likely to influence Māori interpretations of class (Rata, 2011).

Block ponders that the lack of attention towards class in the SLA agenda may be due to how an 'abstract notion' like class can be linked to L2 learning if it is viewed mainly as a cognitive activity. But for Block, class 'can be used to help us understand how and why learners orient to and engage with second language learning processes in the way that they do (Block, 2012, p. 195). It will be argued in the latter sections of this study that notions of class, and other social markers, interplay in the negotiation of access to Māori language and that class is not a fixed variable in the negotiation of L2 learner identities.

In the outline of his participants, Ratima (2013, p.25-26) does not comment that most of his participants are in a higher socioeconomic bracket than most New Zealanders (the median income in New Zealand of \$37,100, but for Māori is \$22,500 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). He does acknowledge that most of the participants are male and notes too that many of his participants are Māori language teachers or employed in jobs that used their Māori language knowledge (Ratima, 2013, p. 27). Of the three participants he names, all were university-educated. J. King refers to this in her discussion on the role of elites (J. King, 2007, p. 24) and confirmed a 'perception' of a growing educated middle-class from Census data (p. 25). King shies away from any depth of this topic. She points to recent public discussions in mainstream media and the interesting observation that one well-known paper removed a section on elites, but she does not say why (J. King, 2007, p. 26).

The interpretation of gender, age, social status or class is an unexplored area of L2 learning of *te reo Māori*. The issue of race is the one aspect that has been explored, primarily of Pākehā learning *te reo Māori* (Jellie, 2001; Mitcalfe, 2008). The learning of Māori is different for non-Māori. Some Pākehā become proficient speakers of Māori, even considered experts (John Moorfield, for example) but there has been, and continues to be restraint about this. Ngoi Pēwhairangi's view that it is not possible to teach, or learn the Māori heart, is not untypical. As she notes, speaking on the *marae* requires more than just linguistic knowledge.

Maoritanga goes deeper than that and I don't know think Pakehas [sic] are aware of this. They think because they have been to university and studied the language and the culture, they've mastered it. To me listening, it sounds as if there is no depth

there are all, especially as far as tapu is concerned. There is so much tapu connected with the whole culture and I don't think Pakehas can absorb it. (Pēwhairangi in King 1992, p. 11)

This statement would suggest that there is no room for Pākehā to learn Māori. But it reemphasises that the learning of *te reo Māori* by Māori is different and needs to tap into the 'Māori heart', an issue related to identity and a learner's *whakapapa* and the way learners connect with their ancestors. The role of *tapu* in language learning, like *wairua*, is another interesting and under-theorised aspect of language learning (Ratima, 2013).

Conclusion

Perhaps the most indicative aspect of the current situation in Māori language revitalisation is the remarks at the very beginning of this section by Pita Sharples. A long-term very active community protagonist for Māori political and cultural autonomy and an L2 speaker, Dr Sharples was now speaking as a minister of the Crown. And, more notably, as the head of one of two of the most negligent and hostile ministries towards Māori language revitalisation (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010): Te Puni Kōkiri, through its inadequate and misleading policy and planning and the Ministry of Education through its demands for compliance, inadequate planning and a total lack of inspiration in its response to an active, engaged community (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012). Sharples was head of an institution representing Crown interests serving state and economic interests running counter to Māori expectations and needs.

Moreover, this same minister commissioned an independent panel, Te Paepae Motuhake, to investigate the sector with the ability to re-inspire a field but which instead produced a report that revealed serious contestation and missed a pivotal chance to lead and inspire a new generation of Māori language revitalisation (Lewis, 2014). It is a startling example of how hegemonic interests can co-opt internal agents against their own (Pihama, 2016, para. 14).

In their revisionist history of Aotearoa New Zealand, Anderson et al (2014) encapsulate the period 1970 to 1990 in two words: rights and revitalisation. Viewed through a social lens, language endangerment, revitalisation and the rights and social conditions of speakers should be viewed as mutually inclusive (Cameron, 2007) and Māori language revitalisation challenging the core of colonial hegemony (Lewis, 2014, p. 26). Recognition that Māori language revitalisation's genesis was in a time focused on the Māori community's fight for their right as a people to their language and their *tikanga* (Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014, p. 33), recasts it as a social, cultural (and spiritual) challenge, not just a matter of linguistic revival.

A review of events and processes over the last forty years reveals complex, competing ideologies and behaviours, which account for Rewi's observations about the contemporary reality of internal and external by perceptions and attitudes (Rewi, 2013, p. 101). L2 learners exist and negotiate these complex realities, and negotiate them through their own perceptions and experiences.

The next chapter considers the views of L2 learners as speakers and learners and broader views of language and how these are interpreted. This requires an explicit approach to account for learners' experiences as located in a specific time and place and to view them not as fixed isolates but as socially-mediated, fluid entities negotiating multiple identities between generations, other speakers and even non-speakers of Māori.

Chapter 4: The endangered language learner and SLA theory

Having set the contextual elements of the study, this chapter explores theoretical approaches towards second language acquisition (SLA) and poststructuralist approaches towards language, learning and learners in the endangered language context covered in the Chapters 2 and 3.

SLA is 'the scholarly field of inquiry that investigates the human capacity to learn languages other than the first, during late childhood, adolescence or adulthood' (Ortega, 2009, p. 1) and tries to account for the 'the puzzling range of possible outcomes when learning an additional language' (Ortega, 2009, p. 2; Block, 2003). SLA is concerned with accounting for how second languages are acquired, whether it is concerned with the very nature of how we learn, an individual's cognitive ability, their social, historical and cultural contexts, or their learning or acquisition environment. Despite SLA being a young field, the discipline has traversed a range of diverse approaches in an ongoing negotiation to account for varying outcomes between communities, languages and speakers.

Seidlhofer acknowledges that controversies in SLA connect with other controversies, e.g., global English, corpus linguistics and language teaching and discourse analysis. So much so that the terms SLA and applied linguistics have become synonymous (Seidlhofer, 2003, p. 264). Drawing attention to controversies by using seminal texts over the past thirty years, she highlights how the field might '*work with these controversies*' (2003, p. 1, original emphasis). It is hoped that the spirit of her aim is evident in the following review of SLA's trajectory through theory, turn and approach with their application in ELA contexts. The final part of the chapter looks at the application of poststructuralist views, and in particular, sociocultural theory as it applies to the Māori learning context and its links with Māori views of learning.

Two aspects that background SLA research need highlighting here as they are of particular relevance in the endangered language context. The first is an acknowledgement of the monolingual bias in international SLA research in viewing L2 learning as the efforts of monolingual learners to gain monolingual-like command of an additional language (Ortega, 2009, p. 5).

The second and related aspect is the heavy focus of international research in SLA on English (May, 2014, p. 7; Ortega, 2009, p. 7, 2014; Pavlenko, 2002, p. 281; Pennycook, 2001, p. 62). By way of example, in a study to discuss the contribution of foreign language education, child language, sociocultural and psycholinguistic perspectives on SLA (Dixon, Zhao, Shin, Wu, Burgess-Brigham, Gezer & Snow, 2012), of the seventy-one empirical studies that fit their criteria, the overwhelming majority

were on English, either in a dominant language context such as the US and Canada, or as foreign language in a non-English speaking country; forty were on L2 English learning (most of L2 Spanish speakers). Of those, most were within the USA and Canada, only a few were on L2 learning of minority languages and there were *no* studies that involved an Indigenous or endangered language. As Pavlenko observed wryly, research with non-dominant, multicultural contexts ‘may paint a very different picture of the social worlds of L2 users (2002, p. 281).

Moreover, the centre of debate is located in the English-speaking world. Block (1996), in an exploration of the origins of the authorship of major articles in four prominent applied linguistics journals, found that the majority of authors were from the USA and Canada (69%), then the UK and Japan (17%) and the rest being made up by a cluster of other countries (14%)⁸. He concluded that ‘most of what gets published in what are considered to be the most prestigious and influential applied linguistic journals is generally a product of a particular culture, which we might term Anglo-American’ (Block, 1996, p. 67).

Locating theory outside of dominant language contexts is still a major challenge of SLA, even if some researchers question positivist claims of universal theories (Evans & Levinson, 2009; Lantolf, 1996; Pennycook, 1990). While it could be argued that in fact L2 learners of English constitute a widely diverse set, English language teaching appears to assume a neutral ‘language-only’ teaching ground, above the need to teach cultural aspects, which have been identified by Māori language teachers as an inherent part of teaching an Indigenous language (Duder, 2010; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013). Recognising the dominance of research on English language learning and its relationship to the positivist tradition is important as it reinforces the superior position of dominant L2 language learning as the model for L2 learning in general.

The impact of a clear orientation towards the ‘European Enlightenment’ tradition in the field of applied linguistics

entails a continued faith in an apolitical, ahistorical view of language; in a clear divide between subject and object and thus in a notion of objectivity; in thought and experience prior to language; in the development of models and methods according to scientist principles and the subsequent testing of their validity by statistical means; in a belief of cumulative progress as a result of this gradual addition of ‘new’ knowledge; and in the universal applicability of rationality and the truths and theories that it produces. (Pennycook, 1990, p. 10)

Hinton has identified key differences in the teaching and learning of languages of different status (Hinton, 2011, p. 309) that includes primary language learning goals, learner motivations, the

⁸ Netherlands, Israel, New Zealand, Thailand, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Australia, Germany, Sweden, Hong Kong, and most likely in collaboration with universities in the UK and North America (Block, 1996, p. 67).

relationship of the learner to the language, the learner's influence on the language and the considerations for teaching. The implications for SLA of an endangered language is significant when viewed against the potential role of L2 learners and speakers as contributing to the very health of the language, an issue not often considered in dominant languages.

There is a lack of approaches and theories that address issues specific to endangered and Indigenous language contexts (Tsunoda, 2005, p. 30), where conditions for learning these languages are different from learning a dominant, high-status language (Hinton, 2011). Most of the field's substantive texts (Lantolf, 2006; Ortega, 2009; Ritchie & Bhatia, 1996; Spolsky, 1989; Van Patten & Williams, 2007) do not address endangered language contexts, or recognise that endangered language contexts vary from that of a dominant, high status language.

If a view of language learning as an abstract endeavour unconnected to personal and individualistic factors or that the target language is 'free' or unbound from speakers or learners applies to any context, then it certainly does not for endangered language learning. Endangered language acquisition research must recognise complexity in endangered language learners' multiple identities, motivations and behaviours and view learners as complicated, multi-dynamic agents within complex social, political and cultural contexts. To view L2 learners as discrete and static from the social world around them places the responsibility of 'failure' in language revitalisation on individual endeavour. O'Regan, for example, worries that the greatest threat to Māori language revitalisation is 'apathy' but acknowledges the immense effort by many over decades. However,

many more thousands have sat on the fence, content to sit back in the knowledge that someone else was ensuring the survival of their reo. Despite the best of intentions, many Māori willingly state their desire to learn the language but fail to actualise their commitment. (O'Regan, 2006, p. 167)

While the author of this statement has every right to express this opinion, given her personal and professional life has been singularly devoted to Māori language revitalisation, this is a reductive statement about a complex situation. If it was simply a case that successful language revitalisation rested solely on individual commitment from thousands of people every language revitalisation project would be successful. But we know that this is far from the case. Language revitalisation is an incredibly difficult and challenging task and it requires economic, cultural, historical and political 'conditions' (Spolsky, 1989). In the most famous case of successful language revitalisation in Israel, it is important to consider the unique set of circumstances and conditions that contributed to its success and the high social cost that came with it.

Restrictive views of SLA as individualistic can be allayed by a view of L2 learners as complex social agents, focused on their roles as speakers and users rather than their linguistic output as if it were

distinct from them or their environment. A re-emphasis from linguistic aspects to a recognition of the speaker as L2 user connected to her social world was signalled by writers such as Firth and Wagner (1997), Cook (2002), Pavlenko (2000, 2002) and Block (2003). It is the single most important aspect of investigations into the acquisition of endangered languages: to focus on the speakers, their worlds and their struggles as part of cultural and political statements and ideologies. Theories of acquisition that focus on language as a mental, cognitive process without contextualising speakers are of limited relevance in endangered language contexts. Learners cannot be isolated from contemporary social contexts, or the historical precedents that have caused the need for language revitalisation and recognise the responsibilities of new speakers and their impact on the future of the endangered language (Hinton, 2011).

Towards understandings of the endangered L2 speaker (eL2) speaker

At the forefront of theory and approach to SLA is how L2 speakers are viewed. Cook (2002) makes a convincing case for a view of the L2 user as distinct in their own right and clarifies that by an ‘L2 user’ he means, ‘any person who uses another language than his or her first language (L1)’, and that for many parts of the world, this is an ‘entirely commonplace activity’ (p.2). He makes a distinction between the terms ‘user’ and ‘learner’ as in the types of activity they are engaging with but admits using and learning often ‘come to the same thing’ (2002, p.3). Cook highlights how bilinguals are different from monolinguals and this is summarised in the following table.

Characteristics of L2 users (Cook, 2002, pp. 4-8)	
1.	<p><i>L2 users can perform specific activities that monolinguals cannot</i> (p. 4)</p> <p>e.g.,</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • translating • code switching • interpreting <p>‘the L2 user is standing between two languages, even when apparently using only one, having the resources of both languages on tap whenever needed’ (p. 5).</p>
2.	<p><i>L2 knowledge is not identical to that of a native speaker:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issue of ‘ultimate attainment’ (p. 6). • L2 speaker judged against NS as a ‘monolingual standard’ not an L2 standard (p. 6), differences represented as failure (p. 6). • Focus must be on ‘vast majority of people who are distinctive L2 users’ (p. 6)

3.	<p><i>L2 user's knowledge of L1 different to that of monolingual.</i></p> <p>This is shown in phonology, vocabulary, syntax and reading (pp. 6-7).</p>
4.	<p><i>L2 users have different minds from monolinguals</i></p> <p>L2 alters the mind (p. 7):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Think more flexibly • Increased language awareness • Learn to read faster • Better communication skills <p>'multicompetence a different state' (p. 8)</p>

Table 2: Characteristics of L2 users (Cook, 2002)

Fortunately, Hinton (2011) developed a corresponding and expansive set of characteristics for L2 learners and users in the endangered language context. As again, demarcating L2 learners' roles and responsibilities in endangered language contexts has major implications for how L2 learners of Māori are viewed.

Characteristics of L2 users in endangered language contexts (Hinton, 2011)	
1.	<p><i>Engaged in social and cultural endeavour</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating speech communities • Counter-hegemonic activity • Resisting assimilation
2.	<p><i>eL2 learners' relationship with the language</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • responsible for language's future
3.	<p><i>eL2 as having impact on the language</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • responsible for modernising, expanding modes and genres

Table 3: Characteristics of eL2 users in endangered contexts (Hinton, 2011)

Cook (2002) explains that from a Universal Grammar viewpoint, children's language is judged as a discrete but complete system in its own right, rather than as an imperfect adult system (p. 8). This attitude can be transferred to the L2 learning, so, 'when applied to L2 learning, the independent grammar assumption meant treating L2 learners too as having language systems of their own' (2002, p. 8), requiring an eL2 learner's grammar to be judged as an L2 system in its own right. According to Cook (2002), 'this consequence was not in fact fully heeded by SLA research, which continued to assume that L2 users are failures compared with native speakers' (p. 9), a viewpoint reinforced in Ortega's discussion on the impact of monolingual bias (Ortega, 2009). In her comparison between

foreign, majority, heritage and endangered language contexts, Hinton (2011) identified factors specific to eL2 users. She argues for recognition that as a 'pioneering process' (2011, p. 308), the endangered language context has significant departures from dominant, high-status language learning with implications for endangered language learning and teaching.

If L2 users are engaged in an activity whose goal is to save a language from extinction, the eL2 learner is engaged in an important social and cultural endeavour, often with restricted acquisition timeframes and negotiating access to the language in ways different to high-status majority languages (Hinton, 2011). The eL2 user's motivations may differ to users in other contexts and may be challenging hegemony and resisting assimilation; eL2 users are essential politically for the future of their language. In an interesting paradox bound up with language shift, it appears it is possible to separate speaker and language if looking at identity constructs. The cultural future of Māori is not as precarious as that of the language. Language shift comes with a corresponding shift in attitude towards the language as a defining characteristic of identity. This now means that 'being Māori' is not solely dependent on speaking Māori (Harlow, 2005; Ngaha, 2007, 2011) and is accompanied with evolving notions of the relationship between cultural and linguistic competence.

Hinton observes that the learner's relationship with the target language departs significantly from dominant language learning, in terms of the relationship of the learner to their language, and the learner's potential influence on the target language (Hinton, 2011, p. 310). Consequently, views of the eL2 user have to include a recognition of the responsibility they have for the future of the language, the number of speakers, language varieties and changes to the endangered language. According to Hinton, the eL2 learner is therefore a 'language activist', forming a language community (2011, p. 310), and recreating an entire speech community, taking on responsibilities outside that of dominant L2 users (2011, p. 310). The monolingual, native speaker bias has an entirely different implication in contexts where there might be very few, if any, native speakers to shift the view of the L2 learner or speaker considerably; L2 speakers are critical to the intermediate stage in producing and supporting a new generation of first language speakers (J. King, 2009, p. 97).

In respect to the possible influence of the L2 user on the target endangered language, the eL2 learner becomes an agent of change in that language. It may be that they have to create new features of the language as a means of modernisation, using new modes, such as social media, texting, and genres of speech. If, as is often the case, eL2 learners and users are teachers of the endangered language (J. King, 2009, p. 106; Szwaj, 1999), 'any difference from the native speech that the learner carries on with becomes a feature of the language itself in the future' (Hinton, 2011, p. 311 & 2008, p. 165) and opinions vary on whether change is considered a good or bad thing. As such, eL2 learners become

critical vessels of language ideologies, attitudes and behaviours, not only to the dominant language community but to their own community as well.

In sum, a view of the endangered language L2 user requires an expanded vision beyond an eL2 speaker gaining linguistic membership or having an engagement devoid of responsibility for the language and its future. Cook's characteristics (2002, pp. 4-8) and Hinton's prescient observations of endangered languages contexts (2011, p. 310) reveal that adult eL2 speakers do not have certain freedoms of dominant language learners; in connecting to an ancestral language they connect to a range of responsibilities; they carry the expectations of their communities for cultural and linguistic survival and are meeting points for language ideologies from within and outside their community. An expansive view of the eL2 user can accommodate views of SLA as engaged in an internal, cognitive mental process but not as isolated and fragmented from their social contexts. Endangered language acquisition (ELA) is not merely a linguistic act, or to 'get by' in a language context, it is a cultural and political statement.

SLA: Theory, turn and approach

Theory, turn and approach are intertwined in the development and contestation of SLA theory, as it attempts to explain the phenomenon of learning languages additional to a speaker's first language with the dual purpose to locate the study of language learning as a 'science', a linguistic act measured empirically and transferable across contexts, languages and speakers.

The most obvious but not the only division in approach is between that of the rationalist and relativist camps, with a trail of, at times, acrimonious literature (see Berretta, 1991; Block, 1996; Gregg, 1993, 2006; Gregg, Long, Jordan & Beretta, 1997; Hulstijn, 2013; Lantolf, 1996, 2002; Long, 1990; Schuman, 1993; Spolsky, 1990; Sridhar, 1994; Zuengler & Miller, 2006, among others). Over time, the field has been characterised by a number of 'turns', arguing for reconceptualisations of theoretical positions to account for the 'puzzling range' of outcomes in L2 learning. This overview draws from selected broad comprehensive sweeps of the field (Block, 2003; May, 2014; Ortega, 2009, 2014, Seidlhofer, 2003), to explore how the field got to this position.

Theory in SLA

The controversy that continues to challenge SLA theory appears to distil down to views of the learner as an independent agent enacting internal cognitive processes in a linear progressive form separate from her environments, in contrast to the learner as socially constructed and mediated and responding to social forces. The former perspective is reinforced by a preference for data that aims to situate SLA as a 'scientific discipline' (Hulstijn, 2012, p. 511), with an emphasis on empirical linguistic data in contrast to data that situates learners as diverse, complex and multifaceted agents. As Ortega

argues, the focus is on the learner and his or her response to learning rather than to the social dimensions, community learning conditions and the learner's social world (Ortega, 2009, p. 6).

Block (2003) identifies the foundations of SLA being laid post World War Two, with an increased demand for language skills, the development of the American structuralist theory of language in the 1950s and the study of 'behaviourism' (2003, p. 12). All three foundations centred in America, where the field's epicentre remains, with the rise of structuralist linguistics aimed at identifying descriptive elements of language without considering why they were the way they were and how to learn them (Block, 2003, p. 13). Behaviourism argued that human behaviour was the product of conditioning, but this excluded thoughts, emotions, feelings and the Bloomfieldian claim that language and language learning were about observable behaviour (Block, 2003, p. 13).

In 1957, Skinner's behaviourist text *Verbal Behaviour* and Chomsky's singularly influential *Syntactic Structures* were published. According to Block, 'Chomskian linguistics made the convincing case for a Universalist model, one which established that at a deep level all languages shared the same properties' (2003, p. 16) applying a rationalist notion that all languages are considered against one set of predetermined terms. The Chomskian notion that children learned language from an innate linguistic toolkit, not dependent purely on input and language errors was evidence of development, not 'undesirable habit formation' (Block, 2003, p. 16).

Seidlhofer (2003) and Hulstijn (2012) both refer to Corder's 1967 article on the significance of learners' errors showing the learning process and not just interference from the L1 resulting in language learning 'failure' (p. 170) as the emergence of SLA. Ortega (2009, 2014) refers to Selinker's 1972 article on interlanguage. Seidlhofer notes an important shift away from the 'prevailing behaviourist view of language acquisition' (2003, p. 169) and a focus on language difference to a theoretical base from 'characteristics of learners' (Seidlhofer, 2003, p. 170). Block argues 'SLA was born in the later 1960s because that was when individuals brought together experiential, observed and empirical knowledge. The interest in second language acquisition was their starting point, not as an appendage to an interest in linguistics, psychology or language-teaching pedagogy' (2003, p. 18).

In 1974, Taylor argued that a theory of language could account for both first and second language acquisition, as cognitively they were quite similar (Taylor, 1974, p. 23). Differences between L1 and L2 acquisition could be accounted for by looking at the variables of previous linguistic experience, cognitive maturity and affective orientation (1974, p. 23). He approached five key issues, none of which prioritised the social context of language learning and also featured the L2 user as a failed speaker against native speaker language proficiency.

The 1970s and 1980s continued the recurring focus on the L2 learner as an individual engaged in a cognitive activity independent of her environment; 'external factors' were seen as only affecting the type and amount of input (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 277). However, as early as 1974, Tajfel proposed the importance of social identity. Schuman's Acculturation hypothesis correlated learner achievement with their desire to 'acculturate' with the target language (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 280).

The most well-known theory of this time was Krashen's Monitor model, the 'first broad scope theory of SLA' (Block, 2003, p. 19). Krashen's model was based on five hypotheses: morpheme acquisition as fixed and predictable; L2 learning and acquisition were different, the former conscious and intentional and the latter subconscious and incidental; utterance in the L2 requires conscious knowledge of rules to check for error correction; acquisition is dependent on comprehensible input just beyond the speaker's competence; and finally that the L2 learner has an 'affective filter' that is used in cases of speaker self-confidence and anxiety (Block, 2003, p. 20). Krashen's work has since been the object of intense critique from rationalists (see Block, 2003, p. 20-21 for discussion on this) but Krashen's work was important; in using multiple sources of data and combining different disciplines he revealed the complex nature of SLA (Block, 2003, p. 22).

The 1980s and '90s are characterised by the proliferation of theory building (Lantolf, 1996, p. 713) alongside a 'paradigm war' (Talmy in Hulstijn *et al* 2014, p. 385) between the modernists or rationalists arguing for empiricism, coherence and completeness or 'normal science' (see Gregg, 1993; Long, 1990, 1997) and post-modernists, poststructuralists and relativists who believe that theory proliferation allows for diversity, creativity, complexity and an expansive richness (Lantolf, 1996; Norton Pierce, 1995 among others). Block summarises the contestation of the mid-1990s as negotiating what was studied ('an ontological issue'), and how it was studied ('an epistemological issue') (Block, 2003, p.3).

Some other important contributions of this period, outside of those identified by Seidlhofer (2003), are included here for their relevance to the endangered language context. The first is Spolsky's 1989 text on the conditions for L2 learning proposing a general theory towards understanding and improving SLA outcomes. Spolsky's work is familiar to people in Māori language revitalisation as he had made insightful observations on the movement's progression (Spolsky, 2003, 2009). Spolsky identified seven key conditions he felt necessary for successful L2 learning, with the learner as the centre of these conditions and social factors considered last.

The second important contribution was appeals for applied linguistics to apply a more critical lens to examine the role of power relations and social factors (Pennycook, 1990, p. 26). According to Pavlenko (2002, p. 282), Norton Pierce's work took up this challenge to the extent that she theorised language learning as investing in social identities mediated through gender, class, age and ethnicity (Norton

Pierce, 1995). As Seidlhofer observed, social identity and investment were not concepts 'commonly encountered in traditional SLA' (2003, p. 236). Norton Pierce's work entailed a conceptualisation of the learner in a social world. As such it provided a platform to focus on issues pivotal in ELA, identity investment and power relations between languages, speakers and communities. But Norton Pierce's (1995) research challenged traditional SLA research in other ways.

Based firmly on qualitative research methods, her work used an impressive range of data sources (diaries, questionnaires, individual and group interviews and home visits). She focused on immigrant women in Canada. It would be safe to assume that, in the 1990s, immigrant women in Canada would be an untapped but rich seam of insight into language learning, language status and the impact of power relations. While Norton Peirce (1995) makes no claim to it, the development of such a rich, expansive data set must in some part be due to researcher and participants being the same gender.

At the time, a theory of social identity was a major innovation in SLA, as 'theorists have drawn artificial distinctions between the language learner and the language learning context' (Norton Pierce, 1995, p. 10). Norton Peirce's work draws attention to issues critical in the endangered language context: social identity, power relations and a subtle but powerful shift in understanding L2 motivation learning as investment (Norton Pierce, 1995).

From the 1980s, the discourse intensified so that by the 1990s, dispute centred on what constituted description and theory and what was considered rigorous acquisition research against that which described language use. This contestation required clear positions, articulations and definitive epistemologies and had the potential for the field to split into two irreconcilable positions: the cognitive on one side and the social on the other (Hulstijn, 2013). After the intense discussion on paradigms, theory developments and a jostling for positions in the 1990s, the early years of the new millennium offered opportunity for major revisions in the field. The rhetoric of this time saw positions become entrenched and contested to the extent that many authors avoid detailing those positions and instead outline different approaches (Block, 2003, p. 23).

The more current literature (e.g. May, 2014; Ortega, 2013, 2014) indicates an important turn in approaches towards the investigation of SLA. To understand this more fully involves outlining pivotal turns or reconceptualisations, over the development of the SLA discipline.

Reconceptualisation in SLA

According to Firth & Wagner (1997), the 'communicative' turn of the 1960s argued that language learning required a communicative competence beyond that just of grammatical competence (p. 284). At a time when empirical linguistics held sway, especially that of Chomsky's generative and structural

linguistics, Hymes argued that being able to communicate in a language meant knowing a range of other skills beyond that of grammar, syntax and morphology (Hymes, 1974), recognising language as a social, not just a linguistic tool.

Throughout the 1970s and '80s research, theory and approach were driven by the notion of language learning as an internal, cognitive process with a focus on the learner's mind, seen in theories that viewed L2 learning as an internal process geared towards native speaker competency (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Ortega, 2009, 2013). This is a view attached to wider notions of empirical validity in research and claims that this was paramount in applied linguistics being recognised as a serious scientific discipline [Beretta, 1991; Long, 1990]. In 1997, several articles presaged the next major turn. First was Firth & Wagner's (1997), the second Rampton's (1997) call for a 'retuning' of applied linguistics as socially constituted and Widdowson's response the following year (1998, p.2), arguing that more social and interdisciplinary approaches would mean a loss of coherence and integrity.

These positions contributed to the social turn, particularly associated with Block's (2003) publication, *The Social Turn in SLA*. After highlighting work that has led to his position (such as that of Breen on learner contributions, Kasper and Rose on pragmatics, Lantolf, Pavlenko and Norton Pierce on identity), Block wrote in particular in reaction to the prevalent In-interaction-output (IIO) model, which had been a model in SLA for two decades (p. 26) and was promulgated in the 1980 and 1990s to provide a more reliable and verifiable version of Krashen's Comprehensible Input Hypothesis and to acknowledge interaction and output (Block, 2003, p. 26). The IIO model also could take other 'essentialist features' (p.26) of the language acquisition process: language transfer, stage L2 grammatical development, interlanguage, variability of age and finally cognitive and 'psychological variable' p. 26). However, Block (2003) suggests that the IIO model attempts to take such variables into consideration while still remaining clearly focussed on learners' internal processes as the central point of theory. Block challenges this model and critiques basic assumptions and notions of SLA to have a more 'socially-informed' approach (Block, 2003).

The interdisciplinary turn in SLA

The social turn created opportunities for debate on the 'general uneasiness about a certain conceptual and epistemological narrowness in the field. It was, importantly, part of a general push to open up SLA beyond its roots in linguistics and cognitive psychology' (Block, 2007, p. 863). This development continued and now, a decade on, this current study is fortunate in being situated in another important turn (Block, 2013; Hulstijn, Young & Ortega, 2014; Leung & Young-Schulten, 2013; May, 2014; Norton, 2014; Ortega 2013, 2014).

This turn calls for a heightened need for ‘more nuanced ethnographic understandings of the complex multilingual repertoires of speakers’ in a globalised world (May, 2014, p. 2). That is, to view L2 speakers and learners as L2 users (Cook, 2002), not as failed native speakers but to understand the complex experience of becoming bi/multilingual later in life (Ortega, 2014), an experience that is both determined by and an exploitation of fluid, dynamic ethnicities (Norton Pierce, 1995, 2014).

As noted earlier, the SLA field has been described as a controversy of applied linguistics (Seidlhofer, 2003). The field still has a proclivity for dichotomies and a ‘rhetoric of difference’ (Young, 2014, p. 390) towards *approach*: rationalist vs relativist, structuralist vs functionalist (Firth & Wagner, 1997); in *methodologies*: quantitative vs qualitative and their accompanying issues of validity (deKeyser, 2010) and *process*: as either cognitive or social process (see for example, the correspondence between Gregg (1993) and Lantolf (1996), or the debate between linguistic SLA and social SLA in Atkinson (2011), Dixon, Zhao *et al* (2012) and Leung and Scholten (2013). A recent collaborative work perceives these dichotomies as having created a potentially irreconcilable ‘gap’ (Hulstijn, Young, Ortega, 2014). In his section, Young notes that the binaries denoted in the term ‘gap’, are reductive and ‘fail to capture the kinds of complex inquiries often undertaken in their name’ (Young in Hulstijn, Young & Ortega, 2014, p. 384). Ortega argues for interdisciplinary *and* trans-disciplinary approaches (Ortega, 2013, pp. 2-3).

A remaining unhelpful element is ‘mainstream SLA’s unwillingness to engage with paradigms outside of the cognitive-linguistic SLA’ (May, 2014). May confronts the lack of progress in the ‘additive bilingual approach to SLA (2014, p. 12) from two perspectives. The first is how disciplines within applied linguistics ‘construct, validate, contain, exclude particular forms of knowledge’ (May, 2014, p. 12). He combines Bourdieu’s concepts of field, habitus and practice (p. 12) with Bernstein’s exploration of academic hierarchies (an issue that has major implications for *te reo Māori* as access to L2 learning is increasingly institutionalised). This combination

helps explain why academic disciplines and particular subdisciplines, such as SLA and TESOL, are so often defined (and confined) by a narrowly derived set of research assumptions, approaches and related models of teaching and learning. Such analyses also explain why such disciplines are equally resistant to change. After all, fundamental changes in the classification and framing of knowledge also necessarily involve significant shifts in the structure and distribution of power and in principles of control – that is, in who controls, and what counts as, disciplinary knowledge. (May, 2014, p. 15)

As an example, May cites the intense debate that followed Firth and Wagner’s (1997) call for a greater attention to social and contextual elements. Rationalist researchers responded that for SLA to remain within the scientific tradition it must retain and extend the linguistic-cognitive view. In doing so it would ensure that SLA is to be taken seriously as an empirically-driven and therefore valid discipline (Gass, 1998; Gregg, 1993; Long, 1997).

Of course, 'the re-invocation of a scientific at the expense of a more social approach to SLA reflects and reinforces existing academic hierarchies, both within SLA field and other disciplines' (May, 2014, p. 17). But May goes on to note that the preoccupation with the study of language as a science is bound also to notions of nationalism and nationhood (2014, p. 18) and contributes to the reification of languages, a restriction of language practices and, citing other writers, the place of dominant and legitimate languages. May's (2014) use of academic and epistemological hierarchies with 'scientism' and nationhood explains the resistance to calls for social factors and divergent attitudes toward knowledge.

Ortega (2014), an insider critiquing her own field of linguistic-cognitive SLA, believes there are further factors in the field's rejection of transformation, such as the 'unwillingness or an inability of SLA research communities to understand the ideological roots of the monolingual bias', as to 'understand this would mean letting go of a number of implicitly held assumptions taken to be natural facts in dominant language ideologies' (2014, p. 34). These assumptions lead to two central constructs of SLA research, *synecdoche* and *erasure* (Ortega, 2014, p. 35).

In the construct of *synecdoche* (a figure of speech where one part of a term is used as a whole) Ortega refers particularly to the terms native speaker and non-native speaker and their accompanying implicit meanings. The term native speaker includes an explicit understanding of 'a language user who has developed functional ability in one language from birth' (2014, p. 35). Conversely, the term 'non-native' carries an understanding of 'a language user who has developed or is developing functional ability in more than one language, not from birth but later in life' (2014, p. 35). The resultant *synecdoche* of these terms causes them to overtly refer to a learner by birth (native) and that learning later in life (non-native) results in an *erasure* of the number of languages being learnt (2014, p. 35). Sridhar (1994) and Kachru (1994) addressed this concept previously in their comments on the prevalence of the monolingual bias in SLA research, which dismisses the realities of many of the world's multilinguals. Moreover, formal SLA research ignores Africa, Latin America or Asia which all have stable multilingual populations (Kachru, 1994, p. 796).

For Ortega, the first of three major consequences of erasure is that monolingualism is taken as the default, the ideal linguistic state and any subsequent languages being subordinate to the first language. The second consequence is that bilingual or multilingual competence is forgotten and made invisible (Ortega, 2014, p. 36), and L2 learners are seen as 'budding monolinguals for the second time around' (p. 36), a viewpoint which constrains validity and 'ethical liability' (p. 36). The third consequence is that 'linguistic ownership by birth is elevated to an inalienable right and advantage' placing the native speaker (by birth) as the most legitimate relationship between language, speech

and speaker. So not only is the native speech the 'purest' form, any form of linguistic competence or ownership other than that of native speech is inevitably 'less legitimate and less pure' (2014, p. 36).

The concerns about the monolingual bias highlighted by May (2014) and Ortega (2014) but raised previously by others (for example Block, 2003, 2014; Cook, 1992, 2002; Firth and Wagner, 1997; Kachru, 1994; Sridhar, 1994) can be contextualised in Aotearoa New Zealand to the extent that the term native speaker is undefined but the only widely used term within the Māori language community. Moreover, even as undefined, it is the benchmark by which learners are gauged.

SLA theories began with being focused on the internal processes of an individual learner with little attention paid to social and cultural contexts (Block, 2003; Norton Pierce, 1995, 2014; Pavlenko, 2002) and ignoring realities in multicultural and bi/multilingual contexts outside of Euro-American contexts (Kachru 1994, Sridhar, 1994). How theories have been determined, tested and described have also been challenged as researchers consistently emphasise SLA as a scientific, and therefore valid, discipline (May, 2014). Challenge, contestation and debate has called for reconceptualisation of focus and emphasis indicating a field in constant negotiation with itself. The final aspect to explore is approach in SLA, which is the most important as it places all linguistic, paradigmatic and conceptual cards on the table. However, as will become evident, the endangered language context challenges some basic precepts even of approach.

Poststructuralist approach in SLA

According to Pavlenko (2002), the poststructuralist approach was initiated with Pennycook's (1990) appeal for a 'rethink [in] language acquisition in its social, cultural, and political contexts, taking into account gender, race, and other relations of power as well as the notion of the subject as multiple and formed within different discourse' (Pennycook, 1990, p. 26), a thorough appreciation of which is still yet to come (May, 2014).

Pavlenko contends that the social aspects of L2 learning are underrepresented due to a

lack of attention to and interest in social factors [which] is not surprising if we consider the fact that SLA as a field continues to be influenced by the Chomskian view of language as biologically innate rather than a social phenomenon. As a result, until recently, the bulk of research concentrated on the learner's 'black box' and only peripheral attention was paid to 'external factors', which were seen at best as affecting the type and amount of input that goes into the 'box'. (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 277)

A Poststructuralist approach is 'understood broadly as an attempt to investigate and to theorise the role of language in construction and reproduction of social relations' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 282) and 'underscores that not all languages, discourses or registers are equal in the linguistic marketplace:

some are 'more equal than others' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 87). The next section follows Poststructuralist views of language, learning and L2 learners.

Language as symbolic capital

Poststructuralism theorises language as a collection of discourses imbued with meaning as opposed to language as consisting merely of the development of grammar, phonology and lexicon or 'a chain of signs without a subject, produced and seen from an 'objective' position or from nowhere in particular' and 'serve to reproduce, maintain or challenge existing power and knowledge structures' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 283). Referring directly to Bourdieu, Pavlenko notes that language can be converted into economic and social capital and this can have significant impact on language varieties outside the mainstream and is closely linked with language ideologies and attitudes (2002, p. 284).

Allied with a view of language as social capital is its position of a 'site of identity construction' (p. 283) and as such is unstable, dynamic, contested and negotiated (p. 286). Language use is seen as 'acts of identity' (p. 284) and learners' identities are recognised as significant in the language learning process as this view has 'important implications for theorising L2 outcomes' in terms of how age, race, ethnicity, class and gender in particular impact on access to linguistic resources and how we view linguistic competence ... which has to entail more than competence in phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon or pragmatics' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 285).

If Poststructuralism views learners using and learning language as social capital, we can suppose it views learning as social, as indeed it does. However, before examining a social view of learning it is necessary to look at learning from Māori points of view.

