

# **WHAKATIPU TE PĀ HARAKEKE**

**What are the success factors that normalise the use of  
Māori language within the whānau?**

by

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## ABSTRACT

Despite the language revitalisation efforts of kōhanga reo<sup>1</sup> and kura kaupapa Māori,<sup>2</sup> the Māori language is still endangered. The population of highly proficient speakers is dwindling (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The Māori language is not a language of everyday use across a range of settings (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008). Language experts have identified intergenerational transmission as the principal means of evaluating the vitality of a language and a key factor in reversing language shift (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2004). This requires re-establishing the Māori language in the home. Although there is evidence of the re-emergence of intergenerational Māori language transmission, this is at the initial stages and is not yet the norm in Māori society. The process of transferring the Māori language from generation to generation depends on decisions by parents to learn and use te reo Māori<sup>3</sup> on an everyday basis in their interactions with their children. Whilst educational institutions can support whānau and communities, they cannot take their place (Fishman, 1991). Community support is vital because a living language requires a pool of active speakers, in particular those who speak the language to younger community members.

This thesis examines the efforts of eight whānau who have contributed to the revitalisation of the Māori language by ensuring the language is transmitted intergenerationally to their children. All but one of the parents learnt Māori as a second language in their adult years. Six critical success factors emerged from the findings that can be utilised by language planners and parents wanting to normalise the use of Māori within the whānau. The factors include

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<sup>1</sup> Language nest – Māori immersion preschool

<sup>2</sup> Māori immersion primary school

<sup>3</sup> Māori language

critical awareness, family language policy, Poureo,<sup>4</sup> support, resources and increasing parental language skills.

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<sup>4</sup> Key driver

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E kau ki te tai e, e kau ki te tai e,  
E kau rā, e Tāne.  
Wāhia atu rā te ngaru hukahuka o Marerei-ao  
Pikitia atu te aurere kura o Taotao-rangi.  
Tapatapa ruru ana te kakau o te hoe,  
E auheke ana, e tara tutu ana te huka o Tangaroa  
I te puhi whatukura, i te puhi mareikura o taku waka.  
Ka titiro iho au ki te pae o uta, ki te pae o waho.  
Piki tū rangi ana te kakau o te hoe;  
Kumea te uru o taku waka  
Ki runga ki te kiri waiwai o Papa-tū-ā-nuku  
E takoto mai nei;  
Ki runga ki te uru tapu nui o Tāne  
E tū mai nei.  
Whatiwhati rua ana te hoe a Pou-poto,  
Tau ake ki te hoe nā Kura, he ariki whatu manawa.  
Tō manawa, e Kura, ki taku manawa;  
Ka irihia, ka irihia ki Wai-o-nuku,  
Ka irihia, ka irihia ki Wai-o-rangi,  
Ka whiti au ki te wheiao, ki te ao mārama.  
Tupu kerekere, tupu wanawana  
Ka hara mai te toki  
Haumi ē, Hui ē, Tāiki ē!<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> A Ngā Puhi karakia (in Shirres, 1996)

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

While raising bilingual children is not a new concept, little research has been conducted around fostering bilinguals as ‘first language heritage speakers’<sup>6</sup> by parents who are second language heritage speakers, especially when that language is an endangered language in its own land. Such is the case with the Māori language, the heritage language of the Māori people. Most research in regards to bilingualism for Māori children has been concentrated around compulsory education. The risk of exclusively assigning Māori language to the school environment is that the close personal interactions characteristic in whānau<sup>7</sup> settings are not able to be replicated (Christensen, 2001).

There is a lack of research that focuses specifically on whānau and their attempts to raise bilingual children as first language heritage speakers of Māori. This thesis looks to fill that gap and provide a guide for parents or couples planning to have children who may be contemplating raising their children as first language speakers of an endangered language. The focus of this research is to examine the efforts of eight whānau who promote and maintain their heritage language as the normal means of communication within their whānau. Specifically, this research is concerned with the critical success factors that ensure the intergenerational transmission of Māori language and factors that may inhibit the process.

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<sup>6</sup> A heritage language speaker in this thesis is taken from Hornberger and Wang’s (2005) definition and refers to “individuals who have familial or ancestral ties to a particular language that is not English” (cited in Carreira, 2004).

<sup>7</sup> Family

Meek (2010) states that the ultimate objective for language revitalisation is the creation of new first language speakers of the heritage language. She adds that few languages have accomplished this. This research will show that not only have whānau been raising their children as first language speakers of Māori in Aotearoa, but it has been normalised within some whānau for more than 20 years. High numbers of Māori support the use of Māori language in the home between parents and children, as seen in the 2009 survey of attitudes, values and beliefs towards the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). From those surveyed, 95% indicated that it was a good thing that Māori was spoken in the home. These results are important when we consider what participants in this survey thought they should do to support the language. Less than half, 40% believed that they should learn the language and only 26% thought they should support and encourage children and others to learn and speak Māori. These statistics indicate a disparity between the ideology that we should do something for the language and that more Māori should use the language in the home, and the reality of what people actually do in practice with the language (King et al. 2008). Of concern in this environment of language revitalisation are not only the reduced numbers of Māori language speakers, with a decrease of 2.4% since 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), but also how those speakers are choosing to use their language on an everyday basis.

There appears to be a level of acceptance that the Māori language is secure due to initiatives, such as kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, and that 'others' or government will be responsible for ensuring the Māori language survives. If these attitudes and beliefs continue, the language will not flourish, it will not be passed on to younger generations and it will not become a living language that is used as a normal means of communication. Boyce (1992), in her study that examined the maintenance of Māori language in Porirua, cautioned those involved in language revitalisation about being complacent because the Māori language is endangered and reversing language shift must be the focus.

Chrisp (2005), in his research with Māori families looking at factors that support or hinder Māori intergenerational transmission, found that there was a need for parents to understand their role in transmitting the language. Chrisp identified that some parents in his research were reliant on others to maintain the language because they did not recognise the influence they as parents may have in promoting and maintaining the language with their children (ibid). Chrisp adds that the benefits of language transmission are significant for those who use the language with their children and that within the whānau is the best place for this to happen (ibid). This research highlights the need to foster awareness with parents who may be encouraged to take up the challenge of raising their children as first language speakers of Māori.

Hinton (2013) argues that the home is the last bastion from where the language was lost and consequently the most important place where first language acquisition should naturally occur. For those who support the principles of language revitalisation there is a need to establish the natural transmission of language from parent to child through its use in daily life. For the most part, endangered language communities have not largely focused attention on language in the home. However, to successfully reverse language shift, families need to make it their own process (ibid). The family as described by Spolsky (2012) is the domain for natural intergenerational transmission. Spolsky (2009, 2012) identified a number of domains, ranging from government through to work, media, education, religion, neighbourhood and the family. Each domain impacts other domains and each domain has its own group of participants, each of whom can have their own philosophies about language choice. For this research, the domain most often referred to is the domain of the home and family, argued by Spolsky (2012) as the critical domain.

The parents in the case studies took up the challenge of raising their children as first language speakers of their endangered heritage language, sustaining

Māori language use over a number of years, thereby assisting in reversing language shift. These parents can be recognised in terms of what Hinton (2013) describes as the “lead generation of parent activists”, those who have acquired their heritage language as a second language and initiated the return to using the language in the home. This is considered an essential step for true language revitalisation (ibid:131).

Poureo<sup>8</sup> in this research are referred to as the key people within the whānau who possess the skills and understanding to ensure language revitalisation is a priority within its communities. The Poureo is tasked with creating empowering environments, advancing the shared goals and visions, and extending language use. They are seen as the role models who promote and raise awareness of the value of the language. The Poureo is able to develop strategies that assist in the maintenance of immersion settings. When others experience challenges, the Poureo is able to motivate and support them. They also have a strong impact belief as described by De Houwer (1999) (see Chapter 2) and are aware of the influence their language efforts have on whānau language development.

Parental critical awareness, as referred to in this thesis, denotes that parents are aware of the choices that they make about the transmission of Māori to their children, and the consequences of these decisions. In the case studies, parents recognised their ability to determine and control the linguistic norms within their families, set goals, achieve positive results and provide leadership for other whānau in similar situations. Some indicated that speaking Māori was an integral part of their identity as Māori and they needed to acquire the heritage language before they could transmit it to their children. Children can be seen as motivators or instigators for ensuring language use within the whānau. For the case studies in this thesis it is probable that if these children were not around, the language would likely be heard a lot less in the home.

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<sup>8</sup> Key driver/language support person – a term first coined by Te Ataarangi in their He Kāinga Kōrerorero programme



'Whakatipu te Pā Harakeke', the title of this thesis, uses the analogy of the Pā Harakeke, the flax bush, which is commonly referred to as a whānau, comprising a number of generations. The three inner layers of the harakeke symbolise the whānau, with the outer layer being the grandparents and the inner layer of new growth the children being protected by the middle layer, the parents (Gerbeaux, 2006). Whakatipu in relation to this thesis means to nourish and grow. Whakatipu is symbolic of the language, which feeds the Pā Harakeke or whānau allowing it to grow and be nourished to become strong and confident. Whakatipu can also be seen as an abbreviation of whakatipuranga, which symbolises the intergenerational transmission of the language from one generation to the next generation, which is required to reverse language shift. Pā Harakeke therefore embodies the symbolic meaning of whānau as the centre of language revitalisation. Whānau in this sense are seen as having control in determining their goals and visions for their heritage language, and they ultimately make the linguistic choices and develop strategies to ensure the language is kept alive for future generations. The Pā Harakeke or whānau can, once they have become strong and healthy in transferring the language to younger generations, then go on to propagate or spread from there. Eventually you have many Pā Harakeke and strong speaker communities. It only takes one healthy Pā Harakeke to start and others will come from this. The whānau are critical but they also need to be protected and nourished especially in the early stages of growth. Once they are strong, they can then spread and help others. 'Whakatipu te Pā Harakeke' encapsulates how whānau have the capacity to bring life back to the language and culture by using it as a normal means of communication, as seen with whānau in this thesis.

### **Research Question**

The primary research question for this study is 'What are the success factors that normalise the use of Māori language within the whānau?' The research involves an analysis of how parents manage to sustain an immersion

language environment with their whānau. The relationships between whānau members can be seen as a domain for heritage language use. As described by Spolsky (2012), each domain carries its own type of language policy and is in turn impacted and shaped by others in the domain (Spolsky, 2012). The influence of whānau members on each other is evidenced in this research. The research investigates both the successful strategies that whānau employed and the challenges they faced.

### **Researcher Background**

The subject of raising first language speakers of Māori had interested me since I became aware of whānau who were raising their children speaking Māori. This coincided with the time I started learning Māori on a full-time basis as an adult student. My first teachers were a couple with two young children, one the same age as my youngest daughter. This couple only ever spoke to their children in Māori and I only ever heard the children respond to their parents in Māori. I was curious to know how this happened. My observations were that the relationship this whānau had with the Māori language had become their natural means of normalised communication.

I grew up as a monolingual of English and throughout my childhood had virtually no exposure to my heritage language. I remember being surprised to learn as a young child that my mother could speak Māori. She was not highly proficient or, if she had been, as a result of little or no ongoing exposure to the language, she had become a casualty of attrition. Throughout her childhood she would have been exposed to the language. I remember in my teenage years my mother going with a friend to re-learn her heritage language and later, when I had my own children and sent them to kōhanga reo and Māori medium schools, she would converse with them in Māori whenever we visited. I know that she was happy when she heard her grandchildren speaking Māori. It was later when my mother passed away

and we were having her tangihanga<sup>9</sup> on the marae<sup>10</sup> that I became aware of my cultural deficiencies in not knowing or feeling comfortable around the Māori language and cultural practices. This feeling of inadequacy motivated me to want to learn the language.

When my youngest child was born I made the decision to finish work and take on learning the language full time. Together with my sister we took on the journey of learning the language after attending an open day and being inspired by one of the speakers. We attended this Te Ataarangi course on a full-time basis and the delivery was in a total immersion environment. We were only allowed to speak English for the first two weeks. From then on the only language spoken was Māori. The effect of this is that we quickly became fluent. Hond (2002) explains how Te Ataarangi methodology of language immersion assists learners to become fluent within a short period of time.

You don't gradually become fluent using English as a means of teaching. By using only Māori as the way of learning, you are virtually fluent from the first lesson and so you gradually build on the range of sentences and words that you can use within the language that you've got. So your fluency expands as you learn. (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009)

My sister and I would always travel together and would speak English on the way to class, speak Māori during the class and on the trip home revert back to English. Being a part of Te Ataarangi challenged the language relationship between my sister and me. As with other parents in this research, my sister and I had developed our primary language relationship through the medium of English. Although we both shared the ideology of what we should do for our heritage language, in some sense we lacked the ability to modify our practices. Our children at the time were in kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, so they too would be speaking Māori in their settings during the day. At home we would predominantly speak English, although everyone in our whānau attempted to speak more Māori to our youngest child, Ihapera. The

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<sup>9</sup> Funeral

<sup>10</sup> Māori meeting place

course was held in Auckland and was a year long. We chose to enrol the following year in an advanced course in Hamilton, which meant relocating the whānau. My sister travelled to Hamilton each week and returned home on the weekends. We continued for another two years building our proficiency and being fortunate to be in an immersion environment for a total of three years.

Everyone in the whānau was able to speak Māori with a degree of proficiency, including my youngest child, Ihapera, who attended kōhanga reo and then went on to kura kaupapa Māori until she was seven years old. At that time she had been having some difficulties with teachers at her school and decided she wanted to learn to read in English. The decision was made to move her to a mainstream school. She flourished in this environment and really enjoyed school. She excelled in reading English, but atrophy of her Māori language occurred for a number of reasons, one being that we were not using the language together as a whānau. Montrul (2008) has highlighted the dangers of children losing their competence in the minority language if they are exposed to the majority language at an early age. There were many occasions when, as a whānau, we would attempt to speak Māori together at home. We would start out with lots of enthusiasm, but this never lasted. We would always revert back to speaking the dominant language, English. During Ihapera's high school years we looked at the possibility of her returning to kura kaupapa Māori, but this did not eventuate. I continued to wonder what it was that made others carry through their decision to raise their children as first language speakers of Māori.

When Ihapera reached adolescence I continued to believe that she could regain her heritage language, even if she was an adult second language learner. The opportunity arose and she attended a summer school, which was a short series of night classes delivered by Te Ataarangi tutors. Ihapera enjoyed her time learning, even though she was the youngest member of the class. Recently, at the age of 17 years, she decided that she was ready to

return to learning the language on a regular basis. Subsequently, she enrolled in a Te Ataarangi programme and attended night classes twice a week. I can see that she still has a good level of understanding of the language, but sometimes lacks confidence to use her skills. Being a part of this language learning group has given her more confidence and her proficiency has increased significantly. What I have become aware of as a result of this research is the importance of having a family language policy to enable us to plan how to meet our goals. My regret as a parent is that I did not succeed in naturally transmitting the heritage language to my daughter. I know the struggles she faces wanting to express herself fully in Māori, but not having the language skills to do so. Therein lies the impetus for this research. If other parents can be inspired and motivated to take on the challenge of raising their children as first language speakers of Māori, then all will not have been lost.

### **Contribution of the Research**

This study is concerned with how to ensure the intergenerational transmission of a heritage language by second language learners. This phenomenon has not been widely discussed in the literature, which predominantly looks at heritage language use in a different location from where the language originates, for example German in the US, Russian in Israel or Korean in America (Altman et al. 2014; Cho, 2000; DeCapua and Wintergerst, 2009). People are concerned with maintaining their heritage language, having moved to a society where the language is a minority language and competes with the dominant language for speakers, value and status. This study highlights some critical success factors that promote and encourage intergenerational language use, which are not well documented in the case of the Māori language. This study also provides strategies that can support parents in raising children in an endangered language. As seen in DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009), there can be advantages to maintaining a heritage language, especially for those who have an inherent connection to that language.

The area in which this thesis has contributed to the field of research is in bringing awareness of how whānau can reverse language shift (see Chapter 2) by ensuring the transmission of language occurs intergenerationally. The development of language speaker communities provides opportunities to use the language naturally in a range of contexts. Critical success factors are highlighted and have significance to parents, language planners and those interested in the revitalisation of an endangered language.

### **Case Studies**

The methodology followed a case study approach. Eight whānau were chosen to participate in the research. The main criterion for inclusion in this study was that Māori was the primary language of use between children and at least one of the parents. Whānau from around the country were invited to be a part of this study. Their stories follow in Chapters 4 and 5. Although these whānau all shared the vision for assisting the revitalisation of the Māori language, they also had a variety of circumstances that brought them to the decision to raise their children as first language speakers of Māori. Each case study shares the challenges and success they encountered in the process.

### **Thesis Chapters**

This first chapter introduces the research and locates the researcher as an insider. Chapter 2 includes a review of the literature pertaining to the various elements of language revitalisation, including Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis and Simons, 2009) and the five elements of language revitalisation that are critical factors for communities engaged in reversing language shift (Hond, 2013). The historical events that caused language shift and a loss of use within the home and whānau are discussed along with some initiatives that developed from within Māori communities to reverse language shift. Chapter 3 gives an overview of research paradigms and methods applied to this research and looks at the

methodology, some of the initial findings and examines a pilot case study to determine suitability of the questions in their ability to elicit the required information.

Chapter 4 contains the first four of the eight case studies, who had two Māori-speaking parents in the household. Chapter 5 is the second group of case studies, who had one Māori-speaking parent in the household. Chapter 6 analyses the themes that emerged from the case studies and the key findings that resulted. Chapter 7 describes six critical success factors that ensure intergenerational language transmission, and Chapter 8 in summary provides recommendations for language planners and whānau wanting to ensure the intergenerational transmission of language to their children and grandchildren.

### **Thesis Language**

Considering that the central position of this research is about the revitalisation of the Māori language, it may be expected that this thesis would be written in the Māori language. The possibility was considered in the initial planning stages of developing my proposal. However, it was decided that writing this thesis in English would ensure that it became accessible first to Māori whānau considering raising their children as first language speakers of Māori and, secondly, the wider international audience of indigenous peoples endeavouring to revitalise their languages.

The Māori language used in this thesis is not changed in any way as writing conventions state that only foreign languages should be italicised. For ease of reading the thesis, the English translations that directly follow the Māori quotes have been changed to a different font. Macrons are used to highlight long vowels, as in the Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori Guidelines for Māori Language Orthography (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2012). All translations are the author's and I accept responsibility for any errors.

The next chapter reviews the literature on language loss, language revitalisation, intergenerational transmission and family language policy as it pertains to a Māori language context. The aim of the literature review is to acknowledge the existing research and identify any gaps in the field.



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

The Māori language is unique, spoken nowhere else in the world, and is part of a rich heritage and culture that is also unique. There is a great body of Māori history, poetry and song that depends upon the language. If the language dies all of that will die and the culture of hundreds and hundreds of years will ultimately fade into oblivion. (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986:7)

The history of the Māori language is similar to many other endangered languages around the world (Boyce, 1992; Spolsky, 2003). Contact with the language of colonisation, in this case English, has led to language shift an experience comparable with Irish, Gaelic, Basque, Hawaiian and the indigenous languages of Australia and America (Fishman, 1991; Hinton, 2003). A language once vital and used in all spheres of life became an endangered language struggling for its very existence. This chapter examines the impact of colonisation on the Māori language, in particular its affect on language use. It will highlight the historical events that assisted the decline in use of the language specifically in the home and community domains. The education system is one place where the use of the Māori language was banned. This thesis does not specifically cover the broader effects of colonisation in Aotearoa.<sup>11</sup>

O Laoire (2008) describes language shift as a process in which a speech community shifts from speaking one language to speaking another language.

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<sup>11</sup> For an in-depth analysis of the literature on colonisation see the following authors: Jackson (2000), Ka'ai (2004), Lee (2007), Mikaere (1995, 2011), Simon and Smith (2001), Smith (1999).

For the Māori language, this shift occurred in the 1900s and from the mid-1970s community initiatives developed to reverse the shift. In the later part of this chapter, these grass roots initiatives will be examined along with key factors that assist in language revitalisation.

### **Historical Overview**

The Māori language continues to be an endangered language, despite efforts and initiatives to improve its status. Māori remains a minority language in Aotearoa and is now spoken by 21.3% of Māori people, a drop from 23.7% in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Only 3.7% of all New Zealanders speak the Māori language, a drop from 4% in 2006 (ibid). As reported in the survey on the Health of the Māori language in 2006 by Te Puni Kōkiri, the most recent large-scale Māori language survey, there are a number of adults who have a level of proficiency in the language but do not use it. Intergenerational transmission of the language, considered a critical factor in the maintenance of minority languages, is still in its infancy and not yet the norm in Māori society (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008). Māori was made an official language in 1987 under the Māori Language Act, which also saw the establishment of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori.<sup>12</sup> Despite the passing of this legislation and the language revitalisation efforts of more than 30 years, the language is still considered at risk (Higgins and Rewi, 2014).

Prior to the arrival of Pākehā<sup>13</sup> to Aotearoa, Māori was the language of communication across all domains. It was the majority language in interactions with non-Māori in the areas of trade and economics, as well as cultural and religious exchanges (Simon and Smith, 2001). The language shift that occurred in Aotearoa was brought about by the colonising agents of the time. Laws, the schooling system and assimilation policies all had an effect on language use within the whānau (Ka'ai, 2004; Lee, 2007). Into the early twentieth century, Māori were still predominantly living in rural

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<sup>12</sup> The Māori Language Commission

<sup>13</sup> English, foreign, New Zealand European

communities with the Māori language as the predominant means of communication in all domains (Moorfield and Johnston, 2004). However, by 1920, English had become the language of commerce and was seen by Māori as a useful skill to acquire. Māori leaders, such as Sir Āpirana Ngata, advocated for the teaching of English in schools and parents were keen to support their children learning the language. However, these Māori leaders were of the opinion that the Māori language would continue to be the predominant means of communication in the home and community during this time (ibid).

Circumstances, such as urbanisation during the period 1940 to 1970, saw an increase in Māori moving from rural locations, from 20% to 70%, which led to rapid language shift and consequently the breakdown of intergenerational language transmission and domains where the language was used amongst this population (Statistics New Zealand, 2015; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004). The first generation of speakers born into these environments were predominantly raised as monolingual speakers of English. The predominant reasons for Māori making the move to urban locations was to find work and a better standard of living (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004). The conditions of this time period brought the biggest shift in Māori language, in that it was no longer the language of normal everyday use (ibid). Attitudes towards the language had also shifted in that time, as evidenced by the New Zealand Council for Research Māori language survey undertaken between 1973 and 1979 (ibid).

The interruption of intergenerational language transmission during the period 1940 to 1970 can be evidenced by participants in this research whose parents or grandparents would have been first language speakers of Māori, but chose not to speak the language to their children. Conversely, some parents continued to speak Māori amongst themselves and their children were passively exposed to the language, something that may have assisted them when later as adults they themselves learnt the language.

## **Education**

With the advent of Pākehā formal education systems, the language shift that started in the early 1900s hit the highest point in the middle of this century. A survey conducted by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research from 1973 to 1979 revealed the decline in numbers of Māori school children that could speak the language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004). In 1913, 90% of children could speak Māori, so even though these children were learning English in school, Māori was still commonplace and being used in the home and community. In 1953 this number dropped significantly to 26% and by 1975 this figure was less than 5% (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Māori children attended school as first language speakers of Māori and were exposed, often for the first time, to the English language.

Interviews conducted by Simon and Smith (2001) with those who attended schools in the 1930s and 1940s reflect the decline of language use in the home and how it was increasingly normal for Māori children to grow up unable to speak their own language (ibid). Following the Native Schools Act of 1867, the Māori language was forbidden within the domain of the school and many were physically and emotionally punished if they were caught speaking Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Being strapped was a common form of punishment given to the children caught speaking Māori at school, giving rise to the perception that there was something innately wrong with the Māori language. This caused these children to devalue the language (Simon and Smith, 2001). The effect of this was that, as these children grew to adulthood as bilinguals and became parents themselves, they made the decision that they would not transfer their heritage language to their children. Behind these decisions were a whole range of reasons, including not wanting their children to be subjected to the types of punishment that they had received (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Acquiring the English language was seen as a desirable commodity for Māori to have and was considered to be “the bread and butter language and if you want to earn your bread and butter you must speak English” (ibid:9).

Adding to the education focus of the time that emphasised learning English, the language shift from Māori to English was accelerated by the move of many Māori from their rural tribal homelands and traditional whānau support systems to urban English-speaking communities for improved housing, employment and the promise of a better life (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004). In urban environments, Māori were subjected to the assimilation policies of the colonising agents. Attitudes amongst urban Māori towards the use of Māori language during this period were not generally supportive and the breakdown of intergenerational transmission, a critical factor in maintaining minority languages, was evident (ibid).

Simon and Smith (2001) have contributed to our understanding of the times through their extensive research project.<sup>14</sup> The research included interviews with people who either attended, were teachers of, or children of teachers of the Native Schools system. They explain how urbanisation helped to disrupt linguistic speech patterns when many younger generations moved to the towns and the older generations, those who retained the language, remained in their traditional homelands. This caused a disconnection for the children born into these urban settings who were cut off from regular interaction with their grandparents and consequently from the Māori language. Some parents continued to speak Māori with their generation and with their parents' generation, but they had ceased speaking it with the younger generation (ibid).

In addition to the breakdown of intergenerational language use was the barrage of English language that came through the mediums of radio, television and newspapers (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Māori ceased to be the language of everyday use in the home. The accumulation of many years of subtle and not-so-subtle opposition concerning the use of Māori language

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<sup>14</sup> A project involving the collection of more than 250 oral testimonies of surviving former pupils and teachers of the Native Schools system (Simon and Smith, 2001)

both in the home and community affected the intergenerational transmission of language, considered essential for the viability of a language and culture (Simon and Smith, 2001). The result was a shift in language use from Māori to English and subsequent years have been focused on reversing that language shift. Fishman (1991) explains that reversing language shift is not an easy task and that, once the chain of language transmission is broken, restoration is very difficult. Within one generation the Māori language had stopped being transmitted between the generations and English was the language used in the home and community (Moorfield and Johnston, 2004).

Simon and Smith (2001) expressed how the success of the colonial agenda could be recognised through parental uptake of the use of English. Māori parents reported that they were doing the best for their children, insisting they learnt English in school and often enforcing this in the home domain as well. Māori parents saw English as a useful and necessary tool to have in order for their children to navigate and survive in a Pākehā-orientated society (ibid). The Māori language on the other hand was viewed generally as a “useless impediment ... keeping people economically and socially deprived” (Benton, 1990:104). Essentially, a whole generation was not speaking to their children in the language they themselves were raised in. What was severed in one generation would take at least three generations to restore. The Māori language still has some way to go before it can be considered safe. Grenoble and Whaley (1998) through their research have contributed to an understanding of why languages disappear. In simple terms, “speakers abandon their native tongue in adaptation to an environment where use of that language is no longer advantageous to them” (ibid:22).

The scene was set in 1867 with the passing of the Native Schools Act that ensured support for English as the language of instruction in all schools (Barrington, 1985). Schools then became one of the main institutions for ensuring that the shift to English occurred and the education system was tasked with ensuring that this happened. Parents and Māori leaders were

supportive in ensuring Māori children became competent in the English language. English was promoted as having a beneficial effect for Māori children and would prepare them for work and society later in life. Parents were convinced of the need to speak English to their children for economic success and a better standard of living. Dame Iritana Tawhiwhirangi (2014), considered by many as the mother of the *kōhanga reo* movement, conveys her experiences growing up in Wharekāhika,<sup>15</sup> a rural community on the east coast of the North Island located within the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Porou. She recalls how, whilst growing up, the Māori language was healthy and being used as the normal means of communication in all domains. The impetus for her people at this time was acquiring English. This was emphasised and supported by Sir Āpirana Ngata during a visit he made to the community in the 1930s along with ministerial officials, including the then-Minister of Education. The community arrived *en masse* to the marae to hear what this highly esteemed Ngāti Porou leader had to talk about. Ngata impressed on the visitors that he wanted them to teach his people “English, English and more English” (ibid:34).