Māori and Poststructuralist views of learning

This study is about learners of an endangered language: *te reo Māori*, explored through *Kaupapa Māori* theory that centres Māori world views, constructs that are neither monolithic nor unitary. In *te reo Māori*, the concept of learning and teaching is presented in a single transitive verb: *ako* (Metge, 2015, p. 7). This presents a conceptual position of learning as a socially reciprocal relationship, with a 'fluidity of roles between teacher and learner' (Ka'ai, 2004, p. 208). Metge (2015) describes learning as a highly social activity, 'as part of living', with blurred distinctions between work and play (2015, p. 15), the learning of practical skills (2015, p. 23), *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) (p. 34) and listening as the main precursor to learning (Metge, 2015, p. 253). Across all these aspects was the idea of learning as participatory and interactive but with clearly defined roles (2015, p. 46), often based on age (2015, p. 64) and gender (2015, p. 74). Metge concludes that within Māori communities 'learning and teaching were joint enterprises in which responsibility for learning was shared and the development of good personal interpersonal relations and co-operation was as important as or more

important than individual achievement' (2015, p. 263). In Metge's book the concluding remarks rest with a participant, *kaumātua* (elder) Haare Williams, of Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki and Tūhoe.

I learned in those early childhood years by observation and imitation, then by affirmation and appropriation. Learning was connected to all things, a joint enterprise with nature, ancestors, the elders and the communities we lived in, all involving the heart, the body, the mind and the spirit in unison. Learning was a journey without end. (Williams in Metge, 2015, p. 266)

In sum, learning is viewed as an intergenerational activity connecting people across time and place, with dimensions beyond learning as just thinking; learning is complex, multidimensional and not only social but spiritual (Browne, 2005; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013). Poststructural approaches make room for such interpretations, rather than dismissing non-cognitive and cultural dimensions as irrelevant or unnecessary. Social and cultural dimensions are viewed as integral and intrinsic to the learning process. Theories and approaches that limit and lay strictures towards (language) learning do a disservice to the endangered language learning endeavour and deny a recognition of learners and speakers as negotiating unstable, multidimensional constructs and contexts.

To return to Poststructuralism views, L2 learning is seen as 'intrinsically social' rather than simply cognitive (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 286). SLA is cast as 'L2 socialisation' as learners 'not only internalise a particular body of knowledge but become culturally competent members of a particular community' (Bremer *et al.* cited in Pavlenko, 2002, p. 286). This involves positioning between novices and native speakers, negotiating language ideologies and institutional practices that facilitate or block access to linguistic and interactional resources.

Pavlenko (2002) discusses two key areas of the study of language socialisation: the variable of access to linguistic and interactional resources, a topic she had discussed previously (Pavlenko, 2000) and the process of discourse internalisation (2002, p. 286). Poststructuralist approaches view interaction as a variable of SLA rather than assuming all learners have unlimited access to the same linguistic resources and interactional opportunities. Moreover, access is mediated by the 'L2 user's gender, race, ethnicity, age, class, social status and linguistic background' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 287) and therefore can impact on language development.

Critical to the endangered language context is that access is not mediated solely by the L2 learner. The role of 'target language speakers' is as important, where 'linguistic gatekeeping' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 287) can have serious consequences on the very future of the language (Hinton, 2011, p. 309). Target language speakers and L2 learners are joined in relationships influenced by competing ideologies, the language's status, external and internal linguistic hegemonies, and notions of 'idealised speakers', often manifest in the 'right to speak' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 285). This relationship is influenced too by

the ideologies and behaviours of non-speakers, who in endangered language contexts are a majority and wield considerable power.

As Pavlenko (2002) notes in reference to Norton Pierce's 1995 research on immigrant women in Canada, 'extensive instruction in various aspects of the target language is of little value when opportunities to interact with target language speakers are limited' (p. 290). Access to the target language is a notion highly relevant in endangered language contexts, given that the variable of access might be different in a number of ways (Hinton, 2011): more extreme variables of access between speakers and groups, and how access is mediated and negotiated differently across views of language, language ideologies as well as through gender, class and age. As an unfixed variable, access to the target language can change over time due to macro and micro level policies, personal experiences, perceptions and expectations (Hinton, 2011).

Interaction is pivotal in SLA but is not a static variable across all learners and language learning contexts. Part of a learner's socialisation is to appropriate and internalise the voices and discourses of other speakers (Pavlenko, p. 290), a practice not restricted to adult learners but one where 'even the youngest learners don't internalise random linguistics items, rather they attend to and appropriate the most powerful discourses in their immediate environment' (2002, p. 291). Social interaction is critical to the learning process and access, appropriation and internalisation assist the learning process and are linked to 'power and authority' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 291).

Poststructuralist and Māori views of learners

Having examined how Poststructuralism views language as a social tool and its acquisition as social process, it is safe to predicate a view of learners as highly social constructs. Similar to a social view of learning, this issue links closely with Māori world views and the following section attempts to synthesise Poststructuralist understandings with perspectives grounded in Māori world views.

Not surprisingly, given the interconnected nature of Māori world views, preconceptions and markers of learners are linked closely to Māori views of identity, social relationships, constructions and roles (Penetito, 2010). From a Māori world view, the learner is viewed as a social and emotionally-engaged entity. This foregrounds the learner's ancestral identity to that of their L2 identity. While this may seem obvious, it has important implications for how we view Indigenous and endangered language learning, and indeed the education of Indigenous children per se.

According to Ka'ai (2004), within Māori views the learner is the centre of the learning process, as the centre of a complex social world through genealogical links to the spiritual and natural worlds (p. 209).

Written in the 1990s, primarily by highly-respected Māori women (Tocker, 2015, p. 344), *Te Aho Matua* is the philosophical viewpoint of Māori-medium education to ensure that Kura Kaupapa education was not just a mainstream curriculum taught in Māori. It is arguably the authoritative text on Māori views of the learner. This document portrays the child [learner] as part of a spiritual life, linked through their ancestors to *Io*⁹ (Supreme Being) with a collective, spiritual identity as Māori before an individual identity (New Zealand Government, 2008, p. 741).

In essence, in a Māori world view, the learner (and learning) is

- socially embedded in individual, collective and genealogical relationships (New Zealand Government, 2008, p. 743), including a relationship with the environment (p. 745),
- engaged in 'learning as caught rather than taught' (New Zealand Government, 2008, p. 743),
- learning by modelling behaviours and knowledge of those around her, a process that described as learning 'by osmosis' (Metge, 2015, p. 253),
- using multisensory modes (New Zealand Government, 2008, p. 745),
- adaptive to contexts, and is expected to use multiple learning behaviours (New Zealand Government, 2008, p. 745),
- unrestricted to the classroom (Ka'ai, 2004, p. 208; New Zealand Government, 2008, p. 745)
- expected to be self-motivated, cooperative and collaborative (New Zealand Government, 2008, p. 263).

This learner-centred approach did not absolve them of responsibility. In fact, as Metge observes,

learners were given considerable freedom to choose whether and what to learn. If they did not take advantage of the opportunities offered, that was considered their responsibility and loss. Where tapu kinds of knowledge were concerned, their custodians actively discouraged would-be learners in order to identify those who were committed enough to persevere. (Metge, 2015, p. 264)

Metge's comments are of particular interest if access to linguistic knowledge is a key variable, in combination with strong ideologies of Māori language and knowledge as being viewed as *tapu* (Pohe, 2012).

A Māori pedagogy (*ako*) recognises personal qualities in each learner, *tuakiri tangata* (personality traits), (Ka'ai, 2004, p. 209) or Māori identity (Penetito, 2010. p. 40, p. 249). These traits include *mauri, wairua, iho matua, tinana, ngākau, whatumanawa, hinengaro, pūmanawa, auaha* (Ka'ai, 2004, p. 210) that situate the learner as actively engaged in continually evolving social relationships, as tutor or

⁹ Definition of *Io* from Te Aka: 1. (personal name) supreme being - some tribes have a tradition of a supreme being, which may be a response to Christianity. However, *Io* occurs in a number of traditions from Polynesian islands, including Hawai'i, the Society Islands and the Cook Islands. This suggests a more ancient tradition.

novice, or as *teina/tuakana* (older and younger) depending on their role within a learning context. The learner is viewed as engaging in socially-embedded cultural and spiritual activities as well as a thinking activity, and learning is not separated from identity learning (Penetito, 2010). The *tuakiri tangata* model sees the learner as emotionally responsive and connected to intellectual activity through their *hinengaro* (mental capacity of the learner) (Ka'ai, 2004, p. 210) and the conscious and unconscious mind (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 18). The qualities of *tuakiri tangata* are acknowledged in *Te Aho Matua*, but its authors stress that aspects of the human spirit are considered as important as physical attributes, not to be dismissed as the domain and responsibility of church or religion, but regarded as an integral part of human personality and, therefore, are responsive to and affected by teaching and learning (New Zealand Government, 2008, p. 741). Penetito argues that the lack of understanding of this dimension seriously impacts on Māori success in a Pākehā education system (Penetito, 2010).

Ratima focused on successful, or 'exemplary' adult learners of Māori and learner characteristics that contribute towards proficiency (Ratima, 2013; Ratima & Papesch, 2014). Ratima and Papesch (2014) propose proficient learner characteristics (2014, p. 382) and identified four key features required of successful Māori L2 learners (Ratima & Papesch, 2014).

They are:

1. Māori identity as integrative motivation (Ratima & Papesch, 2014, p. 389).
2. 'Openness to change' (2014, p. 390), and moving out of comfort zones, taking on new cultural roles, resisting *whānau* patterns and expectations (2014, p. 390).
3. Recognising the primacy of social relationships, (2014, p. 390). Ratima links this to language learning as a social phenomenon, but limits these to native speakers and mentors and other 'meaningful human connections' (2014, p. 390).
4. The use of transferable skills and a transferable identity (2014, p. 391).

Ratima, referring to Norton Pierce's (1995) connections between identity and power relations, observed that in Papesch's case, 'we can see that it is not only just the transferable skills that are important but it is also the participant's sense of identity as a worthwhile person and *the recognition of that worth from target language speakers and fellow learners*' (Ratima and Papesch, 2014, p. 391, emphasis added). The latter part of this sentence has serious implications if a community language requires a majority of members speaking it (Bauer, 2008). From Ratima and Papesch (2014) it would appear that it is the learner who has to indicate their worth as future speaker, rather than assumptions being made about all community members being future speakers. In other words, the speaker has to demonstrate their worth first, and develop as a speaker if that is recognised by others.

Ratima (2013) illustrates aspects of the complexity of proficient ELA and the range of social contexts and agents required to support one individual learner. Ratima's (2013) analysis was focused squarely on the learner as an independent being, requiring 'commitment', 'discipline', 'hard work' and a clear vision of proficiency as their ultimate goal (p. 392). The learner is solely responsible for becoming proficient and teachers need to make learners aware of this very early on in the learning process (2014, p. 392). Metge (2015) points to a high degree of learner responsibility as part of Māori views of the learner; Māori language learning is increasingly recognised as a social and community phenomenon (Hond, 2013b Olsen-Reeder & Higgins, 2012; Pohe, 2012). A social view foregrounds participation, interaction and a shared collective responsibility. Most endangered language contexts come with restrictions of time, linguistic and physical resources, often providing challenges extra to those of L2 learning (Hinton, 2011). If we accept that contexts, speakers and language vary as much as the number of people engaged in eL2 learning, the 'puzzle' of the range of outcomes possible is not enigmatic but an expected inherent characteristic and part of the phenomenon.

It is clear that a view of language learners that does not recognise them as engaged in complex, multiple, social, cultural and spiritual worlds will not fit with Māori views of learning, language nor with *tikanga Māori*.

Identity and agency

Poststructuralism, according to Pavlenko (2002), creates a more expansive view of L2 learners, reconceptualising them as active, dynamic, evolving agents of their own learning, and seen as 'diverse, contradictory, and dynamic; multiple rather than unitary, decentred rather than centred' (Norton Pierce cited in Pavlenko, 2002, p. 292). Pavlenko stresses two main points of difference from more traditional views of the L2 learner as a passive recipient of input, producing output deficient to that of a native speaker. The first difference between the Poststructuralist view and the sociopsychological paradigm is that it allows researchers to examine multiple and complex identities, not just as simply learners of a target language, and views language as a form of symbolic capital (2002, p. 232).

A view of language in terms of symbolic capital accounts for the rise of elites (J. King, 2007) in Māori language revitalisation. But *te reo Māori* as symbolic capital is neither monolithic, nor uniform, as it is recognised differently by different people. As King observes this can be by non-speaking Māori supporting ceremonial functions and cultural roles but disassociated from them, as the language is 'only for middle-class Māori' (J. King, 2007, p. 24). Penetito argues that Pākehā views of Māori knowledge as a site of 'exotic interest' and a site of cultural uniqueness on the international stage for economic gain (2010, p. 253); for others it is important but not worth money being spent on it (de

Bres, 2011; Harlow, 2005; Nicholson & Garland, 1991) and for Lewis, as profoundly counter hegemonic (Lewis, 2014, p. 26).

A second feature of difference in a Poststructuralist view is the role assigned to human agency that sees learners as agents in charge of their own learning and agency as co-constructed within the L2 learner's context (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 293). Moreover, a learner's agency is dynamic and may shift over time. This factor is evident in the participant group, as they discussed their identities changing over time due to major life experiences, such as the death of a parent and the weight of responsibility in continuing their families' cultural traditions (see Ratima & Papesch, 2014). For some of the male participants it was the responsibility of speaking on the marae or career changes. For other participants it was becoming parents, with unexpected challenges and a change in agency.

Pavlenko argues that an individual's will and choice are only part of the story. She highlights the role of sociocultural contexts and 'that agencies are co-constructed with those around the L2 users; thus, individuals may act upon their wishes *only if their present environments allow for such agency*' (p. 293, emphasis added). It is not just what the L2 learners are doing, it is what attitudes, ideologies and behaviours allow them to do. Cast in this light and given the resistance to Māori language learning by government and the monolingual English bias pervasive in New Zealand society, this factor recognises the immense degree of agency and investment required of *all* those involved in language revitalisation: *kaumātua*, *kuia*, L2 learners, teachers, parents and grandparents with demanding roles as leaders, dishwashers, drivers, tutors, speakers and learners. The multiple roles required would far exceed New Zealand's common understandings of language revitalisation and attest to just what is required of L2 speakers of an endangered language.

However, while Poststructuralist views have a definite advantage in recognising the role and power of agency in a more fluid and hybrid way, it must be orientated by Māori world views of agency and the L2 learner of Māori experience. Penetito (2010) questions the role of agency and Māori as active agents (2010, p. 47), arguing that 'agency does not accept a verdict of neutrality' (2010, p. 46). He contends that people's responses to how they exercise agency 'depends on additional questions as whether there was a choice, what the choices were, whether there were opportunities to make choices and whether they were the choices that people wanted' (2010, p. 47).

Penetito's further questioning of the process of agency is highly relevant to the endangered language context.

I think the very idea of agency (the ability to act independently) can be regarded as a way to explain a manufactured and manipulated consensus, a way to ascribe freedom, flexibility and at the *emergence* of power within a society...in such a way that it justifies and reproduces itself. What is clear is that Māori could have abdicated their connections with the land, their

history, their culture and their religion, and have decided that ‘might is right’ and allowed themselves to be gobbled up by the ever-intrusive Western mechanisms of hegemony. But they have not. (Penetito, 2010, p. 48, original emphasis)

This resistance is to be celebrated. Conceptually, agency is considered in terms of power relations: who is determining what and why. The entire spectrum of the Māori language revitalisation movement, with its components of language immersion education, community-based initiatives, L2 learning in tertiary institutions and broadcasting can be considered as a powerful expression of agency as part of a ‘stubbornness in the Māori sense of identity’ as beneficial to New Zealand society and this stubbornness needs to be ever present in the Māori exercise of agency (Penetito, 2010, p. 48). Penetito can take heart; investigations into L2 learners of Māori and their sociocultural worlds reveal a stubbornness very much alive in the Māori learning community. A valid and representative view of eL2 learners cannot ignore agency, its historical and contemporary expression nor deem it irrelevant to what it means to the learner and their language journey.

Contributing to the social turn early in the new millennium, Norton Pierce (1995) called for a move away from individually-centred views of ‘attitudes’ and motivation and to socially constituted ‘ideologies’, ‘investment’, ‘agency’ and ‘identity’. These terms allow for more complex and accurate understandings of L2 learners’ sociocultural worlds and how they might change over time and ‘the socially and historically constructed and dynamic relationships of the learners to the target language’ (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 294). Indigenous learners often come to their ancestral language learning with complex and conflicting ideologies and experiences of ‘agency’ and ‘identity’ for themselves, their families and their communities. A more nuanced and fluid interpretation would recognise variation of agency and identity between and within cultures that so important in an endangered language context.

Key advantages of Poststructuralist approaches

To conclude before returning to SLA theory, Pavlenko’s (2002) key advantages of poststructuralist approaches are ranked in order of importance and relevance to adult learners of *te reo Māori* and endangered language contexts:

1. Poststructuralism recognises the two-way, interdependent relationship between language and social contexts (p. 298). Therefore, eL2 learners of Māori are, as are those around them, producing, reproducing, transforming and performing identities. Access to linguistic resources is mediated by gender, age, class and ethnicity affecting L2 learning outcomes (p. 298) and the future of the language (Hinton, 2011).
2. There is recognition of the role of discourses of power, legitimacy and the ‘right to speak’. There is accommodation of Bourdieu’s social theory framework of language ideologies and

social processes that shape individual beliefs and behaviours, ‘illustrating the socially constructed nature of beliefs previously seen as individual’ (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 296).

3. Individuals are viewed as responding to societal relations of power with access to linguistic resources as problematic and an important variable that needs to be seen through practices linked to ethnicity, gender, class and race (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 297).
4. As a practice, L2 learning is viewed as completely unproblematic, and seen as normal (2002, p. 298). Given New Zealand’s entrenched monolingualism, this issue is vital in understanding the challenges that face eL2 learners of *te reo Māori*. Bilingualism has been a reality in the Māori community for generations but Pākehā New Zealand has rejected an expectation to be bilingual. New Zealand’s entrenched monolingualism is related to English as an international language and the language of progress and modernity (Pennycook, 1990, 2001). There is a rich seam of language ideologies that centres New Zealand English and places all other languages on the periphery. A view of L2 learning as normal avoids monolingual and monocultural biases dominating (Pavlenko, p. 295) and validates multilingual realities and transitioning between languages (p. 285).
5. Moving towards diversity and multilingualism forces a reconceptualisation of L2 learners as speakers in their own right, not as failed native speakers.
6. The recognition of complex stratification of all societies and communities with learners having co-existing, not mutually exclusive, multiple memberships, and that L2 learning may in fact be creating new communities that might not have native speakers (Hinton, 2011; Pavlenko, 2002, p. 296).
7. Motivation is recast as investment and recognises how individual investments are shaped in particular social contexts (p. 297)
8. Finally, Poststructuralism validates alternative methodologies beyond surveys, questionnaires and ‘quasi-experimental designs’, expanding to verbal and non-verbal behaviour; instructional and non-instructional contexts; favours ‘emic’ i.e., learner-centred research, longitudinal data and research on languages other than English in the Euro-North American context (Kachru, 1994; Sridhar, 1994).

Unsurprisingly, L2 learning of *te reo Māori* would benefit from a more substantive research agenda. But Māori language research is fortunate in having an articulated methodological framework based on Māori world views. While kaupapa Māori research still has to continually justify and claim its own validity (Jackson, 2011, p. 72) and experience entrenched opposition (May, 2014) – see for example Marie and Haigh (2007) – this framework has an established place in New Zealand’s research landscape as a form of resistance to assimilation and Penetito’s ‘stubbornness’ (Penetito, 2010, p. 48).

While it has framed language research (e.g., Hond, 2013b; Pohe, 2012; Ratima 2013; Timms, 2013), its full impact on Māori language research specifically is yet to be fully realised.

All of these factors are significant in all language learning contexts but have added meaning in the ELA context in resisting unilateral theoretical predictions as eL2 learners who exist in complex, fluid and multidimensional social worlds. Poststructuralist approaches encourage 'socially-engaged scholarship' (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 299) with the potential to transform how we inform policy, planning and language pedagogy. It therefore means that research with speakers of endangered languages can fulfil a paradigmatic expectation that people, language, knowledge, the natural world and power are in mutually interconnected relationships and are framed in a way that supports, validates and respects tension and complexity.

The final section in this chapter investigates a description of L2 learning where theory, turn and approach come together to provide a lens with which to look at language acquisition as an activity contingent on social participation.

Sociocultural theory: theory, turn & approach

Sociocultural theory (SCT) is not the only perspective that views 'language use in real world situations as fundamental, not ancillary to learning' (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, p. 37). This basic tenet is included in perspectives such as Language Socialisation from anthropology and the Dialogic Perspective from Bakhtin (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, pp. 39-42). But Ortega maintains that SCT theory is the only social approach to L2 learning that has begun to enjoy full acceptance as an SLA theory (Ortega, 2009, p. 218). This is due to the consistent and forceful work of James Lantolf and his application of the Vygotskian approach of learning as the social development of cognitive processes (Zuengler & Miller, 2006, p. 38).

The focus in this section is how central aspects of SCT can explain L2 learning of Māori and recognise how from a theoretical point of view it can support and expand our understandings of language learning in complex real life situations. Substantive outlines of SCT are primarily those of Lantolf (specifically 1994, 1996, 2000, 2002 & 2006) and three writers in particular have provided commentaries on its contribution to the field (Ortega, 2009, 2013 & 2014; Hulstijn *et al*, 2014; Zuengler & Miller, 2006).

In the mid-1990s, exploring the synthesis of SCT and SLA, Lantolf and Pavlenko emphasise that 'the goal of SCT is to understand how people organize and use their minds for carrying out the business of living' by looking at higher mental processes or consciousness (Lantolf and Pavlenko, 1995, p. 108). Lantolf, working from a Poststructuralist approach, and Pavlenko (2002) engage with Vygotskian

theories of learning as a social process to frame L2 learning as a socially-mediated activity. The goal of L2 learning, or learning in general, is the process, not product, as cognition and consciousness are always social (Ortega, 2009, p. 219). Lantolf points out, 'Vygotsky's fundamental theoretical insight is that higher forms of human mental activity are always, and everywhere, *mediated* by symbolic means' (Lantolf, 1994, p. 418, original emphasis) and language is a key tool for learners to allow humans to organise and control mental processes and language learning as 'linguistically mediated cognition' (p. 419).

However, over ten years later Lantolf clarifies that SCT is not a sociolinguistic theory of language use, it is a psychological/psycholinguistic theory that explains human mental functioning on the basis of situated sociocultural activity that is in large part by communicative practices (Lantolf, 2011, p. 341). Given SCT's focus on learners, language and cognition all converging as a social process, and the central constructs within *ako* of learning as a participatory, learner-focused activity negotiating contexts across time, space and place, an alignment between these two frameworks warrants further investigation, a point already observed by Hemara (Hemara, 2011, p. 133).

More recently Lantolf acknowledged that one critique of SCT is that it has failed to attach itself to language as a formal linguistic system but has only dealt with language fragments (Lantolf, 2011, p. 348). Lantolf uses Hopper's notion of emergent grammar as compatible with SCT (p. 348) to propose meaning as a unit of analysis for showing mental (the mind) and behaviour (social interaction) as any unit 'must be linked to humans' meaning-making activity' (2011, p. 348).

Furthermore, for Lantolf, Hopper's concept of an emergent grammar as unfixed, not determined and constantly open to flux, and therefore unattainable, challenges the very core of SLA which prioritises the acquisition of a stable, fixed and obtainable grammar of another language (Lantolf, 2011). Hopper challenges the notion of language as a 'fixed-code' or complete linguistic system shared equally by everyone in the speech community. In SLA in general, this is towards 'native speaker-like competence', by an idealised individual learner; the monologic sense of grammar implies an idealised perfect 'knower' of a complete linguistic system. Clearly, SCT does not support the notion of an ideal perfect 'knower' of a fixed complete linguistic system if it rejects the notion of an ideal autonomous learner. From this perspective, grammar is emergent, always incomplete, and 'learning an additional language is about enhancing one's repertoire of fragments and patterns that enables participation in a wider array of communicative activities. It is not about building up a complete and perfect grammar as a precondition for producing well-formed sentences' (Lantolf, 2011, p. 349).

This position of learners pursuing a 'repertoire of patterns', could have interesting parallels with the cumulative pedagogy in the Te Ātaarangi method which places social interaction with tutors and

learners at the forefront of the learning process and Te Ātaarangi's pedagogy needs to be reviewed more from this perspective. As Lantolf himself notes, more work is needed on the interface of Vygotskian theory of mind and alternative language theories as they have the potential to challenge our understandings of language learning and teaching in profound ways (Lantolf, 2011, p. 349).

Theories and positions that challenge assumptions and givens about language learning are vital to endangered language contexts as often theories are based on an academic tradition that favours eternal fixed falsifiable and 'acceptable findings', despite debate about constitutes 'acceptable findings' (Block, 1996, p. 70). A tradition and position which favours theory building directed towards finding a dominant theory has relegated Indigenous experience to the margins. In my experience, Indigenous theories, and certainly Māori viewpoints, are reluctant to claim any one theoretical expression as it assumes a superior theoretical viewpoint.

Key differences between SCT and mainstream approaches towards SLA

In his more recent exegesis Lantolf (2011, p. 350) notes the key differences between mainstream and SCT research. In mainstream research, presumed to be of the cognitivist and individual strain, language is a formal set of structures or grammar that must be acquired by students for students to be communicatively effective (p. 350). A SLA researchers' primary job therefore is to uncover the cause of SLA with an invariant route and rate for all learners, irrespective of context. These two viewpoints mean that the autonomous learner is the core of the learning process with a methodological individualism that privileges the experimental research settings concerned with defining and controlling variables.

In contrast, SCT research sees language as an emergent fragmented system shaped and emerging in communicative interaction. Language is not merely an expression of thought, it is seen as symbolic artefact *par excellence*, so that L2 learning may mean a new way of mediating one's relationship to the world and self (Lantolf, 2011, p. 350). SCT is not to discover causes of SLA but to uncover reasons why people do what they do or do not learn a new language, as learning is highly individualistic in terms of motivations, goals and demonstrating human agency.

Justification for use of social and Poststructuralist perspectives

The final section of this chapter outlines clearly how the orientation toward a poststructuralist, socially-mediated view of adult Māori language learning came about. Foremost, social and poststructuralist approaches address issues of power impacting within and on the speech communities (Pavlenko, 2002). A sociocultural perspective assumes that cognitive activity of eL2 speakers occurs because cognition and socialisation are learning development. SCT and Vygotskian theories of learning reject the separation of the mind from the world around it; 'consciousness is the

result of social activity reflected in the human brain' (Lantolf in Hulstijn *et al*, 2014, p. 371). In this sense learners cannot be viewed as isolates devoid of context. Furthermore, Māori views of learning, that is *ako*, are premised on reciprocal relationships between language and culture, expert speakers and learners, and is contextualised in a central precept of SCT that learners and social contexts form a dialectical unity (Lantolf, 2011, p. 350).

This challenges sections of the eL2 community of Māori to re[dis]cover *ako* as the central process for the acquisition of *te reo Māori* to promote a theory of language learning embedded in the language. In turn, this accommodates complex notions around Māori identity, to lead linguistic change and divergence as the future of the language not damaging it, and celebrate L2 learners' place in the future of the language. A culturally-bound theoretical framework has the potential to challenge the threat of neoliberal and mainstream SLA ideologies on Māori language revitalisation.

In an endangered language context, learners are reframed as speakers in their own right. This is vital if we consider how a monolingual bias can be applied when there are no 'native speakers' left. This will require a rejection of framing new and emergent speakers' contributions in deficit terms and acknowledging multicompetence in two linguistic parallels. This perspective envisions L2 speakers as the future of *te reo Māori*, their accompanying realities, diagglossic function and multiple identities as learners of an unfixed evolving linguistic knowledge. This has the potential to address head on issues of language purity and monolingual bias within Māori language revitalisation (for examples see Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011; Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, 2012).

A recognition of the social and multilingual turns in SLA validates and creates relationships and connections or a *whakapapa* between interlocutors, which empowers those relationships, and all agents within them. If we view L2 learning of Māori as a normal, constantly evolving process, not a fixed destination, this reframes those learners as dynamic agents invigorating linguistic and cultural pluralism.

Conclusion

The literature on SLA reveals forty years of transformation, reviewed with an emphasis on the critical periods that reflect trends and issues in academic endeavour, for example in the 1980s and 1990s and on what authors refer to as 'critical turns' when researchers, writers and theorists have argued for re-evaluations of perspectives and attention. Accompanying these turns have been shifts in the perspectives and methodologies of SLA research which have substantially impacted on how SLA is framed.

The field is still characterised primarily by investigations of L2 learning of English, a monolingual bias and the still prominent belief that individual choices and behaviour are more important than the social constructs that facilitate individual behavioural change, along with a pervasive demand for more empirical studies for the field to be taken seriously (Hulstijn, 2013). This need to be recognised as a science has had priority, rather than developing ways that deal with complexity and divergence as they are in the real world (Ortega, 2013; Young, 2014; Pavlenko, 2002; Zuengler & Miller, 2006).

By providing the social contexts and challenges of L2 learners of Māori (Chapter 2) and investigating the social (hegemonic) forces that impact on Māori language revitalisation (Chapter 3), this chapter has proposed that the learning of *te reo Māori* be viewed as a culturally-embedded social process reinforced by the conceptual process from *ako*. Research must link speakers, context and process to protect the *mana* of the language and its speakers. How this might be done is described in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Pākehā scholarship and Māori methodologies

Two symbols towards ‘the imagined community of bicultural Aotearoa’ (Wevers, 2006) are the Whare Rūnanga and the ‘Busby House’ on the Waitangi Treaty Grounds in the Bay of Islands [Image 2]. Built in 1834, the humble Busby house on the left reflects New Zealand’s political settler heritage. A stand of pohutukawa (a native tree) and a century separate the Busby house and Whare Rūnanga or House of Assembly (Waitangi National Trust, 2015). This *whare* is a supreme example of a *whare whakairo* (carved meeting house) and a visual celebration of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi as a dynamic document that declares the Treaty’s *mana* for Māori and the nation. Sharing a common space, they are symbolic of the *mana* of both histories.



Image 2: The Busby house and the Whare Rūnanga on the Waitangi Treaty Grounds

While visual symbols are important as signposts and ideals of the interface between Māori and Pākehā, this research hopes to be part of a transformative, intellectual narrative. It posits ideological dreams and practical challenges with the realities of transcultural *tikanga*-based research practice.

As Pākehā, I am observer of past and current Pākehā scholars. But as a researcher, I must invest in what I observe to be true to my own work as part of a tradition, or the *whakapapa* of Pākehā research practice. This is a more apparent aspect of the recent literature (Barnes, 2013, 2015; Jones, A. 2012; Hill & May, 2013), perhaps in response to an awareness that non-Indigenous researchers need to articulate *how* they know what they know (Pillow, 2003).

Pākehā scholarship on Māori language and culture is an established and critiqued tradition in the academy (Bishop, 1997; Cram, 1997; Smith, G. 1987; Smith, L.T. 1999). However, it is now receiving scrutiny from within the Pākehā community (Barnes, 2013; Duder, 2010; Jones, 2012; Hill & May, 2013; Tolich, 2002). We know about the impact of research on Māori but not as much about the impact of research with Māori on Pākehā (Barnes, 2013).

The existence of non-Indigenous researchers researching and reporting on Indigenous contexts is part of an academic tradition established in anthropology, sociology and history, in a received tradition of exploring what was 'exotic' or 'different' and thereby reinforcing Western superiority, norms and standards (Said, 1993). The following chapter is restricted intentionally to my own cultural group, Pākehā working in Māori contexts, to resist speaking for other cultural groups and an assumption that all non-Indigenous experiences are the same across all Indigenous groups.

The early tradition of Pākehā scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand is a continuing dialogue between two communities sharing two larger and many smaller islands of the south-west Pacific. Early Europeans arrived with religious and colonial beliefs, a sense of entitlement and righteousness to their endeavours, which combined had a compelling, and at times destructive, force. The time-honoured Pākehā male right to interpret and explain the world remains in New Zealand academic life. It is important, more than ever, to focus on meaningful Pākehā scholarship and practical examples of those visual signposts and ideals towards a bicultural and bilingual future.

Pākehā: 'Called by this name, we answer'¹⁰

Newton (2009) makes the point that the term Pākehā is a 'settler formation without parallel. Nowhere else in the colonial or postcolonial world has a dominant settler culture adopted an identity conferred by a minority indigenous group' (2009, p. 44). The term is used here to signal a contextualised identity from New Zealand's history and relationships. But it also acknowledges an identity from being on Māori land and in a Māori country (Mike Grimshaw cited in Mikaere, 2004, p. 44). It is not to perpetuate New Zealand's cultural amnesia (Mikaere, 2004) or to be 'self-indigenizing' (Wevers, 2006), nor to claim status as a 'native' (King, M., 2001, p. 112).

Even if some feel that Pākehā identity has been forged at the expense of Māori (Walker, S., 1996, p. 20), the use of the term Pākehā is deliberate. It supports the convincing argument that acknowledges that 'I am what I am on Māori land' (Mikaere, 2004) and locates a Pākehā identity as that of New Zealand but in relationship to and as defined by *tangata whenua*.

¹⁰ From Newton, 2009, p. 44

The term does not include a claim as ‘another indigenous culture’ (King, M., 1999, p. 239) as the determining of Indigenous status is not ours [Pākehā] to declare, it is that of indigenous people themselves (S. Walker, 1996). Bidois (2013) argues that even though Michael King was not claiming an indigeneity identical to Māori, it focused on being from a ‘place’ rather than occupying a ‘space’, and as such his claim undermined Māori status as *tangata whenua* (p. 148). Michael King focused on a historical and geographical connection (Bidois, 2013, p. 148) and in doing so denied the relationships that occupy and occur within it. It is through our relationship with Māori as *tangata whenua* that we can develop a Pākehā identity, not pre-determined by a ‘blank slate’ of New Zealand’s colonial history or the perpetuation of ‘amnesia as part of the cultural condition’ (Jesson cited in Mikaere, 2004; Nairn, 2010, p. 1). The use of the term Pākehā is to acknowledge our colonial history and an identity that comes from those conditions. A recognition of Pākehā identity to be on Māori land and in Māori space potentially shifts the role of the Māori language in New Zealand to become a marker of Pākehā identity.

Barnes uses the term Pākehā to refer to those people of European descent who call Aotearoa New Zealand home. Culturally, socially, and politically, the term ‘Pākehā’ relates to our historic and evolving contemporary relationship with Māori, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand (Barnes, 2013, p. 1). If called by this name, we can in turn declare ourselves by this name. We can answer in terms that relate us to our ancestry, our beginnings and declare our relationships with and connections to the land and our future.

Origins: Missionaries, ethnographers and scholars

Jones gives a brief *whakapapa* of Pākehā and Māori relationships that have shaped Māori and Pākehā knowledge:

... from Tuai to Thomas Kendall; Tutakangahau to Elsdon Best, Eruera and Amiria Stirling to Anne Salmond; Hirini Melbourne to Richard Nunns; Tūhoe to Judith Binney; Ngāti Hau to James K. Baxter; the people of Ahipara to Joan Metge; Aunty Rongo to Glenn Colquhoun. (Jones, 2012, p. 108)

This *whakapapa* extends back to some of the earliest encounters between Māori and Pākehā. Thomas Kendall, a missionary with Rev. Samuel Marsden under the protection of the *rangatira* (chief) Ruatara and Hongi Hika, arrived in New Zealand in 1814. He is described as ‘emotional, idealistic and a self-torturing man driven by evangelical zeal and seeking perfection’ (Binney, 2013). In Sydney, just a year later in 1815, he published *A Korao no New Zealand or the New Zealander’s first book; being an attempt to compose some lessons for the instructions of the Natives*. As a first attempt at a Māori orthography it exposes Kendall’s ‘lack of expertise as a linguist’ (Higgins & Keane, 2013). His second publication in 1820, the *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand*, shows the

influence of his visit to the Cambridge linguist Professor Lee and remains the orthographic foundation of written Māori (Binney, 2013; Higgins & Keane, 2013).

In 1844, William Williams, the brother of the missionary Henry Williams, published his dictionary. His name is known to many Māori language learners as it is still in print in its 7th edition. Williams' dictionary, although glossed in English, remained the primary source dictionary of Māori until the publication of *He Pātaka* in 2008, the only substantive monolingual Māori dictionary¹¹.

Henry Williams arrived in the Bay of Islands in 1832 and his brother William in 1826. Williams argued that to achieve their primary task of spiritual teaching the missionaries needed knowledge of the Māori language (Fisher, 2013). As churchmen, both Williams and Kendall's access to the language was to aid a more efficient conversion to Christianity. The next group of Pākehā scholars were of a different type.

Edward Tregear's approach towards Māori knowledge has been described as 'intellectual colonisation' (Howe, 2012). He transformed himself from a New Plymouth draughtsman to a prominent and controversial intellectual. In 1881, Tregear published the *Maori Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*. The following year, he and fellow surveyor, Stephenson Percy Smith, established The Polynesian Society, an organisation which continues to publish on Māori and Pacific history, linguistics, ethnography and anthropology. Derby (2012) observes that, 'many of the Society's findings were later overturned, but it played an important part in collecting, preserving and stimulating academic interest in traditional Māori culture'.

Eldson Best was one of New Zealand's earliest professional ethnographers (Sissons, 2012). His work is known for the volume of his published material, some of it still unique. In aiming to preserve the knowledge of a people he believed were disappearing, he was involved in a 'quixotic and contradictory project' (Derby, 2011, p. 146); in observing and collecting Māori knowledge his work was part of the colonial process which threatened to bring about such a fate (Sissons, 2012). Furthermore, according to Gibbons (2005) in the transfer to print, Best's work caused a 'desacralizing [of] sacred knowledge'; 'paternalistic portrayals of a "primitive" culture with the 'projection of European intellectual fancies upon the data' and a fixation on 'ancient Maori rather than with the contemporary people' (Gibbons, 2005).

Best's relationships with his 'informants' has been reviewed to argue they are in fact 'co-authors'. Tutakangahau, for example, who has previously been described as one of his most important

¹¹ A smaller dictionary, *Tirohia, Kimihia*, aimed at Māori immersion education students was published by the NZ Ministry of Education in 2006.

‘informants’, was in fact the co-author of ‘at least some’ of Best’s ethnological works (Derby, 2011). However, questions have been raised as to the veracity of the information Best was given and his ability as a Pākehā to present that information accurately. Even Best himself recognised that Pākehā scholars needed to be aware that their work was influenced by being non-Māori (Visser, 2012), but, true to his era, he hoped for a time ‘when man becomes more altruistic, and recognizes primary truths outside national, racial and sectarian limits’ (Best cited in Visser, 2012, p. 296).

Another important figure of the early part of the 20th century was Te Rangi Hīroa, or Sir Peter Buck. Often referred to as a ‘Māori scholar’ he had a bicultural ancestry: his father was Irish and his mother Māori from the Taranaki region. He eventually changed professions from medicine to anthropology and is known for his ‘light-hearted romp through the oral traditions, ethnology and social traditions of each of the major Polynesian groups’ (Sorrenson, 2012). His work is relevant here in establishing the tradition of Māori scholarship but it must be viewed as part of the western tradition rather than spearheading a challenge to it.