Ngata was a highly influential leader, a prominent politician and well respected amongst Māori and non-Māori around the country, none more so than his people (Cox, 1993; Walker, 2001). Tawhiwhirangi describes the far-reaching effect Ngata’s authority had on Māori who heard this statement. Māori elders began to see value in the English language and not only did they ensure their children acquired the language in school, they also tried to learn the language themselves. Government officials also paid heed to these comments and ensured that they carried out his request by implementing strategies in schools to ensure the language was taught to Māori children. However, “what started as a genuine addressing of the English language actually culled *te reo Māori*” (ibid:35). Tawhiwhirangi does not believe this was Ngata’s intention. In the context of the time, most Māori households

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<sup>15</sup> Hicks Bay

were Māori-speaking. Ngata's rhetoric on the importance of English was premised by the understanding that the Māori language was secure and that there was little reason to see it as being in a position of endangerment (Benton, 1987).

Tawhiwhirangi and many of her generation who attended denominational secondary schools became the epitome of Ngata's bilingualism vision. They grew up with a strong cultural identity formed from within their communities, immersed in the Māori language and went on to become highly proficient in English, acquired as a second language. Both languages became an essential part of their lives and they were able to function comfortably in both worlds. Tawhiwhirangi laments the demise of the Māori language over the years and sees that, through a variety of situations, often imposed, Māori had lost the value for their language (ibid). She notes that a lack of value for the language has been expressed in the common opinion held by Pākehā and Māori alike that 'Māori won't get you anywhere' and that much has been done in the past three decades to counter these long-held beliefs (ibid:51). Responsibility for this has been apportioned to Ngata's comments of the time; however, Tawhiwhirangi explains that he was clearly misinterpreted. Whilst perceived as being a statement opposing the Māori language, it was about bilingualism, as evidenced in his following proverb.

E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao; ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei oranga mō tō tinana; ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga, ā, ko tō wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

Grow and branch forth for the days of your world; your hands to the tools of the Pākehā for the welfare of your body, your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as adornments for your head, your spirit with God, who made all things.<sup>16</sup> (Mead and Grove, 2003:48)

This time heralded a clear shift in value for the Māori language and the subsequent language shift (Tawhiwhirangi, 2014). Ngata, in his later years,

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<sup>16</sup> The lines were written for Rangi, daughter of John Bennett by Āpirana Ngata



realised the alienating and destructive effect schooling had on the Māori language and culture (Walker, 2001).

### **Recovery Period**

Benton, in his evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal (1986) concerning the WAI 11 claim, explores reasons for the significant language shift from Māori to English. Benton (1991) explains that language is primarily a social phenomenon and cannot flourish in a social vacuum. It needs to be used in a variety of settings and situations and requires active community interaction. Social changes, such as urbanisation, industrialisation, isolation and improved communications, have severely limited the settings in which the language can be used. Benton argues that the primary cause of the decline in the Māori language is simply that the language is not spoken in the home and there are many reasons why this does not happen. One of the reasons is the lack of support for the Māori language from a societal level in New Zealand (ibid).

Through the revitalisation initiatives that developed in the late 1970s and 1980s, some Māori made the conscious effort to learn their heritage language. This is highlighted by the parents in the case studies who were not raised in the language but later learnt it as a second language. Today, Māori is only heard in a minority of domains (Moorfield and Johnston, 2004). Whānau in these case studies have embarked on the important process of reversing language shift, a practice that relies on three successive generations of a family actively engaging in the intergenerational transmission of the language (Waho, 2006). The role of the whānau cannot be underestimated in the revitalisation of the Māori language. The desired result is a living, valued, thriving and useful language. These parents are the first generation, their children are the second generation and the promise is that their grandchildren will be the third generation (ibid). In order for this to happen there needs to be a restoration of natural intergenerational transmission within Māori-speaking whānau (Spolsky, 2003).

Schooling has now come full circle with Māori language being regenerated through the very system that set out to abolish it (Simon and Smith, 2001). Education has been the primary mechanism for language revitalisation with approximately \$220 million of government spending allocated to support Māori language programmes and services (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2014). A large proportion of this is assigned to education services and includes funding for Māori-medium education, such as kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura, as well as immersion and bilingual units within mainstream schools. Nevertheless, the majority of Māori children do not access these services, as evidenced in a report by May et al. (2006), which states that in 2001 only 17% of Māori school-aged children were enrolled in some type of Māori-medium schooling. This number decreased in 2008 to 15.6% (Ministry of Education, 2009). In addition, Benton and Benton (1999) caution against relying on schooling to single-handedly halt the decline in the language. The difficulty is that children who learn the language in a school environment do not necessarily use the language outside the school domain. The language becomes one restricted specifically to school and has little perceived use outside this domain and, although schooling in Māori-medium can assist whānau to nurture transmission between the generations, it cannot create intergenerational transmission (Waho, 2006).

### **Language Revitalisation**

Languages are revitalised in people. They must contend with the diversity of normal life and then reorient normal life into the struggle of a lived reality that is not normal. (Hond, 2013:15)

The late 1970s and 1980s saw the renaissance of Māori language and culture following research conducted by Dr Richard Benton (1979) that highlighted the dramatic shift that had occurred in the Māori language and warned of the imminent demise of the language. The Māori renaissance was motivated by passion and a growing concern to protect the language. Māori people came together to plan and develop strategies to avert the impending

death of their heritage language. Early revitalisation initiatives came out of Māori community-led action. The foremost approaches that emerged during this period were all immersion-based kaupapa and included Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Te Ataarangi, Te Kōhanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori (Higgins, 2011; Hond, 2013; Tangaere, 2012; Waitangi Tribunal, 2010; Winiata, 1979).

The first of these initiatives, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, was an iwi-based, long-term strategy to reverse language shift within the Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Te Ati Awa (ART) region. They developed a 25-year tribal plan following the realisation that they had no proficient speakers of the language under the age of 30 (Winiata, 1979). They were focused on redressing the language deficiency within the confederation by increasing the number of speakers with these communities by the turn of the century. This plan included week-long hui rumaki<sup>17</sup> that were held on their marae from 1976 and later led to the establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa (TWO R), a tribal tertiary facility in Ōtaki in 1981 (Tangaere, 2012). TWO R has gone on to become one of the three wānanga that have received official status as tertiary providers and provide a host of programmes from Certificate to Master's level (Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2015).

In 1979, “Te Ataarangi emerged from within the community and has developed to become one of the most effective Māori language learning methodologies in Aotearoa to produce speakers of te reo Māori” (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009:7). Te Ataarangi is a community organisation that operates immersion domains for the purpose of assisting language acquisition and fostering language use (Hond, 2013). Developed by Dr Kāterina Mataira and Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi, this approach, based on Caleb Gattegno's ‘Silent Way’ methodology (Mataira, 1980), was adapted using Māori values and cultural norms to assist in learning (Muller and Kire, 2014).

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<sup>17</sup> Residential immersion language sessions

In the early stages, the kaupapa<sup>18</sup> was delivered primarily by native speakers of the language (Higgins, 2014). Tangaere (2012) adds that the focus was aimed at whānau in an effort to reintroduce the language into the home. More recently, Te Ataarangi has initiated He Kāinga Kōrerorero and Te Kura Whānau Reo (see later in this chapter), two programmes supporting intergenerational language use in the home and community, thereby ensuring the development of self-sustaining language domains where the Māori language is normalised (Hond, 2013). Self-sustaining domains are spaces, such as the home and community, where the language is fostered and maintained from within that household or community rather than from influences outside these domains.

Kōhanga reo is a movement that began in Wainuiomata in April 1982, with a similar focus as the aforementioned kaupapa targeting preschool children who were fully immersed in the language. The kaupapa began as a whānau development initiative in Wellington and the vision of the grandparent generation, who were native speakers of the language, was to create a strong cultural identity. Whānau members were encouraged to attend and learn alongside their children in the hope that the language would again become the family home vernacular (Tangaere, 2012). This successful model has assisted other indigenous nations to revitalise their language, for example the *Pūnana Leo* in Hawaii (Nettle and Romaine, 2000).

King (2001) explains that around the mid-1980s, once children had completed kōhanga reo and moved into mainstream schooling, many parents found the transition difficult and were dissatisfied with the lack of education able to cater to their children's learning needs. Little recognition was given to the experiences these children brought with them (ibid). The result was the development of kura kaupapa Māori, total immersion schooling for children from 5 to 12 years within a Māori philosophical framework. The first kura

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<sup>18</sup> Subject, topic, policy, initiative, matter for discussion

kaupapa Māori was established at Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland in 1985 (King, 2001). This was considered to be one of “the most significant developments in Māori language schooling since the first bilingual school was designated at Rūātoki in 1977” (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:8).

Both kōhanga reo and Te Ataarangi are arguably the most successful Māori language initiatives and have both impacted on the state of the language for more than 30 years. An important critical success factor for these initiatives has been their immersion methodologies that assist in ensuring speaker communities where the language use is normalised. “They are perhaps the only two domains in existence in which the Māori language is a normalised language” (Te Kura Roa, 2014:7-8). These initiatives have all had an influence and positive impact on the condition and status of the Māori language but, as Higgins and Rewi (2014) remind us, much more needs to be accomplished before the language is normalised, that is, before it is used as the normal means of communication amongst those with the required proficiency.

### **Heritage Language**

Language is our window to our ancestors’ world. When we are able to access a glimpse into this window through our heritage language, the feeling is overwhelmingly satisfying. (Te Huia, 2013:xi)

Cho and Krashen (2000) define a heritage language as the language connected with a person’s cultural background and can be acquired or developed in addition to a dominant language, such as English. Montrul (2008) adds that heritage languages are associated with particular minority peoples whose languages have, for a number of reasons, been devalued. According to Valdés (2005), heritage or minority languages include indigenous languages that are often endangered and in danger of disappearing, for example, Māori and Scots Gaelic. Others, such as Fishman (2001b), refer to a heritage language as being associated with the immigrant

populations in the United States, such as Japanese and Korean. English has also been referred to as a heritage language in Kayam and Hirsch (2014), which documents a case where an American-born mother living with her family in Israel enacts a Family Language Policy that promotes the use of English with her children. In this instance, English is the minority language competing against Hebrew as the majority or dominant language. However, there are marked differences between an endangered heritage language, such as Māori in New Zealand, and a migrant heritage language, such as Japanese in the US. In regards to this thesis, heritage language refers to the Māori language, an endangered language within its land of origin.

Kelleher (2010) defines the heritage language learner as someone studying a language who has proficiency in, or a cultural connection to, that language. Within these communities there is a focus on language preservation and maintenance. Heritage implies that it is your birthright, it is your inheritance, it belongs to you and is intrinsically linked to who you are, your identity and your culture. Baird (2013) who has been instrumental in assisting in the revival of her heritage language, Wampanoag, recognised the responsibility she has as a parent to ensure she transmitted the language to her daughter and that acquiring Wampanoag was her daughter's birthright. For Māori, language can be recognised as a 'taonga tuku iho',<sup>19</sup> a gift or an inheritance that has been handed down from the ancestors (King, 2007:67-68). Learning the language is recognised as a means towards ensuring the cultural identity is maintained and passed on to future generations (Fishman, 2001a; Spolsky, 1999). According to Carreira (2004), heritage languages are connected to the ethno-cultural heritage of a minority group; however, owing to historical and political conditions, the language and culture has been accorded a lesser status. Valdés (2001) describes a heritage language speaker as someone who is raised in the heritage language and is bilingual in both the dominant and heritage languages.

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<sup>19</sup> A treasure that has been handed down

Heritage languages, such as Māori, are endangered languages having to compete for speakers with the dominant languages. They are not strictly confined to just the language, but incorporate identity, culture and customs as a part of that language. Its speakers have a familial or whakapapa<sup>20</sup> connection to the language (Te Huia, 2013). A heritage language is more than just another language to its communities. They have a bond with the language and recognise its inherent value. Hond (2013) argues that choosing to use the heritage language can be viewed as an act of resistance to conform to the norms of the dominant language and culture. Many parents in this study reported that in the initial stages they felt a degree of discomfort when using the language in the public domain. They became aware that they were in opposition to society's norms in relation to their language choices.

The whānau who were a part of this thesis recognise that a particular course of action is required for revitalising the language. They believe their actions are to transmit that language to their children and grandchildren. Many had parents who were native Māori speakers, but chose to raise their children as English speakers who had little or no input of the heritage language. These children, now parents themselves, have felt the loss of connection with their heritage language and cultural identity. They have made the conscious choice to not only learn their heritage language to a high level of proficiency as second language learners, but have also ensured that they use the language with their children and grandchildren. Transmitting the language intergenerationally ensures their children receive and enjoy all the benefits of that heritage language and culture.

### **Reversing Language Shift**

Reversing language shift is basically not about language, certainly not just about language; it is about adhering to a

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<sup>20</sup> Genealogy

notion of a complete, not necessarily unchanging, self-defining way of life. (Fishman, 2000:14)

'Reversing language shift', a term coined by Fishman (1991), is concerned with initiating planning efforts, often at a community level, that are aimed at strengthening a language displaying signs of decline. 'Language shift' is the gradual displacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialisation within a community. This shift is predominantly from an endangered language to a dominant language afforded a higher value by its speakers. An endangered language can be recognised as a language that is at risk of dying as its speakers die or shift to speaking another, often the dominant, language. Examples of endangered languages include Irish, Basque and Māori. In the report 'Te Reo Mauiora' presented by the independent panel Te Paepae Motuhake (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011), the Māori language was rated using the UNESCO framework of endangerment (see Table 1) that was developed by a panel of language experts in 2003 (Lewis and Simons, 2009). The rating given by Te Paepae Motuhake members was that the Māori language was somewhere between 'definitely endangered' and 'severely endangered'. This rating was primarily based on the degree of intergenerational transmission of the Māori language (ibid).



Table 1: UNESCO<sup>21</sup> Framework of Language Endangerment

<b>Degree of Endangerment</b>	<b>Intergenerational Language Transmission</b>
Safe	The language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
Vulnerable	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g. home)
Definitely Endangered	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely Endangered	The language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
Critically Endangered	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older and they speak the language partially and infrequently
Extinct	There are no speakers left

Language shift can be viewed as a social happening derived from a society's attitudes and values towards an indigenous group. Reversing that shift therefore encompasses a multitude of activities that assist in strengthening the endangered language, thereby reversing the circumstances that led to the shift away from its use (Hond, 2013). Holmes et al. (1993) observed that communities most effective in preserving their minority language normally had "regular social interactions, used the minority language in the home, exhibited positive attitudes towards their language and linked it strongly to their cultural identity" (Holmes in Revis, 2015:11). Skerrett White (2003) makes the claim that reversing language shift is more about understanding and exploring that interconnection between language and culture and reclaiming our own histories, stories and knowledge. To reverse this requires a change in how communities and society in general value the language.

Internationally, many minority or endangered languages are being lost due to the spread of a small number of dominant languages, which many speakers are shifting to (Potowski, 2013). Language loss impacts the cultural practices and knowledge systems inherent to a language community, a loss not often acknowledged for its significance at a global level. Māori endeavours at

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<sup>21</sup> The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

reversing language shift encompass efforts to regain independence and cultural identity and ultimately a repositioning of power (Hinton, 2001; Tangaere, 2012). Fishman (1991) argues that when language, the principal support of culture, is lost, this impacts significantly on the cultural well-being of a people.

According to Hinton (2001) speakers of endangered languages almost always have proficiency in the dominant language. This can be seen with the Māori language; almost all speakers of Māori are bilingual in English (de Bres, 2009). As such, they have a choice as to which language they can use at any time. These choices are influenced by a number of reasons, but principally the reason that speakers of a language choose not to use the language is the lack of speaker domains, places in which the language can be used in a meaningful context (ibid). Communities are where the language will survive and, as such, a language needs speakers who will use the language. “What matters is not who can speak it, but who does speak it” (Bauer, 2008:63). Speakers of the language can lose their fluency the longer they remain silent and choose not to use it (Hinton, 2001). Once the dominant language has become the norm and the intergenerational transmission is severed, reversing language shift becomes very difficult.

The shift that occurred with the Māori language is a story familiar to many other endangered languages. The reality is that a language not used by its people or the wider population will inevitably become moribund. Heritage languages are marginalised and struggle to compete in a climate if they are not the language of government and commerce (ibid). Owing to its current status in society, there is a propensity for the Māori language to be viewed as inferior. Māori speakers and their language use are affected by attitudes of the wider society within New Zealand (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003). This can be witnessed in Maxwell (2014) who, along with her partner, is raising their daughter as a first language speaker of Māori. A reporter from the *New Zealand Herald* interviewed Maxwell about their whānau efforts to raise their

daughter in Māori. This was a part of a promotion for Māori Language Week. What was meant as a positive story portraying Māori-speaking families ended up with an outpouring of negative criticisms and racist comments, much of which centred on the positioning of English in their daughter's life, whilst calling into question their parenting practices. This incident highlighted some of the barriers that exist for parents raising their children as first language speakers of Māori in a society that continues to undervalue the Māori language. This incident also underlines some of the uninformed beliefs about the acquisition of language in bilingual children. Revitalisation efforts require wider societal support and value for the language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003).

Despite this, efforts have been made by Māori to keep their language alive and to increase its usage. Hinton (2001) explains that reversing language shift is a superhuman task. There is a need for Māori language communities to expend their energies on micro language planning, which is focused on language planning at the whānau and community level rather than spreading the focus too wide to include the macro, the wider level planning of government and society (Hond, 2013). Returning to the current thesis research, essentially all the whānau were focused on micro language planning in that they ensured a high level of motivation and effort was maintained within their whānau and communities.

### **Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale**

In the practice of reversing language shift of an endangered language, prominence has been afforded by language experts to an instrument developed by Fishman (1991) that measures the degree of language loss with an endangered language and then ascertains the appropriate revitalisation methods (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004). This tool is called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). This scale considers eight differing stages of disruption that may have occurred to a language with some suggested means of recovery at each of the stages. The scale starts from the most severe stage (8) at the top and works down to the least severe (1),

in similar fashion to a Richter<sup>22</sup> scale. Many of the stages cannot be moved from until there has been a shift in the lesser ones. The highest scale (8) is where there are no longer any speakers of the language and stage (1) is where the language is used in all spheres of life.

Fishman (2006) explains the importance of steps 8 to 5, the area he refers to as the 'weak side'. This is where steps can be made without the input of vast resources. The merits of using this scale are twofold in that it first brings focus to the impending situation of reversing language shift and the importance of setting priorities, and secondly it brings much needed attention to the area of intergenerational transmission of the language. Concentration on these weak areas can yield a better value for effort as the focus is on micro language planning with whānau and community. Stage 8 is the most crucial or most disrupted on the scale, wherein there are few or no native speakers of the language still alive and the focus is on rebuilding the language from corpus. Stage 7 sees an older, still active, population using the language for ceremonial purposes and events, but it is not yet connected with activities that involve younger generations and ultimately lacks the ordinary everyday familial patterns required for successful reversing language shift efforts. Stage 6 is probably the most crucial and "constitutes the heart of the entire RLS venture" (ibid:95). Essential to this stage is the family and community connection. The minority language needs to be used as a means of ordinary everyday communication between the generations. What is required is a degree of commitment and understanding and, most importantly, "that this is a do-it-yourself effort" (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer, 1998:96). At a micro level, reversing language shift is dependent on individuals making the decision for themselves. Stage 5 involves literacy education for all generations within the home, school and community (Pohe, 2012; Skerrett White, 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004).

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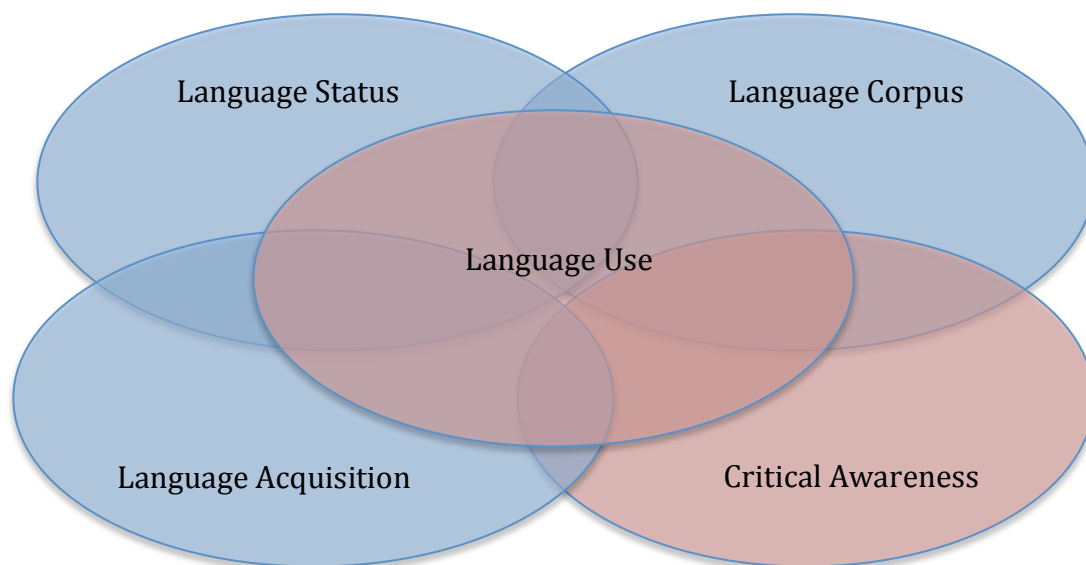
<sup>22</sup> Measures the size of earthquakes

In Fishman's opinion, the Māori language overlaps stages 4 to 6, with considerably more effort required at level 6 (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1998). The GIDS is helpful in this research to assist and support whānau to determine the most efficient utilisation of their energy and resources. The parents interviewed for this research have begun the shift for themselves and their children through their focus on micro language planning, most importantly intergenerational language transmission. Often with little or no support, these whānau have taken on the task of reversing language shift in an environment where the dominant language is highly valued and the heritage language struggles to maintain a sense of stability.

### **Five Elements of Language Revitalisation**

Through the initial efforts of language revitalisation, Māori came to an understanding of the scope of issues impacting language choice. These issues require attention by language planners to the development and implementation of revitalisation strategies. These issues can be considered under five areas that are key elements of Māori language planning (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004, 2008). These elements of language planning are later referred to as concepts in language health, endeavouring to strengthen the position of the Māori language in terms of each element. The language planning model of Spolsky and Chrisp (cited in Hond, 2013:129), used in a number of iwi-based language strategies, identifies five individual elements that are inherently connected. These elements are status, corpus, acquisition, critical awareness and language use (ibid). Hond illustrates a model of the connectedness of these elements with an emphasis on language use. This sits at the centre of the model and overlaps the other four elements, highlighting the notion that 'domains of language use' are a critical element of language revitalisation (ibid:124). Higgins and Rewi (2014) support the theory that focusing on these elements individually will not engender normalisation of the language. They contend that it is essential that all elements be considered collectively if the outcome is language stability.

Figure 1: Schema of the Five Elements of Language Revitalisation and Language Planning (Hond, 2013:125)



### **Status**

Language status not only refers to the position of the language within society, but also the value accorded it by its people, its communities and its families. Attitudes of potential speakers affect their motivation to acquire and use the language (Hond, 2013). Promotion of the language and culture within society helps to increase its value, extend domains and provides a positive environment for use (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). When the Welsh language was made compulsory in schools, the result was not only an increase in speakers of the language, but also a positive shift in the attitude of people towards the language (Jeremy Evas, personal communication). How one feels about the language is an important consideration, therefore focusing on activities that interest and inspire whānau and communities can motivate participation.

The intrinsic value of the Māori language can be seen as a basis for Māori identity (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). Parents are pivotal in language revitalisation as they decide and influence the language norms of their homes. The value that children attribute to the language will often mirror that of their parents. If

parents are able to shape their children's use of the language in a positive way from the earliest stage, the probability is higher for these children to transmit and use the language with their children, thereby greatly increasing the status of the language (Welsh Language Board, 2000). Such is the situation with the whānau interviewed for the case studies in this thesis. All the parents valued the language, and their efforts have helped to increase the status of the language in their homes and amongst their extended whānau, as well as their communities.

### **Corpus**

Language corpus is the body of written and oral material upon which linguistic analysis is based. Corpus is important because it assists in growing and developing a language, and has been the method to revive a moribund language as in the case of the re-vernacularisation of Hebrew (Fishman, 1991). Languages change and evolve and require new vocabulary and forms of expression that consider changes in culture, thought, relationships and means of communication (ibid). The maintaining of a language corpus can be achieved through a variety of means including broadening contexts where the language is used, and archiving written texts, manuscripts, songs, idioms and proverbial sayings, historical information, examples of language use by native speakers and examples of regional and dialectal variations (Hond, 2013). Other sources of corpus for the Māori language include a number of language dictionaries that have been written specifically and include *He Papakupu Reo Ture* (Stephens and Boyce, 2013), a dictionary of Māori legal terms, *He Pātaka Kupu* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2008), a monolingual Māori language dictionary, and *A Dictionary of the Māori Language* (Williams, 1971), quoted by parents in the case studies as being well used in their homes.

### **Language Acquisition**

Language acquisition is about learning and acquiring proficiency in a language. It is considered by Baker et al. (2011) to be the basis of language planning. Language revitalisation requires a significant amount of people

who have acquired the language to a sufficient level of proficiency to be willing and able to use the language on a regular basis. Immersion learning supports the acquisition of speaking and listening, skills that ensure natural acquisition in the home and community and assist in its continued use (Eaton, 2011).

As with the majority of parents interviewed for this research, nearly all Māori speakers are bilingual in English, a large majority having acquired Māori as a second language. There are a number of children who are learning Māori as their first language, as observed in this research. Acquisition as the mother tongue is required for the intergenerational transmission of an endangered language. How the language is acquired affects later patterns of language use (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008).

State funding for Māori language is primarily targeted at the field of education (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011). Focus is on acquiring language in educational settings for economic well-being; however, there is a risk of acquisition of an endangered language to be regarded as an academic exercise, reducing the significance of intergenerational transmission and ultimately weakening language planning goals (Hond, 2013).

### **Critical Awareness**

Critical awareness in relation to the state of the language refers to an increase in understanding of the issues that affect an endangered language at both a macro and a micro level (Hond, 2013). Nearly all Māori speakers are bilingual and, as such, they face choices as to which language they will speak (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008). They may be unaware of their ability to determine and control patterns of language use. When bilinguals are aware of the choices that they have in regards to language acquisition and language use, they are then in a better position to make informed decisions about their contribution to the survival of their heritage language (ibid). Hond (2013) maintains that a crucial factor in critical understanding is the need for clarity



and understanding around the effects of dominant or majority languages, which he contends to be an instrument of social control. Therefore, language planning and policy must take into account all the issues, including social, economic, political and educational, that minority peoples have to struggle with in the revitalisation of their language. Ultimately, the advantage of an increased level of understanding and awareness is the ability to encourage and inspire others, locate resources and create spaces for using the language (ibid).

### **Language Use**

In reference to these five elements, language use is considered the 'significant point of difference', given that whānau and community have the potential to influence how it is managed (ibid). The Welsh have recognised that creating and sustaining language domains where language use is normalised is a critical element in language revitalisation. There needs to be a wide range of contexts and domains available for whānau so language is associated with meaningful activities of relevance, including leisure pursuits and entertainment activities. Opportunities for social interaction need to be made available in the wider community for all ages, including adolescents (Welsh Language Board, 2000). An example of community language planning has been the development in Wales of the *Mentrau Iaith*,<sup>23</sup> community-based organisations established to raise the profile of the Welsh language locally. Their strength is the potential to promote and facilitate language use by initiating new activities and coordinating existing activities (ibid).

Language use within the context of the whānau is important as it assists in the intergenerational transmission of the language. Use between the generations gives a higher probability that children will grow up and speak to their children in the language (Waho, 2006). This particular focus cannot be

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<sup>23</sup> Welsh language initiatives

underestimated and is potentially the mainstay of language revitalisation, the signal that the language is alive and well, in that it is being used. Young people who have learnt the language as their mother tongue are important in this process and efforts to influence their attitudes and the use of the language in a positive way are essential, as they will be the parents of the next generation (Welsh Language Board, 2000).