The next set of names in Jones’ (2012) *whakapapa* after Kendall and Best signal a change in the nature of Pākehā encounter with Māori knowledge.

Post World War Two New Zealand: historians, researchers and community

Post World War Two was a time of rapid social change, of shifting political and economic alliances. The 1970s and 1980s are often referred to as the ‘Māori Renaissance’ (discussed in Chapter 2), attributed to the rise of activism, increased Māori politicisation, a growing Māori population and the emergence of a Māori intelligentsia (Moon, 2009). The term ‘renaissance’ is a misnomer as it suggests erroneously that Māori life was moribund or on the verge of death, which was certainly not the case.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Māori reclamation of cultural identity and demands for political and economic autonomy were seen as a response to the oppressive colonial structure and institutions of government. At the same time however, it revealed Pākehā cultural ethnicity as indistinct and dislocated. (Bidois, 2013, p. 147)

The impact of the 1970s and ‘80s on Pākehā is less well documented than the impact on Māori but there were indications of a shift in Pākehā engagement with Māori knowledge. This involved a reassessment of the Pākehā place in New Zealand and a change from ‘preserving’ to engaging and understanding Māori knowledge. In doing so, there was more recognition of the unique and shared history, the contribution of Māori life before and since Pākehā arrived and its place in New Zealand’s contemporary cultural life. This is discussed here with reference to specific writers and their discussions about Pākehā scholarship’s response. Even though the number of Pākehā scholars extended out to a range of disciplines, including history, linguistics, anthropology, sociology, geography and education, there are limited discussions on methodological issues, the exceptions

being those by Alex Barnes (2013), Evelyn Stokes (1985), John Moorfield (2006), Michael King (2001), Joan Metge (1998), Alison Jones (2012) and James Ritchie (1988, 1992).

Richard Benton's work was acknowledged in Chapter 2. His scholarship focused on the importance of Māori when the field of New Zealand linguistics and language revitalisation was first developing. Benton wrote about contemporary methodological challenges of sociolinguistic research (Benton, 1983) but less so about the place of Pākehā with Māori-based topics and concepts. In Benton's (1983) notes on NZCER's seminal sociolinguistic survey he does not address the issue at all. He has written perceptive critiques of Māori language education and revitalisation (Benton, 1979, 1981, 1983, 2001, 2007, 2015).

John Moorfield, a second language scholar, has written about Pākehā working within the Māori language community (Moorfield, 2006). His work has had a significant personal influence. Like other respected Pākehā scholars of Māori knowledge, Moorfield's place in the Māori academy is both due to and supported by strong enduring relationships with well-known Māori scholars. He is recognised as an expert of Māori language by other Māori language experts and has had a direct influence on generations of L2 learners of Māori, including many of the participants in this research. While his work is firmly anchored in the academic tradition, he has extended out to the community, primarily through second language learning and teaching materials for secondary and tertiary institutions, and by a series of print and digital Māori language materials.

Moorfield's approach to his work is summed up in the following:

I have been extremely fortunate and privileged in having access to some of the most knowledgeable people of the Māori world, some of whom are now deceased. Some have been university colleagues and thus I have had ready access to them and their knowledge. I have no doubt that people like Hoani Te Rangiāniwaniwa Rangihau, Dr Hirini Melbourne and Dr Wharehuia Milroy imparted some of their knowledge to me with the expectation that I would in turn pass on that knowledge to others through my teaching and writing. Some have been mentors who have paved the way for me to continue my work unhindered. Through that support they have deflected any criticism from their own people about access to Māori knowledge being given to a non-Māori. I continue to try to repay the debt I owe those people. (Moorfield, 2006, p. 116)

The use of digital online technologies has extended the reach of his learning and teaching materials as in most cases students do not have to purchase the resources. Moorfield's body of accessible work is a way of 'repaying a debt' that he owes to those experts who mentored him and a public demonstration that the knowledge he received is to be shared with the Māori language community.

Pākehā linguistic scholarship on the language remains overwhelmingly male. The exception is the linguist Winifred Bauer, author of a substantive grammar of Māori and critic of official claims related to the number of Māori language speakers (Bauer, 2008). Despite, or maybe because of, their central

role in Māori language revitalisation movement, the number of Māori women writers on Māori language issues is small. The late scholar and teacher Katerina Te Heikōkō Mataira (mentioned earlier in Chapter 3) has been influential on Māori language revitalisation through Te Ātaarangi (Mataira, 1980). Tania Ka'ai has observed, commented and participated on Māori language revitalisation, particularly within Kōhanga Reo, for decades (Ka'ai, 1995, 2004). Other important studies include Ngaha's (2011) investigation of the connection between Māori language and identity; Rawinia Higgins' role in Māori language revitalisation research, particularly within Te Ātaarangi and Te Kōhanga Reo (Higgins & Rewi, 2014); Browne's perceptive study on *wairua* and its relationship with Māori language learning (Browne, 2005). Hana O'Regan, from Ngāi Tahu, a self-described 'language activist', writes grounded-in-the-flax-roots accounts of language revitalisation as an L2 learner, a parent and a teacher (O'Regan, 2011, 2012). Considering their pivotal role in Māori language revitalisation as parents, teachers and learners, there is considerable scope for this vital voice in Māori language revitalisation commentary to be more prominent.

As noted earlier, few Pākehā scholars have written on the methodological challenges that confront the non-Māori researcher in the Māori world. This may be accounted for by the European preference to write about 'the other' rather than acknowledging a personal role and a preference for remaining hidden behind an 'authority' of a subject rather than an exploration of how that knowledge was obtained. But before examining Pākehā researchers' reflections, it is necessary to examine the Māori response to Pākehā research and scholarship of Māori topics and the emergence of kaupapa Māori-based research.

Māori challenge to Pākehā scholarship and research

Kaupapa Māori research appeared during the 'Māori renaissance' of the 1970s and 1980s (a period discussed earlier), which in turn was located in international movements of the collision of postmodernism, anti-colonialism and revisionist critical theories (Hoskins, 2012, p. 85). In large part, the role of Pākehā researchers and scholars in Māori contexts received scrutiny due to the emergence of a Kaupapa Māori research paradigm. This scrutiny voices the concerns of Māori academics, researchers and writers such as Linda Smith (1999), Graham Smith (1997), Russell Bishop (1997), Ngahua Te Awekotuku (1991), Sheilagh Walker (1996) and Fiona Cram (1997, 2001).

Kaupapa Māori research's central argument is for Māori practices and values to lead research *with*, not *on* Māori (Cram, 2001). As a body of literature, and as a practice, its aims have remained consistent since Graham Smith's initial argument for a Māori-based research paradigm (G. Smith, 1997). As a paradigm, Kaupapa Māori challenges Eurocentric world views, models and interpretations that frame Māori in deficit, a problem to be solved, or telling a community what it already knows (Smith, L. T.,

1999). The latter issue is particularly relevant to Māori language research as so much of it merely reinforces the perilous state of the language or worse, obscures interpretations of data to provide a false sense of optimism rather than go beyond what we already know and address critical issues (Bauer, 2008).

Since Graham Smith's 1997 thesis, there is now a substantive body of literature that queries and challenges assumptions about how Māori research is framed and conducted. Initially the literature explored descriptions of kaupapa Māori research (G. Smith, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999), why it was necessary (Bishop, 1997) and its location as a powerful anti-colonisation tool (Smith, 1999, Walker, 1996). Kaupapa Māori theory has been shaped by different interpretations, such as Pihama's theoretical focus on Māori women's viewpoints and *mana wahine* (Pihama, 2001) along with variations around kaupapa Māori research, such as the Te Korowai framework (Taiwhati, Toia, Maro, McRae & McKenzie, 2010), a Māori enquiry framework (Hond, 2013b), and the *whakapapa* approach (Graham, 2009; Hemera, 2011; Paipa, 2010; Roberts, 2013). There are now comprehensive critical reviews (e.g., Pihama, Smith, Taki & Lee, 2004), and reflections of the literature (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2011, 2013).

Considering the impact of non-Māori on Māori research, the issue of how non-Maori can or should participate has received remarkably little attention by Māori scholars but it does traverse most of the period from G. Smith's 1987 thesis. The recent literature suggests an expectation of Pākehā to work this out for themselves and that the drive for what is appropriate should come from within the Pākehā community. The expectation may just be a weariness and resignation towards having to concern itself with detractors or challengers, as Jackson notes the need for constant vigilance against 'everyday colonisations' (Jackson, 2011, p. 72). Jackson stresses that in this vigilance, 'kaupapa Māori theory attempts to deal with how we can actually break away from the belief that many in the Western academic tradition still have – that we have no right to what is ours (or even to think in our way) because what is ours should also be theirs' (Jackson, 2011, p. 73).

Graham Smith (1997) proposed four models for non-Indigenous researchers and the names of people who he felt exemplified that model (Cram, 1997). Two were based on Māori concepts of participation, the first as being guided (*tiaki*), such as the relationship between James Ritchie and Robert Mahuta of Tainui, or *whāngai* (adopted), as Anne Salmond with the Stirling family of the East Coast. G. Smith's two other models are based on principles of power sharing and empowerment. He identified Richard Benton and his sociolinguistic research on Māori language and its influence on the beginning of the Kōhanga Reo movement (Smith, 1997, p.47). These models are useful when framing the nature of

Pākehā participation but any model rests ultimately on the relationships at a personal and community level and their interpretation by individuals.

The most acknowledged critic of non-Indigenous researchers and their impact on indigenous research is Linda Smith. Her text *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999) locates the ultimate purpose of Indigenous methodologies in the title.

Kaupapa Māori research and Pākehā

The complex question of research framed by Māori world views and practices continues to provide challenges for both Māori and Pākehā. If Kaupapa Māori is taken as research that is by Māori, for Māori – as some researchers do – then Pākehā participation would seem to have no place within it. The question of Pākehā participation in Māori research requires a sophisticated response. Even the classic construct of Māori as against ‘non-Māori’ is not as dichotomous as one can assume (Bidois, 2013). Te Awekotuku (1991) addresses an issue rarely seen in the literature that ‘the differences, hostilities and misapprehension between specific tribal groups can be as profound and as alienating, and as significant, as those between Māori and tauīwi’ (1991, p. 15). She acknowledges that Māori, no less than Pākehā, are not a homogenous, cultural whole. However, Pākehā researchers must not use this aspect to absolve or remove a responsibility towards research that reflects context and extends and develops our understanding of ourselves, so that we are not merely perpetuating roles that imply being ‘willing bedfellows of assimilationist, victim blaming policies’ (Smith, L., cited in Cram, 1993).

As Evelyn Stokes notes in the introduction to her early discussion on research in the Māori world, ‘culture is a dynamic concept, and culture [sic] change is not in itself a bad thing. The real issue is the rate and direction of change, and who is directing and imposing change’ (Stokes, 1998, p. 48). The literature indicates a change driven by Pākehā (e.g., Barnes, 2013, 2015; Tolich, 2012). Recent publications indicate perceptive and honest evaluations of personal and cultural challenges that await Pākehā researchers engaged in kaupapa Māori research, especially in education (see Barnes, 2013; Jones, 2012; Hill and May, 2013).

Tukutuku: Personal context and cultural practice

In earlier postgraduate study, I used the practice of *tukutuku* to illustrate the possible role of Pākehā researchers within a kaupapa Māori framework. *Tukutuku* panels are most often seen on the walls of *wharehenui* (meeting houses) between large wooden carvings of ancestral figures. They are a form of Māori visual arts and a culturally-bound expression and practice. It is the latter aspect that is most relevant here as the construction of *tukutuku* requires a particular practice.

Image 3, shows how *tukutuku* panels require one person to be at the front of the panel and the other to work at the back. In this, the panels reflect important values, such as patience, collaboration and communication to achieve a quality product. As such, in research terms, the *process* is viewed as important as the product.



Image 3: Maori women from Otaki making tukutuku panels[ca 12 February 1936]
Reference: Alexander Turnbull Library PAColl-5927-60

The process of *tukutuku* can express culturally-bound research practices. During my research I looked to models of previous Pākehā researchers and deferred to the *whakapapa* of Pākehā researchers. Our role is to be Pākehā within a Māori context and to acknowledge what being Pākehā means as much as knowing what being Māori means. There are two elements to engaging in intercultural work, knowing ‘them’, but as important, in knowing ‘ourselves’ as the ‘other’.

According to Hill and May (2013), the single most important issue for non-Indigenous researchers is close mentoring by and long-term relationships with Māori. Often this mentoring is by a senior, respected member of the Māori community who develops the expertise of a younger, non-Māori person. One of the most well-known and visible examples of this is the musical collaboration of the late composer and musician Hirini Melbourne and Richard Nunns, although in this case they were contemporaries. Their collaboration is credited with the revitalisation of traditional Māori musical instruments. Since Melbourne’s death in 2003, Nunns has continued their work nurturing younger players and retaining and passing on a knowledge base that was nearly lost.

John Moorfield received close mentoring as a young L2 learner from venerated authorities of the language, including the late John Te Rangiāniwaniwa Rangihau and the late Hoani Waititi. He continues ongoing collaborations with respected elders and colleagues Te Wharehuia Milroy and Tīmoti Kāretu. John Macaffery and Richard Benton have shown long-term engagement with the Māori

language community. John Macaffery was involved with the collection of signatures for the Māori Language Petition in 1972 and is still engaged as a L2 speaker of Māori and Pacific languages in Auckland. In the 1970s, Richard Benton led a team of researchers in seminal sociolinguistic research with Māori speakers across most of the North Island, a commitment that required tenacity and stamina due to major funding restrictions (Benton, 1983).

A close collaboration with and mentoring by Māori should lead to a sophisticated experiential knowledge of the Māori community and includes not just knowing about protocols but participating in them (Moorfield, 2006). The non-Māori researcher working in Māori contexts is required to have special interpersonal skills specific to the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. This includes being bicultural and bilingual (Stokes, 1985, p.9); having an intimate knowledge of both Māori and non-Māori culture and how they interact; a sound knowledge of New Zealand history, the Māori world view and *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge); experience in many different Māori contexts; and critically, a network of relationships (Cram, 1997, Hill & May, 2013). Bishop takes the importance of community knowledge further and argues that non-Māori researchers need to understand how a community constructs meaning and a culture's 'sense-making processes' (Bishop, 1996, p. 237). This understanding includes a personal reflexive practice and that of Pākehā practice in general. In my experience, feedback from the Māori community, critical or otherwise, is important as it means that your efforts are being noticed. The strongest message that you are not doing something right can be silence and non-engagement from that community. This can be misinterpreted and ignored by Pākehā researchers who are then bewildered why they do not progress any further. In discussions with colleagues and friends about this issue, it is obvious that some non-Māori researchers felt they could just 'walk away' and did not understand that the book is never closed and the privilege of service back to the Māori community ends only upon death.

Research must avoid the casting of Māori in deficit in comparison with Pākehā (Cram, 1997). This is a common criticism of Pākehā research (Cram, 1997; L. T. Smith, 1999) that certainly has played a large part in a deep suspicion of research and researchers and is the background to much of the 'often-deleterious history' of research on Māori (Hill & May, 2013, p. 63).

For Ritchie (1988), there is the important notion of being a 'good guest' and understanding that you might be part of a community but not from it. The rules can be changed *for* you but not *by* you. The control and power of most, if not all, aspects of non-Indigenous participation are often governed by forces outside your control; this is part of the deal (Ritchie, 1988, p. 1-3).

The non-Māori researcher's role is to underwhelm and over-perform. Some Pākehā researchers are barely known outside the Māori world, but have earned reputations for their knowledge and enduring

commitment to their *kaupapa*. In fact, it could be that the less you are known in the Pākehā world the more successful you have been in the Māori world, as your attention is directed towards those communities and not outwards for personal recognition.

Pākehā response and research models for Pākehā

Pākehā have been negotiating the shared space between Māori and Pākehā from a variety of perspectives. Tolich (2002) reports on one response to Māori challenges to research on Māori; Jones (2012) provides a reflexive working model that places herself within the tradition of Pākehā engaged with Māori. Metge (2013) places herself with the anthropological discipline and rejects outright a position in opposition to Māori:

For me, Māori were never the exotic Other. They were part of the world I inhabited as I grew up, living in general in the margins of the local communities where I lived with my family, known increasingly as personal friends and colleagues. For me fieldwork was at once an important way of exploring an important part of my identity as a New Zealander and a way of helping build a fairer and more inclusive society. (Metge, 2013, p. 11)

Explicit models for Pākehā engagement remain few. Barnes' dialectical model (see Figure 5) is a major development in discussions around the role of Pākehā in kaupapa Māori research and is a significant step towards 'understanding the complexity of Pākehā engagement' (Barnes, 2013, p. 25). He argues that Pākehā researchers 'consciously' depart from Eurocentric understandings of the world and negotiate their arrival and new identity in a Māori space in a 'deliberately cyclical' process creating 'dialectical energy' (2013, p. 25).

Barnes' model addresses critical issues for Pākehā in kaupapa Māori research. He makes no claim that it is definitive, indeed he is at pains to point out that it is not (2013, pp. 25-26). But as a tool to understanding the complex path for Māori and Pākehā it provides a place to start. Barnes, a young Pākehā man who attended Māori immersion schooling, was, at the time of writing this model, an education researcher active in Treaty networks (Jen Margaret, 2013). His grounding as a graduate of kaupapa Māori educational initiatives is behind his implicit belief in the role of *kaupapa*-driven research. There is no justification for Māori knowledge *per se* nor of kaupapa Māori's validity towards knowledge construction in itself.

Not all Pākehā take this view. Academic Elizabeth Rata, a Pākehā, despite the surname, (Jackson, 2011, p. 72), has been described 'as one of the most vociferous opponents of kaupapa Māori theory and constantly addresses its intellectual validity (2011, p. 72). Rata argues for example, that Indigenous people are doubly disadvantaged as they are 'incarcerated into a never-ending present ... without the tools of objective thinking' (Rata, 2012, p. 108) and are limited to a 'cultural' way of thinking, as

opposed to an 'objective' way of thinking and that only through 'advanced literacy' can you access an 'imagine, yet unknown, future' (2012, p. 108).

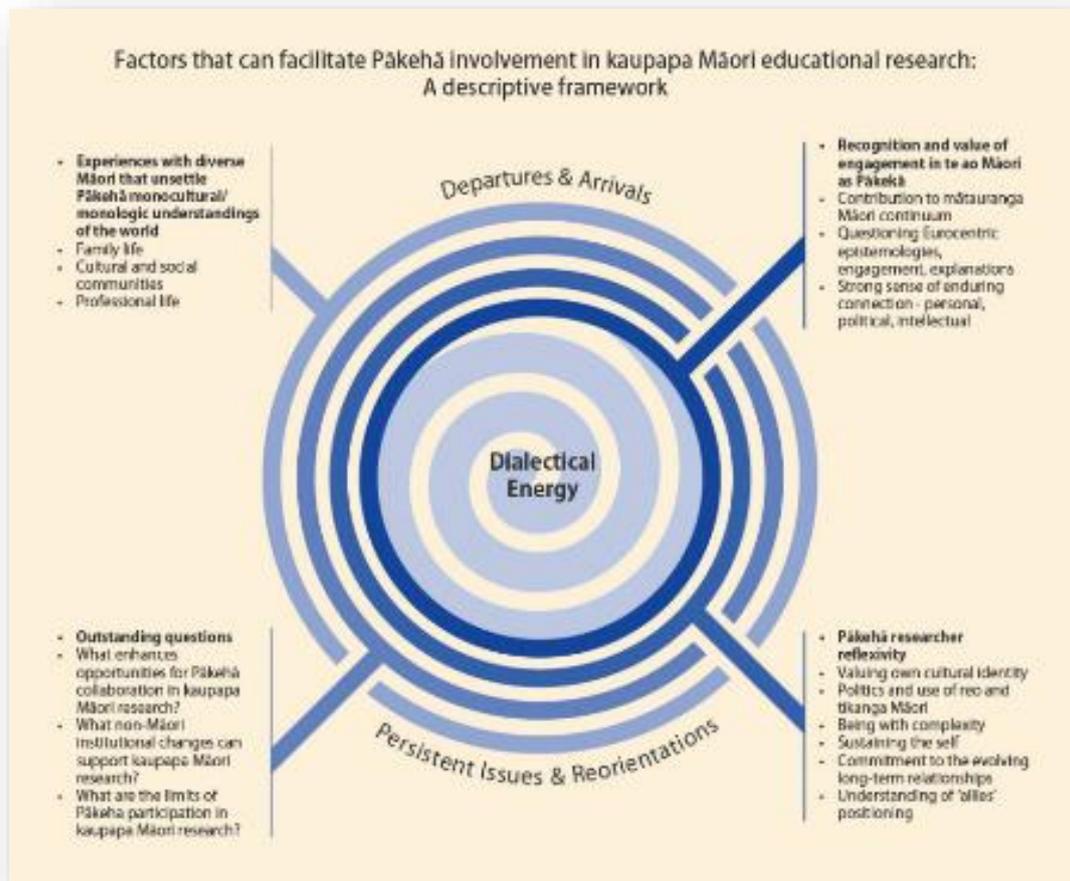


Figure 5: Factors that can facilitate Pākehā involvement in kaupapa Māori education research: a descriptive framework (Barnes, 2013, p. 26)

The notion that only 'objective thinking' allows access to conceptual knowledge required from critical reasoning is deeply problematic as is her position in the *whakapapa* of Pākehā engagement in Māori contexts. Rata and Lourie argue that within socially constructed knowledge, and they give Māori culture-based education as an example, is to be both 'limited and limiting' (Rata & Lourie, 2012, p. 32), as its purpose is to preserve tradition and discourage change. It is not surprising that Rata's attacks are seen as 'symptomatic of an ongoing and systemic cognitive imperialism that fails to recognize the ways that western science is historically and socially constructed' (Stewart-Harawira, 2013, p. 47).

In an argument that echoes those working in SLA, realist psychologists Marie and Haig (2006) express concern at the 'uncritical acceptance of kaupapa Māori research' (p.17) as a method for producing valuable knowledge (p. 20), and disquiet in it being 'legitimized from within the Māori community' (Bishop, 1998, p. 201). Marie and Haig (2006) challenge its unquestioned integration into the national

science framework, particularly Māori health research and argue that the anti-positivist stance given in kaupapa Māori theory are outdated (p. 19), when the majority stance of scientists is ‘scientific realism’(p. 19). They propose a realist stance as the best way to understand the natural and social sciences and in their case, pragmatic realism (p. 20) and pragmatic realist methodologies (p. 21). They invite the kaupapa Māori research community to engage with the literature of pragmatic realism (p. 21), which, if we consider some of the reasons that kaupapa Māori research was considered necessary in the first place, is unlikely to be taken seriously. Indeed, it has been difficult to locate direct responses to Marie and Haig (2006).

However, without direct reference to Marie and Haig (2006), Cooper addresses the continuing challenge and ‘dominance of scientific methodologies and practices and the Euro-reason that supports these’ (2012, p. 66) with the notion of ‘coloniality’ (as the maintenance of colonial thinking). He observes

[t]he power of coloniality is expressed in the requirement for kaupapa Māori researchers to constantly make the case for Māori knowledge and knowledge production practices in recognisably scientific terms – otherwise, there is to be no place for Māori knowledge practices within the large normative group. (Cooper, 2012, p. 66)

So, for the Pākehā researcher within Māori contexts, it would be difficult, if not untenable, to take a position that does not recognise not only Māori knowledge, but also how that knowledge is created, argued and validated.

As Metge (1998) has observed, Pākehā researchers working in Māori communities often have to engage with them personally and privately, in direct and intimate ways. Researchers who do not have to consider emotional engagement as an aspect of their research or ‘eye ball’ a community do not have to consider the implications of their stance on the social networks around them. This is not to say that researchers cannot have a stance. It is the position’s integrity and purpose that brings validity.

Therefore, the lack of response to viewpoints such as Marie and Haig (2006) is not mysterious. As Cooper (2012) argues, if kaupapa Māori research is to be put in an ‘epistemic wilderness’, one of the benefits of such a position is the ability to simply not engage with the ‘concerns, questions and debates that the sciences are consumed by’ (p. 67) but to turn back towards the communities to hear the issues and concerns important to them (2012, p. 67). Moreover, Cooper claims that kaupapa Māori practice has the potential to work critically within a paradox, which draws and theorises from ancestral legacies to critically engage with scientific epistemologies whilst using the wilderness position to ‘critically disengage from the science’ (p. 71).

This paradoxical position could suggest how some Pākehā researchers become esteemed with their cultural knowledge in that they not only engage with the paradox but understand its implications. The

appropriateness of Pākehā critique of any aspect of Māori society has to be couched in ways that ensure that they demonstrate an accountability to the community they are engaging with.

Kaupapa Māori and Pākehā research methodologies

This section describes how this research was framed within and by specific kaupapa Māori values and principles to illustrate personal ontological and epistemological views and their influence on the research process.

The first and most important premise is that *tikanga Māori* and *te reo Maori* are viewed as two mutually reinforcing aspects; to look at one is to look at the other. As in an Aboriginal ontology, 'language is culture, culture is language, language is land, land is language, language, family – it's that spiral stuff again' (Eira, 2011, quoting an elder). Thus, language, *tikanga* and speakers are inseparable. This is not a study of the language, language change or language proficiency but L2 learners' sociocultural conditions and their lived experiences. It is not investigating the degree or quality of the language. Participants have not had to pass a test to be considered of value to the research; as such they are recognised as a valid group in their own right (Pavlenko, 2002). As with L2 learners of any language, L2 learners and users of Māori are a diverse and dynamic group. The research process is framed in kaupapa Māori principles and values to centralise the participants and place the researcher in the right place at the right time along the research continuum.

Comprehensive discussions on what constitutes kaupapa Māori research are found in the literature. Important amongst them, for this researcher, have been Walker, Eketone and Gibbs (2006), Henry and Pene (2001) and Bishop (1996, 1999). Kaupapa Māori research is contextualised for this project in the following key concepts from the work of Barnes (2013, 2015), Cram, (1997), Hill and May (2013), Jones (2012) and Ritchie (1988).

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is used to frame discussions and to describe sociocultural conditions, explaining phenomena and behaviour both past, present and future (Graham, 2009; Hemara, 2011). The verb *whakapapa* means 'to lay one thing upon another' and all living things have a *whakapapa* (Barlow, 1991, p. 173; Metge, 2013, p. 4). However, conceptually it is understood as way of viewing 'experiences and phenomena as having a single origin and that ontologically things come into being through the process of descent' (Roberts, 2013, p. 93). Moreover, if all things are viewed as sharing descent, they are then viewed as consistent and interrelated. Experiences, people or phenomena are not viewed as isolates and disconnected from each other. 'Family trees' show the nature of interconnectedness and how one aspect can influence another. L2 learners deserve this kind of

contextual respect; too often their linguistic behaviours are viewed as the result of individual linguistic choices, often couched as ‘unsuccessful’ or as ‘failed speakers’.

Hemara (2011) extends the concept of *whakapapa* as a ‘philosophical discourse’ (p. 122) used for intergenerational transmission of knowledge and argues that *whakapapa* is an ‘analytical tool’ not only to understand the nature and origin of phenomena, the connections, relationships and trends in phenomena, and locating phenomena but to extrapolate and predict future phenomena (Hemara, 2011, p. 123).

But are there dangers in the use of *whakapapa* as a means to construct knowledge? Roberts (2013), writing about the use of *whakapapa* and taxonomies in natural science, observed that to equate the use of Indigenous knowledge with that of scientific knowledge in concepts like *wānanga*, seek ‘to provide spiritual and moral in addition to material explanations for why and how things come to be’ (p. 110). This *intimacy* with knowledge and how it is constructed means a ‘subjective engagement with the world rather than an objective ‘looking at’ the world (Gillet, cited by Roberts, 2013, p. 110). It represents a rejection of Cartesian objectivity (p. 110) and because of a connectedness between self and the world, knowledge is embedded and situated, whereby truth is viewed as a multi-layered ‘un-concealing of things’ (p. 110).

The risk is that that the *whakapapa* framework is a mirror rather than a window perpetuating existing knowledge and stultifying the development of new knowledge (Roberts, 2013). As a counterpoint Roberts (2013) refers to Tau’s concerns that *whakapapa* can impose a closed system of beliefs whose function is to maintain an established order (Roberts paraphrasing Tau, p. 111).

Whanaungatanga

This concept is closely related to *whakapapa* in the sense that all the participants, including the researcher, are considered to have multiple and dynamic relationships (*whanaungatanga*). The participants have key relationships with the researcher and with each other; they are not viewed as discrete entities unconnected to the *kaupapa* or fixed within a specific time. Before and during the entire course of the research I attended celebrations and commemorative events with and for my participants. The relationships are enduring and reciprocal.

Rangatiratanga

Te reo Māori is sometimes referred to as *te reo rangatira* (the chiefly language). The reflection of *rangatiratanga* is to protect the *mana* of the language and its speakers. By not framing existing reductive knowledge of L2 learners engaged in a futile exercise, *rangatiratanga* recognises the

expertise, wisdom and knowledge of forty years of language revitalisation experience in New Zealand as an important social endeavour.

Mana tangata and mana reo

Mana tangata recognises the *mana* of the participants, the *mauri* in their participation and their discourse to keep the focus on how is the research contributing to the *mana* of all concerned. *Mana reo* refers to the *mana* of languages as both repository and creator of knowledge and carrier of *mana tangata*. *Mana reo* recognises that no language is superior to another but acknowledges the *mana* between languages, speakers and context.

Tikanga Māori

The research practices associated with Kaupapa Māori theory are guided and founded on *tikanga Māori* and in practice they make space for the use of *tikanga Pākehā*. *Tikanga*, that is important Māori values and concepts, are not formalised in a code, nor is a fixed rigid hierarchy, are prioritised in different contexts and occasions (Metge, 1992).

However explicit the use of Kaupapa Māori principles and practices, it cannot and does not remove or diminish the Pākehā researcher's position. Although this is a position with honourable precedent and exceptional company, it is still a position that is in many ways unnamed territory.

Staking a territory: Pākehā research methodology

One of the central challenges of Pākehā researchers in Māori contexts is staking a territory that acknowledges that we are not Māori, but want to resist being classed as Eurocentric researchers. We want to be in a place that we can claim as our own on the continuum between extreme objective, free-from-context, 'truth-seeking' research and that of kaupapa Māori research which asserts the validity of its own epistemology.

The difficulty is not only in locating it but naming it. How do we name that space between those two extremes and where we depart from either of those extremes and arrive at our own space? (Barnes, 2013).

Linda Smith describes candidly how the name kaupapa Māori research and its links to the development of Kura Kaupapa Māori came about:

I was in the room when we decided that we would use that term. We wanted to use that term to piss off the Department of Education quite frankly. We wanted to create a really long word that they would have to say every time they talked to us, because when we were in these hui they'd always get up and talk about "your bilingual unit" we'd say, "No, we're a kura kaupapa Māori". (Smith, 2011, p. 11)

Words and terms have the power to assert and to subvert. While its intentions may have been to challenge hegemony and the Department of Education, the term kaupapa Māori requires a knowledge of Māori to understand its terms of reference. A term for Pākehā researchers in Māori contexts must claim unambiguously, like the term kaupapa Māori, a space for Pākehā practices and declare their validity and 'depart', to use Barnes' (2013) term, from Eurocentric viewpoints.

If, in order to assert its rightful place in methodological positioning, Māori have had to describe their own practice in their terms, it would seem we need do the same. It is limiting (but so much easier) to determine what a practice is not. Although infinitely more difficult, it is essential to describe what it *is*. This form of paralysis (Barnes, 2015; Tolich, 2002) requires us to pause and reflect to create a new space.

Selecting a term to reflect this space at the beginning of this study was awkward. An initial term was 'kaupapa Pākehā', but this was challenged as being an inappropriate use of Māori words perpetuating Pākehā as priority, the very thing which Kaupapa Māori research was set up to counteract. Others were happy with the word Pākehā but not *kaupapa*, as this is only something that Māori can do. The same issue arose with the term *tikanga Pākehā*, as the term *tikanga* commonly specifically refers to Māori values. Therefore, its use is totally contradictory, attached to the word Pākehā. But, the word Pākehā is important, as it locates the New Zealand setting.

As an exploratory concept the term Pākehā research methodology is used to claim a place between Eurocentric models and kaupapa Māori models. Clearly there is still a need to negotiate the link between Pākehā values, research practices and those of kaupapa Maori. Jones offers appropriate Pākehā engagement in Māori educational research as going beyond 'cultural sensitivity ... an openness to being taught by experience, a tolerance for uncertainty and an understanding of power' (Jones, 2012, p. 100). This space requires Pākehā to be what Nairn hopes 'is more like the people that I think Māori who signed the Treaty thought or hoped we were or would be' (Nairn, 2010, p. 3).

A Pākehā research methodology involves more than understanding what being, or 'becoming Pākehā' (Newton, 2006) means. It must go beyond the criteria of 'rugby culture; a willingness to have a go at any kind of job; a concern for the underdog; compassion for those in need or in trouble; an unwillingness to be bullied; or to be intimidated by class or status; not undertaking to do something without seeing it through' (M. King, 2001, p. 110). These refer to very male Pākehā practices in Pākehā contexts. In research this needs to include Pākehā practice in Māori contexts. This might be described as principles, practices and values, or *tikanga* that guide research practice in kaupapa Māori contexts. James Ritchie's fourteen 'Principles of Operations' (1989), written nearly thirty years ago, are aimed squarely at the Pākehā position in Māori contexts and couched in Māori terms, for which he provides

no explanatory notes in English. In important ways they signal an expectation for researchers to know what these mean. Ritchie is cited in full as within the literature of Pākehā engagement in the Māori world his perceptive explanations lack equivalent¹².

Manawhenua

Whoever now owns the land the mauri of it was never extinguished nor alienated nor can it be. The Maori interest in the land must be understood in Māori terms.

They are the tangata whenua and we other are and always will be guests and should behave in a seemly fashion both in recognition of what they as hosts offer and are traditionally required to do, and what we as guests, on our part, know also what we must do.

Manawairua

Spiritual rights and concerns are never obliterated and must be given full status and recognition – but it is not obligatory (probably not even possible) for them to be understood by Pākehā.

Mana Motuhake

The independence and sense of sovereignty of the iwi is of paramount concern. Status is acknowledged by humility, deference and respect.

Te Whenua – Te Iwi – Ngā Kaitiaki

We must always recognise that the rights and obligations of the Māori world or guardianship rest upon individuals or their trusts or trusteeship and so we must always include the “right” of individuals or trustees in any particular planning or process. Guardianship is exercised by a number of people at a number of levels.

Rangatiratanga

Māori society is hierarchically organised and so is authority in it. It is never enough simply to deal with a person. You must also deal with a whānau, a hapū, an iwi, a waka.

Kotahitanga

Māori political process is directed towards the necessity of reaching unity through consensus. This takes time and the guidance of experts. You are not an expert. Do not try to penetrate, to manipulate or distort or disturb this process.

If you do you will create injury, insult and incoherence. Māori political process is designed to recognise individuals and include their concerns even if in the end they do not get their own way. Therefore conflict and conflict resolution are essential to the process. These are managed by a different set of rules. To reach kotahitanga you must acknowledge every opinion.

Te Putahi

Everything is connected to everything else in the Māori world and dealing with the part without respect for the whole (as they perceive it) violates the Māori sense of putahi or wholeness, of the natural growing together of what once was separated.

¹² For readability, Ritchie’s original use of the double vowel has been changed and the macron is used. Where he did not double vowels the macron has not been used.

Putā noa

When things are done correctly (ngā tikanga) there is a sense of freedom from limitation; things open up, people feel the respect for their tikanga, their taonga and their collective personality. This is what Māori people mean by autonomy – freedom from pressure, a feeling of inclusion and of being included. Māori people want to include you in their process much more than you want to include them in yours – provided that you do not make it difficult for them.

Manaakitanga

Care and concern for the people is a central ethic. Planning must always include consideration of human resources, their development and the impact of development upon them.

Te Ao Tawhito – Te Ao Marama

Prescriptions for the future were written in the beginning, in the past and over all the time and through all the sayings that the people remember and use and hold dear. The old people are still there; the people hold their wisdom still. Enlightenment is not new knowledge but the realisation of the old in the eternal present.

Te Hara

I try never to forget, in dealings with Māori people, the pain we have caused them. Raupatu, land confiscation, is a specific pain, but it is not the only one. The pain of the educational wasteland is another. The “Justice” system a third. Now I did not cause such pain personally, so personal guilt is not an appropriate basis for my actions but I am deeply implicated, as we all are, in the systems that caused that pain and this I cannot avoid. Therefore if I can do something to alleviate the sins of the past I should do so.

Te Ōhaki

Deal with the dreams of the people with all the generosity that you can muster or manage no matter how much that may cost. It is time to give gifts with the utmost generosity, to stop being mean, or saying no by habit. All the wealth of this land rests upon Māori acts of yielding it to the Crown, one way or another.

Whakakitenga

Never presume that you understand. Always pursue the process of understandings. If you wish to avoid being foolish, you may need to play the fool and ask questions that while they will reveal your ignorance, will lead to enlightenment. Do not be afraid to ask those questions. If you need translation, request it. Around every bend of the river is a new region of understanding.

He kai tautoko

Rarely, these days, will I go into a Māori situation without someone Māori with me. Obversely [sic], if I am to talk with a Māori client they are encouraged to bring their support person. (Ritchie, 1989, pp. 1-3)

In these principles Ritchie is casting Pākehā in a number of interesting positions. First, Ritchie is assuming a space for Pākehā in Māori contexts, and that some Pākehā might already be in that space. Second, although engaged he gives Pākehā the role as ‘guest’. Being a guest alludes to our position not as *tangata whenua* but as *manuhiri* (guests), who in turn are received with deference by the hosts. Knowing how to be a ‘good guest’ is contingent on cultural knowledge; it still remains to see how being

a 'good' guest is manifest in Pākehā identity. Third, in these principles Ritchie is not claiming an Indigenous position like that of Michael King (1999), which would not see Pākehā as a guest if we are to be Indigenous. Fourth, he clearly places Pākehā as 'outside' of Māori culture but never able to go 'in'.

Ritchie's principles indicate a space for Pākehā to be culturally skilled and knowledgeable but not 'expert'. Like Bishop he asserts that sophisticated cultural knowledge not only understands cultural sense-making but how that knowledge is created and negotiated from within the culture (Bishop, 1996, p. 238). Finally, Ritchie sees all Pākehā as deeply implicated for restoring aspects of New Zealand's history and considers while not personally responsible for the past, we are responsible for our role in addressing that history. I suspect this is another notion pivotal to the success for some Pākehā scholars. It is tacit acknowledgement of New Zealand's history, not disengaging from the past and perpetuating the problem, but, in modern parlance, 'being part of the solution'.