## **ZePA**

The ZePA model developed by Higgins and Rewi (2014) provides three key positions, Zero, Passive and Active and considers individuals attitudes and positioning in respect to the Māori language. Zero is the situation whereby use and interest in the Māori language is non-existent. The individuals that make up this cohort are opposed to any recognition, support or promotion of the Māori language. The Passive cohort is seen to be interested and sympathetic towards the Māori language. They do not necessarily have proficiency in the language but they are accepting of the language and do not control or limit the use of it in the home or community. This cohort is seen to be supportive of the efforts of others to promote and use the Māori language. The Active cohort refers to those individuals who vigorously promote, develop and progress the Māori language in all areas of life (ibid).

In the ZePA model, individuals can make either a left or right shift; a left shift being regression and a right shift being progression. The ultimate purpose for the ZePA model is to right-shift individuals from Zero to Passive and then to Active. Left-shifting is counter productive to reversing language shift because it supports language shift rather than reversing it (ibid).

## **Intergenerational Language Transmission**

Changing the established norms of language use within the home is one of the most difficult conditions of language revitalisation to fulfil. The use of Māori language within the home from a child's birth through to late adolescence is a significant undertaking. (Hond, 2013:100)

Intergenerational language transmission considered by Fishman (1991), as the foundation for revitalisation of endangered languages is the practice whereby the threatened language is used exclusively between parents and children as a normal everyday means of communication. Importance is given by parents to the socialisation of children through the language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002). If a language is valued by those who speak it, there is a higher possibility that the language will be spoken with whānau members as a normal means of communication, but that the opposite is also true in that if the language is not valued then it is highly unlikely that it will be spoken between the generations. Whānau play a vital role in the revitalisation of the Māori language. Their influence in facilitating the intergenerational transmission of the language is valuable. Currently, language use within the intimacy of the whānau is not being widely practised by Māori people and therefore the intergenerational transmission of Māori language is not so healthy (Waho, 2006). Fishman (1991) argues that language shift has occurred when speakers of the language no longer transmit the language to their children.

Language shift has occurred for the Māori language. However, parents who were interviewed for this research have activated the process of reversing that shift. These parents are the first generation of Māori language speakers, the majority of whom were raised in homes where English was their mother tongue and who have made a conscious decision to acquire their heritage language as a second language. They actively speak to their children in Māori who then become generation two. If these children then go on to speak to their children in Māori, these children become the third generation who will be able to speak to their parents and grandparents in Māori. It can then be said that three generations are actively engaged in intergenerational transmission (Waho, 2006). This scenario was evident in case study 1, where up to four generations were actively engaged in speaking the language together. Critical awareness and language planning are the first stages of initiating the process of intergenerational language transmission.

Revitalisation initiatives, such as kura kaupapa Māori and kōhanga reo, have had a major effect on the health of the Māori language. However, these initiatives alone do not ensure intergenerational transmission. Children do not necessarily use the language outside the confines of these settings. The possibility is not high that children who learn Māori in educational settings and have English as their mother tongue will raise their children in the Māori language (Benton and Benton, 2001). Hakuta and D'Andrea (1992) explain that simply knowing a language is no assurance that it will be used. As Chrisp (2005:157) argues, "people must want or need to speak a language before they choose to do so".

Language use is the mainstay of revitalisation and is clearly the role of whānau and communities. Intergenerational transmission ensures the use of the language and the maintenance of its cultural norms is transferred from one generation to the next. Whānau influence their home environment and can determine the language norms (Hond, 2013). Intergenerational language transmission in relation to the Māori language in New Zealand requires a significant commitment on the part of parents and/or caregivers of children. The pattern of language use is such that it will act to gravitate towards the majority language (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1998). This is a journey that "requires a powerful paradigm or vision of the future that not only sustains language use for fifteen or more years, but also sustains this commitment and resilience for a further two generations into the future" (Hond, 2013:101).

Whānau interviewed for the research made the decision to transmit the language to their children based on their language knowledge, situation, and motivation, as well as their critical awareness of language revitalisation as identified by Chrisp (2005). The difficulty is not only bringing children up in the language, but also instilling into them a passion and a love for the language in a way similar to the parents in the case studies. As highlighted in the case studies in Chapters 4 and 5, there needs to be a high level of value

afforded the heritage language. If this can be attained and passed on with the language to subsequent generations, then one can assume an improved outcome. Children need to observe their parents acquiring or using the language to be convinced of its value and importance (Hond, 2013). The difficulty seen with children from the case studies in this research is the children raised as first language speakers of Māori may not have an understanding of the struggle that it takes to learn the heritage language as a second language, because it has been normalised for them. Parents in case study 4 and case study 7 discuss this in Chapters 4 and 5.

All those interviewed in the case studies, except one, had been part of the generation who were not raised in their heritage language as they were growing up. Not having the language, considered to be a central marker of Māori identity (McIntosh, 2005), has caused many to actively seek out the language in their teenage and adult years. These parents have felt the inadequacy and often embarrassment at their inability to speak the language; hence, they have been motivated to remedy this situation. A general theme shared across the whānau was that they were raising their children through the medium of the Māori language, because they did not want their children to go through what they had experienced growing up. This included feeling inadequate in situations where the language was being used. They wanted to ensure that their children had access to the Māori language, knowledge and cultural practices as a natural part of their lives. Kāretu (1993) describes the Māori language as central to Māori identity. In addition to speaking the language, knowledge of Māori culture and participation in Māori groups and activities are important factors in identity that allow inclusive participation in Māori society (Durie, 1995).

### **Bilingualism**

Early studies about bilingualism claimed that it was largely a negative happening and impaired cognitive development. Expressions, such as 'mental confusion' and 'language handicap', were often related to bilingual

children in these studies (Cummins, 1979). May et al. (2006) explore later research that has disproved these theories and acknowledges the positive elements of bilingualism. In a recent series of studies conducted by Gathercole and Thomas (2009), their findings revealed that children growing up in a minority language alongside a majority language may acquire the dominant language regardless of the level of the minority language. They argue that this can have implications for families raising bilingual children and their associated family language policies.

Bilingualism, as evidenced in the case studies, fell into one of two types: simultaneous or consecutive bilinguals. Simultaneous bilinguals were seen with the majority of children in the case studies in that they had acquired two languages at the same time, often from birth (May et al. 2006). Acquisition is the consequence of parental bilingualism. The other type is a sequential bilingual. These children were already English monolinguals and acquired a second language later, in this case Māori. A sequential bilingual also describes the parents in the case studies who acquired the Māori language as adults. Many bilinguals have a dominant language, one language that is used more often. According to May et al. (2006), if people can become bilinguals over time, equally bilingualism can be lost over time. Attrition can occur when a language is no longer used regularly.

Bilingualism is the ability to communicate in two languages and in the context of this research is concerned with acquiring and maintaining a heritage language in a monolingual society. Bilingual children try to speak like others around them in both languages. The minority home language competes with the dominant language of society. “Bilingualism is a process that must be consciously supported, reaffirmed and validated by daily practices and choices” (DeCapua and Wintergerst, 2009:20). Heritage language maintenance is directly related to parental use. Raising successful bilinguals requires ongoing choices that establish and continually reaffirm commitment to use the heritage language (ibid). Fishman (1991) reiterates the importance

of the home-family-neighbourhood-community as essential in heritage language maintenance for future generations. Parents can have a significant influence on their children's linguistic abilities and they choose the language or languages they will speak to their children at home and they decide their educational options. Parents can also affect to what extent their children are exposed to the heritage language by providing a range of opportunities to socialise in the language. Support by partners who do not speak the heritage language helps to ensure success in raising bilingual children (DeCapua and Wintergerst, 2009). Crystal (2000) describes healthy bilingualism as a situation where two languages complement rather than compete with each other, thereby recognising the unique and positive role of each language.

Children raised speaking the minority language become bilingual at a young age, as they are also members of the dominant society and, as such, are required to interact with the dominant language (Benmamoun et al. 2013). Bilingualism is not the norm in Aotearoa. Statistics show that 79.8% of the population are monolingual (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). According to Bhattacharjee (2012), the advantages of bilingualism are that individuals develop the cognition and understanding of two cultures and have two perspectives on life. In addition, it can be easier for bilinguals to acquire additional languages and it has also been shown to slow down the aging process and onset of dementia (Bernard Spolsky, personal communication).

Parents in the case studies indicated that their main motivation in raising their children as bilinguals was about assisting in the revitalisation and recovery of their heritage language, as they did not grow up with the language but wanted to ensure their children did. DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009), in their case study exploring heritage language use in an English-dominant environment, made the point that, although parents were enthusiastic about raising their children bilingually, in reality it was hard work and many just gave up. They have the constant battle with children who they report just want to speak the dominant language, the language they are surrounded by, which is much

easier for them. In contrast, it requires a great deal of effort and creativity for parents to use the heritage language with them (ibid). However, despite these difficulties, it is a goal that can be achieved as evidenced in DeCapua and Wintergerst's case studies. What needs to be understood is that "bilingualism doesn't just happen... you have to work at it all the time" (ibid:12). Things are easier when the children are young, particularly as they spend a lot of time with their parents. Circumstances change as they get older and other outside influences that overwhelmingly involve the dominant language play a big part in their lives (ibid). An important consideration is that children must also want to use the heritage language in everyday life. When they perceive a difference in value or prestige between the heritage and dominant languages, language shift can be accelerated, even at a young age. Children need encouragement and a reason to use their heritage language and see it as an advantage (ibid). Boyce (1992) argues that bilingual speakers have a choice as to which language they will use based on a variety of factors, including how they perceive the language is valued by their community.

It is generally the main caregiver who decides whether to maintain the heritage language or not, a task that generally falls to the mother (ibid). This highlights the role women, especially mothers and grandmothers, have in language revitalisation. They are described as the keepers of knowledge and responsible for the maintenance of language, tradition and culture (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999; Kuncha and Bathula, 2004). Studies about the involvement of Māori women in language initiatives include the Ngāi Te Rangi Reo o te Kāinga study, which found the role of women to be central to the project. "In most kāinga, women played a key role in supporting and inspiring the whānau to achieve the aim of speaking Māori at home" (Timutimu et al. 2011). Another example of the important role women play in language revitalisation was reported in Te Kura Roa, a study of community value of te reo that was conducted with 775 participants and members of kōhanga reo and Te Ataarangi. The report noted that the majority of participants were



women, “perhaps reflecting the active participation and leadership roles women have taken in the language revitalisation movement and community initiatives” (Te Kura Roa, 2014). These two examples support the findings from this thesis of the importance of women in language revitalisation.

### **Family Language Policy**

The Welsh Language Board (2000) notes that it is impossible for minority languages to survive without deliberate language planning. Language planning has endeavoured to encompass the social context and symbolic value of languages (Kaplan et al. 2000). Language planning tends to address the issues that affect the language at a macro level and family language policy (Caldas, 2012; King et al. 2008) is more focused on issues at a micro level or those that affect family and community. Family language policy assumes a level of critical awareness in at least one member of the whānau.

According to Caldas (2012), language policy within the family is often invisible and for the majority the normal or standard language for the child is the language of their mother. Those families that make a conscious choice to raise their children in a language or languages other than their mother tongue are engaging in a form of family language policy. “Since the family is the child’s immediate microcosm that transmits norms and values, the caregivers’ understanding of language ideologies plays a key role in language socialisation” (Revis, 2015:8). Caldas (2012) considers the home to be where the most significant language planning happens. Family language policies are often flexible and can change as the needs of the family change and, if necessary, are re-negotiated from time to time. Changes can happen when initial strategies are no longer effective or social pressures are such that make these approaches unsuitable. In the case of heritage languages such as Māori, Caldas argues that if families and communities fail to adopt strategies to promote the use of language with the younger generation, languages and their cultures will be lost (ibid).

Family language policy includes critical awareness about the impact decisions have on language use. Spolsky (2007) explains that language policy is a social construct reliant on the co-operation and support of a speech community in their language domains. He goes on to describe three elements of language policy, beliefs, practice and management, in relation to the family domain. Beliefs concern what parents and family members feel that they should be doing in terms of the language, practice is about what they actually do, and language management is about how they influence change in practice and beliefs. The challenge, according to O hlfearnain (2013), arises when language beliefs do not match language practice, as seen in the case of Gaeltacht communities in Ireland where, although there was parental linguistic competence to raise children in Irish, there was not always motivation to do so. He argues the importance of understanding the source of these beliefs and how they might be revised through successful language management. According to Fogle and King (2013), children also have the ability to influence and shape their family's language practices through the use of comments and resistance strategies that can alter language use and impact family language policies.

These elements of language policies – beliefs, practices and management – have significance to this research in that they demonstrate how whānau have ensured what they believe to be optimum conditions for intergenerational language transmission. In Chapter 7, this research examines the relationship between these elements and how practices by whānau match or differ from their beliefs and what action, if any, is taken.

One of the reasons recognised for the lack of success in intergenerational transmission of a heritage language is the gap that exists between parents' stated goals and their actual practices (Yu, 2010). While many parents aspire for their children to speak the heritage language, they show approval when their children use the dominant language and likewise may do so themselves. De Houwer (1999) refers to this as the notion of 'impact belief', a confidence

by parents of their ability to have some form of control over their children's linguistic behaviour. Therefore, parents who subscribe to this notion will purposely plan their strategies, enabling success in their children's acquisition and use of the heritage language. He makes a distinction between a strong and a weak impact belief. A strong impact belief can be recognised where parents are aware of the effect their language efforts have on their children's language development, and a weak impact belief may recognise the importance of the linguistic input but fail to provide any form of direct modelling (ibid).

Parents who demonstrate a strong impact belief are more inclined to be intently focused on their language use and exercise means to convince children to speak the target language. Chumak-Horbatsch (2008) maintains that parental impact beliefs are supported by strategies, such as home language rules and approving or disapproving of the language behaviour of children. The forms of language management can include conscious modelling of the target language and purposely reminding children to speak the target language.

An impact belief appears to be "the intervening variable between positive minority language attitudes and home language management and practices which are conducive to bilingual development" (Revis, 2015:39). Consequently, parents who engage in influencing their children's language use seem more likely to use practices and strategies that encourage target language use. Revis (2015) argues that an impact belief seems to be an essential ingredient for intergenerational language transmission. Explicit language planning, as described by Spolsky (2009), suggests that considerable effort is expended by someone who has authority over another to influence their language practices. Although not compulsory, an explicit plan may be in written form (Spolsky, 2004).