Above all, Ritchie illustrates what departing, to use Barnes' phrase (2013), from a Eurocentric viewpoint involves. Ritchie provides clarity around departing from that vision and the use of dialectical energy to arrive at a place consistent with Pākehā aspirations to be working *with* Māori in research, not on them or about them.

In my opinion, Ritchie would support the idea that to have a specific methodology for Pākehā is not to collapse the Māori-Māori hyphen that Jones fears (2012, p. 105). This is not to say that this aspiration is an easy space or place to occupy. Critical challenges remain. The first is a clear understanding of a Pākehā researcher's role. From Ritchie's viewpoint it is to adopt Māori ways of understandings. Like Barnes (2013, 2015), Ritchie gives no justification for being in that place, but displays an accumulative wisdom from being there. Jones, who uses the notion of 'working the Māori-Pākehā hyphen' (2012) as a way to describe Pākehā and Māori collaboration and relationships in research, suggests for Pākehā this requires reflexivity, long-term experience and knowledge of the Māori world, commitment and the release of cultural assumptions (2012, p. 107). She adds that there may be personalities more suited to this work than others, with personal attributes that involve 'those inchoate, affective, things that cannot be taught, evaluated, assessed, counted, or even easily described', which Jones acknowledges as 'things that create suspicion in modern education research, which is preoccupied with the known, the seen, the tested and the measured' (2012, p. 108).

Barnes gives four caveats for Pākehā in Kaupapa Māori research (2015):

- our roles are controlled by Māori
- there is no one right way, each situation is different

- all research contends with diverse identities
- Pākehā identity is diverse, fluid and dynamic just as is Māori identity.

Barnes (2015) rejects the bicultural framework and turns towards a ‘non-stupid optimism’ (pp. 8-9), a position that avoids the ‘blind optimism of positive psychology and the pessimism of Foucault (2015, p. 9). Barnes claims that this requires a different set of knowledge and skills, that ‘non-stupid optimism is open to inevitable ups and downs of working in the spaces in between Māori and non-Māori’ (p. 10) and is sensitive to but not immobilised by the realities of how knowledge and power operative individually and institutionally (p. 10). The term non-stupid is unfortunate, not the least because of the negative prefix ‘non-’ but more so with the connotations of the word ‘stupid’¹³.

Towards a Pākehā research methodology

Pākehā researchers, individually and collectively, are negotiating multiple identities and strategies within and outside of Māori research contexts. It remains to be seen how the reflexive wisdom can be gathered to produce a coherent framework in the same way the kaupapa Māori framework has achieved. There is the potential for the same kind of transformative effect that occurred in the Māori research community with a dynamic, self-sustaining framework that is responsive to changing contexts and focused confidently on its community, not on the reaction of its detractors. People who work in the space are seen to occupy a place in Cooper’s ‘epistemic wilderness’ (Cooper, 2012), but wider and more detailed explorations are needed to be more sure of this.

The research methodology proposed here is not definitive but outlines a position that best describes how this research is framed. As such, it is another layer on the complex and evolving *whakapapa* of Pākehā and Māori engagement. It exists as part of the ‘eternal present’ but signposts an imagined future. As noted earlier in this chapter the term ‘Pākehā research methodology’ is an interim term that requires further exploration and negotiation.

¹³ From *NZ Pocket Oxford Dictionary*, Burchill, Robert. (Ed.) (1986, p.764) OUP, Auckland, unintelligence, being slow-witted and foolish

Chapter 6. Research methods: practice, skill and craft

The previous chapter described and argued for a distinctive research methodology locating the researcher in a specified space in relation to kaupapa Māori practices. This chapter addresses how some research methods are defined and carried out in that space. The separation between methodology and methods, theory and practice, can be unpredictable; there are tensions between the kaupapa Māori practices, Pākehā research methodologies and methods. At this point, it is imperative to highlight that these methods are specific to the context of this study and are not given as a 'blueprint' for future research.

Sociolinguistic qualitative research

Sociolinguists, who can come from a variety of backgrounds such as linguistics, sociology and anthropology, are interested in the study of language in its social context (Hazen, 2014, p. 8), including how people use language, how language works in social contexts and what are its functions (Johnstone, 2000, p. 1). Obviously then, if a language's social context is the primary focus, speakers of a language are its core. However, it has been observed that speakers and speaker variety of endangered languages is a neglected area of research (Grinevald and Bert, 2011, p. 45). This present research is led by an interest in the rich and varied social contexts in which L2 learners of Māori are situated, the focus is on the language behaviours, lived experiences, ideologies and social conditions that make up those contexts and their impact on L2 learners in an endangered language context. This was explored through qualitative methods, the use of semi-structured interviews and an ontologically-driven analysis. Appropriately, qualitative research includes a focus on words as data and expands out to techniques that include a broader recognition of qualitative research as a paradigm within a set of assumptions, values and practices shared by researchers (Braun & Clarke, 2013, pp. 4-5).

Braun and Clarke's (2013) broad definitions of qualitative research (indicated by the use of italics) list the use of *written and spoken language* (p. 4) as its primary data. This research project includes transcripts from twenty-one interviews, which were used to create *whakapapa* and narratives as ancillary, supporting data. As qualitative data is *highly localised* (p. 4), this study does not aim to represent all learners of Māori, nor endangered or Indigenous languages. In the concept of *mana reo*, no one language can presume to speak for another as this tramples on the *mana* of other languages. However, it is hoped that this research contributes to wider understanding of endangered language L2 learners' realities and contexts.

The data has aimed to draw rich data for *thick descriptions* (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 4) from a range of participants to explore complexity, diverse realities and to shape more nuanced understandings. Due to the emphasis on the numbers of Māori language speakers, the lack of substantive research on speakers of the Māori language restricts our knowledge of learners' lived experiences and narratives. According to Braun & Clarke (2013), qualitative data aims to *explore diversity and divergence*, but to *recognise patterns and common experiences* (p. 4). Instrumental in the methods is an emphasis on *working up from the data, not testing a theory but building towards theory* (p.4). Second language learning theory applied in endangered language contexts is rare; even rarer with direct reference to *te reo Māori* (Pohe, 2012; Ratima & May, 2011, 2013).

Subjectivity and reflexivity (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 4) are considered vital elements of *mātauranga Māori* (Marsden, 1992, p. 117). Qualitative research can accommodate epistemological imperatives of knowledge as socially and culturally situated and is not attempting to be neutral or universal. L2 learners' realities are not fixed in time, nor 'universal', but they reveal and explore complex realities, taken as inherent in studies on the acquisition of endangered languages (Hinton, 2011). This position allows for *shifts in focus* (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 4) to accommodate unpredictability and tension.

Kaupapa Māori research's validation of insider-research is supported by a qualitative research position, and *legitimises the researcher's position*, perspectives and experiences from within the community. Braun and Clarke (2013) highlight personal investment and passion as a central feature of qualitative research and do not dismiss the complexities and the challenges that this can present. To do this well in Māori communities requires existing networks (Cram, 1997), long-term relationships (Jones, 2012; Hill & May, 2013; Hotere-Barnes, 2015) and personal engagement sustained over decades (Metge, 2015).

Participant selection

All the participants in this study were L2 learners of Māori, but were far from a homogenous group. They varied in proficiency levels, length of time in language learning and contexts. Proficiency was not a criterion for selection. The participants were reassured that their proficiency was not being assessed and their perspectives and experiences were the research's focus. The different levels of proficiency meant participants chose the language of the interview. It is not the case that only proficient Māori speakers did their interview in Māori; in some cases they chose to do theirs in English.

Most of the participants were above forty years of age and were from the researcher's own personal networks. For many participants this meant longevity in language revitalisation and gave a window into Māori communities over the last thirty years. Some direct calls were made to participants who the researcher knew of, but did not know personally. In two cases, participants recommended

approaching another member of their *whānau*. In another case, one of the participants turned up to her interview with her sister-in-law as she felt that her story would be really interesting to the research. Care was taken to explain what the research was about and to make explicit that the new participant was not under any pressure from the researcher (or her sister-in-law) to take part. It was clear however the participant had already made the potential new participant aware of what the research was about and had 'paved the way' with phone calls and recommendations. Participants also offered new participants during and after the interviews. At no point did it feel that the interviews were exhaustive or repetitive; the participants' data points to exciting future research.

The method of approach was entirely dependent on the relationship with the participant. For one participant this was done standing on a Northland beach on Waitangi Day, for another while scrubbing pots late at night during a *wānanga*. For other participants this was by text or emails as they were travelling overseas or attending *tangihanga*. For participants I did not know personally, I rang or emailed and followed up with an email that included the information sheet and consent form. Copies were also presented in person at the interview.

Participant demographics

Table 4 is a summary of the demographics for the 23 participants who participated in 21 interviews. This is a mature group, with many of the participants having over a decade of Māori language learning (n=19) representing many years in Māori language revitalisation. The group includes Māori and non-Māori, men and women. For almost all of the participants, English was their first language (n=22) and only two were proficient in a language other than English (n= 2).

Participants were able to identify with more than one *iwi* so the numbers for ethnicity exceed the total number of participants. Similarly, some Māori participants gave more than one tribal identity. Attention is drawn to some noticeable factors of participant demographics. The first is the age of the participant group. This is seen as adding value to an insight of Māori language revitalisation over time. However, it does not claim to speak for the entire spectrum of L2 learners' experiences. This group includes those in *Kura Reo* and Te Panekiretanga but also new students in tertiary institutions and parents of children in *Kōhanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Māori*. More expansive research would illuminate the connections between these institutions, tribal leadership and the geographical spread of L2 learners across New Zealand, something of an unknown at this point.

Participant demographics (N = 23)		
		N
Age	20-35	2
	36-50	16
	51+	5
Gender	Male	11
	Female	12
Ethnicity	Māori	14
	Pākehā	7
	Cook Island	1
	Samoan	1
	Chinese New Zealander	1
	South African New Zealander	1
Iwi of Māori participants (n =14)	Ngāti Porou	3
	Ngāpuhi	4
	Tainui	2
	Kai Tahu	1
	Ngāti Uenuku	1
	Ngāti Rangi	1
	Ngāti Awa	1
	Whānau ā Apanui	1
	Ngāti Maniapoto	1
	Ngai te Rangi	1
	Rongomaiwahine	1
	Ngāti Hine	1
	Te Arawa	1
	Language of interview	Te reo Māori
English		15
L1	English	22
	Other	1
Profession	Māori language teacher (tertiary)	6
	Māori language teacher (secondary)	1
	Māori immersion education	3
	Mainstream education	2
	Media	0
	Health sector	2
	Full-time parent	2
	Professional	6
Māori participants living in tribal area (n= 14)	Yes	6
	No	8
Approximate years in Māori language learning	0-10	4
	11-25	13
	25+	6
Participants who are parents	Yes	20
	No	3
Location of interviews	Auckland	12
	Kawakawa	1
	Hamilton	3
	Palmerston North	2
	Wellington	1
	Gisborne	4

Table 4: Participant demographics

The second salient factor is that most of the participants are parents. Being a parent was not a participant criteria but the role of parenting and Māori language revitalisation and its impact on learners has made a powerful contribution to this study. As participation was not determined by ethnicity, there was a wish to focus on experiences across ethnicity. It is assumed that ethnicity shapes the L2 learner experience but is not limited to it; care has been taken to avoid giving it a spotlight beyond what it contributes to L2 learner experiences.

The final factor to mention at this point is the social class of participants. Determining social class has required dexterity around a number of factors. Block’s (2012) key dimensions of class (p. 194) from his important look into class in applied linguistics, have been taken as a starting point (Table 5). However, these definitions are located in an Anglo-American interpretation of class which incorporates other identities: gender, ethnicity, race, nationality among others (Block, 2012, p. 193). Reilly (2004) defines class in classical Māori society as genealogically ranked with a distinction between ‘chiefly or commoner status’ (p. 67) but finding contemporary interpretations of class from a Māori point of view have been difficult to locate.

Given Block’s dimensions (Table 5.) and the lack of clear articulations of Māori dimensions of class, the following interpretations of the participants’ class cannot claim to be definitive. In retrospect, participants could have been asked to self-identify their social class, but most of the participants would have been deeply uncomfortable with this.

If this study is true to its Poststructuralist roots, class is an unavoidable issue and needs more attention (Block, 2012; Pavlenko, 2002). From what little literature there is (J. King, 2007; Rata, 2011; Ratima, 2013), Māori notions of class determined by *whakapapa* appear to work along with Pākehā notions of access similar to those in Table 5 in a fluid, unresolved and unpredictable mix.

Key dimensions of class	
Property	This refers to one’s material possessions, such as land, housing, electronic goods, clothing, books, art, etc.
Wealth	This refers to disposable income/money and patrimony (e.g. what owned property is worth in financial terms).
Occupation	This refers to the kind of work done across a range of job types, such as blue-collar manual labour vs. white-collar knowledge-based labour, or service sector jobs vs. manual jobs, etc.
Place of residence	This can refer either to the type of neighbourhood one lives in (is it identified as poor, working class, middle class, an area in the process of

	gentrification, or upper class?) or the type of dwelling (individual house, flat, caravan, etc.).
Education	This refers to the level of schooling attained and the acquired educational capital one has at any point in time. There is close link here to Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital.
Social networking	This refers to the often unspoken reality whereby middle class people tend to socialise with middle class people, working class people with working class people, and so on. There is a close link here to Bourdieu's notion of social capital.
Consumption patterns	This might refer to behaviour patterns like buying food at a supermarket that positions itself as 'cost-cutting' vs. buying food at one that sells 'healthy', organic and expensive products. Or it might refer to buying particular goods (e.g. food, clothing, gadgets) in terms of type and brand.
Symbolic behaviour	This includes how one moves one's body, the clothes one wears, the way one speaks, how one eats, the kinds of pastimes one engages in, etc.
Spatial relations	This refers to living conditions such as physical mobility (does the person frequently travel abroad?) or the spatial conditions in which one lives (size of bedroom, size of dwelling, proximity to other people during a range of day-to-day activities)

Table 5: Key dimensions of class (Block, 2012, p. 194)

Interview process

The participants chose where and when the interviews took place. Interview contexts included a participant's hotel, the meeting house and *wharekai* of an urban marae, a participant's office or their home and for one, beside the Waikato River. Two participants chose to have their interviews at the researcher's house. In general, the interview process was unproblematic.

The 'insider' position in research has its own challenges. It was clear from the very first interview that care was needed in making assumptions about participants' experiences or pre-empting their responses, to not allowing a familiarity with the participant to preclude a response

When the researcher knows the participant on a personal level there is a danger of 'filling in gaps' that an outsider simply would not be able to do. In a very real sense, 'the greater the intimacy, the greater the apparent mutuality of the researcher/researcher relationship, the greater is the danger (Stacey cited in Bishop, 1998, p. 214). In knowing the participants personally and for many of them as fellow L2 language learners, it has been necessary for me to avoid portraying their story as my story, or indeed mine as theirs. This process has meant sharing not reporting their experiences, but to share

our lived experiences and their relationship to aspects of SLA in the endangered language learning context.

There was a distinct difference in the initial contact with participants who I did not know so well. More care was needed to develop a sense of rapport and trust. Different strategies were used to acknowledge the distance between the researcher and the participant, including a *karakia* (prayer), a short introduction [*mihī*] to the participant or in one case, having a cup of tea and food with an informal discussion before starting the interview proper. Whereas with the participants I knew well, we might dispense with informal chit chat and get straight into the interview. Each interview was hugely enjoyable, revealing and stimulating.

Only one participant, Mayor of Gisborne, Meng Foon, requested that his responses be attributed to him personally. Where relevant, his responses used as quotes are identified to him. All other participants' responses are anonymous.

The questions and semi structured interviews

A set of indicative questions based on the seven key questions was prepared to stimulate reflection and discussion. The questions were developed through the literature review and ongoing discussions with my supervisors. Care was taken to treat each participant as unique to their experience and their contribution towards the research. The *mana* and *mauri* they brought to and shared in the interview tailored the interview to their strengths. It was not simply working through a set of prescribed questions, a valid process in other research, but which felt restrictive in this context.

Each interview was different and the order of the questions and the number of questions was specific to the participants. Some interviews reflect a more structured process through the questions, and some were more an informal conversation. Most participants were extremely busy and care was taken to maximise the use of participant's time by paying close attention to which questions were going to be the most relevant. This was very much a negotiated process as some participants had very definite ideas of where the interview was to focus. All of the interviews were recorded, with the participant's permission. Some people chose to do their interviews with another person present, consequently there are twenty-three participants but only twenty-one interviews. All of the interviews were transcribed by the researcher.

The data

The final data set included twenty-one, approximately one-hour interviews, with twenty-three participants. Some were just under an hour, some were as long as an hour and a half. Fifteen of the interviews were in English and eight were in Māori. The researcher did not translate the Māori

transcripts for coding purposes; they were coded in Māori. Transcribing was a lengthy and intense stage of the analysis process. The transcriptions also recorded body language, tone and extra linguistic information where it was considered relevant. There were no technical difficulties with any of the interviews.

The data set was just over 200,000 words in total. The transcripts were imported into nVivo software for coding in their original language. Where relevant, data used as quotes has been edited for readability. Where needed, the *te reo Māori* transcripts were checked by more proficient speakers than the researcher.

The data was viewed as sociolinguistic and social data. It is not used as linguistic data measuring language change, measuring proficiency or to develop a corpus of L2 learner speech. The data contains the ideologies, dreams and emotions of twenty-three L2 learners of Māori. Collectively and individually the interviews have a *mauri*; as some of them contain *whakapapa* which are *tapu*, holding knowledge that is special to the participant and their family. Within the analysis phase the *mauri* and *tapu* that these transcripts contain was uppermost. They were not just words; words are part of language and language is, as Sapir acknowledged, ‘the most inclusive art we know, a mountainous and anonymous work of unconscious generations’ (Sapir, 1949, p. 220). However, from Māori perspectives, anonymous generations they are not; language is the voice of ancestors from each participant’s *whakapapa*. To respect the words is to respect the person, which is to respect their *tūpuna* (ancestors).

Given the sensitivities around Māori language loss, language shift and the current state of the language, the oral and written data represents a window into that pain and loss. Portraying this pain and loss requires contextualising so it is revealing in a way that is respectful, but revelatory. From the transcripts and discussions with the participants, individual *whakapapa* were developed and reveal the path through which language loss occurs in very real, tangible and vivid way. They revealed choices and ideologies of a different era that have had a profound impact on individuals and entire communities. Those *whakapapa* are ‘living’ data. They breathe life, linking speakers through time and place.

The data of this study was shared for this study alone. Its *mauri* rests with the *kaupapa* and will not be taken out of that *kaupapa*. The transcripts revealed remarkable examples of sociolinguistic discourse that are not for analysis outside of this study. Even used anonymously, the interviews were undertaken as specific for this project and it is incumbent on the researcher to respect this understanding. The *mauri* of the transcripts and the participants are linked to the researchers.

Anonymity and participant voice

During the analysis it became apparent that the traditional expectation of anonymity can separate a person from their opinions and emotional recollections. This results in an impression of a participant's opinions, memories and experiences as 'hanging out there', unattached from a person, their *whakapapa* and their *wairua*. Anonymity and the detachment between data and speaker was found to be highly problematic and continually challenging. In the Māori world, who says what is important (J. Moorfield, personal communication, 26 June, 2016). People are their actions and their feelings; the conversations are entirely contextual. It may be what they said then in the context of a year ago might not be how they would express those feelings now.

Fears of the data becoming stale over the lengthy interview and transcription phase were allayed by anthropologist Joan Metge publishing her interpretations of interviews from thirty years ago. In her most recent publication she notes

re-reading the transcribed interviews again in 2010, I was forcibly struck by the richness and variety of the speakers' accounts of their learning experiences as children, the individuality and liveliness of their voices, and the light they shed on a neglected period of New Zealand history ... To that end *Tauira* gives pride of place to extracts of varying length from the interviews recorded in 1981 and 1982. Published with the permission and under the real names of the speakers, these extracts are ordered and linked within a narrative framework based on a close study of the full interviews. (Metge, 2015, p. 3)

Metge's approach to her participants is as revelatory as her research. There are no anonymous participants and the analysis is richer for it. Indeed, she provides biographies for each of the participants, highlighting their tribal links and connections with other participants.

Data that might be viewed as 'out of date', irrelevant or stale in Pākehā terms, takes on a vibrancy when viewed with a Māori perspective. 'Older' data is richer and more valid because it *is* older, it contains 'voices from the past' (a chapter heading in Metge's 2015 publication) and those voices have been clearly identified and valued. Ratima's (2013) research on proficient L2 learners identifies three case studies and in doing so recognises his participants' significant achievements, the contributions of their families, thereby highlighting the process behind those achievements.

Even though the participants' voices cannot be identified, because of the inherent *mauri* and *mana* it was never possible to disregard who was saying what. This had to be built into the analysis but not visible in the final steps due to ethics requirements. There is a real need to investigate the implications and viewpoints of anonymity and confidentiality further from Māori perspectives (Duder, 2010). It would seem that this point tests the intersection of academic ethical traditions and kaupapa Māori processes. Universities' ethics committees 'approve' research as if they were the only and most authoritative avenue to sanction a research project's validity and appropriateness. Contrary to a

perception that Kaupapa Māori processes and protocols require less academic rigour (Marie & Haig, 2006) they require more. Kaupapa Māori processes validate community approval and sanction the idea that research is not limited to independent, free-of-responsibility data but requires an engagement with the data and the community it comes from. Furthermore, kaupapa Māori research would support important questions of what constitutes data (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014, p.715) and how we use it (Patai, 1994).

Metge (2015) and Ratima (2013) demonstrate clearly the value of identifying and attributing voice and opinion directly to a speaker. Talk as data is not to diminish it as abstract, suspended in time or devoid of context but as a means to engage meaningfully with a person, their history and their future. One way of doing that is to use *whakapapa* as an analysis tool. With the luxury of hindsight, the use of *whakapapa* should have been the starting point of investigating L2 learners and led the process, not merely a part of it. A *whakapapa* as a method is not just compatible but intrinsic to kaupapa Māori research (Paipa, 2010, p.7).

Analysis

As the construction of knowledge is viewed as a social interaction and culturally embedded, the analysis phase began with the transcriptions, listening and recollecting the location and circumstances around each of the interviews. Some interviews occurred at times of remembrance, some within the confines of very tight work schedules and travel arrangements. If done at the participant's home, after the interview was a social time helping out with family life: picking up kids, watching basketball games, cooking dinner and bathing babies. With only two exceptions, all of the interviews involved food as a way to express *manaaki* (hospitality) and to acknowledge the participant's time. One of the interviews took place at the researcher's home in Auckland. All of these social factors were used to support accuracy in the transcription process; to remember to locate the participants contextually. For some participants committing to an interview whilst juggling family, professional and community responsibilities required flexibility, adaptability, sensitivity and stamina; not un-coincidentally traits required of L2 learners of an endangered language.

Technical aspects

All of the interviews were recorded using a small handheld voice recorder. The audio files were uploaded and transcribed using appropriate software. Transcribing is definitely an art. Hours of transcribing did not make the typing faster, but gradually required less playback to ensure accuracy. The speed of the transcribing was not the same between languages. Some files in English took longer than those in Māori and the reverse was also true.

During transcribing, the researcher attended several nVivo courses to become familiar with the software. Its usability and adaptability during the coding phase was of huge benefit to the whole process, managing and manipulating codes and the data, collapsing codes into each other, creating new ones and locating material and quotes easily. But nVivo was just the tool to precipitate and manage the analysis. However, as much we would like it to be, and whatever its value in the process, the fact remains: coding is not analysing (St. Pierre and Jackson, 2014).

Analysis aims

To start the analysis phase, various methods and steps were adapted around the data, particularly the Thematic Analysis approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013; Gibbs, 2007), to construct a pathway forward and to facilitate amalgamating the Pākehā research methodology, Māori views on language, learning and the Māori-speaking community.

The coding process was reiterative and required constant revising and thinking around the codes evolved during the process. Reviewing and revising showed the relationship between ‘hearing the data’ during the transcription phase, continual reading and updating understandings, and then in ‘seeing the data’ during the coding phase.

The analysis plan had two aims, to direct me towards aspects of the data and to keep focused on key themes to frame the data progressively. A primary and overarching aim was to celebrate decades of linguistic and social endeavour. Too much of endangered language discourse is framed negatively and couched in the language of failure with implicit criticism for not doing enough, not ‘fighting hard enough’ and not ‘achieving enough’. This does not mean that Māori language revitalisation should not be couched in realism, and be unrealistic. However, it is a little acknowledged fact that the efforts of the Māori-speaking community towards both the challenges and the mechanisms to respond to them, which includes non-Māori, have been nothing short of extraordinary. This bears witness to confronting direct challenges to hegemony (Lewis, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, 2012); outstanding leadership, especially at local, ‘flax-root’ levels (Hond, 2013); community and individual bravery (King, 2007; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2014); pedagogical innovation (Mataira, 1980; Pohe, 2012); adaptability and tenacity (O’Regan, 2012; Ratima, 2013); and a community that takes political and economic responsibility for an entirely underestimated and undervalued challenge in New Zealand society (Higgins & Rewi, 2015). The data reflects new challenges from thirty years ago and the Māori-speaking community’s response (e.g., the use of social media and online environments).

It has been difficult to locate literature on analysis processes and imperatives specific to a kaupapa Māori framework. Researchers in contexts similar to this project avoid this issue completely or skirt around it. They take a Māori paradigm, described in various terms, such as Māori inquiry paradigm,

kaupapa analysis, or ethical research frameworks, among others. But in my opinion, the analysis phase is not couched in the stated paradigm. Moreover, in some cases, regrettably this phase is without any reference back to its epistemic or ontological roots.

Having identified this issue, and to avoid replicating it in this study, criteria were developed that best demonstrated that the Pākehā position does not exist independent of its environment, nor is a universal, neutral position free from connections, relationships and responsibilities. This position validates other realities in a socially-constructed 'space' that can co-exist with other realities. As such, a Pākehā identity is grounded in relation to Māori as *tangata whenua* of Aotearoa New Zealand. Pākehā identity expands out from that rather than matching it as another form of indigeneity (M. King, 1999).

A Pākehā position, however, is linked historically to western traditions and positions and takes responsibility for that and its impact on Māori and Pākehā historical and contemporary realities (Ritchie, 1989). In not denying its past it can construct a valid identity and position without being at the expense of Māori integrity and sacrifice (Mikaere, 2004). Part of this is taking a position of a non-expert (Ritchie, 1989) while congruently being responsible for Pākehā validity, interpretations and contributions.

The use of kaupapa Māori research methodologies establishes a position for Pākehā as inhabiting a 'Māori space', metaphorically and physically, which relates back to *mana tangata, mana whenua* (Ritchie, 1989). If grounded in a Māori viewpoint, which places *whakapapa* as essential to creating authentic understandings, and connections between participants, the research is not centralised by or negotiated through the researcher. In doing so, the focus is on what Pākehā can do, as opposed to what they cannot do. If we are to take ourselves out of entrenched Māori-Pākehā binaries, we need to focus on affinities, inclusive subjectivities (Bidois, 2013, p. 144) and the similarities and connections (Metge, 2013, p. 11).

As Hotere-Barnes (2015) points out, one of the capabilities in his notion of 'non-stupid optimism' is the need to be self-sustaining, taking responsibility for our own responses and solutions to address the 'Pākehā problem' (Tolich, 2002, p. 168). Māori are not responsible for smoothing the way, nor to making it easier for Pākehā researchers to renegotiate and recharge a complex relationship. According to Alison Jones, in doing so, is to observe that

Māori researchers primarily and deliberately address Māori in kaupapa Māori discourse; they do not usually seek to address Pākehā. That is their *point*. Theirs is an *inclusive* address, and a de-centring one. The active *exclusion* of non-Māori is something and somewhere else – perhaps in the anxieties of Pākehā for whom being on the outside is both unfamiliar and unsettling. (Jones, 2012, p. 103, original emphasis)

Hotere-Barnes (2015, p. 11) admits the relevance of the politics and use of *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* are fraught for the Pākehā researcher as being ‘permeated with ethical uncertainty *and* positive potential’ (original emphasis, 2015, p. 11); as Hotere-Barnes observes, being able to ‘critically discern’ (p. 11) when and where the use of *te reo Māori* by Pākehā is appropriate. This involves juggling tensions between that of Pākehā being necessary to the future of the language and the perception that Pākehā using the language is another way to consolidate power and continue the misappropriation of Māori culture (Hotere-Barnes, 2015, p.11). Quite how successful a researcher can be with these notions is not easily determined and only reinforces Jones’ insistence that relationships between Māori and non-Māori researchers will always be tricky, contingent, uncertain and constantly under negotiation (Jones, 2012, p. 108).

Analytic process

Initial assumptions

At the early stages of the transcription process an analysis plan was drawn up with a set of key assumptions. In the very first interview, the participant remarked that in learning the Māori language, ‘we learn about ourselves’ [Participant 1]. The Vygotskian view that through interaction we learn and develop into ourselves is a cornerstone of SCT in SLA (Lantolf, 1996; 2000).

The second assumption was that the analysis process would involve techniques from thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013) and comparative analysis (Gibbs, 2007) guided by themes and concepts from a Māori world view. A third assumption in the initial stages was the focus on social factors of L2 learning over the linguistic factors, particularly in terms of power relations (Block, 2003; Pavlenko, 2002; Pennycook, 1990) and a Poststructuralist view of SLA (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 295).

Māori-English bilingualism was viewed as a normal state (Kroll, 2014; Ortega, 2014), so bilingual Māori are the model. Bilingualism has a long tradition in the Māori-speaking community. L2 speakers of Māori share bilingualism with some of their ancestors (L1 Māori), but their first language is different (L1 English). Hence, L2 learners of Māori constitute a new completely new group of speakers of Māori. Chrisp’s notion of Māori as a diagglossic language recognises a reality of bilingualism for the future of the language (Chrisp, 1997). Aspirations for Māori-only speaking communities do not reflect the reality on the ground (Higgins, 2015).

From the very beginning of the analysis process all participants were assumed as complex, dynamic and multidimensional language learners and speakers in their own right (not problematic as substandard to native speakers or as ‘failed’ language learners) and as being involved in a socially-mediated activity. Therefore, what both speakers and non-speakers of Māori are doing collectively is as important as the individual. Given the constraints of endangered language learning, what non-

speakers do is especially critical. After the transcription process was completed and during the initial coding phase, a second phase of assumptions was developed, extending the previous list. The initial coding steps reinforced L2 learning as complex, contingent, dynamic, multifaceted and contradictory, with L2 learners evolving in relation to linguistic and social conditions and contexts and life challenges.

Use of whakapapa & narratives

As the coding of the interview transcripts progressed, I created a spreadsheet with demographic information for each participant. While I was listening to each of the interviews and reviewing the *whakapapa* that some participants had drawn up, I created a visual *whakapapa* for each participant. These became an important data set grounded in the study's methodological framework. In this second phase I turned to *whakapapa* and narrative to explore and contextualise participants' experiences. The *whakapapa* revealed connections between participants, shared experiences and patterns between and within generations. To explore these, narratives were constructed around each *whakapapa* and these led to further understandings and deeper insights into the lived realities of L2 learners of Māori.

Final data set

By the time of the third and final analysis phase, there were four main data sets. The first was the interview transcripts and the second a demographic spreadsheet, to see patterns and common experiences. From these a third data set evolved: *whakapapa* for each participant. From the *whakapapa*, written narratives were developed incorporating non-verbal, contextual elements of the data collection process and a more complete, holistic understanding of the verbal and written data. For example, these noted where the interview took place, the personal conditions and relationships and any of the interview's contextual elements the researcher considered important for a complete picture of the interview.

Foundational framework: Approach, theory, methodology, context and purpose

Further reading and writing between the second and third analysis phases came to have a direct bearing on the final phase and the presentation of the findings. At the risk of oversimplifying what was a slow and very reiterative process the analytical framework was developed.

The first attempts at analytical interpretation revealed a foundational layer of four elements built from the ground up on four elements of the research: approach, theory, methodology and together, context and purpose. It was rewarding that when visually mapping the elements and codes many themes kept linking back to a kaupapa Māori methodological framework, reinforcing attempts to reflect the world view of the language and its speakers. Each of the four key elements are reviewed briefly in relation to the analysis process.

Poststructuralism provides a clear analytical approach of L2 speakers of Māori as agents engaged in a social world with multiple evolving identities in complex cultural and political environments. A view of L2 learners as individuals, neither impacted by nor impacting on their social and cultural environment, is not conducive towards recognising complexity and diversity and its impact on endangered language learning. Poststructuralist views make sense of L2 learners' multiple, shifting identities by acknowledging power relations are played out not just at the macro level but at the micro personal level in 'every day social encounters between people with differential access to symbolic and material resources – encounters that are inevitably produced with language' (Norton cited in Ricento, 2005, p. 899). Moreover, a poststructuralist view of L2 learners as social entities with complex identities, goes a step further to acknowledge that an 'individual's identity in L2 contexts is mediated by the reactions of others to that individual's motivation to learn' (Ricento, 2005, p. 899).

The second element locates the study within a theoretical model of SCT that collapses a dichotomy between learning as either cognitive or social but sees thinking and learning as social (Lantolf in Hulstijn, Young & Ortega, 2014). In SCT, L2 learning is viewed as a social process with an interdependence between all speakers and interlocutors regardless of ability and proficiency. This orientates a view of learning as a socially-mediated interactive activity developing communities of speakers.

A kaupapa Māori methodology was the third foundational element and although demarcated here, connects all elements. Māori world views frame participants as taking part in a Māori world that is fluid, evolving and negotiated across space, time and place. It rejects deficit notions and problematizing Māori as inimical to or rejected by a non-Māori world, but sees them as engaged successful members negotiating, complex unstable environments, not challenging their ancestors but perpetuating diverse forms of resistance (Bargh, 2007; Penetito, 2010).

The final foundational layer connects the endangered language context of *te reo Māori* with the purpose of L2 learning in language revitalisation. This recognises the fragile linguistic environment, the language's status within a monolingual culture and the impact that has on learners and speakers in macro, mezzo and micro levels. Within this, and connected to a Poststructuralist approach, is the assumption that access to language is not only mediated through gender, class and ethnicity but how this access is negotiated and mediated can have a greater impact on the future of the language (Hinton, 2011).

Key issues in a Pākehā research methodology

The final section in this chapter will consider some practical methodological issues in the interplay of language and research.

Whakapapa as an analytical tool

The analytical process renewed an appreciation and respect for how *whakapapa* frames cultural understandings and its use in exploring complex themes providing clarity and context. Listening to a colleague describing Tony Waho's use of *whakapapa* to discuss students in the Kura Kaupapa setting made me reconsider the way in which the participant information was being collated and synthesized. Up to that time it had been a linear, spread-sheet approach to build up a collective picture of the participant group. While the linear spreadsheet had value, participants' individual and collective narratives and their conditions were missing.

Whakapapa were developed for each participant as Tony Waho might have done and it is through these that the narratives developed. Concurrently, the use of *whakapapa* both highlighted and contextualised a participant's experience, conditions and contexts, making intergenerational patterns and social conditions visible. Critically, *whakapapa* refocused the analysis back on the participant in relation to the research's focus. But it also did something else.

Even as *whakapapa* refocused on an individual participant, it can explain the relationships and connections within the participant group and be used to make sense of L2 learners' lived individual experiences collectively. A review of my participant group revealed multiple connections within the participant group. Some shared the same *iwi*, some were *whānau* members and some shared a *whakapapa* through their language learning histories and contexts, for example, the wide-ranging influence of Kōhanga Reo. A number of the participants shared the experiences of a religious upbringing impacting on their access to the Māori language and *tikanga*. It was important to view the group as a whole with a shared *whakapapa*. Their collective experiences, wisdom and insights increase our understandings of endangered language learning, contributing to our knowledge of the process.

However, the *whakapapa* do not give their professional contexts nor locate them within their wider *iwi* and *hapū* contexts as these are not visible in the *whakapapa* in the interests of anonymity. The location of L2 learners in regard to their tribal areas is also important. It locates speakers within a tribal authority, creates understandings about the role of *iwi* in urban contexts away from their tribal authority, a fact long neglected in language revitalisation discourse (Keegan, 2011) despite renewed calls for language revitalisation to be *iwi*-led (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). Just over half (n=8) of the fourteen Māori participants were living in their tribal *rohe*. For Pākehā participants who had a Māori partner only one was living in her partner's tribal area.

The *whakapapa* did not highlight the social networks independent of a participant's *whakapapa*, such as learning contexts, professional roles and community groups like *kapa haka*, but given the centrality of the *whānau* unit in Māori life, the role of the family in intergenerational language transmission (ILT)

and the social context of L2 speakers it is vital to understand experiences and realities. Examining the *whānau* context of each *whakapapa* highlighted the degree of isolation for some speakers, the factors that encourage ILT and those that do not, the role of partner language in their children's language and the historical and contemporary contexts around the Kōhanga Reo movement. Essentially, the process of developing oral texts (the interviews), written texts (the transcriptions) and stories (the narratives) were contextualised and transformed with highly visual, culturally-framed texts (the *whakapapa*).

Qualitative fitness: validity and reliability in sociolinguistic qualitative research

This section comments on some fundamental aspects of qualitative research, that of validity, reliability and interpretation, or how to determine if one interpretation is 'more right than another' (Johnstone, 2000, p. 58).

Reliability, the ability to generate the same results with the same measures but different research participants, requires a prerequisite assumption that all contexts will reveal the same realities (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 279). Clearly, in qualitative research the parameters are different and as Braun and Clarke (2013) recognise 'there is no absolute criteria for judging whether a piece of qualitative research is any good' (2013, p. 278). This however, does not make it any less valid, despite a research climate that favours what can be measured and counted (Jones, 2012, p. 108) over experience and interpretation. This has several implications for a research study located within Indigenous frameworks by a non-Indigenous researcher investigating a topic already low on the scale of the research hierarchy (even by Māori research organisations), taking a place behind that of other important research, such as in Māori immersion contexts.

Sociolinguistic research on L2 learners has a traditional spot behind that of linguistic research on L2 speakers, which is bound up in notions of validity, replicability and the contested space between research that both validates and is validated by 'science' discussed in Chapter 4. This contestation obscures investigating and hearing the realities for many L2 learners, with language learning as a dynamic social site of resistance (Lewis, 2014) and re-emphasises results over interpretation.

Reliability and validity are often given as criteria to apply to qualitative research. However we need to consider how to accommodate a notion of validity as a

function of what we mean by truth, and many humanists and social scientists are sceptical about the possibility and *limit their search to knowledge that holds for certain purposes, in certain contexts and for certain people.* (Johnstone, 2000, p. 61, emphasis added)

We might now consider the long-term paucity of qualitative research on L2 learners in terms of what it might portray as knowledge that could challenge received notions of Māori L2 learning and potentially contradict the aims and results of quantitative surveys (Bauer, 2008).