Two main approaches were used in the case studies in this thesis to ensure the transmission of language to the younger generations. The first of these was the One Parent One Language (OPOL) approach, adopted by three of the whānau, a popular approach amongst parents raising bilingual children in monolingual cultures (Bosemark, 2013). In this approach, each parent only speaks one language to the child and consistency is a key factor in ensuring regular contribution by both parents in each language. One parent-one language is generally considered a successful method in raising bilinguals, but is more challenging for those using a minority language or a language that is not their mother tongue (Döpke, 1992). Caldas (2012) argues that with the one parent one language approach, parents' consistency in application is a crucial factor in producing balanced bilinguals. Parents not only have to transmit the heritage language, but they also have to support the status of the language so their children will value the language and want to speak it (ibid).

Another strategy described by Lanza (1997) is the Bilingual-Monolingual Interaction Strategy, a more flexible variation to the one parent one language approach. One parent will speak one language to the child, most likely the minority language, and the other parent speaks both languages. This strategy can be seen to an extent in all the case studies of the whānau reporting to use the one parent one language approach. Although one parent, the fathers, were to be the English-speaking parent, they also, as a consequence of exposure to the Māori language, were able to speak the language in a limited capacity and would often use what language they had acquired with their children (ibid).

The second approach adopted by five of these whānau was the Minority Language at Home (ML@H), also referred to as the 'hot-house' approach (King et al. 2008). It is not as common as the one parent one language approach, but is still a highly successful model for ensuring children learn a minority language other than one that the parent is raised with. It means that both parents speak the minority language at home, even if this is not the

native language of both parents. The minority language at home is seen as one of the most reliable methods for raising native-speaking children as it ensures consistent interaction from birth until the child leaves home (Bosemark, 2013). The added benefits of this model, especially in regard to an endangered language, is that it normalises the language as an ordinary means of everyday communication and intergenerational transmission, leading to a revitalised language after three generations of intergenerational language use.

There are a number of 'parental discourse strategies' (Döpke, 1992; Lanza, 1997, 2004) utilised by parents raising bilinguals, which are recognised as parental responses to children's use of what parents consider the inappropriate language (Revis, 2015). These strategies or techniques are utilised by parents to signal their child to switch to the target language. The techniques include the 'minimal grasp' style (King and Logan-Terry, 2008; Lanza, 2004; Ochs, 1988), which include pretending not to understand what the child is saying or asking for clarification in the target language. This technique can be used in instances where the child uses the majority language and the parent wants them to use the target language. The 'expressed guess' style (Lanza, 2004) is when the child speaks in the majority language and the parent repeats what has been said in the target language, with the expectation of a response from the child. The 'repetition' style (ibid) is similar to the expressed guess, but the child is not expected to respond. The 'move on' style (ibid) can be observed when the conversation between the child in the majority language and parent in the target language continues. The 'move on' technique was not considered effective in promoting bilingualism (King and Logan-Terry, 2008). All of these techniques could be seen as being used by parents in the case studies at differing times and in certain situations.

There needs to be a sense of ownership or connection for the individual or community to want to do something about the endangered language.

Fishman (1996) describes three motives that families and communities can share in the revitalisation of their heritage language. These are sanctity, kinship and moral imperative. The first, a sense of sanctity, embodies the sacredness held within the language and culture, a feeling that the language is more than a means of communication. Secondly, the sense of kinship refers to the integral connections made from within the language that bind members together, and moral imperative refers to the responsibility they feel for the language, what they have received from it and how they can give back.

Codeswitching and translanguaging are terms referred to in this thesis and are clarified here. Codeswitching is whereby a bilingual speaker switches between languages in the same sentence. Children in this research regularly code switched, especially if they did not know a word or phrase in Māori, something not always supported by their parents. Translanguaging is different and Garcia (2009) argues that it is more than codeswitching; it is an approach that is focused on how bilinguals use language to understand their multilingual worlds, rather than on languages themselves. Translanguaging is allowing the use of both languages to allow fluid communication.

### **Immersion Language Domains**

Immersion is considered a critical strategy in the revitalisation of an endangered language and assists significantly in developing and maintaining oral language proficiency. The aim of immersion is to help increase language facility in communities and build strong language environments (Hond, 2013). Immersion language domains are settings of directed language use that assist in normalising target language use and afford prestige and status to the language. These immersion domains also support whānau who have committed to intergenerational transmission of language in their homes. Hond (2013) argues that immersion language domains are times, places or situations where participants are encouraged to build their language proficiency and are motivated in their commitment to assist in revitalising the heritage language. Guidelines can be developed to assist members to

adhere to the policy of immersion in the target language (ibid). Te Ataarangi is one organisation that uses a set of five guidelines to establish a safe immersion environment for its members, the first of these being to not speak English (Kire, 2011). With increased awareness around language choices, they become self-sustaining settings and inspire language use beyond the domain.

Te Huia (2013), in her thesis, investigated influences that impact Māori heritage language learners. She identified that language domains were important to Māori learners as these safe spaces maintained relationships based on normalised language use. These relational domains included family, friends, workplaces or groups, such as church or kapa haka.<sup>24</sup> They provided a shared sense of purpose, an ability to engage in social activities and reduced anxiety around language competence, as well as support and encouragement from others. Hond (2013) defined three types of immersion domains in which language use is managed. These are 'location', 'duration' and 'context'. Location identifies an immersion zone, which restricts the use of the dominant language within its confines. Duration refers to immersion activities that happen within a particular timeframe with clearly defined start and end points. Context is when language use is expected whilst engaging in certain activities or gatherings (ibid:269-270). These defined immersion domains help facilitate social opportunities to use the language with inherent cultural relevance.

### **Speaker Communities**

'Speaker communities' refers to a group of people who come together with the common purpose of restoring language use collectively (Hond, 2013). Essentially, this could refer to a whānau who decide to exclusively use the endangered language within members of their whānau, as evidenced in the case studies in this thesis. Recognising the centrality of speaker communities

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<sup>24</sup> Māori culture group

in language revitalisation can be evidenced in Te Huia (2013). One of the participants in her study shared how, through their language learning programme, they developed a speech community in which the language was normalised. Peers and mentors all communicate with each other through the medium of the Māori language no matter what. The participant goes on to explain, “we’ve established that kind of unwritten law, unspoken law, that just whenever we see each other, or text or email, ko te reo Māori te karawhiu”<sup>25</sup> (ibid:181). It does require a certain level of proficiency to sustain these environments.

Community is vital for language revitalisation, because a living language requires a pool of active speakers, in particular those who speak their language to younger members. For Māori, community can include a group that has a shared interest, those living within a set location or those who share whānau, hapū<sup>26</sup> or iwi<sup>27</sup> connections. Community, as in this research, is a reference point when describing a group of speakers in regular contact with each other who use a common set of language features. A speaker community also implies the need for community development and empowerment, particularly in the situation where a distinct form of local language provides a strong contribution to local identity. It allows a community to form their own preference for language use. Building, supporting and sustaining language speaker domains comes with critical awareness (Hond, 2013). An essential element to this is language planning. The saying that ‘it takes a village to raise a child’ can also be applied to the revitalisation of a language. Without others to communicate with, language revitalisation is a near-impossible task. Improving the state of te reo requires communities who value the language enough to speak it. Building and supporting communities that will speak and keep the language alive is what is missing in the revitalisation of many minority languages. How to build those

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<sup>25</sup>The Māori language is the language used

<sup>26</sup> Sub-tribe

<sup>27</sup> Tribe



communities and help them become self-sustaining is an important part of language revitalisation. Everyone has a part to play in this work from planners, to whānau, to communities of speakers. Speaker communities ensure language use is improved and developed through the ongoing development of relationships. Māori initiatives acknowledge the learner, their whānau and wider support systems inclusively (Te Huia, 2013).

Self-sustaining communities are the ultimate aim in revitalising a language and are what is required for a language to survive – communities where there is a concerted effort by a group of speakers to keep the language alive by using it on a normalised basis. The language is seen as an ordinary, everyday occurrence as opposed to an extraordinary one (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1998). These communities are able to sustain the language from within, rather than being dependent on outside influences. They decide what they need and effect change from within the community first, which then has a ripple effect to those outside of these communities. This can be evidenced in MacPoilin (2014) by his involvement in the Irish speaker community in Belfast, Northern Ireland. MacPoilin and his family became part of the Belfast Neo-Gaeltacht, a minority language community of Irish-speaking families that lived in close proximity to each other and ensured intergenerational language transmission.

### **Whānau Language Development**

There are currently three programmes that have been specifically developed to assist whānau to use the Māori language as a means of everyday communication within the home and community. These programmes have developed with the critical understanding that intergenerational language transmission is essential to language revitalisation and reversing language shift. These initiatives have been previously discussed in Chapter 2. The three initiatives are He Kāinga Kōrerorero, Te Kura Whānau Reo and Kotahi Mano Kāika. The first two have been developed and are delivered by Te Ataarangi and the third is an initiative developed and run by Te Rūnanga o

Ngāi Tahu. The significance of these initiatives is their ability to encourage and support intergenerational language transmission, especially given the lack of exemplars for whānau to follow.

The first initiative, He Kāinga Kōrerorero, has been running now for more than 10 years. He Kāinga Kōrerorero incorporates a number of innovative strategies to increase whānau language use. It started as a pilot, Tukutuku Kōrero, which began providing support for Māori whānau to build critical awareness and help with decision-making about the use of Māori language within the whānau, and provide strategies for whānau to implement their decisions. This project developed into He Kāinga Kōrerorero that aimed to develop a network of mentors to work one on one with 150 whānau. The role of the mentor would be to provide whānau with key information and advice on supporting Māori language use in the home, the information needed to reflect the unique circumstances and aspirations of each whānau and each whānau member. A key focus is the intergenerational transmission of the Māori language. This programme is currently delivered in 16 locations around the country by 22 Pouārahi<sup>28</sup> and is funded by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009).

The second initiative also developed and delivered by Te Ataarangi is Te Kura Whānau Reo. This project, which began in 2014, is funded and supported by the Ministry of Education and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. Working with 75 whānau from the Ministry of Education and 75 whānau from Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, a total of 150 whānau from around the country, it developed whānau language speaker communities. All members of the whānau are supported to learn and speak the language together as a normal means of communication. The development of speaker communities where the language is normalised is a goal of this programme. This programme is

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<sup>28</sup> Language mentor

delivered in 19 locations around the country by 22 language mentors (Andrea Hall, personal communication).

The third initiative, Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata<sup>29</sup> was developed and delivered by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. One of the whānau members who participated in this initiative explains what it means for his whānau:

Kotahi Mano Kāika shifted the focus from the classroom to the home. The classroom is important, but to be a living language it needs to be used in the home. Every word I can teach my children is another word they don't have to go and learn. (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2015)

Kotahi Mano Kāika, which is based on reversing language shift, includes the development of Ngāi Tahu dialect language resources for the home, cluster initiatives and online resources (Timutimu et al. 2011).

All these three initiatives have specifically been developed to assist in the intergenerational transmission of Māori language to future generations. Te Ataarangi programmes, He Kāinga Kōrerorero and Te Kura Whānau Reo, are whānau-centred and employ language mentors to assist whānau in developing family language policies that ensure success in normalising language use within the whānau. A study called 'Te Reo o te Kāinga' conducted by Timutimu et al. (2011) looked at advancing Māori language use in the home within Ngāi Te Rangi, an iwi of Tauranga Moana. This study highlighted among other things the importance of establishing mentors who support whānau in developing and using language in the home.

### **Motivation**

Motivation in regard to second language learning has been defined in terms of the learner's focus or goal in acquiring the language (Norris-Holt, 2001). Gardner (1982) has identified two types of motivation: integrative and

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<sup>29</sup> A thousand homes, a thousand aspirations

instrumental. In integrative motivation the focus is on the learner's attitudes towards the target language group and the desire to become part of the language community. With instrumental motivation the focus is on gaining social prestige or economic advancement (Paulston, 1994). Gardner (1982) describes motivation as comprising three elements: effort, desire and affect. Effort is the time and energy put into acquiring the second language, desire is about how much the learner wants to achieve proficiency in the second language, and affect explains the emotional responses to learning the language (ibid).

Clearly recognised in this research is the integrative motivation of all the parents who learnt Māori as a second language and thereby gain access to the language community they were previously denied entry to. They each have their own stories of motivation in regard to effort, desire and affect, not only whilst learning the heritage language but also extending that through to the transmission of the language to future generations. Added to this equation by Fishman (1991) and seen by the parents in this research are cultural identity and gratification, which can be seen as a sense of satisfaction and fulfilment one experiences from being a part of and understanding one's cultural heritage.

Te Huia (2013) identified some aspects of motivation in Māori language learners, especially those who went on to become highly proficient in the language. Three of these factors were also seen with parents in the case studies. First, an important motivating factor was the sense of belonging they experienced through the acquisition of their heritage language and culture, and a sense of responsibility for all they had received and then being able to pass this on to their children. Not wanting their children to feel like outsiders or not a part of the in-group membership that having the heritage language affords was a big motivating factor for parents, a reason being that the majority of the case study parents had experienced the lived reality of being an outsider. Secondly, developing cultural capital was a motivating factor for

parents as this allowed second language learners to fully participate in cultural practices. To then be able to share the language and associated culture with their children had the added benefit of assisting in the maintenance of their heritage language, thereby maintaining the connection “between past, present and future generations” (Chrisp, 2005:31). Thirdly, motivation to give back for all you have received is recognised as the cultural concept of reciprocity (Rātima and Papesch, 2013). For those who have been fortunate to be mentored and offered guidance, support and encouragement, there is an expectation that they will give back in some way to their community. For many this happens through becoming mentors for other learners (Te Huia, 2013).