Reliability, validity, *pono* and *tika* (Cram, 2001)

This research makes no claim to replicability across all L2 learners of Māori or the entire spectrum of endangered language contexts. The aim is to draw attention to the historical and contemporary conditions of Māori language learners and discuss these to help our understandings of endangered language learning. The premise is that language learning is an important site of contemporary struggle and social endeavour, and societies are the richer for it. However, no research is free from an assurance of quality, not the least from the researcher, and there are aspects of reliability and validity applicable to this study.

As Johnstone observes, 'it is no accident that some of the most creative and influential work in sociolinguistics has been done by people who knew their research participants or texts intimately' (Johnstone, 2000, p. 62). Ratima's research on highly proficient learners of Māori was assisted by his inclusion in this group, and as with this study, some of his participants came from his existing social networks (Ratima, 2013, p. 24). Ruakere Hond (2013b) and Evan Pohe's (2012) doctoral research had a critical intimacy due to their history with the Te Ātaarangi movement and created connections with their participants in ways unlikely if they were not insiders. Hond, Pohe and Ratima all share Māori ancestry, locating their studies in a different place from this study.

In a deceptively simple statement, Johnstone claims that 'ultimately, reliable procedures are the results of time and care' (2000, p. 62). Nothing in this study refutes her claim. Enormous amounts of time and great lengths of care are needed to progress qualitative research in kaupapa Māori contexts. Much of this time can be taken up with having to first validate kaupapa Māori research (Cram, 2001). This is dispensed with here. The integrity of kaupapa Māori research is self-evident in the *mana* and *mauri* of the subject, in the care, time and attention given by all of the research participants. Dispensing with a need to corroborate methodology and method (which could call the validity of the entire project into question), allowed care and attention to be directed to the analysis phase. A methodological review of projects similar to this study, revealed the application of kaupapa Māori's theoretical tenets towards the analysis process the most evasive. As Bishop has observed, some kaupapa Māori researchers find the pervasive discourse in establishing validity overrides a concern with positioning validity within appropriate world views (Bishop, 1998, p. 210).

A kaupapa Māori perspective requires different takes on validity in research (Bishop, 1998). Bishop argues that taking a stance on validity is to free kaupapa Māori research from perpetuating neo-colonial discourses (1998, p. 209) and it remains for kaupapa Māori methodologies to challenge these discourses and their

concomitant concerns regarding validity, including strategies such as objectivity/subjectivity, replicability, and external measures for validity. These discourses are so pervasive that Maori researchers may automatically revert to using such means of establishing validity for their texts, but problematically so because these measures of validity are all positioned within another world-view. (Bishop, 1998, p. 209)

Validity within kaupapa Māori research concerns Marie and Haig (2006), who reject the notion that declaring a practice or methodological idea to be positivist is enough to question it (Marie & Haig, 2006, p. 20). Marie and Haig appear to miss the central point of arguments such as Bishop (1998), which is that the power to define validity, reliability and truth should be determined by a community not for it. Bishop's also has concerns about the emancipatory stance liberating 'oppressed people' and an ideology that 'if only the oppressed could know what the detached, distanced emancipationist knows, the lives of the oppressed would be improved' (1998, p.213). This notion of oppressed communities needing enlightenment is rejected in Chapter 2, as Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi illustrate a community's ability to identify problems and enact strategies and solutions.

Marie and Haig (2006) invite the kaupapa Māori research community to consider how they would determine validity and reliability, so that they can be properly assessed (p. 20). It is assumed here that Marie and Haig (2006) mean an external acceptance would make kaupapa Māori research more acceptable as one of their main objections is the lack of internal critique. Again, the writers are missing important points, made explicit by a range of authors (see Bishop, 1998; Cram, 2001; Cooper, 2012; Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, Cram & Walker, 2002; L. T. Smith, 1999). Marie and Haig's (2006) objections are precisely the cause for kaupapa Māori research and the perceived lack of response is a form of resistance; a rejection of the constant need to reaffirm and claim a methodological space (Jackson, 2011; Pihama, Cram & Walker, 2002).

Validity in kaupapa Māori research

Validity in kaupapa Māori research can be expressed from within a methodological world view (Bishop, 1998). This section endeavours to explain the process in this study. Earlier in this chapter, it was argued that ethical requirements from kaupapa Māori research require more, not less, from researchers. The notion that to use kaupapa Māori research practices conforms to reduced expectations is erroneous. The same is true of articulating validity and how researchers' interpretations are related to reality (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 280) or validity. Braun and Clarke (2013) discuss this aspect in relation to qualitative research in detail and their careful explication (pp. 282-293) has been very helpful in clarifying that validity is an important feature of qualitative research, as with quantitative research, but it requires careful application and an 'active interpretation' specific to the research context (2013, p. 293).

Even with this researcher's limited knowledge of *tikanga*, the following proposals are made to show how kaupapa Māori research might articulate grounded forms of validity. Foremost, the results or interpretations are displayed in a way that promotes the kaupapa, people and context of the research in particular and *tikanga* and *mātauranga Māori* in general.

From this premise validity in kaupapa Māori research could start to be defined in the following terms:

- **Robust.** The entire process shows a thoughtful application. It is not just a whimsical subject plucked out of thin air but has meaning to researcher and participants, visible in long-term networks and visible commitment (Hill & May, 2013).
- **Demonstrating integrity.** It is focused on the *kaupapa* not personalities; transparent and illustrating an understanding that the *mana* of the research and *kaupapa* is imperative. But the researcher has a key role in upholding the *mana*; taking responsibility for the process and the interpretations.
- **Revelatory.** It is not framed in deficit and pejorative notions, merely telling a community what it already knows (L. T. Smith, 1999).
- **Respectful.** It is grounded in a **respect** for participants' communities and actively rejects deficit framing.
- **Contextualised and connected.** It seeks connections between themes, people and contexts. It is not reductive, aiming to simplify and isolate participants into 'one-size-fits-all' models.
- **Tika/pono.** It clearly uses conceptual frameworks that contribute to internal understandings (Cooper, 2012). Participants and their communities are able to recognise their realities in the interpretations and results.
- **Multi-layered.** It is research that responds and addresses Bishop's (1998) invitation to consider the act of knowing as participation that includes spiritual, psychic and emotional involvement (p. 215).
- **Methodologically appropriate.** It interprets themes and processes from within appropriate frameworks but uses other frameworks where appropriate e.g., Pohe's (2012) use of Grounded Theory with kaupapa Māori research.
- **Self-critical.** It makes connections with other research on similar themes or similar processes and reflects on them to create new understandings without being highly negative.
- **Solution-based.** It identifies concerns, problems and puzzles from within a community's conceptual frameworks to avoid deficit framing (Hornberger & Hult, 2008; Fishman, 2001).
- **Diverse.** It uses diverse methods (Johnstone, 2000, p. 61) with more than one form of evidence and criteria (e.g., triangulation of different data sources, processes and theoretical

position (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 286) if appropriate. It is aimed at diverse, richer results rather than limited, 'accurate' pictures (2013, p. 286).

- **Consistent.** It articulates a position clearly that is seen in process, results and interpretations.

Many of these notions of validity already connect with how successful qualitative research is determined. There is, though, room for development in how rigorous and quality research can be framed from kaupapa Māori research perspectives. Interpretations of this nature must come from within the kaupapa Māori research community, so they are not having to constantly define and validate method and process but are built on inherent assumptions of *pono* and *tika* (Cram, 2001).

Validity within a Pākehā research methodology

Validity in a Pākehā research methodology includes another layer of questions that are addressed in this final section. Again, these questions and reflections are not limited specifically to non-Indigenous researchers. Just because research on Māori is done by Māori researchers is no guarantee that their work is not framed by self-interest and a lack of critique. Lewis' (2014) analysis of the *Te Reo Mauriora* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011) report, reveals how research by community members, purportedly for a community (the *Te Reo Mauriora* was in reality prepared principally for the Minister and the Crown) can be seen to seriously undermine from within and in doing so protect external and create new internal hegemonic interests (Lewis, 2014). Indeed, there is precedent for non-Indigenous researchers to contribute meaningfully to Indigenous knowledge that, if examined closely, is extraordinary, as in some of the cases described in Chapter 5.

If we take Bishop's request for 'knowing' that is multi-layered, engaged, participatory and spiritually and emotionally engaged (Bishop, 1998, p. 215), Pākehā researchers have to develop ways of detecting and knowing how this can be done appropriately. In this aspect there are strong links between the role and participation of mentors and how Pākehā researchers replicate this in their own practice.

Further work is needed on which factors constitute success in research by non-Indigenous researchers. The parameters are related to the earlier list on determining validity in kaupapa Māori research, which ultimately rests on the application of the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of kaupapa Māori research. But successful research within the academy requires rigour and demands that researchers marry the twin demands of their communities for integrity, relevance and respect with those from the academy. It is not to say that they do not marry or that it is not possible. It just requires dexterity to navigate the tensions of meaningful research with sensitivity, an intuitive affective understanding and a deep tolerance for uncertainty (Jones, 2012, p. 100).

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the role of the methodological approaches outlined in Chapter 5 and their practical application within a Pākehā research methodology. As noted earlier, this is a mature group. A more expansive view of eL2 learners of Māori would need to consider a younger cohort of new learners, such as those in kura reo, and those from Māori immersion education contexts. Both these groups are critical to the future of the speaker community. However, including this group this would have made the participant group too large.

An emphasis has been placed on the research's context and its implications for the research process, especially in the analysis phase. This is the *ngako* (essence, gist, substance) of research; it is easy to outline intention but requires infinitely more effort to describe its application, in a way that is coherent and true to the process.

The role and description of validity in kaupapa Māori research results has been considered, especially in how it can be defined and determined from within appropriate world views. But, it remains that validity in Indigenous contexts requires more, not less from the research process in meeting the expectations of two communities who expect rigour and integrity but may determine and express them differently.

The next chapter moves away from background contextual descriptions towards the analytical interpretation of the personal narratives gathered during the interviews.

Chapter 7: Ngā pou kārangaranga

Previous chapters have outlined how a specific methodology orientates the research towards participants in the social, cultural and political contexts of endangered language revitalisation. Chapters 7 to 9 provide a discussion through themes to address the seven research questions:

1. What is the role of L2 learners in language revitalisation?
2. How do learners locate themselves in the language revitalisation context?
3. What are L2 learners' perceptions of the community and the individual in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*?
4. What role does the Māori language have in Māori life?
5. What terminology do L2 learners use to describe themselves?
6. What factors of L2 learnings have helped language development the most?
7. What have been some of the struggles of L2 learning Māori?

In most cases, the following themes are related to more than one question. The themes evolved from weaving each participant's interview, the researcher's written narratives and the *whakapapa* into an integrated framework towards a collective interpretation in understanding eL2 learners' lived experiences.



Image 4: *Poutokomanawa* (centre-pole) of Te Pūrengi, Auckland University of Technology (Source: Auckland University of Technology, n.d, p. 5).

To ground the analysis conceptually in a Māori world view, I imagined stepping into a carved *whare whakairo* (more specifically Te Pūrengi, the *whare* of AUT University) with large *poupou* (two-dimensional carvings) around the walls of the *whare*. Each participant is in a *pou* that is carved with a

participant's histories and *whakapapa* and each *pou* 'sings' or calls. The participants' and researcher's histories and stories merge through the central pole (*poutokomanawa*).

This central pole connects all the participants with the living and the dead up through the *heke* (rafter) towards the *tāhuhu* (ridgepole) that runs along the ceiling, from the front wall to the back. The researcher is not a passive, disconnected entity but in a central position and responsible for the research's integrity and *mana*. Traditionally, the central pole of a *whare* is a male ancestor to signal the strength or prowess of the tribe (Auckland University of Technology, n.d, p. 14). However, in Te Pūrenghi the centre pole is uniquely, female (Image 4). The female form was chosen to recognise the university's high number of female staff and students, to highlight the role and influence of mothers in a child's development and to remind males of their roles as fathers. Most importantly, she symbolises the 'whakapapa link we have between Papatuanuku (our earth mother) and Ranginui (our sky father)' (Auckland University of Technology, n.d, p. 14).

Power relations

As power is a central concern of Poststructuralism, this project identifies that eL2 learners, above all else, negotiate and re-negotiate complex power relations. Understandings of the power relations were in participants' response to questions around their roles in language revitalisation, perceptions of the Māori language community and the impact of struggles and helpful learning factors and the role of the Māori language since the 1970s.

Furthermore, this study supports Lewis' contention that Māori language revitalisation is a site of hegemonic resistance (Lewis, 2014, p. 26). Almost every single analytical point comes back to power relations and the language's 'minority' (an incorrect term from within the Māori community) and 'Indigenous', 'endangered' status in the context of New Zealand's colonial history. These power relations impact across the full spectrum of learners' experiences and the language's history and are implicated in many aspects of Indigenous language explained in the use of elites and hegemonic resistance.

The emergence and role of elites

The rise and role of elites suggests that a consequence of cultural and linguistic revival as a response to hegemony is controlled by those with power, or elites. As Poststructuralism attempts to distinguish inequality amongst languages (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 283), this distinction can be extended to the language's speakers, which reveals that some speakers are more equal than others.

In her study of the use of metaphors by 'newly fluent speakers of Māori', Jeanette King (2009) comments on the role of elites, or 'middle class'. She suggests the growth of a Māori middle class or

elite develops in learning Māori as they are responding to a 'belongingness' need, because they don't have to attend to an 'economic need' and as such, are urban and educated (J. King, 2010, p. 24). In Māori language revitalisation, the 'majority of dedicated L2 Māori speakers work in education or broadcasting' (p. 25), a statement she confirmed with Census data from 2001 and the 1995 National Māori Language Survey. In this present study's participant group, twelve of the twenty-three participants were involved in the education sector: six in tertiary Māori language teaching, three in Māori immersion contexts and three in mainstream schools. But in total, thirteen participants were in professional positions that used their knowledge of the language. No participant was involved in broadcasting.

However, according to J. King (2007), there is disagreement on the rise of elite and the pivotal important roles its members play. There is clearly some discomfort about this as she observes that a section on elites was removed from Chrisp's 1997 article on diglossia before publication (J. King, 2007, p. 26) and she notes the developing tension between Māori leadership and Māori language-speaking ability, evident in politician John Tamihere's rejection of Haami Piripi's claim (at the time he was CEO of the Māori Language Commission Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori) that Māori leadership requires Māori language skills (see J. King, 2007, p. 27)¹⁴. Discomfort in discussions of class are not limited to the Māori community. As Crothers notes, while class remains a definitive characteristic of a person's opportunities and life chances, it is rarely acknowledged or avowed, despite New Zealand's 'supposed' egalitarianism (Crothers, 2014, p. 90).

Ratima (2013) provides some demographic information on his seventeen participants (p. 26). Their average income is well above the national average, indicating that members of his participant group are from the Māori middle class. All of his seventeen participants had undergraduate degrees and ten had post-graduate degrees. Four of them earned between \$45,000 and \$55,000 a year and ten participants earned \$65,000 and above. In 2013, the median person income was \$28,500¹⁵. Recently Census New Zealand revealed that more Māori are receiving undergraduate degrees and those with a degree make nearly \$27,000 more than those without a qualification (Rangitauira, 2015).

This study's participant group presents an interesting picture in terms of tertiary education, a factor related to lifestyle, income and class (Block, 2012). Of the twenty-three participants most had a tertiary qualification (n=17: men = 9, women= 8), and of those seventeen, ten had completed or were

¹⁴ John Tamihere is not a speaker of Māori but involved in urban Māori development in West Auckland. Piripi's role as CEO of the Māori Language Commission locates him as a Māori language speaker.

¹⁵ From Stats NZ PDF *QuickStats-About Income*. p. 12. Retrieved from <http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/quickstats-income.aspx>

involved in post-graduate study, two had PhDs and two were enrolled in doctoral research.

Like J. King (2007), Ratima (2013) noted that ‘many of the participants were employed as Māori language teachers. Most were employed in jobs that required an understanding of *te reo* and/or *tikanga Māori*’ (p. 27). But he did not specify beyond that. It must be noted that of his three well-known case studies, two were in broadcasting and all three work with academic institutions in a range of positions that are related to their proficiency in Māori. Ratima did not discuss his participants as being from a middle class, even less from an elite. However, in his findings of the three case studies he identifies the role of transferable skills as a marker towards proficiency development, e.g., setting performance targets and goals from sport, the discipline and commitment from years of *kapa haka* and sophisticated public speaking skills in English that were transferred to Māori (Ratima, 2013, p. 128). In other words, they had already been highly successful in other aspects of their lives previous to learning Māori and were already highly educated before learning Māori. But what about students who do not bring a self-perception of being successful to learning Māori? Students who left formal education as a young adult or who have not had access to Māori networks such as *kapa haka* or strong links with either rural or urban marae. Ratima places the responsibility for identifying any shortcomings on the L2 learner and highlights the challenges this presents but makes no acknowledgement of how this might impact on the full range of L2 learners, not just those who come with strong belief in their own ability. He summarises:

It is not an easy pathway, it is fraught with challenges, but the [three] cases presented here offer some excellent examples of how these challenges can be negotiated. With hard work and some strategic application of skills that many learners may already possess, no goal is beyond reach. (Ratima, 2013, p. 130)

It is clear that negotiating challenges is the responsibility of the learner. He ignores the wider social and political conditions that learners (from all ends of the social spectrum) must negotiate, often critical in endangered language contexts. Although he acknowledges that most of his participants were male, reflecting his own gender and networks, restricting our investigations of Māori language proficiency to well-educated males will not contribute to wider understandings of Māori language revitalisation as a community process, particularly when we know that Māori women have contributed significantly to Māori language revitalisation (Bauer, 2008).

This emergence of an elite (or middle class) connected with Māori language has been exacerbated by the continuing restriction of accessing Māori language only through tertiary institutions, constraining Māori language learning to those with access to education, which is related to class and socioeconomic background. The reduction of community-based organisations due to funding restrictions and the constraints placed on Kōhanga Reo will have an impact on access to Māori language learning. One of

the participants recounted that he had to be encouraged to send his young son to a Kōhanga Reo in the late 1990s, as he had perceived Kōhanga Reo only being for people who were 'up there' [Tama, T, 40+], implying that even then there was a perception that Kōhanga Reo was aimed at middle class Māori children.

Puzzlingly, elites in endangered languages are created as cultural knowledge becomes restricted to fewer and fewer people of that community, while its value to wider society increases. This issue is socio-political as well as cultural. If Māori language revitalisation is seen as anti-hegemonic (Lewis, 2014) and vulnerable to hegemonic pressure through neoliberalism, the challenge is how Māori language revitalisation can be made strong enough to resist those forces as a modern, well-resourced and valid space so that it is accessible to the full range of learners.

Within the current participant group only three participants (all male) referred directly to the issues of class. Of the three, two described themselves as being highly-proficient or advanced speakers; both were in professional positions reflecting this ability and involved directly with the Māori learning community. The third was also involved in Māori language professionally and has strong political connections through the Māori community.

As a whole, the participants represent a wide spectrum of class. Block's key dimensions were used to determine a participant's class (Block, 2012, p. 194). But in trying to determine their class, it is noticeable that it is not fixed over a lifetime and Māori language ability can play a part in the negotiation and transformation of class identities.

Class, however unacknowledged, plays a factor in Māori language acquisition and can be examined in a number of ways. The first is that of the current study's participant group, it appears that a higher education degree corresponds with success in Māori language learning, and this is helped by being male. Success as an L2 learner and in proficiency development appears to be linked to success in the tertiary sector. Māori immersion contexts play a vital role in the development of proficiency, as shown by the number of intermediate and advanced female speakers in the group who have a role in Māori immersion education. Put another way, those learners who did not have access to either Maori immersion education contexts and were not in tertiary education appear to have less success as L2 learners; this is particularly noticeable where the female participants were single parents as the demands of supporting a family precluded accessing some Māori language contexts. Such was the case for Connie.

Rather than highlighting those success factors, of which being male and having access to higher education are a part (undoubtedly contrary to the original visions of Māori language revitalisation),

this aspect is revealed in Connie's story. Connie's language learning has not been as successful as she has hoped and her story illustrates the realities and challenges of late endangered language learning for women, particularly those with primary responsibility for children.

Connie was in her mid-30s and the mother of five children in the early 1990s when she started learning Māori. At the time her children ranged from early primary school to their late teens. By the late 1990s, Connie's husband had died and she became the sole income earner for four children (her eldest child was working by then). With the death of her second daughter, several years later, Connie became the guardian of her granddaughter. Connie lives in close proximity to three of her children, who are now parents and she has ten grandchildren.

Connie's mother died when she and her twin brother were only six and Connie and her siblings were separated at her mother's *tangihanga*. Her twin brother went to an uncle, and her younger sister to a paternal aunt. Being raised by their uncle meant that Connie's twin brother is now a 'very fluent' speaker of Māori. Connie was raised by her mother's cousin who had married out of her *iwi*. Through her strong '*whāngai* link' Connie claims links to a strong female ancestor of that area. Both her *whāngai* parents were native speakers of Māori, but they used it as a 'secret language when they wanted to talk about us or anything that was private they reverted back to their *reo*'. Around other families, the main language was Māori. Connie remembers her maternal grandparents as being native speakers although only one of the grandparents used Māori when talking to her grandchildren.

An independent thinker from an early age, Connie 'was always aware of being Māori but I used to have issues about John (her father) teaching *kapa haka* and *waiata* and *te reo* to the farmers' children who were white! But he never taught it to us.' Later on as a young adult she rejected an invitation from her father to join in night classes, and challenged him as to why he taught other people but not his own children. According to Connie 'he became aware that we didn't have *te reo* as a language'. Connie acknowledges that while she did not grow up speaking Māori she was expected to follow *tikanga*, especially the *tikanga* around the roles of women.

Connie's *whakapapa* revealed a preference for nurturing male participation in Māori language speaking. First with her twin brother's ability in the language and role as the speaker for their family and second, in her father's encouragement that she enrol her sons in Kōhanga Reo. Her elder daughters predated the Kōhanga Reo movement. As neither of her two sons speak Māori as adults, Connie's current concern lies with future speaking roles for her family at important ceremonial occasions.

Connie's early ventures towards language learning were in response to leadership from older female members of the community at a critical time in Māori language learning, when it was *marae*-based and community-driven. Through Kōhanga Reo Connie was encouraged to pursue the language and complete a tertiary qualification. So, in her early '30s, with five children, Connie moved to a university several hours' drive from her hometown and in a different tribal region to complete a Māori language degree. Over the three years she was at university her children moved between her and her husband; the whole family contributed and invested in Connie's attendance at university.

Since leaving university, Connie's contact with the language has been sporadic and mediated by events requiring her to put her own desires secondary to raising children. Now a grandmother, it is possible to see how this limited contact with the language has impacted on her whole family. Although the grandmother of ten *mokopuna*, none of those children attend or have attended Māori immersion education. Connie, as the generation between Māori-speaking bilingual parents and her monolingual English-speaking children, is aware of what she has lost and her capacity to address this for herself and for her children.

At the current state of Māori language revitalisation efforts it is as important to understand learners like Connie as it is to understand successful learners like those cited in Ratima (2013). We have no accurate figures of the total numbers of L2 learners of Māori over the last thirty years, but if we combine figures from Te Ātaarangi with, those in universities, polytechnics and *wānanga*, it must number in the tens of thousands. This is a substantial figure but the small numbers thought good enough to attend Te Panekiretanga (just 250 over the last ten years), raises hard questions about the nature of L2 language teaching efforts, current funding and how we sustain learners through the significant challenges of endangered language acquisition (ELA). This may require acknowledging an unpleasant reality the majority of Maori language learners, for many good reasons, do not or cannot sustain their initial commitment and achievement. To do so is to contextualise this apparent 'failure' against the realities and challenges of endangered language learning. First, learners exist in complex, multi-layered fluid contexts and respond to this in unpredictable, dynamic, and constantly changing ways. Connie, however strong her motivation might have been at the beginning, was presented with complex life events that mitigated her ability to participate and sustain her language learning past a certain point. Like other participants, Connie noted that the thing that assisted her most in the language learning environment was 'hearing the language all the time'. Creating language environments outside of the L2 learning context has been identified as a key factor in proficiency development (Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013). But how do learners create those environments once they leave their learning context? *Kura Reo* and other *wānanga* contexts provide this context, but would

require determination and significant logistical challenges for a single parent with four school age children, even without factoring in the cost.

After the death of her husband, Connie returned to the tribal area where she grew up. She noted a major change in the community in that 'there were hardly any speakers left'. Despite the realities of now being the major earner for her family, Connie tried to combine Māori language contexts with her work in primary health care and finish her undergraduate degree, 'knowing that I had this *reo* I had been educated with and bouncing back to try and keep it alive'. Connie felt the greatest challenge to her as a mature learner was the fact 'I never fully grasped *te reo* when I was young', which has impacted on everything since.

The basics, I've never fully grasped it, it was more or less that push to just to get through, get through, get through. But I never learned the lesson enough and sometimes that's probably where I'm critical of how I am, I might go into a class and then find that they are more advanced than I am and then I pull out. While it might suit me with, like with *kōhanga*, I loved being at *kōhanga* for I think, two months I was a *kaiāwhina* at *kōhanga* with Logan and that was lovely to be with my *mokopuna* but, well, all the *mokopuna*, but, we have to use *te reo*. You know but I found that my *reo* was not that basic *kōhanga* level, it was still in the beginning and it showed the big gap that I had lost in between. [Connie, Māori, W, 60+]

However, Connie was candid in showing her response to these challenges, and did not deflect the responsibility. 'I think that I have procrastinated for so long it's become part of me, I can't do this because of *mahi*, I can't do that 'cos I've gotta do this. It's about commitment.' Connie's engagement with the language at the time of the interview was 'minimal'.

Connie's story represents many eL2 learners within and beyond the project's participants, as part of a response to social forces, critical language awareness and tangible community efforts with strong community leadership at key stages in eL2 learners' lives: becoming a parent and the realities of a diminishing older generation. As a social intervention *Kōhanga Reo* and eL2 learning has the power to transform families and entire communities, which was always its first intention (Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014). Most eL2 learners are simultaneously negotiating the vicissitudes of life, realities around colonialism, unemployment, and educational inequality. Therefore, viewing eL2 learners of Māori as somehow divorced from the social and economic conditions in which they exist and are operating in as autonomous, individual units impervious to hegemonic and cultural forces, restricts our understanding of what helps learners. A greater awareness of this across a full range of social conditions is paramount in ELA.

Hegemonic resistance

Lewis claims that Māori language learning is a visible site of resistance and a deeply counter-hegemonic activity, noting that 'the central problematic in Māori language revitalisation (or the

revitalisation of any language for that matter) is neither technical nor bureaucratic but rather political and ideological' (Lewis, 2014, p. 26). This research not only supports Lewis' identification of the challenge that Māori language learning gives to New Zealand hegemony but shows (reluctantly) that eL2 learners of Māori challenge at least two hegemonies, the second less obvious and from a less expected source.

The term 'hegemonic resistance' is used to indicate an active behaviour to counteract hegemony. Language learning is not passive; it requires active, engaged participation and as such is declarative and politically and ideologically transformative. It may not be a conscious choice of the learner to be resisting hegemony but they are likely to experience the consequences of this choice.

External hegemonies

Among the external hegemonies it challenges, Māori language learning rejects New Zealand's entrenched monolingual beliefs. The Māori speaking community and L2 learners emphasise that the shift from a monolingual Māori nation to a monolingual English nation has never been fully completed.

Speaking Māori asserts Māori as *tangata whenua*. It declares a position and is to enter into a space that, theoretically at least, Pākehā cannot pre-determine and control. At the same time, it highlights Pākehā responses to the less admirable outcomes of colonial practice. Lewis (2014) highlights this at the macro level of policy but in this study it is possible to see it at the micro, personal level.

One of the spaces that openly challenges hegemony is education. Māori medium education, as much as it is about language revitalisation, is a direct challenge to a 170-year old hegemony that has yet to show acceptable success rates for all Māori students. As such, choosing Māori immersion education for your child is to resist hegemony. Seen in this light it is not surprising that half of the participants have sent their children to Māori immersion education (n=11) and those that did had partners who were also L2 learners, indicating that resistance needs to be shared and supported within the parenting relationship.

Confirmation of Lewis' (2014) statement on the central problematic of language as recognising or resisting hegemony was evident in implicit rather than explicit statements. Understandings around hegemony helped re-evaluate earlier analysis steps.

I didn't think, and *pōhēhē* [mistaken], I didn't think that Māori [language] was going to get me where I wanted to be ... that was my thoughts that I wanted to be successful and rich and I think I was um ... yeah ... I didn't know at the time what success meant, and I think I know now. For me, I never looked at who I was I looked at what I wanted to be and it was *whakaaro Pākehā*. I wanted to be an accountant, I wanted to have money and I wanted to have a house and I didn't think about my heritage. [Hohepa, T, 20+]

The hegemonic ideology behind this statement is that learning Māori is not a means to success, to being part of an economy and that rejecting your ancestry will assist in being successful. Implicit in this is the monolingual bias that only English can provide a pathway to economic success and is the language of modernity. And yet, as Ratima's (2013) demographic breakdown also attests, and within this participant group, Māori language proficiency has tangible economic and political rewards.

Only one participant, Māui, claimed explicitly that learning Māori was part of a conscious response to an awareness that Māori had not shared in the benefits of New Zealand colonisation to the same extent as Pākehā. This realisation caused him to reject his religious upbringing, abandon a high-status career and take a different professional path, which now includes being an active member of groups committed to highlighting Pākehā hegemonic practices.

Hine, one of the youngest participants, described how speaking Māori in public spaces is to engage in resistance.

When we're out shopping I'll only speak to them in Māori 'cos I want them to hear my voice outside of all the other noise that they're hearing in that public arena. And you know what? I want the public to hear us and see the kids responding and be like ah! That's normal. I like that confrontation as a chance to make it a bit more normalised that there are other language speakers or that there are bilingual just you know, *ka aha koe* what are you two up to? Straight away in the same ... so people are sort of like did I just hear that and it becomes a normal for them, because we need to create the normal. [Hine, W, 20+]

The idea of what's 'normal' linguistic behaviour in New Zealand may be changing, but it remains a challenge for speaking Māori in public spaces to be normal. To emphasise how un-normal it is for Māori language to be in a public arena, instances for when it is normal and uncontested, are limited but conversely highly public. The All Black *haka* performed before an international rugby match is the most well-known example but other instances include songs such Dalvanus Prime and Ngoi Pewhairangi's 1982 hit *Poi e!*; the use of the song *Pōkarekare ana* in 2000 for an Air New Zealand television advertisement; and the 2015 Māori Language Week song *Aotearoa*, sung by Stan Walker and Ria Hall. Apart from schools singing both the Māori and English verses of the New Zealand National anthem, outside of these contexts (notably all are performance and media related), the language's visibility in the New Zealand public arena is as elusive as ever and in some cases worse than it was twenty years ago. Even if Radio NZ now uses Māori language greetings in their news bulletins it has quietly stopped producing their Māori language programme, *He Rourou*. Despite the rise of Māori Television, the language is still largely invisible in mainstream linguistic landscapes. Walking down Queen Street or Lambton Quay, you are more likely to see and hear Cantonese, Mandarin or Korean than see signs in *te reo Māori* (Macalister, 2010).

Given how the language's status and vitality influence each other, it is not unexpected that the Māori language community still experiences resistance in public spaces. Speaking Māori in a supermarket, a public space that most people visit regularly, is still to invite scrutiny.

I'm confident to speak the Māori anywhere I have no shame, ah! You know I have no shame, I know that a lot of people I know who speak, around certain people they won't speak Māori. You know, unless you are talking Māori to them but, for me I'll be at the supermarket, I'll be...it doesn't matter where I am, it empowers me. [Hine, W, 20+]

Her comments suggest that speaking Māori requires not being embarrassed and having to resist an ambient and almost tactile feeling. But the very act of speaking Māori counteracts this and empowers her. Gloria admires people who can resist other people's reactions. She connects people's responses to other languages and exemplifies New Zealand's monolingual culture in an everyday context.

I really admire people who can go to the supermarket and be loud and proud and just meet up with somebody and just converse at the top of their voices. I know one person that does, and I'll talk back to her but boy, do you see some looks from people when they walk by, if I meet up with her, she'll just *korero Māori*, you know, and I'll reply to her in *te reo Māori* but it's funny, you know, you will get those people looking at you say 'What the ...?'

There you have in that same supermarket, you have the all the people in the checkout and if they can they will converse in their language even though their boss doesn't like them to, but you do hear them chatting quietly between themselves in their own language don't they? What is it that makes other cultures retain their language no matter what or where? [Gloria, W, Pākehā, 50+]

Elizabeth highlights that the experience for speakers of Māori is different, as she asks rhetorically about how speakers of languages other than English respond to the right to speak in a public space.

You know, it's just blown me away that you can ... people will see overseas visitors speaking French to their children in a tree and will say 'How beautiful, that's so neat!' but then they look sideways at a Māori mama who's *kua kōrero Māori ana ki āna tamariki* in the supermarket and they're like [sound of derision] you know, what's that about? I don't get it. [Elizabeth, W, Pākehā, 40+]

Elizabeth notes the double standard being applied to a high status language, French, and the response to a perceived low status language, Māori. However, it is not only external hegemonies that eL2 have to contend with.

Internal hegemonies

L2 learners of Māori experiences of hegemony play out in different ways: from the right of people to use their language in public spaces, institutional demands for Māori language translations at a moment's notice, and at the macro level, the hostility evident of institutions and government departments supporting Māori language education (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, 2012).

But several participants noted highly negative, unsettling responses from their *whānau*, the Māori community and even Māori language speakers. They experienced open hostility [Aroha, W, 40+] or in

an extreme case, rejection by colleagues and friends [David, T, 40+]. Moreover, eL2 learners appear to be challenging internal hegemonies. That is, long-held assumptions about the status of *te reo Māori* and its role in modern life coming from within the Māori community. These assumptions are based on a mix of ideologies about the language, the transference of monolingual bias, notions of the idealised native speaker and language purism. At times these ideologies can all come together to create uncomfortable and unsettling experiences for eL2 speakers of Māori, who are already challenging hegemony just by beginning to learn Māori.

A high profile example of this hegemonic development in Māori language community is seen in Lewis (2014). Surprisingly, Lewis' strongest criticisms are aimed at a document written by an independent review panel appointed by the Minister of Māori Development to gather opinion on Te Puni Kōkiri's Māori language strategy and the sector (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011b).

The panel comprised a hand-picked group of Māori language advocates and experts (including L2 speakers), representing major *iwi* groups. Despite this, the report, contrary to what might have been expected, was not written on behalf of all Māori (Lewis, 2014, p. 207). According to Lewis, the panel was quite explicit in who they referred to and speaking for. The report listed well-known Māori language institutions and groups, such as Te Ātaarangi, Te Kōhanga Reo, Puna Reo and 'those who have attended the consultation hui' (Lewis, 2014, p. 207) or those who *are being seen* as being committed to revitalisation of the Māori language (, Lewis, 2014, p. 209, emphasis added).

The report excludes some *iwi*, tribal governance groups and 'people not committed to speaking *te reo Māori* in the home' (2014, p.207) and in addition

a number of existing or potential political allies, including government representatives, non-Māori New Zealanders (with the exception of the Governor-General and those involved in the governance and management of King's College) and those Māori who have not demonstrated their commitment to the revitalisation of the language. (Lewis, 2014, p. 209)

The list was remarkable in its specific identification of the Queen's representative in New Zealand and those involved in one of New Zealand's oldest, most elite schools. Lewis (2014) was identifying a potential, powerful schism within the Māori language community: groups, parts of the community involved in Māori language revitalisation and those who are not. Clearly Kings College was doing something unusually positive.

The impact of this kind of internal hegemony at the micro level was revealed by one of the participants. David is now in his mid-forties and began learning *te reo Māori* in his late teens. The first of David's three children was born a few years before his father died. David and his wife had nursed his terminally-ill father at their home until his death. While his first son was very young, David had spoken to him only in Māori, but with the demands of his father's illness, maintaining a full-time job and

completing a postgraduate degree, the language of the home became English. Around the time of his father's death, decisions had to be made about his eldest son's education and 'it just flipped over to mainstream, because it was easy, it was within walking distance and whatever'.

These decisions in themselves were not traumatic. It was the reactions of David's Māori-speaking friends and colleagues that was distressing:

My very close friends who spoke Māori and their kids went to Kura, rejected me. They rejected me for not being on the *kaupapa*. At first it was very subtle, where they stopped coming round to my house and then it became very blatant when a friend over a coffee told me that I would regret not teaching my kids Māori and had me up over it. This is a friend that I'd had for twenty years, had me up and since then, we haven't been that close and I hardly see him, because I'm not on the *kaupapa*.

So I've gone from being part of the community to being a pariah where now, even my students challenge me, openly challenge, why aren't I on the *kaupapa* and sending my kids to the Kura? And you can see the disdain in their eyes when they learn that's the way it is. Yeah, so it's, it's a very interesting dynamic of being involved in language learning ... I would be better being Pākehā, a Pākehā because I would not get the flak of not sending my kids to a Māori school. [David, T, 40+]

In our interview, years after this period, the raw sense of rejection was still palpable. It is clear that these negative experiences have had, and continue to have a profound impact on David's engagement with the Māori language community.

It is possible that this rejection of David by other parents represents latent, implicit understanding that since the challenges are so great and the stakes so high, if you learn Māori you have a duty to your children *and the Māori language learning community* to support Māori language initiatives. That David perceives this responsibility being seen as a Māori one and does not extend to Pākehā is interesting. It appears that David's identity as a Māori was being challenged as much as his lack of personal endorsement of Māori immersion education. Yet, as the literature notes (O'Regan, 2012; Benton, 2015) the vast majority of Māori parents do not send their children to Māori language immersion education and presumably do not all suffer the same kind of vilification. David's proficiency and a perceived lack of commitment to the language community exposed him to direct challenge and he was made to feel the consequences tangibly in the loss of friendships and access to other speakers.

Parents Hine and Hohepa offered an internal perception that to speak Māori is to 'show off'. Referring to an incident when their two children performed a small burial ritual for a dead bird, they noted that this ritual was done in Māori in front of their 'Pākehā-speaking cousins' [Hine, W, 20+]. But in the interview, Hohepa was very quick to reassure me that his sons were not doing it to 'show off' and said, 'it's not just them trying to show off, I mean how do you show off to non-Maori kids that aren't

learning Māori or aren't Māori, it's not showing off and you just know it's not showing off because they don't understand what they are doing' [Hohepa, T, 20+].

This is an internal issue because it is the children's parents' perception (not the 'Pākehā-speaking' cousins) that their child practising normal Māori language rituals could be perceived in this light. Experiencing negative responses were observed by Aroha [W, 40s], who noted that being able to understand Māori is a 'goody' but it is something that you keep discreet and not seen to be seen flaunting.

Elizabeth noted that as a Pākehā L2 learner of Māori you can never assume that a Māori person is able to speak Māori. Knowing when to speak Māori requires sensitivity. All these incidents indicate implicit understanding about the loss of cultural and linguistic knowledge. Practising these rituals can highlight this loss and force a community to acknowledge it, while at the same time expecting and demanding a reducing number of speakers of Māori, of whatever level, to perform these roles.

A further aspect of resisting hegemony is bound up in dialectal and language purism. As Harlow has acknowledged, Māori Language purism had not yet been the object of systematic study (2005, p. 136), and in as far as it can be determined, this is still the case. He noted that in the case of Māori, it is evident in two aspects: the reluctance to borrow English words into Māori and to use his term, 'dialect purism' (Harlow, 2005, p. 136). However, there are different forms of language purism from the data. One is the idealisation of the native speaker and its consequential impact on eL2 speakers.

There are links between some hegemonic practices internal to the Māori community that are extensions of external hegemonies. As discussed in Chapter 4, in SLA discourse the 'idealised native speaker' still has a pervasive claim on their right to a language and all other speakers and their ability in the target language are regarded in relation to this idealised, arbitrary notion (Ortega, 2009, 2013). In the case of Māori language hegemonies the L2 learner too is measured against the notion of the native speaker.

So I won't ever put myself in an unsafe space and the *reo* can be unsafe sometimes unfortunately. People can bark at you because you've said it wrong, or your grammar's wrong, instead of appreciating, not appreciating ... You know, there's no praise and that's what's changed over the years is that there are certain corrections of learning and certain correction of, of proficiency. See, you have to be at this level ... they don't like, people don't like learners. They don't appreciate learners ... We get judged all the time. Always being judged on our *reo* proficiency. [Aroha, W, 40+]

The notion that 'the *reo* can be unsafe' is highly problematic in an endangered language context and of particular interest is that Aroha felt that this situation had got worse since she became a L2 learner. The 'they' that she refers to in this quote is ambiguous but from the discourse around this Aroha was referring to native and more proficient speakers. For one participant the stress of failure, which he

expressed in the term '*whakamā*', kept him inside a locked toilet for four hours so he didn't have to participate in an all-day class [Robert, T, 40+].

Dialect purism, to use Harlow's (2005) term, has been experienced directly by some of the participants. Katerina noted that when returning back to her *iwi*, 'the *kaumātua* put me down a lot because I learnt my reo out of the home, not up north here' [Katerina, W, 40+]. Another participant felt she was perceived as 'a foreigner. That people know of my name and my family, but 'cos I don't have the Wanganui dialect, they will look at me and go, "you're not from the *awa*"' [Aroha, W, 40+].

Hohepa articulated a strong internal hegemony that, in many ways, defines the experience of endangered language learning and internal community resistance.

You don't have to speak the language, you have to at least acknowledge the fact that it is a big part of your life, your heritage, 'cos I know Māori that care nothing for it. I always told them, I don't expect you to speak Māori like me, I don't expect you to go back to school 'cos I've had that, I've been attacked for that: 'so you can't expect to go and learn it just because you learned it', and I said it's not what I'm trying to do. I'm trying to ... I'm trying a ... [Is that from Māori?]. From Māori. And they're just, there's just no care, they laugh at it, and for me, it's like you're doing exactly what they used to beat us at school for, they, exactly what they wanted. [Hohepa, T, 20s]

In ELA the attitudes and behaviours of non-speakers, both external and from the target language community, are as important as those from inside the language learning community. Hohepa, in his encounters with Māori who 'care nothing for it', not only identifies where this is coming from, but accounts for why, in respect of what hegemony demands, which is not only to demand a position in the rejection of the language but to coerce the language's community to disrupt and block new speakers' potential in and of the language. It is concerning that the *Te Reo Mauriora* report (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011a) far from alleviating this, or at least exposing it (Lewis, 2014) in fact perpetuates this practice further.

Language behaviours

Language behaviours of both speakers and non-speakers are a crucial, under-recognised aspect of eL2 learners' experience. To look at behaviours reiterates Poststructuralist notions of language as a social tool, and of language learners as socially constructed and engaged, and locates speakers and learners in a Māori world engaged in struggle and resistance. This theme was from discussions in response to questions about the struggles and helpful contexts related to their language learning experiences and perceptions of the roles of community and the individual in language revitalisation.

The term 'language behaviours' is used expansively to include behaviours of eL2 speakers and their interlocutors, which includes non-speakers of Māori. All behaviours impact on eL2 learners and contribute, but do not have to define their acquisition of the target language. In a Poststructuralist

approach, behaviours are not divorced from context, they are tied up with interlocutors' social constructs and identities.

The data reveals that eL2 learners experience a diverse and unpredictable range of behaviours that help to contextualise endangered language learning in the 21st century. The eL2 learner is the centre by which the behaviour is viewed and its immediate or potential impact on participants and all participants are viewed as active, even if the behaviour is perceived as negative or resistant. As an analytical code, language behaviours appeared early on in the coding process. For many participants, as they recounted experiences of speaking and sharing *te reo Māori*, remembering people's responses to the languages around them was clearly an important element of their language learning experience.

The role of elders

The behaviour of elders has a critical place in endangered language contexts and cultures that revere them as repositories of cultural and tribal knowledge (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p.23; Metge, 2015, p. 270), as exemplars of leadership and representation (Kawharu & Tane, 2014, p. 187) providing protection and spiritual guidance (Hura, personal communication, 17 November, 2015). Moreover, this cultural knowledge and leadership is often linked closely with being native speakers of Māori. Elders were mentioned in different roles by participants, referred variously to as *kaumātua*, uncles, aunts, father, mother, nannies, mentors, grandparents and teachers. In modern discourse, the term '*kaumātua*' has come to mean a male elder, with a female elder being referred to as a '*kuiā*'. In traditional terms, *kaumātua* could refer to either a male or female elder (Moorfield, 2016).

Some of the Māori participants (n=7) observed their parents as the generation who had Māori-speaking parents but were raised as English-speaking children, resulting in neither of the participants' parents speaking Māori. A similar number of participants had only one Māori-speaking parent (n=6), the other parent was an English L1 speaker, resulting in an English-speaking upbringing. A small number of participants (n=4) had parents who both spoke Māori, and this was the language among their parents' contemporaries, but while they might have heard Māori and been addressed by their parents and grandparents in Māori, consider themselves L1 English speakers; the language with their siblings was English. A small number of participants (n=3) was unsure of their parents' or grandparents' ability and knowledge of the language.

Many participants acknowledged elders as a significant source of encouragement, support and inspiration. All participants noted that their Māori learning path had been helped by older Māori people encouraging them by speaking to them, providing language environments or practical solutions like paying for university fees to attend a Māori language course. One of the Māori language

teachers noted the roles of an elder woman in her local Kura, as a guide on Māori language and just be there to speak to students, teachers and parents.

However, three of the four Pākehā males were the most articulate about deliberate, active mentoring, particularly by older Māori men. Henry mentioned the role of older Māori men and women from the remote North Island community where he was working as a young teacher. The parents or grandparents of his students would write letters in Māori and invite him to their homes to share *whakapapa* and tribal histories. All the Pākehā men in the participant group acknowledged older Māori for access to Māori-speaking contexts and encouragement to take part in marae ceremonies, provided access to other high status speakers and championing their ability to access Māori knowledge. This encouragement was not articulated so forcefully by the Māori participants, although that is not to say that they have not, or do not, receive support and encouragement. From the data, it appears that whereas a Māori adult learner can access this kind of support, encouragement and affirmation it may not be as forthcoming as when a Pākehā male shows interest and skill in Māori language learning.

Even from this small sample, there appears to be a gender bias towards the Pākehā male being favoured in eL2 learning of Māori. This issue can be explored from both sides in the interplay between interlocutors. All of the three Pākehā men acknowledged older Māori men (*kaumātua*) particularly as significant figures in their Māori language path. For two of them, this was accessed through university which gave them access to high status Māori men; for one, this gave him access to communities but in his professional role. For the other participant, his access to older people was membership of a small rural community as its local teacher. This established tradition of older Māori men mentoring and nurturing younger men suggests an internal on-going cultural bias being transferred externally. One of the Pākehā participants noted that the speaking rights on his father-in-law's marae had transferred to him as his four brothers-in-law did not speak Māori and showed no intention of doing so.

However, participants also identified elders as a source of unhelpful and negative behaviours. For some participants, recalling these incidents was painful. Michelle recalled her mother's total rejection of her Māori identity, to the extent that she was not sure of her mother's ability or knowledge of the language. Her mother's views had serious implications in Michelle claiming her own Māori identity, and more critically, her own view of Māori women. Michelle's path in the language and a change in her perception of Māori women began with encouragement and support from older women in Kōhanga Reo.

Growing up with her elder siblings after both her parents died meant Aroha remained unaware of her own parents' knowledge of Māori. During her interview she mentioned several times that her hardworking father was particularly determined that his nine children were not going to be 'pā kids', which would have restricted their access to the language and indeed Aroha and an older sister are the only ones of nine siblings to access formal Māori language instruction.

But for some participants, elders' behaviour was tied up with notions of language purism and in particular 'dialect purism' (Harlow, 2005); the elders' disapproval of accessing formal language education in university or other contexts meant participants were not familiar and grounded in their tribal variation. Several participants noted that they had received explicit discouragement in engaging with language learning. Tama noted that neither his mother nor grandmother were initially receptive to his desire to learn and speak Māori from a young age. David remembered a conversation with an uncle, who taught Māori in the local high school discouraging him from taking Māori at university as it would 'get him nowhere'.

One of the Pākehā male participants observed that, in his experience, Māori learners received harsher criticism than non-Māori learners, suggesting that mistakes and confusion were more acceptable if made by non-Māori. This leads into the next interesting area of learning behaviours.

Behaviour to Pākehā

Three female Pākehā participants shared stories that highlighted complexities around endangered language learning for non-Māori learners.

Elizabeth recalled a situation in her early thirties when, in a professional capacity, she visited an elderly Māori woman in her home. During the exchange she became aware that the Māori woman was struggling for words in English to disclose her distress of caused by some family events. However, Elizabeth felt unable to say it was possible for the *kuia* to speak to her in Māori. For Elizabeth, the decision about switching into Māori was fraught with questions about her 'right to speak' Māori to an older Māori woman and concern that this be perceived as '*whakahīhī*' (conceited, proud, arrogant). Assumptions were being made by both interlocutors: it probably never occurred to the older woman that the younger Pākehā woman would have the ability to hear her concerns in Māori. It was unlikely there was precedence for this, even considering Elizabeth's professional role. The older Māori woman had no expectation other than to speak in English. Elizabeth too, was constrained by assumptions about the other woman's response being negative, rather than relief, and a concern at stepping outside of cultural norms predicated on the use of the dominant language.

This judgement around Pākehā speaking Māori is manifest in other ways. Henry recounted painful accusations by Māori that as a Pākehā man speaking Māori, he had stolen their language.

Ētahi o ngā wā, ka kohete mai ngā tangata Māori, nā rātou i ki, 'Nāu taku reo i tāhae!' Nē? He mea tino, tino pā ki taku ngākau ki tēnā. Ā, he tino mamae, ā, ētahi o ngā wā...[Henry, Pākehā, T, 60+]

When he was asked how to respond to that, he now knows that this reaction spoke of a community's anger, pain and loss and continuing fears of theft of cultural knowledge.

Ā, ināianei mōhio ana ahau...ehara tērā i te kōrero tūturu, engari te kōrero o te tangi o te ngakau, e kore e taea e te tangata te tāhae i tētahi reo, nē? Nō reira, he tangi tērā nō te ngākau o taua tangata nāna i kī mai, e mamae ana ahau nā te mea kua ngaro i a au taku reo. Kei a koe taku reo, engari kāore i a āu taku reo. He kōrero mō tana pukuriri, mō tana mamae, mō tana whakamā nē? [Henry, Pākehā, T, 60+]

However, he counteracted this recollection with a positive memory of a *koroua* who drew inspiration from a Pākehā person learning Māori and went on to learn Māori himself.

Engari, atu i tērā i hoki au ki tērā wāhi tērā, tētahi au, hoki au ki reira, kātahi ka haere mai tētahi o ngā koroua o naianei, ka kī mai ia ki a au, 'Me mihi atu au ki a koe, nā te mea, kite ana ahau mehemea e taea ana e koe kia ako i te reo, ka taea anō hoki au.' [Hmm, hmmm] Ka taea hoki anō e au te ako i te reo, ināianei, kei te kōrero Māori taua koroua i taua wā paku noa ngā kupu Māori. [Henry, Pākehā, T, 60+]

Facing direct challenge by non-speakers is a behaviour experienced by many learners. It has been part of the anecdotal experience for L2 speakers, and includes people who do not speak Māori as well as those who do. It is part of our experience at both personal and community levels and part of the continuing struggle for status and resourcing that reflect the language's place in contemporary New Zealand life.

The final stories involve Mary, who was in her mid-forties when she began to seriously learn Māori. Her intention was to start learning much younger but a successful career and parenthood delayed her language learning journey. She recalls an incident where she was in a hotel foyer and initiated a conversation in Māori with two older men. Their reaction was of surprise and one mumbled a reply but Mary persisted and although they were very shy, the other person suggested that it was time for him to 'pick up his reo'. They went on to have a 'very nice conversation'. Mary also recalled speaking with an older Māori couple who were speaking Māori and after Mary initiated a conversation with them discovered and observed that she has had to overcome shyness as she became more confident in the language and able to grab opportunities when they were presented to her.

In these settings the other interlocutors were Māori and the contexts involved negotiation around language and cultural identity with the full weight of colonial history. They indicate a lack of received protocols around Māori language use between Māori and Pākehā, even in Māori environments, such

as when Elizabeth went to the older Māori woman's home. These anecdotes capture central experiences for non-Māori learning and speaking Māori. They are important as non-Māori have a role in the future of Māori as a language of contemporary New Zealand.

Māori language interactions

As a Te Puni Kōkiri report on ILT observed, 'in modern New Zealand, all Māori are more or less competent speakers of English. The people that speak Māori are bilingual. Being bilingual presupposes a choice; in any given situation, one can choose to speak English or can choose to speak Māori' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001, p. 1).

Speaking Māori therefore is mainly a linguistic and cultural choice rather than an imperative linguistic need. This means in most contexts, except in a few notable exceptions such as Māori language immersion education and some language learning domains, speakers have a choice between which of two languages they choose to speak. How are those choices made? Te Puni Kōkiri's 2001 research purporting to be on intergenerational language transmission is most revealing about L2 learners and speakers. Four key interrelated factors are given in reference to bilingual parents' language choices: knowledge, situation, motivation and critical awareness (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001, pp. 1-4). Given that these choices are made in the space of a few seconds and require deft social manoeuvring, there must be some common understandings about who is able to speak to whom that work on subconscious and conscious levels.

This avenue of enquiry was prompted by a radio interview with the CEO of Te Taura Whiri, Glenis Barbara-Philip, about the Māori language figures from the 2013 Census. In the interview she commented that 'there is a sense among some New Zealanders that you have to have achieved a degree of proficiency, a high level of proficiency, before you are *permitted to speak*' [emphasis added] (Radio New Zealand, 2013). One of the questions from this observation is from whom does this 'permission' come from?

The concept of 'permission to speak' is played out in every single Māori language interaction, in rules or determinants used by all interlocutors in any given situation, domain or context (remembering that even certain domains, e.g., the *marae*, have different language domains); the roles of interlocutors can change in terms of what role they bring to the encounter and it appears to matter who has which role, creating a contingent complexity. This has the effect on the L2 learner of having to negotiate an unfixed place with other speakers, as they are not fixed in any one spot in any one time any more than the other interlocutors are. Indeed, the L2 user, and their interlocutors take a range of positions along the proficiency continuum and various roles and positions in response to the domain, context and the

proficiency of the other speaker. Speakers' proficiencies as well as class, gender and context determine where the L2 user fits on the continuum and this in turn impacts on their language choices.

Implicit assumptions are being made in L2 interactions by all interlocutors. One interpretation of the interplay in the role of language purism and 'permission to speak', is a fear of L2 learners changing the language so that it is no longer perceived as Māori, if 'permission to speak' is given only if you are speaking 'correct' Māori. This could be revealing an implicit agreement in the Māori language community that it is better to have a smaller cohort (or elite) speaking 'correct' Māori, reduced to speaking it in formal, ceremonial contexts (i.e. a reduced form of diglossia) than a larger group speaking a modern, colloquial variant of traditional Māori more often.

All of these factors play out in L2 learners' interactions, with dynamics that operate in Māori language interactions involving a mix of native speakers and L2 speakers with a range of proficiencies; that is, where speaking Māori is a choice rather than a need.

These contexts reinforce the importance of total immersion in contexts such as Kura Reo, Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi. In these contexts, gender, power relations, ability or difference in proficiency are mediated differently and in some cases negated. Total immersion contexts are therefore important not just as domains that assert Māori language dominance but are contexts that in creating a need, diminish the influence of class, gender and power relations to inhibit language interactions. In other words, the social, political and cultural rules are as important as their linguistic rules. This must contribute to the success of institutions such as Te Ātaarangi and Kōhanga reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, as they eliminate the need for negotiation as social rules determine linguistic ones.

The positions of speakers are not fixed, but flex depending on how domain and context influence the negotiation of class, age, gender and proficiency between the two interlocutors. As the learner progresses up the proficiency continuum they continue to encounter a range of situations and contexts which require negotiation around context, domain and purpose. Moreover, the magical 'permission to speak' position is not fixed as its position is also determined by context, domain and the interlocutors. The L2 speaker of Māori is therefore negotiating their own position and determining where they are in relation to 'permission to speak' which in turn is dependent on many of the social rules noted above.

Given the dexterity that is required of eL2 speakers, it is not surprising then that participants noted contexts when it was 'unsafe' or that they were overcome with *whakamā*; these contexts can portray and reveal language ideologies in action but the behaviours of non-speakers of Māori have as much influence as those who are speakers. Furthermore, if language vitality is marked by language change,

flexibility and adaptability, assisting in its resilience to contact with other languages, a possible danger of language purism is that it prohibits a language community's internal confidence in adapting, changing and responding to the community's evolving needs.

Challenges of parenting and Māori immersion education

Most of the twenty-three participants were parents (n=20). But of those, only eleven participants had accessed Māori immersion education for their children, whether it was short-term and meant their child was only in Kōhanga Reo or long-term through Kura Kaupapa Māori and wharekura. For some participants their partner was also a learner or speaker of Māori [*Elizabeth; Henry; Roger; Maui; Hohepa & Hine*] or they were involved in Māori immersion education as a parent or teacher [*Katarina; Alex; Roimata; Tama*]; for only two participants both of these factors were at play [*Gloria; Tama*]. The participants' *whakapapa* revealed that most of the parents were isolated as learners and speakers; one consequence of this isolation was being able to sustain a commitment to Māori immersion education without a partner who was also an L2 learner. This has to be a contributing factor to the decline in the numbers of Māori children enrolled in Māori immersion education over the last twenty years.

Some parents noted that the commitment and fire they experienced as young parents was not evident in their own children, as they had not accessed Māori immersion education for their children. Roger and Roimata in particular made real the changing landscape of Māori immersion education over time. Both had children enrolled in Māori immersion education in the 1990s, a decade when enrolments in Kōhanga Reo were at their highest (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, 2012). Roger captured the spirit of many parents when he remembers:

I was full of religious fervour and ... spoke Māori to the kids all the time, sent them off to kohanga, sent them off to Kura, and, you know for the three big [children], kohanga was fine. Well, no it wasn't, the kohanga that they went to wasn't satisfactory, being blunt about it. The Kura, less than satisfactory. Being blunt, the staff weren't particularly proficient in Māori and they couldn't teach either, which was a reasonably fatal combination. [Roger, Pākehā, T, 40+]

Roimata recounted the birth of one of her grandchildren and her reaction to her daughter's ambivalence when asked if her child would go into Māori immersion education. Her daughter's subsequent decision she attributes to her daughter's 'good choice of husband'. Reiterating the influence that the other partner can have on choices around Māori immersion education,

I just looked at my husband and I just went ((facial expression))... just said oh my God, you know, is that, is this what we've come to despite what we had done and our children don't appreciate it, but luckily, I don't know what happened, maybe the good choice of husband, I'm not sure but, but they are now a (Māori speaking household), you know and thank goodness for that. But you know, you sit nervously do they understand? [Roimata, W, 50+]

Elizabeth commented on her and her husband's observation that their children's generation

are kind of lucky enough to take [Māori language] for granted now. They can take the reo for granted, they haven't had the, the fighting and the struggle has come before them and now, they're in a space where they can take it for granted, and I remember talking to Joe about it one day, 'We need to tell our kids how lucky they are because of ... all the struggle that's gone before them, so they can have this. And then he said 'Why? Why do they have to know that? Why can't they just enjoy it and take it for granted? [Elizabeth, Pākehā, W, 40+]

It is unlikely that the generations since the 1980s and 1990s will ever understand the perseverance and tenacity that was required of parents and teachers in the early days of Māori immersion education (see Winitana, 2011). But despite this struggle, choosing Māori immersion education is far from an automatic response for Māori parents and requires renegotiation of received wisdoms about early childhood education and indeed, education itself. It still involves several complex factors in location, cost and perceptions of quality and lack of choice [Elizabeth; Hine & Hohepa; Connie and Michelle]. Michelle was explicit about why she did not choose Kōhanga Reo for her first child in the early 1990s, due to her own feelings towards her Māori identity.

I put him [her son] in a playgroup. Kohanga was right next door to the playgroup but ... I didn't even think about putting him into kohanga, 'cos I did visit but when I did the visits between kohanga and the playgroup which were side by side, the playgroup had more to offer. And as far as resources for teaching, the whole structure of it. Little realising that kohanga had started their movement so it was like I'm not sending my kids there. [Michelle, W, 50]

Parents' concerns of Māori immersion education are not limited to tangible things but to the range of opportunities and unfortunately, the trade-off between 'access to the reo versus quality of education' [Elizabeth, Pākehā, 40+]. For most parents, this trade-off is difficult to sustain and Elizabeth had to concede her son's reluctance to stay at the Kura when he reached secondary school age.

Moana Maniapoto has described the position of parents wanting a Māori-language friendly education for their children as being a 'reo refugee' (Maniapoto, 2016), describing the realities of a 70-kilometre round trip for her pre-schooler to attend a Kōhanga Reo (2016) without even mentioning the cost¹⁶. As well as the logistical challenges of sending their children to Māori immersion education, L2 parents face very high expectations to promote intergenerational language transmission (ILT) (J. King, 2009). In fact, the Māori language community has been singularly focussed on Māori immersion education as a major method of revitalisation. It is therefore unfortunate that teachers and parents, many of whom are L2 speakers as the native speaker base has declined over the last twenty years, have been recipients of stringent attacks, much of it driven by language purism. Appropriate supply of staffing was identified by the WAI 262 report as one of the Ministry of Education's major failings (Waitangi

¹⁶ Parents are entitled to a retrospective transport subsidy that is paid by the kura at the end of the school year.

Tribunal, 2010) and a later report was critical of the total lack of promotion of Māori immersion education as a viable, successful alternative education path for Māori children (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012). But it is more than ironic that the teachers and people involved in Māori immersion education and those who actively invest their children in these programmes, most of whom are L2 speakers either as parents or teachers (or both), are the victims of some of the most critical attacks from the Māori community. This impacts on parents. If parents are to support immersion programmes they need to be secure in the choices they make for their children and that these are validated by the entire community. Māori language education contexts are at the intersection of powerful hegemonic forces, which undermine them as viable, well-resourced, high-status education for their children.

Evolving Māori language ideologies

Evolving Māori language ideologies have considerable impact across the spectrum of the L2 learner experience, and but appeared from implicit understandings from discussions prompted by several question. In particular the questions that around learners' perceptions of the community and the individual in language revitalisation, the language's role in Māori life and how learners locate themselves in language revitalisation. These ideologies are grounded in some fundamental aspects of the Māori world view but indications are that identity is no longer one of them, although identity still has a significant role. All the participants at some point in the interview addressed ideologies or articulated their ideologies and their impact on their language history.

A critical analysis of Māori language ideologies shows they are influenced by New Zealand's pervasive ideology of English as the language of modernity, economic benefit and internationalism. The grip of English on the New Zealand's cultural, political and linguistic landscape is significant (Royal New Zealand Society, 2013) and Māori language attitudes and ideologies have to be considered against this.

According to Rewi, 'the Māori language is being strangled internally and externally at individual and corporate levels and across multiple generations of people, perceptions and attitudes' (Rewi, 2013, p. 101). He then goes on to highlight the relevance of these perceptions and attitudes in the endangered language situation to the extent that it may mean the language is 'let to die' and the community understands what they have lost in a renewed effort (Rewi, 2013, p. 101).

Language learning as identity transformation

Māori identity has already been identified as a powerful feature of Māori language learning (Ngaha, 2011; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013). In this study, the issue of identity was discussed in a number of ways, but essentially they combine the notion of the impact of language learning as an act of identity 'transformation' or the enduring and fluid concept of Māori language as a measure of identity.

The data of this study reinforces existing an emphasis on the learning of Māori as linked powerfully to explorations of identity. For some of the Māori participants this was to address something that was personally 'missing' (Hine, W, 20+), or a 'void' [David, T, 40+] or the direct result of parental denial of their Māori identity [Hine, Michelle]. For another participant it was to assert their cultural identity over their religious identity [Māui, Alex, Roimata]. For the Māori participants who came to language learning with strong cultural identities [Moana, Roimata, Mary, Jane, Matiu, Tama, Connie] and for Tama this was tied to tribal identity particularly. For some of the non-Māori participants learning Māori reiterated a strong sense of New Zealand identity [Gloria, Elizabeth, Meng Foon, John, Hone, Henry].

However, Roger, whose professional life allowed him an intimate insight into Māori approaches to language learning felt that Māori carry a 'burden' that non-Māori do not. He observed that being Māori was the reason why a person might start learning Māori but 'this may also be the reason they don't use it'. For Roger this meant that for many Māori the reasoning was 'I don't want to speak Māori because if I get it wrong, that will open the core of my identity for challenge. And so I'm better off not saying anything' [Roger, T, Pākehā, 40+]. This perception of different standards was shared by Hone and his observation that non-Māori did not face the same degree of censure for errors when speaking Māori, as did the Māori learners he observed.

For another male participant, the transformative power of learning Māori means that if he looked back to who he was when he first started learning Māori he observed, 'I don't even know if I'd get on with them' [David, T, 40+]. This reflective ability meant the David was able to talk about how his understanding of what it is to be Māori is situational so that

where I choose to be Māori...my voice drops half an octave. When I speak Māori and when I'm chatting to my mates in Māori I take on this persona which is way more Māori than I usually am. And whether that's code switching, or some psychological switch where my persona that I've developed over twenty-something years to be Māori kicks in [David, T, 40+].

As a new speaker of Māori, David has an ability to be self-descriptive and analytical of his identity and its relationship to which language he is using.

Māori women's identity

The powerful impact of Māori language learning contexts on identity is graphically illustrated through Michelle's story. Michelle grew up as a *whāngai* child to her elderly aunt and uncle in a rural coastal Māori community in the North Island. Both of her adoptive parents were speakers of Māori. She describes her birth mother as actively rejecting her Māori identity, which had a profound effect on Michelle's own identity and her own attitudes towards Māori women.

Her own first child did not go to Kōhanga Reo. At the time she was well away from her tribal area and she enrolled him the local playgroup. Her rejection of Kōhanga Reo, at the time a nascent movement, was part of her own rejection of her Māori ancestry and she chose to put him through the 'Pākehā way of teaching'. In the late 1980s, when her son was about five, they moved back to her tribal area and he joined a small school, with an almost all-Māori role. She made a brief attempt to connect with the local Kōhanga Reo but rejected it as the language sounded like 'Chinese'. Her parents were still alive at that time and very active in the community. Michelle moved to the nearest town and had a daughter. Her daughter's father was Tongan, who according to Michelle, had a less than positive view of Māori women and challenged her lack of language knowledge as a being 'a shit Māori'. She enrolled her daughter in Kōhanga Reo 'just really to piss him off' Part of that drive was the realisation that

I just resented it, I just resented the fact that he said this, how dare he! This is my country you've come to and you're telling me about myself and he was true, it was true. I didn't know my language, I didn't know who I was... Yeah, and I've been following that journey since then. So I went to Kōhanga Reo with my children. [Michelle, W, 40+]

The transformative power of learning an indigenous endangered language by those of the indigenous community is evident in role *te reo Māori* had played in recovering her identity as a Māori woman, and a reconnection with her *whakapapa*. She acknowledged explicitly that when growing up her view of Māori women was not positive and part of this was her birth mother's obsession with her French ancestry and an 'aggressive' rejection of her Māori ancestry.

Learning the language through her own children's participation in Kōhanga Reo has been 'empowering', bringing her into contact with Māori women who provided models of strong articulate women in the Māori language community; it 'changed that whole perception of how Māori women should be' and that Māori women were vital to 'raising strong families'. Before contact with the women in the Kōhanga Reo movement she 'had no respect from Māori period and especially Māori women' but 'being around strong Māori women certainly changed my point of view'.

She has been careful not to transfer her previous view of Māori women to her teenage daughter, who is enrolled in the local *whānau reo* unit of the mainstream high school. She contrasts her daughter's and youngest son's sense of being Māori against her eldest son, who did not have access to Māori medium education. Only in his early thirties is he starting to 'relate' to his Māori roots'. He challenged her wish for her *mokopuna*, his daughter, to go to Kōhanga Reo and he enrolled her in a playcentre so that she couldn't attend Kōhanga Reo.

Michelle's narrative and her *whakapapa* show a learner responding to external and internal influences and experiences, many of which were ameliorated by her participation in the Kōhanga Reo movement and her role as a parent. Endangered language learning and its unique relationship to identity

construction can trigger individual transformation and empower transformation at collective levels through learners and their families. But it requires constant negotiation and attention. It is never a fixed point. In the interview with Katerina, for whom learning Māori had had significant spiritual implications, she took some time to respond to the question of what had been the biggest challenge of learning Māori. She sat with a wistful, pensive expression thinking back over the last decade or so recollecting experiences and sensations. Finally, after a long pause, she sighed and said, 'I suppose for me it was proving to people that I was Māori, [pause] or that I am Māori' [Katerina, Māori, W, 40+]. The link between language learning and its deep ties with identity should never be underestimated.

Active linguistic endeavour

This theme relates closely to the final two questions on what factors have helped language development the most and some of the struggles of learning Māori. However, these two questions are not separate from the questions that address contextual elements. It is clear from the interviews that endangered language learners need to be creative and flexible about how they access Māori language learning and then expand and capitalise on their new linguistic knowledge. Only a very few participants had not accessed more than two avenues to continue to learn Maori. This meant for some participants they had started with their children at Kōhanga Reo and then branched out to other contexts such as Te Ātaarangi, polytechnic or university course. For others, a university or Te Ātaarangi course was what enabled them to take part in Māori immersion education. For some this was a major reason for entering into Māori immersion education as a means to further their language development (*Alex, Roimata; Tama*). In this relatively small sample group, a dexterity and flexibility in learning contexts contributes to language progression. It is possible to contrast a participant who has accessed multiple pathways with those who have remained in their initial language learning contexts (*Aroha, Gloria, Meng, Connie*).

The degree of active linguistic endeavour is of course relevant to any language learning contexts, but where linguistic choice is determined not by need but by other less imperative considerations, how a participant accesses those contexts is all important.

Degrees of isolation

One of the most salient issues revealed in participants' *whakapapa* was their degree of isolation. Only nine participants (*Gloria; Aroha; Hohepa & Hine; Elizabeth; Henry; Maui; Roimata; Tama*) were in living arrangements that meant either a partner, spouse or their children were also speakers of Maori, and only one had a native speaker spouse (*Gloria*). For the rest of the participants they were the only one in their family to be accessing Māori language learning. Most noticeable for some Māori participants was this isolation extending out past their immediate living arrangements to an entire generation

(*Katarina; David; Hine & Hohepa, Paul; Matiu*). If they are non-Māori this is based on the ethnicity of their spouse or partner: four of the nine non-Māori participants currently had other family members who spoke Māori, two had a Māori spouse who was also a Māori language speaker, one was married to a native speaker. For the other non-Māori speakers, this degree of isolation would be expected as their spouse shared the same ethnicity as themselves (*Meng, Mary, Jane, John; Henry; Hone*).

However, a language learner's degree of isolation is not necessarily a determiner of success as a learner. According to this small sample group it can be ameliorated through access to quality speakers, professional contexts and an active pursuit of the language that is negotiated through education, profession, gender, class and personal circumstances.

For some of the participants this involved a dogged pursuit of language contexts over decades. In endangered language contexts, speakers must go to the language; there is no expectation that the language presents itself in the same way that a dominant language does. This can explain the need for immersion contexts and community insistence that immersion contexts are crucial to language revitalisation models. However, from a detailed look at specific participant demographics and the range of linguistic endeavours, the most important aspect was not the length of time but the variety of those endeavours. The most successful learners in the group were those with a wider range of access to language contexts than those with just one over a long period of time. This range includes formal language instruction; professional contexts, of which being a Māori language teacher is important; attending intensive language courses, such as *Kura Reo*; a connection with Māori immersion education, either as a teacher or parent; and the use of Māori in community contexts, such as *hui*, *tangihanga* and *kapa haka*. Accessing this range of language contacts is now through higher education, which can be mediated through class. There was a strong connection in the participant group between higher education, their profession and success in the language. All of the successful learners in this group were involved or had post graduate qualifications (n= 16), with an almost equal split between men and women. However, for the highly successful speakers (n= 6), only one of these was a Māori woman (n= 3 (Māori); n= 2 (Pākehā)).

This ability to access a range of linguistically-rich environments through education, gender and class required learners to be flexible and tenacious. In some cases this can require an ability to pursue the language at considerable personal cost, as there is a perception in the Māori language learning community that you need to be brave and put yourself in challenging, sometimes confrontational situations. This is a highly unfortunate aspect of Māori language learning since, if the participants' testimonies are anything to go by, active linguistic endeavour requires a high level of self-confidence, intellectual capacity along with a considerable range of social, cognitive and cultural skills. In short,

eL2 learning demands more of learners, as they simultaneously challenge hegemonies and negotiate multiple identities. Most of these participants had secure, busy, healthy, urban, multigenerational family lives grounded and engaged in at least one, if not several, communities. For most of them their lives were not being challenged by unemployment or low-paid employment, poor quality housing and health issues. In short, they were from the middle class and able to bring all that being middle class means to an active pursuit of the language. How language endeavour can be provided across the full social spectrum of Māori society will provide huge challenges ahead.

Relationship between language and knowledge

This section relates most to the questions directed to participants' learning experiences (number 6 and 7) but relates to some ideological issues as to the role of the language in contemporary life, e.g., the issue of *tikanga* and *wairua*. If learning is viewed as a participatory, socially-mediated intellectual activity (Metge, 2015), then language and knowledge as an ancestral *taonga* can be transformative. For language pedagogy the relationship between learning and knowledge (Figure 6.) can be linked and explained through *whakapapa*, *ako*; *wairua* and *reo*. These terms create insight into the learner's role in the relationship between learning and knowledge.

Whakapapa

Whakapapa is the relationship between people, the tangible and the intangible, time and space. A learner's whakapapa links them to their *tūpuna* (ancestors). This concept has a strong influence on learners' initial motivations for learning the target language and is linked closely to learners' tribal identities. For some of the participants this sense of themselves as 'Māori' was missing (Hine) and is reflected in Aroha's assertion that to learn Māori is 'to learn about ourselves' [Aroha, W, 40+]. For another participant re-engaging with Māori language learning was to reconnect with his *iwi* [Tama, T, 40+], as an *iwi* identity is to be Māori (Rangihau, 1992). But, as indicated earlier in this study, *whakapapa* is a conceptual term that frames, validates and constructs knowledge; a notion so pervasive that to have knowledge is to understand and know *whakapapa*.

Ako

This principle is most widely known as a reciprocal nature between learning and teaching (Ka'ai, 2004; Metge, 2015; Pere, 1982) that refutes fixed roles of teacher as expert and learner as novice (Ka'ai, 2004). Conceptually and in practice, *ako* sees these roles as fluid across all participants so that participants are socially engaged in multiple roles that can change across context and time. *Ako* is the process that links L2 learners to language knowledge and the acquisition of knowledge evolves as it connects across time and place. In this is it also linked to spiritual aspects.

Wairua

It is the notion of learning as engaging with a learner's *wairua*, and the *wairua* of knowledge, that presents challenges to language acquisition as that simple of linguistic activity. *Wairua* is connected to other important concepts such as *mauri* and *tapu*, which are often expressed in Māori language idioms and ideologies: language as a living thing with *mauri* contains *mana* and its intrinsic link with Māori culture. This contrasts with the reality of the small number of Māori speakers and a growing acceptance that to be Māori is not necessarily to speak Māori (Harlow, 2005; Rewi, 2013).

It is only problematic to theorise a spiritual dimension of language learning if it is not viewed as inherent in the experience with a conceptual role in linking learning and knowledge. A spiritual dimension, whether in the concept of *tapu* or *mauri*, is both *in* knowledge and *of* knowledge. In the experience of the participants, it appears that the reciprocal nature of *ako* is found also in the reciprocal nature of spiritual aspects of the learner and knowledge, as described in *Te Aho Matua* (New Zealand Government, 2008) within an educational philosophy. *Wairua* is central to the role of the final aspect, the language.

Reo

The final concept is language itself. Language bridges the relationship between learning as knowledge which includes linguistic knowledge **of** the language and knowledge **in** the language. But for Māori language learning there is the relationship between *wairua*, and language learning, which is why it is discussed in this section and not the previous section.

Ratima (2013) links a learner's emerging *wairua* with their connection to *tikanga*, to be able to experience Māori language learning with any 'depth', creating a spiritual or third dimension to their language learning (p. 156, p. 158). As Ratima acknowledges, Browne's (2005) interpretation of *wairua* as a 'paralinguistic phenomenon' is expressed through certain language genres, such as *waiata* and *karakia*. The spiritual dimension of Māori language learning is under-theorised even within L2 learning of Māori, and SLA at large. But this does not diminish its role in Māori language learning. Ratima's and Browne's work proposes questions around the role of *wairua* in proficiency development, and if it is possible to become a proficient, highly-skilled speaker without spiritual development. Ratima claims that the spiritual dimension is a knowledge of *tikanga* (2013, p. 157-158), and a lack of spiritual knowledge is a 'compromised spiritual state that may manifest itself in this case as anxiety related to speaking te reo' (2013, p. 157). This is an interesting claim as it assumes that allaying anxiety is an internal, independent mechanism; it could be perceived as exonerating a speaker's community and the roles of other interlocutors. This present study suggests that speaker anxiety is in response to

disapproval and judgement influenced by external and internal language ideologies and language purism in particular.