Poureo are the members of the whānau who are considered essential in developing and sustaining motivation with Māori language speakers of their whānau. Motivation requires people to establish a special relationship with the language and culture that will sustain them in fostering its use whilst actively involving them in language domains. They make crucial decisions about where, when and with whom they use the heritage language (Hond, 2013). Although researchers have focused on the motivations of second language learners generally, very few have specifically focused on motivations for raising children in a minority heritage language and maintaining their homes as immersion domains. Hana O’Regan (2013), as a second language learner of Māori, offers some insights into the challenges she has had raising her children in their heritage language. “I struggled daily with my commitment to only speak Māori to my children... I had little appreciation of how hard it would be on a daily basis” (ibid:91). However, she did persevere and her children are now proficient bilinguals. The challenge she faces now is trying to maintain Māori as the primary means of communication amongst her and her children. Hana describes the ongoing challenges she faces:

I remain committed to maintaining a Māori language speaking home... however, the frustrations I experience daily challenge this commitment and conviction, usually due to the limitations I

continue to face as a second language learner of te reo and the children's increased tendency to turn to English. I continue to struggle to find ways of expressing and explaining things in te reo that I have never had to explain before. (ibid:92)

The reality of developing and maintaining an endangered language within the whānau is not easy, especially given the lack of exemplars to follow, but with motivation and support it can be accomplished. Hana's commitment to ensure the language does not die is what continues to keep her motivated.

### **Cultural Identity**

Houkamau and Sibley (2010) recognise that there are different ways of being Māori. They describe three Māori sub-groups as defined by Durie (1994). The first group is considered 'culturally' Māori in that they have an understanding of whakapapa, Māori language and customs. The second group is 'bicultural', as they identify as Māori and also operate effectively amongst Pākehā, and the third group is 'marginalized' and unable to relate effectively to either Māori or Pākehā. For the purposes of this research, parents in the case studies are considered 'culturally Māori' in that they have a positive attitude to being Māori, they are knowledgeable about their whakapapa, and are proficient in the Māori language and Māori customs and cultural practices. Baldwin (2013:8) adds, "if we want to preserve certain aspects of our culture, we must know how our culture differs from others and our language gives some insight into this important issue." McIntosh (2005) explains the dilemma faced when these factors are not present. Being unable to understand and speak the language of your ancestors can be a factor that excludes you in certain forums. "The sense of shame experienced by those who are non-speakers is very real. The psychological obstacles to learning a language that one feels one should know, should naturally know, are considerable" (ibid:45).

A love and passion for the language is something that all the whānau in this study displayed. Whilst the strong connection between language and culture

does not guarantee language maintenance, it does appear to encourage parents to transfer their positive language attitudes to their children (Revis, 2015). The parents in this thesis valued the language to such a point that they felt compelled and saw it as their responsibility to first acquire the language as second language learners and then ensure they passed it on to their children and grandchildren. Ruckstuhl (2014), in 'He Iho Reo', a qualitative study which measured the amount of Māori language used within a whānau, describes how participants perceived the Māori language as a crucial indicator of identity. Participants explained the important and meaningful role the Māori language played in their identity as Māori. These participants also noted that they felt more complete because of their ability to speak the language. Language plays a key factor in the cultural identity of the whānau in this thesis and their experiences would be similar to those in 'He Iho Reo', especially in recognising the important connection between language and identity.

Rātima (2013) describes how the desire to know one's Māori identity can become a motivating factor in acquiring the language. A significant part of that identity includes fluency in the language that in turn holds the key to in-depth knowledge and a better understanding of Māoritanga.<sup>30</sup> "Seeing the value of te reo... was the prerequisite, the catalyst and the primary motivator to begin and maintain a commitment to learning te reo" (ibid:127). According to Rātima, this value was often a realisation that came later in life, for some not until they became parents. How they continued to develop and evolve that identity then had an impact on them seeing the value beyond just acquiring the language and continuing that journey on to using that language on a normal, everyday basis with their whānau. Identity can be considered a very fluid thing that changes as the individual grows and is dependent on their experiences.

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<sup>30</sup> Māori way of life, including language and culture

## **Summary**

This chapter gives an insight into some of the prominent factors that led to the shift in the Māori language, its impending demise and the breakdown of intergenerational language transmission. Education policies and the schooling system has had a major effect on the language decline, something strongly supported by Māori parents and leaders of the time whose principal aim was bilingualism, not replacing one language with the other. Another factor in considering language shift was the move of Māori from rural to urban locations in search of increased economic opportunities that were only available for speakers of English. The result was a generation who were raised without their heritage language and its associated culture.

Language shift occurred and the past forty years have been concentrated on reversing that shift through a number of revitalisation strategies. These strategies have assisted to some extent, but language use in the home is not yet normalised with the majority of whānau who are proficient in the Māori language. Language revitalisation requires equal efforts in the areas of status, corpus, acquisition, critical awareness and use to ensure success in reversing language shift. Another key factor is family language policy, which assists families to plan in relation to language use among family members. The following chapter looks at the methodology applied to this research and introduces the upcoming case studies that explore the experiences of eight whānau who made the decision to raise their children as first language speakers of Māori.



## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### **Introduction**

This chapter looks at the methodological approach used in the case studies that follow in Chapters 4 and 5. A case study approach was adopted as the means of gathering and analysing data for the eight whānau that were interviewed in this research. This chapter considers how the process of inquiry in research can be understood from a Māori worldview.

This research involves a series of eight case studies involving whānau who had made the choice to actively raise their children or grandchildren through the medium of the Māori language. Eight case studies were chosen so as to include a number of diverse factors, including whānau living in a rural or urban location, whānau with two and three generations living together and to determine if there were significant contrasts. Participants were recruited through Māori language community and whānau contacts. The main consideration was that the parents were proficient speakers of the language and had normalised the use of language within their whānau. Whānau came from a range of locations, from as far north as Kaitaia and as far south as Dunedin, were associated with a variety of iwi and had differing socioeconomic circumstances. All Māori-speaking parents except one had acquired Māori as a second language learner.

#### **Inquiry Paradigm**

A paradigm is a system of assumptions, values and practices that define a worldview perspective (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990). This worldview affects choices researchers make as they interpret the world. An

inquiry paradigm applied in a research setting looks to establish an appropriate framework that guides the researcher (Ratima, 2003).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) define three distinct inquiry paradigms that pertain to research: ontology, epistemology and methodology. Ontology concerns the nature of knowing or being and can be seen as a continuum with realism at one end and relativism at the other (Cram, 1995). A 'realist' views the world as objective with a single reality and a 'relativist' recognises that there are a myriad of perceptions that are influenced by our lived experiences (Ratima, 2003). Epistemology is the study of how knowledge is acquired and explores the relationship between the inquirer and what can be known (ibid). Cram (1995) describes epistemology as a continuum with objectivity at one end and subjectivity at the other. An objective perception would be that everyone has a similar experience of knowledge, thereby knowledge is acquired in the same way. The subjective view would be that knowledge is personal, thereby a different experience for each person (Ratima, 2003). Methodology is explained by Ratima as the process of analysis that defines the methods employed (ibid). Hond (2013) describes how the method of enquiry will be influenced by the researcher's worldview. He argues that a fourth premise, axiology, as noted by Guba and Lincoln (1994), supports the concept of intrinsic value related to the research: "It incorporates spirituality, aesthetics and religion that historically have not been well recognised from a positivist position" (ibid:172).

### **Māori Inquiry Paradigm**

Ratima (2003) argues that a Māori worldview has difficulty fitting a Western inquiry paradigm. Māori occupy a unique worldview and accordingly ontological and epistemological positions, which brings into question the validity of conducting Māori research within the confines of a Western paradigm. Ratima adds that a foremost characteristic of a Māori inquiry paradigm is the holistic Māori worldview that is based on cultural connections and can be understood through a lens of cultural values (ibid).

Māori researchers, such as Smith (1999), did not develop a Māori inquiry paradigm, but created ideological space known as kaupapa Māori (Hond, 2013). A kaupapa Māori approach is a methodology that is widely used by Māori researchers to create space for discourse about how research is able to best meet the needs of Māori, whilst questioning the premise of deficit-based research (Waetford, 2008). Of importance to Māori are the principles, usefulness and ownership of the research and the methodology needs to align to both of these principles (ibid). A notion often conveyed in Māori circles is the expression 'by Māori for Māori', commonly referred to as kaupapa Māori research (Cram et al. 2003; Smith, 1995). A Māori-centred method to research believes that Māori people, their language and culture are the central focus of the research process (Durie, 1997; Jahnke and Taiapa, 1999). According to Jahnke (2001), the notion of a Māori worldview is a distinct Māori ontology and epistemology based in Māori language, values and cultural practices. A Māori-centred approach takes into consideration the lived reality of being Māori by engaging in models that align with Māori experiences.

Since the beginning of Māori Studies within the tertiary sector, the Māori language has been a central focus and what Reilly (2011) describes as the heart and soul of Māori Studies. It is a unique space that enables the predominantly Māori staff and students to apply the cultural practices and norms they study. Research that involves Māori communities locates Māori culture as important to Māori practices and understandings, as opposed to Pākehā research that entailed research about Māori by non-Māori that was frequently biased and misleading. In contrast, Māori research managed within the framework of Māori Studies and being conducted by Māori for Māori can instil a sense of empowerment and inclusion (ibid). Māori Studies according to Durie (1996) are concerned with reflecting Māori experiences, philosophies, methodologies, theories and a Māori-centred approach. Walker (1991) recognises how Māori Studies positioned within universities can be an

uncomfortable fit. However, he acknowledges that, due to such positioning, Māori Studies is a means through which transformative learning can be achieved (Tiakiwai, 2015).

The central focus of this thesis is the Māori language and, as such, it is clearly situated within the framework of Māori Studies. It incorporates research that is based in Māori communities and acknowledges Māori language, culture and identity as the core component of participants' perceptions and experiences. The overall aim of this research is to create, in alignment with Māori Studies, a contribution to the "bodies of knowledge rooted in indigenous histories and cultures" (Reilly, 2011:355).

### **Qualitative Research Approach**

Qualitative research contributes to an understanding of social phenomena, giving value to the experiences and beliefs of participants (Patton, 1990). As Moewaka Barnes (2006) explains, qualitative research is an approach preferred by some Māori researchers, given that it acknowledges the voice of participants and consequently their oral traditions. DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009) describe the benefit of qualitative research as the ability to facilitate opportunities to investigate a number of issues pertaining to participants, including their opinions, feelings and experiences. Through this interpretive process, themes naturally develop from discussions as opposed to pre-empting them, as can be seen in this thesis. Vickers (2002) adds that similar to other types of research, stories and narratives enhance knowledge systems. Narrative inquiry assists to position and describe people's experiences from within the cultural framework that they are conceived and shared in (McAdams, 2001).

Qualitative research in general is more inclined to focus on the detailed content of each case and report the findings through an in-depth, rich and broad interpretation of lived experience (Hond, 2013). Any concerns that may arise in regard to an imbalance of power between participants and

researchers can be eased by the positioning of the researcher as a cultural insider conducting the research through a Māori cultural framework (ibid). Smyth and Holian (1999) convey that the position of the insider challenges the researcher to engage in and acknowledge the participants' lived reality whilst confronting the researcher's assumptions and perceptions. This enables a process of learning and reflection by the insider that ensures engagement with research communities (ibid). Most importantly with this method is it helps to validate the participants' contribution, giving them a voice and thereby ensuring the research process is a means of empowerment (Tiakiwai, 2015). This thesis adopted the qualitative research approach with an emphasis on narrative inquiry, as described in this section.

### **Thematic Analysis**

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis can be seen as a basis for qualitative analysis. A benefit of thematic analysis is its flexibility. It is useful in providing a rich and detailed report of data. It is a research approach that can be used to recognise, examine and describe patterns or themes in the research data. Often seen in thematic analysis is an emphasis on the passive perspective of the data analysis process, which tends to negate the active role the researcher has in recognising themes, choosing those of interest and reporting them in the findings (ibid).

Thematic analysis can be used within a variety of frameworks as it is not attached to any one approach. Themes can be recognised as encapsulating an important aspect of the data as it relates to the research question that signifies a type of patterned response or significance in the data (ibid). The analysis of data for this thesis involved a thematic approach.

### **Case Study Methodology**

Stake (1995) identifies three different types of case study: intrinsic, instrumental and collective. An intrinsic case study follows the inherent appeal of the topic, an instrumental case study looks at an area of research in

order to gain understanding of some other issue, and collective case study – the chosen method for this research – looks at several case studies in order to gain a collective understanding of the issue. The methods employed will differ according to the type of case study undertaken. According to Simmons (2009), case studies are effective in recognising the process of change. The methodology in case studies can be flexible and not limited to one particular approach. Case studies have the ability to engage participants in the research process. In case study research, interviews are a highly valuable method of gathering information (Hond, 2013). In this thesis, a collective case study methodology was undertaken.

### **Research Purpose and Methodology**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the experiences of eight whānau in maintaining a heritage language to discover the successful strategies they employed and examine the challenges they faced. My decision to focus on the experiences of whānau was due to the lack of literature available on such understandings, particularly from the perspective of an endangered language. This research contributes to the knowledge of successful heritage language maintenance to assist in informing the practices of other whānau wanting to raise their children as first language speakers of Māori, even when conditions are not ideal. The study concentrates on experiences and strategies utilised by parents in maintaining Māori immersion domains with their children. The aim of this research is to intentionally focus on the positive effects of the normalising process as a large number of researchers are conducting research from a deficit perspective. The research question posed for this study was: ‘What are the success factors that normalise the use of Māori language within the whānau?’

A paramount consideration in undertaking research is understanding the role and responsibilities the researcher has in the project. “This means establishing... a relationship with participants that respects human dignity and integrity and in which people can trust” (Simmons, 2009:96). Te Huia (2013)

reminds us that, as Māori researchers conducting research with Māori, it is essential to recognise that relationships developed with participants will continue beyond the life of the research project. Therefore, it is important for me as the researcher to maintain a sense of humility and acknowledge the role of participating whānau as, in what Smith (1995) describes, the collective custodians of indigenous knowledge.