In talking about his language journey, Tama [Māori, T, 40+] recounted a dream that he had while he was still at high school and had not started his reconnection with the language. In this dream Tama was having a conversation in Māori with a *kaumātua*. He named the marae in his dream and named the *kaumātua*. Years later, as a Māori speaker, Tama was at the marae and remembered this dream. The dream is interpreted as part of his spiritual connection to the language and the fact that his body and intellectual capabilities had not yet caught up with his *wairua*. Tama is now a well-known member of the marae's community. He leads younger Māori in a range of personal and professional capacities, due to his community connections, knowledge of *tikanga* and his Māori language ability.

Katarina [Māori, W, 40+] alluded to a *wairua* connection in that the language is what 'grounds' her and has kept her on the 'straight and narrow'. The language has given her access to a 'wider knowledge' and after discussing personal events she disclosed during the interview, this knowledge and the strength of identity that came with learning Māori has enabled her to survive traumatic events and personal loss.

Not all participants talked about the spiritual dimension, but those who did referred to this in terms of language ideologies. This expectation that proficiency is linked to a spiritual, paralinguistic quality is one of the most fascinating aspects of Māori language learning. A central question then becomes how a new learner of Māori develops this ability. If, as one participant observed, *wairua* is 'hard to define, but you know if it's not there' [Hone, Pākehā, T, 60+] and is understood as an elusive and intangible quality, how then is *wairua* incorporated into understandings and expectations of Māori language pedagogy.

Figure 6 presents a summary of how learning and knowledge are connected through language learning and teaching, which from Māori perspectives of learning are mutually inclusive activities.

Many of these notions contest received understandings of education as a way to purchase knowledge and an education as a commodity. This is important as Māori language learning transitions from a community-led and social activity to one in contexts that increasingly dismisses community ownership and leadership.

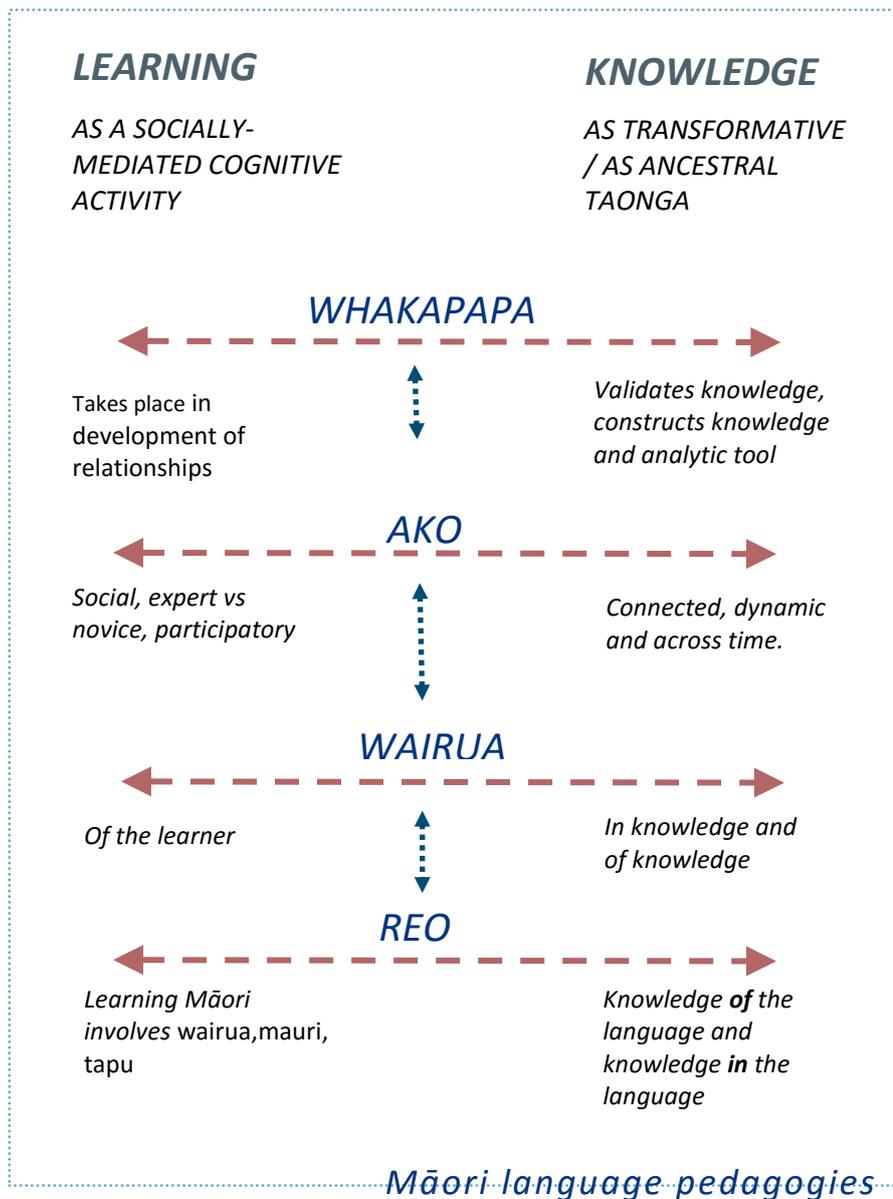


Figure 6: Relationship between learning and knowledge.

Te reo Māori *over time*

A critical analysis of responses to the third and fourth questions addressing learners' perceptions of community and the individual roles of the Māori language in contemporary life revealed that tertiary institutions have become a major site of Māori language instruction. Only a very few of the participants had accessed Māori language instruction outside of tertiary institutions (n= 3). For the purposes of this immediate discussion, Te Ātaarangi is included as a tertiary institution as in its more recent existence it is required to comply with NZQA assessment process and meeting academic standards to secure funding. But Te Ātaarangi is perceived as sitting outside of this definition, as a community, *marae*-based institution.

Most of the participants had, at some point, accessed Māori language learning through either a wānanga, university, polytechnic or, in some cases, two or three institutions, as well as attending Kura Reo or Te Panekiretanga. For one participant, her language learning was accessed as a parent, then as a staff member in Kōhanga Reo [Gloria, Pākehā, W, 50+]. For Meng Foon and Henry [Pākehā, T, 60+], their access to the language was mediated through professional contexts and long-term relationships with community.

The restriction of access to language instruction and development has implications beyond that of the role standardisation and maintaining dialectal variation in two interrelated ways. First, it has exposed Māori language learning to the effects of neoliberal education policies and second, has assisted in the restriction of who can access Māori language learning instruction and the development of Māori language as the preserve of the middle class, covered in the section on elites earlier in this chapter.

Underlying neoliberalist policy is the erosion of participatory democracy and 'Western values based on the fundamental beliefs that people, the power over life, birth and death can be exploited, and that it is alright to accumulate power within elite, small groups who can determine priorities for a whole community, a whole nation, a whole region' (Sykes interviewed in Bargh, 2007, p. 115). Since radical economic reforms in 1984, neoliberal policy has seen education become a market-driven product that competes for students. In essence, the neoliberal way prioritises education as a commodity with 'buyers' and 'sellers', with an emphasis on performance and branding (P. Roberts, 2009, p. 411). And, as in Sykes' earlier comments, neoliberal policies are influenced by a small but and still ascendant political and business elite (Crawshaw, 2001, p. 7).

Therefore, as Māori language provision becomes entrenched in tertiary institutions, it becomes more vulnerable to ideologies, many of which are inimical, if not contrary, to Māori values (and, it has to be said, many Pākehā values). But, as Holborow points out, neoliberalism is more than just an economic theory but invades and reproduces or 'cements' neoliberalism in practice as well (Holborow, 2013, p.

140). To this extent, it has impacted on *te reo Māori* and Māori cultural ideologies in the distribution of economic and social resources within education (Lewis, 2014; Peters, 1997; P. Roberts, 2009) and also on the Waitangi settlement process (Bargh, 2007). As a doctrine, neoliberalism and its attendant ideology globalisation, perpetuates colonisation in the further commodification of cultural and social knowledge (Jackson, 2007, p. 177). Moreover, it makes hegemonic assumptions and challenges (Lewis, 2014, p. 26; Bargh, 2007, p. 16; Jackson, 2007, p. 176) towards Māori and is used in a very general sense to continue asserting non-Māori have the 'power to define at a primal level' (Jackson, 2007, p. 178).

In tertiary education the impact of neoliberalism has played a role in an obsession with speaker numbers to show a correspondence between financial outlay and outcomes and if necessary, skewing the results (Bauer, 2008) with no expectation to clarify ways of increasing them through 'usage planning' (Timms, 2013, p. 223) which would require further clarification around funding and resourcing (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1998). And perhaps ultimately, neoliberalism has come to determine the very discourse with which we discuss Māori language revitalisation (Lewis, 2014; Holborow, 2013), which Bauer (2008) alludes to.

However, there are other ramifications of the restriction of Māori language instruction to academic institutions in that it creates the deeply problematic and prohibitive notion of Māori cultural knowledge being restricted to Pākehā institutions. This limits potential new speakers to those who are educated and professional and those able to access higher education with relevant qualifications who can meet the significant costs associated with tertiary education. Given the philosophies behind institutions such as Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi, it is unlikely that their founders either foresaw or would support the gradual migration of Māori language learning instruction to the formal tertiary sector. Indeed, it is highly likely that the initial successes of both these organisations were due in large part to their position outside of the mainstream education sector.

Learners' education contexts

Most of the participants shared their family's language histories, revealing complex language paths that nonetheless had shared experiences. Few participants were unmarked by Kōhanga Reo, either directly or indirectly. It is impossible to overstate the importance and impact of Kōhanga Reo in the participant group. In light of this, it is vital that the role of Kōhanga Reo as the vanguard of Māori language survival be revisited. Given that the number of native speakers supporting Kōhanga Reo would have diminished substantially since its beginnings, this is a major challenge. While Kōhanga Reo might be perceived as catering purely for developing young speakers its importance extends out especially to L2 learners and this needs to be better acknowledged.

Mainstream schooling

Whilst mainstream schools in themselves are not major sites of Māori language revitalisation, they have been identified in this study as a genesis for an interest in and for positive attitudes towards the language and its people. Therefore, they are important language sites and what happens in them can be as damaging as they are helpful. It is also clear that the role and high quality of mainstream teachers cannot be overstated. Many participants were able to single out particular teachers from over fifty years ago who had a profound impact on their Māori language journey. Mainstream schools as agents for language learning are important, but we need to be aware of not only how students are influenced but why, and encourage this awareness to students and teachers. Urgent revision is needed of Māori language policy in schools and how Māori language can be integrated from primary school through to the highest levels of tertiary education across the country. As the vast majority of Māori students are in mainstream education and not in Māori immersion education, this is critical for the entire Māori community.

Towards a typology of Māori language speakers of Māori

This theme draws directly from the fifth question to discuss how eL2 learners of Māori describe themselves. The L2 learners in this study used a range of terms to describe other speakers and were much happier to do so rather than assess or define their own ability. The only term with any consistent application was the term 'native speaker'. In this research project it is taken to mean those older speakers who grew up in Māori language communities where their first language was Māori, and it is used in this section to refer to those speakers. Native speakers were also referred to by participants as 'fluent speakers', 'reo speakers' [Aroha, 40+], a 'paepae speaker' [Michelle, 50+], or a speaker younger than them, 'kaumātua te reo o [Ingoa]' [Robert, T, 40+].

The Māori Language Commission used a typology on their website Kōrero Māori encouraging learners and speakers to sign up to their Māori Language Club, but this has since been removed. In reference to this language club they used the following classifications to refer to the colour of buttons that members of the language club could wear (see Table 6.)

Of particular note is the statement in Table 6 clarifying the dark pāua button that intermediate speakers 'can use reo Māori with each other and with light pāua button holders'. In other words with speakers of less ability than themselves but not with more advanced speakers. But for the upper level, 'Pounamu inanga', it encourages people at this level to support help students of the language.

Button colour	Typology	Clarification
Light pāua	Te hunga timata – Beginner	Encourages all button wearers to speak to them.
Dark pāua	Te hunga kōrero o waeanganui – intermediate speakers	Can understand, and is still learning. Can use reo Māori with each other and with light pāua button holders.
Pounamu	Te hunga kōrero – fluent speakers	Ka taea e te tangata te āta whai wāhi aut ki ngā whakawhitiwhitinga whakaaro āhua uaua. Ka kimi i ngā huarahi hei whakarongo, hei kōrero, he pānui hoki i te reo.
Pounamu inanga	Te hunga i tipu ake i roto i te reo me te hunga matatau – native and highly fluent speakers	Tūturu, kei konei te toitūtanga o te reo, huri atu, huri mai, e toitū ana te reo. Ka āwhina i ngā taurira i te reo.

Table 6: Former typologies used by Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori for their Māori Language Club¹⁷.

Another typology (Image 5) uses declarative statements with New Zealand native birds as symbols, from the flightless kiwi (beginners), a twittering, hesitant *pīwaiwaka* or fantail (casual), warbling *tūi* (conversational) to the soaring eagle (expert). This typology is interesting as an organic typology from within the field, in contrast to the one proposed by the Māori Language Commission. The first interesting point is the acknowledgement of people who have some existing knowledge of Māori in ‘I can understand but I can’t speak, I’m keen to learn!’ It assumes in the case of most Māori and many Pākehā that learners have some prior knowledge of the language, which can include the ability to understand some of the language. The second interesting point is the qualifying statement, ‘I’m a confident speaker but can improve!’ for the conversational level signifying a hesitant positive (few L2 learners do not need improvement!). And the final descriptor, with no initial personal pronoun, ‘Strong and confident speaker, I can help you learn!’ presenting quite a different description from that in the Māori Language Commission’s in Table 6.

¹⁷ This typology is nō longer available from the Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori website



Image 5: Ngā Manu Kōrihi.

In neither of these two typologies are speakers asked to determine if they are a L2 language speaker, or from Māori immersion education. We are still determining a consistent understanding of how to describe and recognise new speakers from those contexts. A colleague, who is from Maori immersion education and a Te Panekiretanga graduate, still argues that she is a L2 speaker of Māori as the language of her home is English. The term 'Te Panekiretanga graduate' is an emerging typology, with a clear reference point attached, indicating a level of expertise and having reached a point in language proficiency.

In this study, the terms 'second language learner' and 'second language speaker' were used interchangeably by participants. In describing themselves they would use a range of terms: 'conversationally fluent', [Elizabeth] 'my *reo* is pretty alright', 'my *reo* is wide' [Katerina, 40+, referring to ability to cross-dialectal variation], 'a speaker' [Aroha, 40+]. One participant was unambiguous about the stages he had gone through, 'from being a novice speaker, to an advanced speaker to like, a very proficient speaker of Māori' [David, T, 40+]; another described himself as a 'competent communicator' [Roger, T, 40+].

Due to their background, some participants had difficulty describing their own ability when they started off to learn Māori in a formal setting.

I certainly didn't consider myself a beginner. But I certainly would not have put myself at the fluent end either....I would have put myself around the intermediate level... I mean that I always knew it, I understood it but I didn't actually speak it a lot, and that's the thing, there's

a difference between understanding Māori and speaking Māori, just because you understand a language, doesn't necessarily mean you can speak it [Moana, W, 40 +]

Moana had grown up with two native-speaking parents, who often used Māori so their children would not understand what they were saying, but were using it within their own generation at family events both in an urban context and when they went back to their tribal areas. This comment reflects many Māori and Pākehā learners who approach learning Māori in a formal instructed sense; many of them had been involved with *kapa haka* and had a degree of familiarity with the language's phonology and some vocabulary to the extent that Māori words are used within an English syntax e.g., 'when I was working in Kōhanga and just to be able to *tautoko* the *kaupapa* and *tautoko tamariki*' [Gloria, 50+].

This reluctance to overplay one's ability is reiterated by Mary, when she was asked how she might describe her language ability.

I say it's not really beginner, beginner level. Um, sometimes in the great scheme of things I feel like I'm a beginner. In the big scheme of things but then, you know, in that you've arrived at the top mountain and there's another range. If I had to say what kind of level I might say kind of intermediate or something ... [Mary, W, 50+]

In the same interview the other participant added on to this statement by saying 'I can have a conversation' [Mary, W, 40+] and points out a critical point in the perceptions of fluency from non-speakers, 'to them I am completely fluent'. Christensen (2001a) noted how the loss of linguistic knowledge from within a community can impact on perceived levels of proficiency and may be a natural characteristic of a language in decline (p. 130). He goes on to qualify this in relation to L2 learners:

As the number of fluent speakers of the language declines in relation to the number of second language learners, and second language learners have fewer and fewer opportunities to access and interact with fluent speakers, the generally shared perception of what constitutes having a high proficiency declines to the level of what local second language learners within the community are able to achieve. (Christensen, 2001a, p. 130)

But Jane, as a highly aware language learner, reassures herself about her own ability and has had to accept that 'there is absolutely no point in comparing yourself to anyone else'; language learning is a 'process' on a 'continuum' [Jane, W, 40+].

The interviews in Māori revealed different terms to describe a person's ability: '*matatau*' [Alex, W, 50+] to mean knowledgeable, or if that person only spoke a little bit of Māori, '*paku reo*' [Robert, T, 40+]. In one of the interviews, the participant said his response in describing his ability in Māori depended on who was asking the question, especially if it was an older person, '*mehemea he kaumātua he rerekē taku kōrero, mēnā he pakeke he rerekē, nō reira ka āta titiro ki te tangata e pātai ana i tērā pātai ki a au*' [Matiu, T, 40+]. He then went on to note that caution was needed in how you respond depending on the other person's ability.

Arā, ka tukuna atu tētahi whakautu. Engari mō te tangata e mōhio ana, ka taea e koe te kōrero, te kī atu 'Āe, ae! ka taea ana e au. Ka taea nei e au, engari e ako tonu ana.' Nō reira, kei roto tonu tērā whakaiti, kia kore ai au e kī atu, he tangata mōhio ahau, engari ka kī atu au 'Āe, ka taea, ka taea e au, he reo Māori tōku, engari ka whakatupato ahau i ahau anō.

Within this statement is the very Māori reluctance to declare your own ability in something at the expense of the other interlocutor. He uses the term *whakaiti* (to make smaller, diminish) to indicate that it is appropriate to lower your own ability, not to be seen promoting your ability or yourself above that of others.

Grinevald and Bert (2011) observe that in an endangered language context there is potential for a greater variety of speakers (p. 46-47) and that endangered language contexts combined do not make up a linguistic community in the 'traditional sense' (p. 46) but some speakers are often 'neither readily identifiable nor easily accounted for' (p. 46). They identify two basic differences between the range of speakers of endangered and non-endangered languages. The first is that as the vitality of a language decreases the number of 'marginal speakers' increases to the extent that they may even constitute the bulk of speakers (p. 47). The second difference is that 'language loss gives rise to some types of speakers that are specific to those circumstances, not so much in terms of the level of knowledge of the language, but more in terms of sociopsychological traits that sometimes create unexpected actions' (p. 47).

Tsunoda (2005) proposed a typology with various criteria: acquisition of the language and use of the language, linguistic competence or proficiency in the language and then age, sex and 'domicile' of speakers (Tsunoda, 2005, p. 122). In considering proficiency, which he argues is the most useful criterion (p. 122), he places speakers on a continuum of proficiency considering language components, i.e., phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon and register or style. He then considers the period of proficiency, and notes terms that have been used in other classifications, 'forgetters', 'former speakers' and 'formally fluent speakers', and even Menn's 'rusty speakers' to refer to 'speakers who have to expend a great deal of energy on retrieving words and putting sentences together (2005, p. 126). All are terms which refer to people who once spoke the language but who are now not fully competent (Dorian cited in Tsunoda, 2005, p. 125).

Age, according to Tsunoda (2005), as a classification, is determined by the age of acquisition and the order of the acquisition. But he notes, again in reference to personal communication with Dorian, that determining the age of acquisition might not fit in either childhood, adolescence or adulthood. The order of acquisition in monolingual contexts is relatively straightforward but in multilingual situations it is possible for speakers to have two first languages and in later life it may not be either in which the speaker is most proficient (p. 127).

Alternatives to the traditional proficiency measure were used in identifying speakers' 'pathways' to the language, and how they had reached their level of proficiency. In the *Te Hoe Nuku Roa* research of the 1990s, the following terms were used:

- Brought up speaking Māori as a child
- Learnt through formal education
- Went to Kōhanga Reo as a child
- Learnt from someone in the family
- Went to language classes on the marae
- Went to Te Ātaarangi
- 'Picked up' the language by being around it
- Had children to practise it with

The difficulty with these terms is that it is quite possible for participants to have multiple pathways. Participants were asked to rank these pathways in terms of helping them towards proficiency (Christensen, 2001b, p. 23). In matching participants' rankings with their self-declared proficiency, Christensen found access to the language was seen to be equally important across all age groups and proficiency levels (2001b, p. 26) and noted presciently:

providers of Māori language courses may well need to think as much about the linguistic and cultural environment in which their courses are situated, as the actual content and pedagogy of the courses themselves. This will help ensure that opportunities for informal learning exist alongside the formal. (Christensen, 2001b, p. 26)

This contextual requirement of ELA teaching and learning remains a challenge (Hond, 2013b; Pohe, 2012) and even if a defining feature of ELA is creating contexts for language use, it remains neglected by institutions and policy (Timms, 2013). Few eL2 learners have had the luxury of just attending one pathway towards proficiency. It was clear from the participants of this current study that developing proficiency required an active stance to finding and following several pathways. Nearly fifteen years since Christensen's range of pathways (2001b, p. 23), it is positive to note this range can be expanded to include *kura reo*, tribal wānanga and courses, such as Te Panekiretanga, accessing material such as the Māori Television programme *Ako*¹⁸ and the now extensive online material available to speakers, not to mention speakers' increasing use of social media – the *Ako* Facebook page¹⁹, for example, has 1,700 likes.

Determining types of speakers could also consider how often and when they use the language. It may be possible to classify someone as a 'daily' or 'weekly speaker' and if it is context bound to maybe use

¹⁸ Accesible through <http://www.maoritelevision.com/tv/shows/ako>.

¹⁹ Ako facebook page <https://www.facebook.com/AKO-1678951432326533/?fref=ts>

that context, the ‘family’ or a ‘secrecy speaker’ (Tsunoda, 2005, p. 128). Tsunoda concludes that a holistic typology can account for different degrees of knowledge in the components (p.133).

Endangered language typologies

Grinevald and Bert’s (2011) comprehensive overview of endangered languages represents a ‘more complex multidimensional and dynamic model’ with new parameters and aims to be more accurate in the number of prototypes (p. 47). These parameters are from four clusters which are paraphrased here in the original order but presented in table form (Table 7).

Elements of a typology of speakers of endangered languages (Grinevald & Bert, 2011, pp. 47)		
Cluster	Description	Types of speakers (terms)
1. Language competence	The language competence of the individual speaker, considered to be more or less proficient, but considers the extremes of mastery and those with very little knowledge of the language but combines both level of acquisition attained and degree of individual loss.	Three major types of speakers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Fluent speakers</i> (full acquisition and no loss). • <i>Semi speaker</i> (partial acquisition and possible loss). • <i>Terminal speakers</i> (either limited acquisition or acquisition but advanced loss).
2. Socio-linguistic cluster	Exposure to the language versus vitality of the language at time of acquisition. This cross tabulates the date of birth of a speaker with the current state of the language’s level of vitality as this can determine how much language exposure the speaker had, their opportunities to learn and use it.	Spectrum of <i>semi speakers</i> .
3. Performance cluster: use and attitude	The relationship of the speaker to the language community and their level of use and their attitudes towards the language. ‘Level of use and attitude have an impact on the level of competence.	<i>Latent, active and rusty speakers</i> .
4. Self-evaluation of speakers and linguistic insecurity	This parameter has a psycholinguistic nature. ‘One of the traits of many speakers of endangered languages is a profound sense of linguistic insecurity that can colour interaction in unexpected ways’ (p. 48). This can include a ‘total denial’ or gross ‘under-evaluation’ of a language knowledge.	<i>Ghost speakers</i>

Table 7: Elements of a typology of speakers of endangered languages, from Grinevald & Bert, 2011, p. 47

The total absence of the term 'native speaker' is noticeable as in some endangered language contexts there might not be any. However, it remains used in relation to discussions on Māori language speakers. The term 'native' is even used in combination with Māori words. At a major conference in November 2015, I took notes on the range of terms being used to describe types of Māori speakers; like the participants, the only term used with any consistency was 'native speaker', or a new derivative 'native-like *reo*'. This was used in reference to the speech of a young child in Māori immersion education and indicates an ongoing preoccupation in the acquisition of Māori to be 'native-like' suggesting that this term has some overarching meaning consistent across all users and an ideology enshrined in the discourse that this is the only 'real' Māori language despite it being very unlikely, if not impossible, for those conditions that produced 'native-like' speech to be recast in the 21st century.

Grinevald and Bert (2011) propose a basic typology of speakers of endangered languages, most of which are not used within the literature on Māori language, with the exception of the first below, fluent speakers. This term was used more particularly in reference to other speakers. It is assumed that not all of the following terms would be considered appropriate in Māori language contexts.

Fluent speakers

A number of terms are given under the umbrella term 'fluent speakers' (Grinevald & Bert, 2011, p. 49) distinguishing the age of the speakers which often links age with levels of proficiency but this can change during the course of language loss (p, 50). This term was used only by a few participants.

Semi-speakers

The term semi-speaker is most associated with Nancy Dorian's pioneering research with Scottish Gaelic speakers (Grinevald & Bert, 2011, p. 50; Tsunoda, 2005, p. 129). Semi-speakers comprise a large category, which includes all members of the community with 'appropriate receptive skills in the language but varying levels of productive skills' (Grinevald & Bert, 2011, p. 50) and are 'most emblematic of situations of language endangerment' (p. 50). The term includes fluent speakers of specific contexts to those who can 'interact competently in most situations ... using minimal language forms but deploying them in socioculturally appropriate ways (Grinevald & Bert, 2011, p. 50) and that 'they have not and do not have regular conversation partners in the endangered language' and essentially operate the majority of their daily life in the dominant language (p. 50). The term 'semi-speaker', was used in this context by only one participant (Roger, T, 40+), who was careful to qualify his use of the term. To the extent that these participants are only representative of L2 learners, it would appear that this term is not a familiar or widely-used term, of either their own or others' language ability.

Even though semi-speaker may be a defining typology of the endangered language context, and possibly accounts for a substantial part of Māori language speakers, with a range of proficiencies tied to it, the term has yet to be accepted by the Māori language community. There may be several reasons for this. The first is that it is viewed as a pejorative term rather than recognising a positive stage in reversing language shift and the second reason is its uncomfortable ring beside the idealised native speaker term; as Grinevald and Bert (2011) acknowledge, the speech of semi-speakers 'contains more modified forms than the speech of young fluent speakers, and that some of those modified forms are considered mistakes by fluent speakers' (p. 50).

Terminal or partial speakers

This refers to speakers with partial knowledge of the language but limited productive skills (p. 50), those with partial acquisition or those at an 'advanced level of attrition' (p. 50). They then identify other types of speakers according to the sociolinguistic contexts. This group includes 'remembers', who regain or reacquire previous knowledge of the language; 'ghost speakers' who deny any knowledge of the language and ethnic identification of the language (p. 51). No participant used this term.

Neo speakers

Grinevald and Bert (2011) then introduce the term 'neo speaker', to refer 'learners of endangered languages in the context of revitalization programmes and activities' (p. 52) and who become 'central' to language revitalisation activities. After noting that it is possible for new speakers to become fluent and proficient, even those from outside the community, they add, 'their positive attitudes towards the endangered language and their particular vision of the endangered language community, precisely as a community, propels them into conscious efforts to learn it' (Grinevald & Bert, 2011, p. 52).

The term new, or neo speakers is a nascent term. In early 2015, the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, devoted a special issue on 'New speakers of minority languages: The challenging opportunity'. O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo (2015) use the term to 'describe individuals with little or no home or community exposure to minority languages but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual education programs, revitalisation projects or as adult learners' (p. 1).

Jaffe (2015) observes that 'the term new speaker raises fundamental questions about what it means to be a speaker of a minority language at a particular moment in that language's social trajectory' (p. 23). According to O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo's (2015) term, neo speaker would include all students from Māori immersion education and adult learning contexts such as universities, polytechnics, wānanga and Te Ātaarangi. It is possible that in time, a typology might need to distinguish between these types of speakers.

In recognition of one of the features of endangered language conditions (evident from the data in this project) Grinevald and Bert (2011) note that endangered language contexts have to consider the role of limited speakers or non-speakers as well as those who fit into the typologies above. They might be ‘brokers’, ‘organisers’ or ‘go-between’s’ between documentary linguists and the technologically adept, or they might be language activists in the sense they fight for the rights of the language and its speakers and are concerned about what they did not have and future generations’ access to the language. The late Hana Jackson was known as one of the staunchest advocates for Māori language rights in the 1970s and ‘80s. While not being a speaker herself, she presented the 1972 Māori Language Petition on the steps of Parliament.



Image 6: Tukaki wharehenui, Te Kaha-nui-a-Tiki marae, Te Kaha. Hana Jackson/Te Hemara. June 1973. Image: John Miller. Auckland Art Gallery Toi a Tamaki. Accession no. 2001/29/7. Used with permission.

A typology for speakers is needed to ensure common understandings about the possible outcomes of language learning and that they are not fixed but can reflect pathways and assist in interactions between learners and speakers. Identifying types of speakers accurately will help create a more comprehensive picture of Māori language proficiency across the entire spectrum of learners and speakers. Of course, this has the potential to reveal rather more than the community is prepared to acknowledge: that more speakers of Māori do not fit into the range of competencies than was previously thought (Bauer, 2008). A more accurate picture could assist policy and planning at macro, meso and micro levels, particularly at the micro level targeting resources to speakers’ needs more efficiently and expediently. Identifying and tracking speakers could assist in determining the conditions that support learners from beginner to proficient and engaged speakers.

A typology for Māori speakers in the 21st century would need to be defined culturally first and include aspects such as frequency, place of acquisition and proficiency. Michelle's informal use of the term 'paepae speaker' is an example of a possible term, as it is bound to a specific cultural context (the *paepae*) and a purpose (ceremonial functions) and refers to linguistic proficiency and formal speaking skills (see Rewi, 2010; Salmond, 1976). It may mean a rejection of the term 'native speaker', and loose classifications like 'intermediate' (as in, 'advanced' and 'fluent'). Leung, Harris and Rampton (cited in Ricento, 2005) propose the terms 'language expertise', 'language inheritance' and 'language affiliation' in place of 'native speaker' and 'mother tongue' (Ricento, 2005, p. 902).

Whilst *ad hoc* typologies exist, such as the one used in Image 4 there is a need for a 'culturally-bound' typology that is both reference and measure of the full range of Māori language speakers, and recognises the full measure of Māori language revitalisation over the last forty years. While it is recognised that there is a need for a Māori typology, this is not the purpose of this thesis as completing such a significant task appropriately would be an entire doctoral subject in itself. In addition, recognition must be afforded to the many discussions and attempts to develop a coherent typology of Māori language speakers and long standing efforts by leaders in Māori language revitalisation to progress a robust typology (Ka'ai, 1995). Perhaps this is a critical area to be pursued and fully resourced utilising the current expertise of native speakers and L2 learners with special relevance for language learners and teachers.

It is possible that a speaker typology will reveal truths that have been fudged by the feel-good and less-than-accurate interpretations of Te Puni Kōkiri (Bauer, 2008) and the vague evaluations within the New Zealand Census, which confidently reports that '20% of Māori are able to hold a conversation about everyday things' (Statistics New Zealand, 2014c, p.7), without qualifying what the statement actually means or that it is a self-reported ability. Developing a typology of Māori language speakers would not only identify the range of speakers that currently exists but in doing so would identify the needs and appropriate resources for those types of speakers. As learners progress through language development their needs change. A more significant benefit would be to indicate to learners the developmental stages of language acquisition, provide targets, and prolong and sustain learner interest. As one participant said, 'you never stop learning as you are on a continuum' [Jane, W, Pākehā, 40+]. Potentially this could guide L2 learners along a progressive path and could attend to the current lack of knowledge some learners have about the challenges of adult language learning, a lack of awareness about what is involved and address some learners' 'unrealistic expectations' (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001, p. 26). It is possible that the large percentage of the Māori community not engaged with language learning activity indicates an awareness of knowledge of the hard work involved in L2 learning as an adult, and accounts for the very small proportion of the Māori community who sustain

language learning to any degree of proficiency. Paradoxically this co-exists alongside an ideology that the language is something that you can ‘get round to at some point’. Mary [W, Pākehā, 40+] noted that she had been wanting to do it for years but there came a time when she had to act on it.

Another potential from a more thorough typology is greater learner awareness of language acquisition progression and the development of *emic* learning techniques and strategies as L2 learners’ access to native speakers diminishes. If speaking Māori is a choice (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001) as opposed to a linguistic need except in a very restricted range of contexts, then this shifts the focus and impetus onto the learner for making those linguistic choices. Endangered language learners have to develop extended and sophisticated skills and strategies to place themselves in contexts that require knowledge and use of *te reo Māori*.

As noted, participants used a narrow range of terms to describe their own and other speakers’ ability. The only term that has a common understanding and consistent use is ‘native speaker’. This was always used in reference to other, particularly older speakers in their whakapapa, most often grandparent or in some cases, their parents. If they did not use the term native speaker they used fluent speaker, highly proficient, competent speaker. Māori terms included ‘matatau ki te reo [very knowledgeable of te reo Māori]. Some speakers were reluctant to ascribe any kind of ability to themselves and in some cases were clearly struggling for a word or term they could use for other people. For some participants it was clear that there was not a high demand to articulate their level, and for some of them it was simply a case of choosing the most suitable term for want of an appropriate and established term.

One participant provided the interesting possibility of asking people to determine their ability in commenting about her own ability, starting off in Māori but switching to English

Ka taea e au te kōrero ki te nuinga o ngā tangata, ka taea e te mārama i te nuinga o ngā kōrero e rongona. And you know, if we woke up tomorrow and te reo Māori was the only the reo in this country I would manage. Now I would be up there, be able to survive and do what I needed to do. [Elizabeth, W, 40+]

The notion of being able to survive in the language has a fascinating ring to it; an imagined space that makes *te reo Māori* a need and an everyday means of communication. This idea been explored in New Zealand fiction²⁰.

Conclusion

In this study data was used to create *whakapapa* and narratives for each of the participants to hear and see their lived realities. Conceptually this was done by imagining stepping into a whare and seeing

²⁰ Rosier-Jones, J. (1996). *Mother Tongue*. Auckland, New Zealand: David Ling.

and hearing the carved *pou* talk and 'sing'. The three data sets were arranged into key themes to explore the realities, tensions and highlights of the L2 learner experience. Language learning is viewed as a social process and requires a social lens to examine learners in complex, fluid and dynamic contexts. It requires learners to be tenacious, adaptable, determined, confident and intellectual. In turn these cognitive and social skills are mediated through social structures, such as class, education, gender, political, social and economic conditions and histories.

The role of identity is implicit in the learning of *te reo Māori* and is transformative; to learn Māori is 'to learn about ourselves' [Aroha, W, 40+]. What this means for eL2 speakers of Māori as endangered language learners in the new millennium is discussed in the final chapters.

Chapter 8: Being an adult eL2 learner of Māori

Early on in language revitalisation efforts L2 learners were seen as integral to Māori language revitalisation (Boyce, 1995; J. King, 2015), but it is only recently that their stories hold currency in the literature (J. King, 2007, 2009; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013). It is tempting to reflect back since Māori language revitalisation began in the 1970s and conclude that there have been more losses than gains. And if you pursue numbers and language purism to gauge this, it could appear this way. This chapter synthesises the responses to the seven research questions and reveals learners' experience of social and cultural endeavour involves tension between contradictory elements. The final chapter draws conclusions about broader understandings of endangered language acquisition.

This section draws on all the seven questions asking about the eL2 learners' roles in language revitalisation; how they locate themselves in that context; their perceptions of the community and the individual; the roles of the language have in Māori life; applicable terminology and finally what factors help their language learning and some of the struggles. This section again draws on the interview data, the narratives and the *whakapapa*.

Negotiating paradoxes in Māori language revitalisation

Considering the participants' experiences and the more recent literature, the negotiating of several interrelated paradoxes is a major part of being an L2 learner. The paradoxes became apparent from discussions of the social nature of language learning and issues around language ideologies.

The first is the tension between the high value placed on the *te reo Māori* by the wider community with the reality of smaller and smaller numbers engaged in language learning or committing their children to Māori immersion education. In sum, it is an activity supported in principle but not in practice (Harlow, 2005; Nicholson, 1990; de Bres, 2011) so it is both celebrated and uncelebrated. Māori language ideologies themselves are conflicted, with high value on the language in certain contexts (e.g., the All Black *haka* and other opportunities for presenting New Zealand's uniqueness to the international community) but overall, lacks widespread national support. As the 2010 cartoon below (Image 6) suggesting over-resourcing (in the over-watered but lifeless plant) and a portrayal of 'Mum and Dad' Pākehā taxpayers (denying Māori as taxpayers) with no connection to the language.

It is clear from the cartoon who bears the responsibility for the 'lack of the will to live' with the couple's 'hands-off' stance. What this cartoon does not show is the puzzling acceptance of the direction and

substantial amounts of money being spent for poor outcomes along with a lack of allocation of funds for systems and institutions that are known to work, e.g., Te Ātaarangi (Lewis, 2014).



Image 7: "It's had everything we can give it... it just seems to lack the will to live!" 22 October 2010. Ref: DCDL-0015899. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.

Another paradox, related to the value placed on the language, is the perception that Māori language is not a language of modernity or economic and social development but conversely has powerful cultural, professional and economic rewards, with demand for Māori speakers in high-status employment and *mana* within Māori communities. The Māori elites' silence on this knowledge has been perceived as a form of gate-keeping to *iwi* power and to maintain control of resources and funding (Rata, 2011; Webster, 1998). Participants revealed this is an acknowledgement of the emergence of 'high priests' of Māori language [Roger, T. 40+] and a perception that certain spheres of the Māori language community operate as a 'cult' [David, T, 40+].

A further paradox is the still prevalent notion of identity as a major reason for personal investment by learners (Chrisp, 1997; King, 2007; Ratima, 2013) but it is also a barrier to people even beginning to learn Māori as it is 'hugely confrontational' (Mill, personal communication, 15 November, 2015). Within this are the contradictory elements in the still strong link between Māori identity and knowledge of the language and yet 'an X-man can be speaking Y and still be an X man' (Harlow citing Fishman, 2005). Yet this can be juxtaposed against the highly transformative potential that learning Māori has on a person's identity as discussed in the previous chapter. Elizabeth, who has been teaching in a wānanga for many year noted that her emerging learners would 'become very emotional' and were saying things such as 'this is the first time in thirty years I've felt proud to be who I am, proud that I am pursuing the *reo*' [Elizabeth, W, 40+].

The future of Māori language learning depends on maximising the contradiction around Māori identity as both pro-Māori learning but censures people's initial steps toward engaging in Māori language revitalisation. It must also recognise that non-Māori roles in Māori language revitalisation are navigated differently. This comes down to the non-Māori collective response.

This is a really cool thing to be doing for the future of these people and our country and my kids, you know if this is going to make a difference to the world my kids grown up in then wow! So if people see me as an inspiration and not a threat, or *whakahihi* or whatever, then wow! That's pretty powerful and so I think, I think I've found my little space in the world.
[Elisabeth, W, 40+]

The final sentence in this quote is the most interesting. Elizabeth has married into the local *iwi* of the area she grew up in and both of her sons have been through Māori immersion education. Although Pākehā, learning to speak Māori has given her a sense of who she is and her place within New Zealand. At variance with the communal notions and impetus of early Māori language revitalisation efforts, it seems that Māori language learning is now viewed as highly individual behaviour, rather than as a collective response. This can contribute to conflicting priorities of one generation being misunderstood by the next.

Paradoxically, but related to individualism and autonomy, eL2 learning is an individual practice but totally reliant on social interaction and ultimately has powerful social outcomes. This is not supported by thinking or cognition as merely an individual activity (Spolsky, 1989, p. 221) in contrast with Block (2003), Makoni & Pennycook (2007), Pohe (2012) and Hond (2013b), who all view learning languages as a social process.

A more recent and developing tension is the historic lack of leadership from *iwi* towards language revitalisation against the current promotion by the Māori language community as key to the future leadership of the language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011a), and the contrasting tension that most Māori are urban. The neoliberal and predetermined corporate agenda in Waitangi settlements (Bargh, 2007) helps explain a lack of visible commitment by *iwi* on Māori language revitalisation with prevailing notions of investment for maximum economic return.

Perhaps the greatest tension that has to be negotiated by the Māori language learning community is overcoming the gradual removal of Māori as the locus for determining how Māori language revitalisation is best carried out. In other words, to prevent a Māori endeavour becoming determined by non-Māori practices, visions and rules.

One further tension is the cautionary lack of L2 learners' discernible connection to policy. So although significant amounts of time and resourcing are invested in policy it is highly questionable what effect this has on L2 learners. At present L2 learners are absent from policy and barely referred to directly in

any document. And there is the continual tension between the relevance of high level macro policies and what happens at community levels and the irony of successful initiatives driving policy development only to have the control of it removed from them.

The only participant who felt that policy had any impact on her as a speaker was because it influenced her professional context in a Kōhanga Reo [*Gloria*]. As Meng Foon noted in his interview, policy and funding comes from Crown agencies and not from *iwi*, or community. From the participant group it was clear that policy has no impact on them or their communities, nor their linguistic choices.

However, one of the participants who worked in mainstream education but participated in *iwi* language initiatives, shared one of the ideas being discussed in her *iwi* and indicated the still extant potential of community to adapt and lead policy.

We were having a *reo wānanga*, and one of the issues that's being discussed is like what we did with *auahi kore* [smoke free] and how long it took some *marae*, who were very resistant to the smoke-free message, how long it took us to eventually get there, now we're looking at a '*reo Pākehā kore*' *rāhui* [ban] on *marae*. That was one of the issues that was raised that, because the influence of *te reo Pākehā* within Māori communities, and on the *marae*, we now need to go back and reassert our *te reo Māori*, so may be need to be having signs up, that this is an English-free *marae*. [Moana, W, 40+]

The *auahi kore* (smoke free) campaign has been around for decades and includes signs in *te reo Māori* (Image 7) to be displayed on *marae* and other Māori language contexts, such as Kura and Kōhanga Reo. The signage address the reality that Māori smoking rates are higher than for other ethnicities (Action on Smoking and Health, 2014) and *marae* are a significant domain to target Māori. The *auahi kore* strategy is clearly felt to have relevance and its use as a strategy familiar at the community level is worth investigating further.



Image 8: *Auahi kore* (smoke free) sign.
Source: <http://smokefree.org.nz/smokefree-resources/signage-0>

In one critical area national policy has, and continues to influence L2 speakers: Māori immersion education policy and to a lesser degree directly, mainstream education, as most Māori children are in mainstream education. Māori immersion education because it provides context for Māori language speaking domains and mainstream education as a site of attitudes and behaviours towards the language and its speakers.

The relevance of Māori language policy is promulgated but is only manifest in some *iwi* plans and across *iwi* populations. Significant questions remain unanswered: If national Māori language policy has had no impact on L2 learners across the country, how can it influence them tribally? What if an *iwi* has few speakers left or an inadequate infrastructure to draw on to plan and then implement language policies? How do *iwi* who have already addressed this contribute to the broadening of knowledge, capability and capacity across all *iwi* and how does this not become tied to elitism? (Rata, 2011) or tied to vested interests such as those already identified (Lewis, 2014; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010).

In talking to Tama, it seems that the dilemma with policy is not just about what policy is but our perceptions that policy exists separate to other issues. Therefore what is its purpose and what can it achieve? Tama rejects the notion that strategy alone [*rautaki*] is the answer to Māori language revitalisation and that its relevance is linked to communities' economic conditions.

Ko to tātou mate i ēnei rā, e rapu i tētahi rongoa ki tētahi kaupapa, i tētahi rautaki noa iho kia 'hakaora i te reo. E kore e kitea ko taua mea kotahi hei 'hakaora i ngā reo o ngā iwi, o ngā hapū, e kore e kitea, nē. Ka mutu, um, e hāngai katoa ana ki te kōrero tētahi taha e hāngai katoa ana mō te kōrero a John [Participant 23] hōki mō te taha ohaoha nē, mō te taha ohaoha, economics, ara te taha, moni.

E kore te reo e ora ki te moni noa iho. Kore, e kore. Ka ora tō tātou reo mā te hiki o te uara me te mana o taua reo, o ngā reo, o ngā hapū, o ngā iwi, i roto i te ngākau o te tangata, mā reira anake. Nē, mā reira anake.

In the latter parts of this passage, Tama argues that Māori language revival is not about money [*mōni*] but about the mana of the reo within *hapū*, *iwi* and within people. If we return to the success of Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi, this emphasis on communities' social and cultural aspirations and the issue of *mana* was embedded in policies that were not only focused on those communities but driven by them and from them. Policy needs to be intimately connected to those communities. This study's participant group indicated an almost total disconnect to policy even though they have to navigate the tensions between policy, relevance and community as part of their paradoxical experience.

The experience of learning Māori

So what do these paradoxes mean at the individual level? How do eL2 learners navigate these and what does it mean for their experience? How do we recognise the sum of such an important social phenomenon?

It needs to be acknowledged that Māori language learning can be first and foremost transformative. Learning *te reo Māori* as *tikanga*-learning (Ratima, 2013) is a transformative experience that crosses ethnicity, background, gender and age but is influenced and mediated by all those things. Often defying a just description, this process and its outcomes can mean personal transformations as simple

as a learner re-identifying and using an ancestral name to extreme transformative effect on a personal life path or better health outcomes (Hond, 2013b), projecting unforeseen political and professional opportunities, rejecting religious doctrine and undertaking leadership roles within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. It is hard to imagine a more positive experience to enrich a person's engagement and connection to this land. The transcendental quality of learning Māori as overwhelmingly positive, transformative and joyous needs greater explication in the literature and in New Zealand's cultural language ideologies *per se*.

A collective and individual ignorance of this transcendental quality means Māori language learning is often lonely; many L2 learners can be the only one in their family or their entire generation, which requires fortitude and a clear sense of learner purpose. Fortitude is also required as learning Māori is contested – from inside and outside of the Māori language community, in terms of identity, value and recognition. For some participants, the fortitude came from a drive to protect their children from their experience. As Hine, said in reference to her two sons,

I just know that I want to give them the social armour of identity and language and *tikanga*, which is to be tika i ngā wā katoa. So those values and foundations [and] that they know where they've come from so that they can actually look forward and achieve and get to where they want to go without having to be a thirty-year-old going oh! Now I've got to make some hard decisions I should go back and see where I came from. [Hine, W, 20+]

The collective ignorance in turn means learning Māori is quixotic. It defies 'logic' in the face of overwhelming monoculturalism, creating 'unreal' circumstances and detachment from everyday realities, since it is possible to speak with most eL2 learners in English. As such it is unpredictable, even impossible for learners to envisage the range of challenges, contexts and expectations that speakers and non-speakers have of them at any given time, and which are contradictory and unfixed. One reason for the lonely and quixotic nature of L2 learning is the imprecise and fluid nature of social and cultural endeavour. It means different things to different people and consequently has constantly evolving values for different interest groups and individuals. Navigating this requires dexterity and resilience.

Above all learning *te reo Māori* should be celebratory. These learners are supporting the future of the language. They might be changing elements of it in the process but this change is not seen as the price paid for the survival of the language, nor a consequence of it, but simply as part of language dynamics. It will not be the same as the Māori of hundred years ago, but neither will its speakers or their communities.

Social capital and the eL2 speaker

The social capital that goes into creating an eL2 speaker is grossly underestimated. This is a consequence of viewing language learning as an activity resting on individual aptitude and commitment and ignoring its social nature. This theme in draws on responses to the final two questions in particular.

The range of social capital required is substantial and the following list is by no means complete. To develop L2 learners and the future of an endangered language requires:

1. **Mana.** Learners and speakers invest their own *mana* in language learning, often to a heavy cost but the whole endeavour is vested in and requires *mana* from a wider validation of Māori language learning as an important site of cultural and social endeavour.
2. **Time.** Endangered language acquisition requires time. Although it has no fixed point – one participant likened it to climbing a series of progressively higher mountains – there is room for greater awareness on what is needed at the initial stages to achieve more generally understood proficiency levels. Time is a quantity that some endangered languages do not have, so it needs to be invested wisely and expediently.
3. **Māori immersion contexts.** Schools, Kōhanga Reo, Kura Reo, Te Ātaarangi and other specific immersion contexts where speaking Māori is a need not a choice are important language domains. They also validate the role of the language revitalisation and need to be better understood as critical sites for endangered languages and to be funded and resourced accordingly.
4. **High expectations and positive behaviours of non-speakers.** It is clear that this is a site of huge tension for some eL2 learners. However, non-speakers can show support in a range of ways and can be a major reason for speaker success. There is a case for investment in non-speaker education as to how they can help eL2 learners. For example, professional contexts where speakers are funded to access Māori language learning institutions by their employer, such as the Royal New Zealand Defence Force or the New Zealand Police.
5. **Mentoring.** Mentoring from native speakers and more proficient speakers is needed but is becoming restricted to academic institutions. Mentoring of Māori language speakers is dependent on a range of variables but it is clear that it is an important aspect of proficiency development [Henry, Hone, Roimata]. Its value could be recognised more in Māori language revitalisation especially within institutions and how it is accessed once students leave their institutions. Mentoring relies heavily on active linguist endeavour by individual speakers but given that its role is central to language development it needs to be accessible and identifiable.

Technology and social media could come to play a significant part. Mentoring is linked to the following aspect of social capital.

6. **Māori language knowledge.** A critical aspect in the acquisition of endangered languages is a broad, inclusive dissemination of Māori language knowledge. Investment in programmes like *Ako* on Māori Television, critical language learning pedagogies and linguistic knowledge and realistic access for all types of learners.
7. **Leadership.** In the early years of Māori language revitalisation the community was fortunate to have inspired, visionary leadership, without question a major factor in its success. This vision and capability required huge amounts of social investment in time, energy and resistance.
8. **Personal qualities.** Paradoxically for an individual endeavour, leadership requires a collective response. Individuals need to value their own endeavours as contributing to a wider whole, even if they do not articulate this (for example, community response sustained Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi in the 1990s).
9. **Resourcing and infrastructure.** Social capital in the knowledge and skills to support Māori language revitalisation has been, and will increasingly be vital to the language's health and vitality. When most successful, Māori language revitalisation was driven from within the Māori community. Government has yet to demonstrate that they are either aware or can respond appropriately to the level of social capital needed (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, 2012).

The underestimation of social capital needed in ELA means a lack of recognition of those contributing their own social capital and of the ability of learners to access that capital. The locus of social and language capital in the mythical 'language' homeland in rural, marae-bound communities still exists but nowhere to the degree that it was. Where once there were Māori speaking communities this has declined steadily since it was highlighted in NZCER's seminal sociolinguist research of the 1970s (Benton, 1979).

Leadership in the social capital invested in the language has changed over time so that it, like other aspects of Māori language learning, is now evident in institutions, reinforcing the role of Māori immersion education as an important site of Māori language leadership that once was with *marae*.

Unexpected findings

A purpose of research is the discovery of the unknown. This project revealed some unexpected findings, which are considered in concluding comments about adult eL2 learners' experiences. Primary in the unexpected findings was the role and influence of external hegemonic practices on learners and

the more recent development of internal practices that have a serious impact on personal and collective experiences.

A further finding that was not anticipated was the implications of Māori language instruction being restricted to tertiary education contexts and the influence of educational policies, especially those of neoliberalism, on Māori language learning. A third unanticipated understanding was the degree of social capital that is needed to sustain eL2 learners through their language learning journey. This has major social implications for the community and language policy.

The final unexpected finding, revealed in the *whakapapa*, was that only participants who had a partner who was also an eL2 learner or a native speaker committed their children to Māori immersion education. A wider sample group would reveal couples with only one eL2 learner or indeed neither parent involved in Māori language learning (as is certainly the case in my kura kaupapa whānau) involved in Māori immersion education for their children. This sample group indicates that the level of resistance to educational hegemonies implicated in Māori immersion education requires that could present a considerable barrier to many families wanting their children to speak Māori and needs consideration at all levels of policy and planning. It also highlights the immense challenge of prioritising ILT on whānau who may not have the capacity to address this challenge.

Conclusion

Being an adult learner of Māori requires dexterity, persistence and tenacity in dealing with paradoxical elements around identity, the value of the language and policy. Hegemonic resistance is a defining feature of Māori language revitalisation even if resistance was not a speaker's intention. The social capital required and invested in new speakers is significant and needs greater recognition within New Zealand society. Embracing *te reo Māori* has rich transformative rewards for speakers, communities and New Zealand society in general but this need also needs more recognition, especially in policy and planning. The final chapter considers what the experience of Māori language learning contributes towards our understanding of how endangered languages are acquired as a social endeavour.

Chapter 9: Endangered language acquisition

After examining the responses to the research questions and synthesising them into collective themes, this final chapter considers how we might apply the social and cultural conditions of a localised participant group towards broader understandings of endangered language acquisition (ELA) and directions for further research.

Te reo Māori and endangered language acquisition

Ideas around ELA from Māori language perspectives are premised on an assumption that endangered language learning would include characteristics and *tikanga* unique to its culture. *Mana motuhake* (separate identity, autonomy & self-determination) and 'having the status and ability to be the architect of one's own destiny' (Stokes, 1998, p. 49) still comprise an important directive in Māori life. This is applied in the perception that no tribal region or *marae* can claim to dictate how other *iwi* or *marae* may or may not do things. *Marae* are expected to have their own way of operating and to take responsibility for seeing that a *marae's* procedures and customs are being followed.

Adjunct to *mana motuhake* is *reo motuhake*, which prevents one language presuming to speak for another or indeed for Māori to be the model for all other languages or speaker groups. However, as it is hoped this study portrays, learning an endangered language is different from learning a dominant language (Hinton, 2011). Furthermore, drawing on Hinton (2011) and this study, we can move towards a greater understanding of SLA theory in endangered language contexts and an inclusive and expansive agenda for sociolinguistic understanding of endangered language acquisition.

Using the example of the early vision of Māori language revitalisation such as Kōhanga Reo and Te Ātaarangi and the collective experiential wisdom in the participant group, this study can take tentative steps towards key elements of ELA that would include:

1. A heightened awareness of the pre-eminent roles of native and highly proficient eL2 speakers as critical towards deciding the future of the endangered language.
2. Multiple platforms and strategies to create access to the language across a range of factors, particularly with regards to gender, education and class with specific policies to address these through relationships and communities. But this not only includes established contexts and domains such as immersion education mentors and communities but as a modern language expands to include multimedia, social media, retaining traditional media such as radio and television but also embracing the full range of digital environments and resources, the

potential of augmented and virtual reality in ELA is significant (Outakoski, 2013). Literature and performance in the broadest sense to include: theatre, popular music, video games, *kapa haka* and film.

3. A pedagogically and culturally-driven typology of speakers that accounts for a wide range of speakers and their different language learning needs.
4. Acquisition processes framed by the world views and pedagogies of the target language, acknowledging that social and cultural elements of the language are essential.
5. Inclusive internal leadership as pivotal to the success of endangered language acquisition, with models based on the world views of the target language, such as the Kōhanga Reo movement.
6. Language revitalisation as social revitalisation (Tāwhiwhirangi, 2014) linked closely to the social, spiritual and economic conditions of its speakers. Those communities must control internal and external language revitalisation discourses.
7. Negotiating complex power relations and ideologies both internal to and outside of the target language community.
8. Active linguistic endeavour as required by L2 speakers and native/highly proficient speakers and supported by non-speakers.

ELA is dependent on the roles and behaviours of native and highly proficient speakers. As the most critical, major source of language proficiency, their role is pivotal in ELA rather than merely being one aspect of SLA. It is clear from the data that older and more proficient speakers' behaviours have significant impact on L2 learners and users. Following on from this, over the last two decades the responsibility and leadership of language progression has been shifted to L2 learners, requiring them to demand language learning rather than assuming that they will acquire it in a 'natural' context as did older generations or they themselves did with English. This may be in response to the diminishing number of native speakers and the rise of a highly proficient but statistically small pool of L2 speakers, so that there is a perception that efforts have to be spent where they have maximum effect. One effect is L2 learners competing with other Māori language learners for access to that pool and having to make major investments of time and money to be tenacious, flexible, and courageous, their perseverance dependent on variables such as a learner's personality, competency, vulnerability and socioeconomic context, which are negotiated through class, gender and ethnicity.

If ELA is predicated on the notion of speakers as bilingual and having a choice of which language they speak, immersion contexts have a critical role in language revitalisation and their importance urgently needs reviewing and reinvigorating. As the vanguard and crucible of creating young new speakers, in the absence of significant intergenerational language transmission in the home, immersion contexts

are pivotal to creating contexts with the *need* to speak the endangered language; in other words, removing language choice and in doing so reduce or eliminate the problematic ‘permission to speak’ model. Contexts where speaking *te reo Māori* is a need not a choice create access to a range of other speakers, i.e., younger, older, with greater or less proficiency. These contexts create language relationships between proficiency groups identified as a pivotal point of successful language acquisition (Hond, 2014; Pavlenko, 2002; Pohe, 2012; Ratima, 2013).

Marae are no longer a domain that creates language need outside of the formal requirements of *pōwhiri* and ceremonial language, a need that is restricted to Māori language speakers and created by an expectation of non-speakers that someone will step up. So the need is retracting not only in terms of context but also in terms of the number of people who can respond to that need. Last year I attended a *tangihanga* in the King Country where all the formal parts of the day were in Māori but all non-formal aspects were in English, from *pōwhiri*, service, burial and *hākari* (formal feast). There was a switch between Māori and English by the Māori language speakers but all other interactions, especially from the younger members of the deceased’s family were in English.

Similarly, last year I witnessed the return of an older Māori male to his ancestral burial ground. He was one of eleven siblings most of whom, with their own families, now live in urban Auckland. After a brief ceremony to the *whānau pani* (immediate family of the deceased), prayers and a well-known Māori hymn finished the ceremony. The plan for taking their uncle north was explained first in Māori and then again in English to acknowledge that very few members of the large family speak Māori. This family was not part of the burgeoning Māori middle class; most were in the lower socioeconomic bracket, either employed in the manufacturing or labouring sectors and many dependent on benefits. The family had a high proportion of members under the age of 25. In this situation it was very clear that there was a high expectation from the family for Māori language to play an important ceremonial function, which in turn could only have been by two middle-aged male speakers. Traditionally this would have been the role of elders.

The negotiation of complex power relations is perhaps the most challenging aspect of ELA and potentially the most difficult to propose theoretical models for. It must however, be part of the future of our understandings of what has worked in ELA and its potential to lead and guide the future. The next section on directions for research is predicated on the need for a broader research agenda of ELA.

Directions for future research on Māori language learning

There is broad scope for a more inclusive sociolinguistic research agenda built on an interrelated network of projects on and for new speakers of Māori. Currently Māori language research is disparate

and uncoordinated. Fundamental to this agenda would be a longitudinal multimodal study of a wide range of new speakers of Māori across age, gender, ethnicity and class linking new speakers' experiences with proficiency development and promoting better awareness of the social capital required to develop L2 learners. There is an urgent need for more ethnographic research allowing for spontaneous observations and interviews, preferably from within the field which, among other things, could address concerns about what constitutes data (St. Pierre and Jackson, 2014, p. 716). More specifically this needs to be applied to our understanding of the role of identity in endangered language contexts and how theory and practice are mediated around identity rather than dismissing it as either unrelated or too problematic as a central concern in ELA. Moreover, research should address how Māori language will remain a marker of Māori identity as a main driver of L2 learning and investigations in motivation theory, or if Ratima's Social Service Theory (2013, p. 161) should be adapted for a new generation.

Underlying a critical research agenda is a need for more expansive research methods on language endangerment and language revitalisation and indeed on *te reo Māori* itself. This includes strengthening analytic claims (Braun & Clarke, 2013) with 'polyvocal' research using multiple data sources, collection methods and researchers (2013, p. 286). The proposed use of multiple theoretical lenses 'to open up more complex, in-depth understandings' (Braun & Clarke, 2013, p. 286) has the potential to create different understandings of theory and their application in Māori contexts. As the research agenda progresses, it would be important that research develops connections between new speakers and Māori immersion education students to support and extends towards the next layer of research, rather than perpetuate the current separation and inequality.

Given that educational contexts are a major site of access to the language, the next agenda would focus on key theoretical and pedagogical issues. There is a significant need for greater understanding of SLA theory in endangered language contexts and to locate language learning as a culturally-based activity determined theoretically from within cultures. The investigation of theoretical practice is critical to determine power relations in Māori language learning and the role of hegemony in determining context, access and resourcing of Māori language instruction along with investigations of the influence of prevailing hegemonic practice, such as neoliberalism, on wider Māori social endeavour, of which language revitalisation is only a part.

There is scope to develop an entire research agenda around the connections between SCT and Māori pedagogical practices (*ako*) and continue initial connections proposed by Tangaere (1997) and Hemara (2011). There is an urgent need for in-depth research like that identified in Lantolf (2011) on pedagogies specific to endangered language contexts, with an exciting potential to demonstrate

possible links between SCT and programmes like Te Ātaarangi and Kōhanga Reo as reflecting theory from the language and of language learning as *tikanga* learning (Ratima, 2013). It is important to include *wairua* and spiritual dimensions in any theoretical investigations; if language learning is framed as cultural and social learning, future theoretical approaches would need to consider this.

However, future research on Māori language learning should not be restricted to pedagogical issues. More work on developing epistemologically- and ontologically-grounded typologies is needed to build a clearer picture of the types of speakers and to assist speakers to be aware of learning stages and the process of developing proficiency. We must look forward to the past as the exemplars of individual, corporate and tribal leadership in ELA. This is a central but significantly underexplored issue and arguably more crucial for a new generation of learners and learning contexts with every passing year.

Māori language learning in the 21st century

One day in the first year of this research, I was sitting down to lunch with some colleagues as we were introduced to a new member of staff. Introductions completed we settled down to finding out a bit more about our new colleague. Another colleague commented to the new staff member that I was just starting on doctoral research looking at adult second language learners of Māori. This single statement was enough to provoke him to attack the quality of L2 learners' language and, as a native speaker (he used this term), his inability to understand them. He finished off with a vitriolic critique of the quality of language in Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori.

At the time, I was troubled by his response. I felt uncomfortable as a L2 learner myself but a deeper discomfort for those teachers and parents in Māori immersion education who play such a pivotal role in the language's future. Māori immersion education, and all those people who have supported it by fundraising, driving children around, building sandpits, lobbying the Ministry of Education for a gym and the myriad of unacknowledged tasks and extras hours that go into sustaining a Māori language context, are owed more respect and support than they receive currently. If this thesis recognises the struggle and courage shown by the Māori language community over the last forty years and celebrates their success it will have achieved one of its aims.

Now, several years later and after intensive reading and talking, I am able to account not only for my personal discomfort but to understand some of the prevailing ideologies that contribute to my colleague's harsh views and continue to sustain them. It is clear we need to renew our understanding of learning an endangered language such as *te reo Māori* at a far more intimate level than we do currently and why people to whom the language is a part of their cultural heritage do not engage with the language. What people do *not* do in an endangered language context is just as relevant as what people are doing.

A much greater awareness of the political, economic and social implications of language loss and L2 learning of an endangered language is needed to guide the language's future in the 21st century. This understanding and awareness could then contribute to not only more people being involved in Māori language revitalisation but a more sophisticated understanding of how those on the L2 learning path evolve over time, and how more effective allocation of resources and funding can support learners engaged in cultural and linguistic revival.

There is no one fix for the current state of the Māori language, but this research supports the early model of placing older native speakers with the youngest generation (Kōhanga Reo) and creating a culturally-driven model of L2 learning for the adult generation (Te Ātaarangi) as a theoretically-driven practice that had the potential to take the vision for Māori language revitalisation into the 21st century. In short, the leadership, i.e., those visionary *kaumātua* and *kuia*, were right. It was an immense challenge but the skills, commitment and willingness were there. By the early 1990s just over 14,000 children were attending 809 Kōhanga Reo around the country, which meant that nearly half of all Māori preschool children were in a Kōhanga (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011, p. 173; Waitangi Tribunal, 2012, p. 29). In the early 1990s the number of L2 learners had also peaked (Earle, 2007).

But as the participants' *kōrero* have shown, over time things changed. As those participants noted, their own children who were in Māori immersion education are not sending their children. And indeed, the numbers of children in Māori immersion education continues to decline, non-tertiary initiatives such as Te Ātaarangi continue to struggle for funding, accessing Māori language learning is being restricted to tertiary institutions with agendas other than that of language revitalisation. The increasing reliance on tertiary institutions to provide Māori language instruction has the potential to limit those who are able to access the language, as tertiary institutions are perceived beyond the reach of many potential speakers. More attention is needed to the impact of access to language instruction being restricted to tertiary institutions. A colleague pointed out recently, that in her institution a significant majority of the 200 students enrolled in beginner Māori language courses were from South East Asia, largely motivated by the nil-fee policy of Māori language papers. It is highly debatable what their contribution to Māori language revitalisation will be and questions the purpose of Māori language instruction for students who have no intention of progressing past the beginner stage.

It is unacceptable that Māori language revitalisation has been at the mercy of bureaucracy and held to ransom by neoliberal ideologies that prioritise money over people, numbers over relationships and outputs over experiences. Māori language revitalisation is being suffocated by biases that attribute status to one language over others and views linguistic dexterity as an aberration when globally it is the norm. It will be fascinating to see how a community that values regional and tribal variance

responds to the realities of greater and greater central control of Māori language revitalisation, and how that challenge is met by tribal authorities.

So how do we account for my new colleague's response from the beginning of this section? Why is it that a 'native speaker' of the language responds in such a negative way? Embedded within his response is fear of language change, which ironically is threatened most by language shift to English, not a new emerging form of the heritage language, along with the influence of the monolingual bias that focuses on attainment of 'native-like' speech and an increasingly reified notion of the 'native speaker'. He is voicing notions of language purism that at least for the moment serve agendas of elites and perpetuate the reification of the language beyond a vernacular of everyday life. Unconsciously he is challenging not the teachers, but the autonomy fundamental in Māori immersion education and its challenge to Pākehā educational hegemony. Kura, far more than just transmitting a language, convey the notion of self-determination from within a Māori world view. By virtue of their language they create a space harder for Pākehā to control. But as is evident in the *Matua Rautia* report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012), the power of bureaucracy to enforce hegemony, and to undermine any challenge to it, should never be underestimated. As Rewi has noted, the Māori language stands at a crossroads, 'being strangled internally and externally at individual and corporate levels and across multiple generations of people, perceptions and attitudes' (Rewi, 2013, p. 101). If and how the language is released from this stranglehold by its speakers will play out over the next few decades. L2 learners of Māori are not just part of visions and dreams of a multilingual, multicultural nation standing on Māori land in the South Pacific, they are leading it. More than a bunch of individuals engaged in an academic and merely linguistic endeavour, they constitute a brand new group in New Zealand, engaged in a unique social and cultural endeavour with no precedent. Also they are sharing experiences and wisdoms with other Indigenous communities engaged in the revival of an ancient language.

L2 learners and the Māori language community will need to address and negotiate a complex set of issues as we surge ahead into the 21st century. While things are not the same since the 1970s, there are lessons and inspiration to be learned from the past. We will need to acknowledge significant linguistic and cultural knowledge loss since then and recognise the impact on leadership. This will require a need to recognise neo-speakers as a multi-dimensional, dynamic, divergent, diverse and pan-ethnic community and essential to language revitalisation. A re-theorisation of the 'native speaker' and the neo-speaker/native speaker dynamic is needed.

How the romantic notion of *iwi*-led language revitalisation (as proposed in new Maori Language Strategy) with the reality of most *iwi* members living in urban areas outside of their tribal regions will present a major challenge. Language revitalisation will need to be urban, where most Māori speakers

will live and are in fact living now. We will need to adjust policy and planning to more realistic contexts, with the potential to reduce the influence of neoliberalist policies to develop communities of language not individuals (Hond 2013B; Pohe, 2012). This will require reorientation of Māori language revitalisation as a 'Māori' practice, away from economic planning and bureaucratic control and prevent the rise of elites, so that Māori language revitalisation not only develops across all socio-economic groups but is led by community.

There is a major need to address the language needs of students from Māori immersion education. They must be part of policy and practice that has a vision of language revitalisation beyond a return to a previous era and recognise that current and past models will not work due to significant changes, that they need to be recast for a new era (O'Rourke, Pyjour and Ramallo, 2015, p. 11) and move beyond 'salvage linguistics' to develop a 'confident diglossia' (Chrisp, 1997). This could include understandings and re-theorisation of the impact of language loss on identity (Ratima, 2013).

As New Zealand's cultural and linguistic diversity changes and expands we must value language diversity in Aotearoa as aiding and protecting the Māori language, not threatening it (Rewi & Higgins, 2015). The future of the language includes utilising social media and the digital lives of neo-speakers but not at the loss of developing dynamic face-to-face communities to attend to *mauri* and *wairua*. As such, Māori language learning will have to contend with the institutionalisation of language learning and the pervasive influences of neoliberalism within government policy affecting *Kōhanga Reo* and *Kura*. This may be to 'de-institutionalise' language learning back to community contexts such as *kāinga*, *marae* and *Te Ātaarangi* as a major priority for Māori language revitalisation and to assist learners juggling dual roles as teachers and learners (Szwaj, 1999, p. 1).

Somehow, the community must contend with a mismatch between behaviours and ideologies (Harlow, 2005) and current policy to redevelop understandings around internal and external hegemonies and their impact on speakers and the language. This means reassessing leadership in Māori language revitalisation in relation to urban vs tribal, *marae* vs institutions, community vs central government, the impact of class, gender and age, demanding closer collaboration between *iwi*, tertiary institutions, *Te Ātaarangi*, local government and urban Māori institutions (Boyce, 1992; Christensen, 2001a). Above all, Māori language revitalisation will have to continue to resist and challenge the overbearing nature of New Zealand's monolingual mind set being transferred to a demand that L2 learners emulate native-like competence (Ortega, 2009, p. 245).

The 1980s and 1990s were a defining period in New Zealand history. Recent events suggest that the current challenges have to be met without the wisdom, resilience and inspiration of those *kaumātua* and *kuia* of forty years ago. Our country has been slow to reap the rewards of inspired leadership and

cultural determination and seems almost hell-bent on rejecting them in the path towards economic liberalisation. But this may be premature. The last four decades show that the Māori community is infinitely adaptable, resistant and resilient. As Penetito (2010) has observed, New Zealand has yet to respond to the rewards and outcomes of Māori resistance appropriately. Learning *te reo Māori* is one way to embrace the place of *tangata whenua* and to live in an Indigenous nation. Māori language speakers, of whatever ethnicity and level, are at the crossroads of Māori and other communities' perceptions of themselves and each other.

In her 2002 song, *Kei rite ki te moa*, composer and singer Whirimako Black of Ngai Tūhoe, uses the analogy of the demise of the *moa*, the large flightless bird endemic to New Zealand that became extinct around 500 years ago (Worthy, 2015), to highlight the contemporary status of the Māori language. In addressing the well-known Ngāti Porou leader and scholar Apirana Ngata, Black asks for his words of wisdom and leadership as the pool of elders, able to guide young people to retain Māori knowledge in the modern world, diminishes. This deceptively simple but resonant song encapsulates the role of Māori elders as intrinsic to the success of Māori social revitalisation and this generation's role in taking their vision forward into the 21st century.

Kei rite ki te moa

Ko mātou te rangatahi hei kimi i te huarahi kua ngaro e

Apirana Ngata, he aha ō whakataukī?

He iti ngā kaumātua hei ārahi i a mātou ki te ao hou

Mauria mai te mātauranga ināianei, kei rite ki te moa

Ka ngaroa!

Apirana Ngata, he aha ō whakataukī?

He iti ngā kaumātua hei ārahi i a mātou ki te ao hou

Ki te ao hou

Ki te ao hou

Whirimako Black

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Glossary of Māori terms

All Māori words taken from Te Aka online dictionary except where indicated. Definitions are given only where used in this thesis.

Ako	to learn, study, instruct, teach
Aroha	to love, feel pity, feel concern for, compassion and empathy
Auaha	the creative side of the learner (Ka'ai et al, 2004, p. 210)
Auahi kore	be smoke-free, non-smoking
Haka	posture dance, posture dance – vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words
Hākari	sumptuous meal, feast, banquet, gift, present, celebration, entertainment
Heke	rafter (in a <i>whare</i>)
Hinengaro	the mental capacity of the learners (Ka'ai et al, 2004, p. 210)
Hui	gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference
Iho matua	the spiritual manifestation of the learner (Ka'ai et al, 2004, p. 210)
Io	supreme being
Iwi	extended kinship group, tribe or nation
Kai	food
Kāinga	home, address
Kanohi-ki-te-kanohi	face to face, in person, in the flesh
Kanohi kitea	to have a physical presence, be seen
Kapa haka	Māori performing group
Karakia	prayer, grace, blessing, service
Kawa	marae protocol
Kaumātua	elderly man or woman, adult – a person of status within the whānau
Kaupapa	topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, scheme, proposal, agenda, subject, programme or theme.
Kaupapa Māori	research carried out using Māori values, processes and protocols.
Kete	basket, kit

Koha	gift, present, offering, donation, contribution
Kōhanga reo	Māori language immersion preschools run on Māori values and customs
Kōrero	narrative, discussion
Kura	school
Kura reo	language school
Kura kaupapa Māori	schools operating under Māori custom and <i>Te Aho Matua</i> and using Māori as the medium of instruction
Mana	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma
Mana reo	prestige and authority in every language [see Jason]
Mana tangata	power and status accrued through one's leadership talents, human rights, mana of people
Mana whenua	territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory
Mana wahine	the authority and power of women
Manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness
Manuhiri	visitors, guest
Marae	courtyard, or the open area in front of the <i>whareniui</i> , where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to mean the complex of buildings around the marae. Part of NZ English.
Mauri	life principle, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions
Mātauranga	knowledge
Mihi	to greet, pay tribute, acknowledge, thank
Moa	large extinct flightless birds of nine subspecies endemic to Aotearoa/New Zealand.
Mokopuna	grandchild
Noa	be free from the restrictions of <i>tapu</i> , ordinary, unrestricted
Ngākau	the seat of affections, heart, mind, soul
Ngako	essence, gist, substance
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Paepae	orator's bench

Pēpeha	tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, figure of speech, motto, slogan
Pono	be true, valid, honest, genuine and sincere
Poutokomanawa	centre ridge pole of a meeting house
Pōwhiri	invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae
Pūmanawa	the learner's potential (Ka'ai et al, 2004, p. 210); natural talent, intuitive cleverness
Rāhui	prohibition, ban, prohibit
Rākau	stick, tree, used as a term for Cuisenaire rods with Te Ātaarangi classes
Rangahau	research
Rangatira	high ranking, chief, noble
Rangatiratanga	chiefly, right to exercise authority
Rauemi	resource
Rohe	district or region
Rūnanga	to discuss in an assembly
Tāhuhu	ridgepole of a house
Tangata whenua	local people, hosts, indigenous people (people born of the land)
Tangihanga	funeral
Taonga	property, goods, possessions, effects, treasure, prized treasure
Tapu	be sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden
Tauīwi	foreign people, non-Māori, foreigners, immigrants
Teina	younger brother (of a male), younger sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender) of a junior line, junior relative
Te Aho Matua	<i>Te Aho Matua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori</i> is the foundation document for <i>kura kaupapa Māori</i> . It identifies principles and provides a philosophical and values base identifying the special character of <i>kura kaupapa Māori</i> (Education Review Office, 2016)
Te Ātaarangi	language learning course based on the use of rākau or Cuisenaire rods to assist spoken language (Te Ātaarangi, 2011c)
Te reo Māori	the Māori language

Te reo rangatira	chiefly or noble language
Tiaki	to look after, nurse, care, protect, conserve.
Tika	be correct, true, right and just
Tikanga	correct procedure, custom, habit, lore, method, manner, rule, way, code, meaning, reason, plan, practice, convention
Tinana	body
Tōhunga	to be expert, skilled person, chosen expert, priest
Tuakana	elder brother (of a male), elder sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender from a more senior branch of the family)
Tūpuna/ tīpuna	ancestors, grandparents
Utu	reciprocity, pay, make a response, avenge, reply, <i>reciprocity</i> fee, payment, salary
Waiata	to sing, song, chant
Wairua	spirit, soul, spiritual dimension
Wānanga	seminar, conference, forum
Whaikōrero	to make a formal speech, oratory, oration, formal speech-making
Whakahihi	to be proud / to sneer, mock
Whakamā	to be ashamed, embarrassed.
Whakapapa	genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent
Whakataukī	proverb, saying, cryptic saying, aphorism
Whakatauākī	proverb, saying, aphorism - particularly those urging a type of behaviour
Whakawhanaungatanga	relating well to others, relationship
Whānau	family, NZ English
Whānau pani	immediate family of the deceased
Whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship
Whāngai	foster child, adopted child
Whare	house, building
Whare kura	school, in Māori medium education refers specifically to secondary school level
Wharenui	meeting house, large house
Whare rūnanga	meeting house

Whatumanawa

seat of emotions, heart, mind; deep emotions that can govern a learner's course in life (Ka'ai, 2014, p. 210)

Whenua

land