In this study, four of the whānau who participated in the research I had known for a number of years prior to the start of the research, therefore a rapport was already in place. The other four whānau were referred by language community contacts and whānau members. This means of introduction gave us a common connection and my rapport with these whānau was reinforced throughout the interview process through the cultural concept of whanaungatanga. I located myself as an insider in this research, as I have a vested interest, a personal stake, in the research and have been involved in the area of language revitalisation for a number of years. Smith (1999) argues that the Māori researcher carries dual responsibility when research is conducted within Māori communities. They are both insider, being of the research group, and an outsider, given their formal training and engagement to undertake a piece of research. Important to the Māori researcher's role as an insider are the qualities of humility and reflexivity. These qualities assist in maintaining a balance within the complex and ongoing relationships of the researched community (ibid). I chose this research subject because of an interest I have in how whānau are able to maintain an immersion environment in their homes for many years, more so when that language is acquired as a second language and use of that language becomes normalised in the home.

The method selected for this research was a case study strategy and followed a qualitative, collective-type approach, exploring the experiences of whānau raising their children as first language speakers of the Māori language. In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with parents from each of the eight whānau. In five of the eight case studies, both parents were present

for the interviews. One case was a single parent and the remaining two parents were unavailable at the time.

I chose to include interviews, a valuable source of information for case study research in this thesis, because it was important for me to ensure the experiences of the whānau in terms of raising their children in the Māori language were heard. In deciding what enabled these whānau to succeed in normalising the Māori language within their whānau, I was aware that participants' thoughts and understandings needed to be examined as a central part of the analysis. Interviews consisted of a series of semi-structured open-ended questions designed to elicit information and understanding from the parents of the elements they consider important in maintaining the use of Māori with their children. Bishop and Glynn (1999a) describe the benefits of using semi-structured interviews as a process of allowing the interviews to flow, thereby giving the flexibility to digress and explore beyond what the pre-set questions may reveal. The parents' experiences, although similar in that they are all raising their children as first language speakers of Māori, reflect the uniqueness of each whānau and their differing experiences.

An invitation to whānau to be involved in this research was made by email. This gave each whānau the opportunity to evaluate the information and make an informed decision as to whether they wanted to be involved or not in the study without feeling pressured. This process aligns with the metaphor Bishop and Glynn (1999b) use to describe in the giving and accepting of koha.<sup>31</sup> Research located in a cultural context can be seen as the manuhiri (researcher) offering their koha and allowing the hosts (whānau) the ability to consider whether they will accept it or not, thereby ensuring both parties remain in control with their mana<sup>32</sup> intact.

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<sup>31</sup> Gift

<sup>32</sup> A principle denoting status, prestige, dignity, autonomy



I was aware that there was potential to affect both the collection of and analysis of data due to this pre-existing relationship. Following acceptance of my request, a time and place for the interviews was set. An important consideration for me in this research was conducting the interviews in what Smith (1999) describes as 'kanohi kitea',<sup>33</sup> which for me was attending the interviews in person as opposed to other means of contact, such as Skype. Given our modern lifestyles with work, whānau and community commitments, it was important for me as a Māori researcher to connect with each whānau in person, especially with those whom I had not previously met. There were two whānau who I thought may be suitable as participants and who had started the journey of creating an immersion environment with their whānau, but had not as yet reached the point of normalisation and therefore were not included in the research. Using a Māori-centred approach that validates the experiences of whānau ensured they were comfortable and open to sharing during the interview process.

Data from the interviews was collated and analysed using the six-phase thematic approach of Braun and Clarke (2006) described later in this chapter. In some cases parents were asked for further clarification. Case study outlines were sent to all the whānau for their feedback. Interview transcripts provided the basis for the analysis and reporting of findings. The researcher was aware of the need for consistency through the data collection process, whilst allowing for the differing needs of whānau, with a uniform approach in the interpretation of findings.

### **Case Study Whānau**

All whānau members are of Māori descent, except two parents who are Cook Island and Tongan. Several of the parents are of mixed Māori and Pākehā ancestry. The selection of whānau looked at a geographical spread from around the country to include a mix of demographics and socioeconomic

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<sup>33</sup> The seen face, that is, present yourself to people face to face (Smith, 1999:120).

conditions, as well as a mix of rural and urban settings. Whānau selected were from Kaitaia, Auckland, Hamilton, Rotorua, Hastings, Palmerston North and Dunedin with five of the whānau living outside of their tribal boundaries. This was significant, as these whānau would often travel great distances to maintain the connection with their cultural base. Whānau were typically involved in a number of language and cultural activities in the communities they lived in. Although not always the case, their increased involvement in cultural activities within their iwi and other iwi was a process that developed as their proficiency and commitment to language revitalisation increased. All were involved in teaching and speaking the language outside of their whānau immersion environment and were aware of the state of the language and believed that they had a part to play in its revitalisation. The whānau who participated in this research could be considered culturally well connected and not a general representation of Māori whānau living in New Zealand.

Table 2: Demographics by region (Statistics New Zealand, 2013)

Area	Kaitaia West gen pop	Albert-Eden gen pop	Hamilton	Rotorua	P/North	Flaxmere gen pop	Dunedin
% pop	59.4	6.8	21.3	37.5	16.5	54.1	7.7
MPNZ	-	1.0	4.8	3.7	2.1	-	1.5
Income	19,500	28,500	21,400	21,900	23,900	19,600	18,800
50k+	11.5	29.9	16.8	15.5	18.3	9.4	18.0
P-SQ	58.2	82.3	70.0	66.7	72.8	58.3	79.2
BA+	7.6	26.5	13.5	10.1	11.7	5.1	16.7
UE	19.1	11.4	19.5	19.0	14.9	12.9	13.2
Work	Prof/Man	Prof/Lab	Prof/Lab	Lab	Com/Lab	Lab	Prof/Lab
Rent	180	370	290	230	250	230	250
KM gen	18.1	Chinese	5.6	11.6	3.9	17.5	French
KMMāo	32.1 Far North	16.9	24.1	29.0	20.3	24.9 Hastings	15.0

Key:

- % pop           percentage of population of that area
- MPNZ           Māori population of New Zealand
- Income         Median income level for Māori
- 50k+           Māori earning in excess of \$50k annually
- P-SQ           Post-school qualification
- NFQ            No formal qualification
- UE             Unemployed
- Work           Main type of work for Māori
  - Lab: Labourer
  - Man: Manager
  - Prof: Professional
  - Com: Community and Personal Service Worker
- KM gen         General population who speak Māori. Māori was the second most spoken language in all areas except in Albert-Eden (Northern Chinese) and Dunedin (French).
- KM Māo        Māori population who speak Māori

Table 2 above gives some basic statistics, including Māori population, language use, income, types of work, unemployment and qualifications, as well as the percentage of the population who speak the Māori language. There were some dramatic demographic differences in these statistics based on location. This is discussed later in this chapter under demographics.

The eight whānau who participated in this research consisted of 36 people, 16 adults aged 31–54 and 20 children aged 3–18. Of the 16 adults, seven were male and nine were female. Of the 20 children, nine were male and 11 were female. In the cases that whānau did not fit the criteria, they were

asked to suggest possible whānau they know who might be suitable. Two whānau were recruited through this process. There were 13 parents present for the interviews and a sister of one of the parents. Two of the non-Māori-speaking fathers were not in attendance at the interviews. Of the 16 adults, 12 were second language speakers of the Māori language, one was a first language speaker and three were non-Māori speakers with a limited understanding of the Māori language. Of the 20 children, one was a non-Māori speaker with a basic understanding of Māori.

English was the main language spoken to the parents as they were growing up even though many of their parents were proficient speakers of the Māori language. Of the 12 proficient Māori-speaking parents, all spoke Māori to their children or grandchildren most of the time, except in the cases of adolescents where language use dropped dramatically. All of the parents proficient in Māori indicated that they spoke Māori the majority of the time to their children about ordinary everyday matters. All whānau had enrolled some, if not all, their children in a type of Māori medium education (see Table 4). Parents had undertaken some form of tertiary education with qualifications ranging from diploma through to PhD level. The majority of parents were employed in education professions from primary through to tertiary education, either part or full time. In addition, many had roles and responsibilities closely connected to their marae, hapū and iwi which involved taking on teaching roles to assist in the revitalisation of language and customs in their regions.

### **Data Collection**

The use of semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions was employed with whānau in the case studies. Each whānau was asked the same questions, although often questions were answered in the course of the parents sharing their experiences, so all questions may not have been specifically asked. All interviews, including the pilot case study, were conducted over a five-month period between July and November 2013. This

research was approved by Victoria University Human Ethics Committee in June 2013 (see Appendix 4).

My initial plans were to interview both the parents and children, eight years and older; however, time constraints did not allow for this. Of the eight interviews conducted, in only three cases were children present. This was because most interviews were conducted during school hours, as these were the times that best suited the parents. The three cases where children were present were held on the weekend or in the evening. Having the children present added another dimension to the interviews and in one case I had a chance to ask them a couple of questions, although the children were not too forthcoming.

Two of the whānau with younger children were keen to demonstrate to me what they had been recently learning in their homes. One whānau (four children) sang seven verses of a mōteatea<sup>34</sup> they were learning and the other whānau (two of three children) sang a waiata<sup>35</sup> and performed a haka they had learned at an immersion enrichment programme they attended one day a week. This seemed to demonstrate cultural pride by both these whānau. Knowing four of the whānau, I had the opportunity while attending various events together to observe the language use between children and parents, as well as language use with other Māori-speaking adults and children.

The venues in which the interviews were held were chosen by the participants to ensure they were comfortable and at ease during the interview process. Four of the whānau chose to be interviewed in their homes, three in their places of work and one at my place of work. The interviews ranged in length from 1 hour to 2.5 hours with an average of 1.5 hours. Consent forms and an information sheet (see Appendices One and Two) were sent to participants by email prior to the interview. All whānau agreed to the interviews being

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<sup>34</sup> Traditional chant

<sup>35</sup> Song

recorded and signed a consent form prior to starting the interviews. All participants agreed to their names being used in the research. In a Māori context it is helpful in understanding the analysis to know about those being researched and where they are from. Identifying people culturally helps to connect the reader and adds credibility to the research. Participants were sent a copy of the case study outline for approval and were given the chance to make changes and correct any errors made by the researcher. The majority of participants made minor changes to the proposed scripts. Participants chose which language they would like the interview to be conducted in. Five whānau opted to conduct the interview in Māori, two in English. One of these two whānau chose English because an English-speaking parent was present, and the remaining interview was carried out in a mix of both Māori and English.

Prior to the interviews, I conducted a pilot case study, which helped me further define the interview process and refine questions that ensured the appropriate information was gathered. Questions used in the interviews came out of the literature review and were further refined in response to the pilot study conducted. This process included eliminating some of the questions as they gave similar responses, joining some questions together and adding two additional questions. This proved to be a valuable exercise in not only refining the interview process, but also in exploring other previously unrecognised ways of obtaining useful data. The pilot case study was conducted with a whānau living in Hamilton. The circumstances for the pilot case study were different from the majority of whānau in the case studies, but similar to case study 7 in that the grandmother, a proficient second language speaker of Māori, was raising two of her grandchildren and had started speaking Māori to them after English had already become established as their first language.

## Data Analysis

Each of the interviews was transcribed from the recording made. The data was analysed using the six-phase thematic analysis approach described in Table 3 by Braun and Clarke (2006:87).

Table 3: Phases of thematic analysis

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Throughout the analysis phases there were times when further clarification was required from participants. In these cases, the participants were emailed asking for further clarification on particular issues and their responses were extremely helpful in illuminating specific details from the interviews.

## Whānau

Cunningham et al. (2005) describe 'whānau' as more than simply an extended family network, it is the fundamental social structure within Māori society. Whakapapa-based whānau are descended from a common ancestor and retain a connection to land and other resources and assume certain responsibilities and obligations. Whānau live a range of social, economic and

cultural realities, the foundation of which embraces the values of whanaungatanga<sup>36</sup> and manaakitanga.<sup>37</sup> Traditional concepts of whānau have broadened in modern times to include kaupapa-based whānau<sup>38</sup> who share a common bond, often through a shared purpose (ibid).

The majority of whānau in these case studies were familiar with and actively engaged not only in cultural activities at whānau level, but also many were involved at hapū and iwi levels. Some lived within their iwi boundaries and participated in cultural activities, whilst others travelled some distance to return to their tribal homelands to participate in whānau and cultural events. As described by Kruger et al. (2004), 'whānau' have the capacity to hold one accountable through the notion of reciprocal and mutual obligations. All whānau in the case studies lived in a nuclear-type setting with only the parents and their children residing in the household, except in case study 3 where the sister of one of the parents lived with the whānau. The majority of whānau lived in close proximity and shared close connections with other whānau members, including grandparents, aunts, uncles, siblings and cousins.

Seven of the whānau were two-parent families and one was a single parent who still had some contact with the other Māori-speaking parent. For this research, this whānau was considered a one Māori parent speaker household. In four of the whānau, both parents spoke Māori and the other four whānau had one Māori-speaking parent, although all of the non-Māori-speaking parents had gained a limited understanding of the language. One of the parents had been raised speaking Tongan,<sup>39</sup> another speaking Cook Island Māori.<sup>40</sup> In the four whānau who had only one Māori-speaking parent, all

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<sup>36</sup> An ethical principle denoting connectedness to Māori collectives

<sup>37</sup> The process of showing hospitality, generosity and care for others

<sup>38</sup> Groups who come together for a common purpose, sharing whānau values and ways of working

<sup>39</sup> Pacific Island language from Tonga

<sup>40</sup> Pacific Island language from the Cook Islands



were women. Four of the whānau were raising whāngai.<sup>41</sup> The concept of whāngai is a traditional Māori practice where a child or children are raised by someone other than their birth parents, often a relative. A common type of whāngai includes a grandchild being raised by grandparents (Keane, 2014). Traditionally, whāngai being raised by grandparents or elder relatives was done to strengthen kinship bonds and keep whakapapa connections alive (McRae and Nikora, 2006). The varieties of compositions of whānau within this research highlight the point that family composition does not have a strong impact on the normalisation of language use. Essentially, any type of whānau could undertake raising their children as first language speakers of the Māori language.

Parents in three of the whānau had older children for whom they did not transmit the language intergenerationally due to their lack of proficiency at the time. Some of these children, now adults, had gone on to learn the Māori language as second language learners. The later addition of younger children, mokopuna<sup>42</sup> or whāngai gave them the chance to consider the option of intergenerational transmission, given their increase in language proficiency and critical awareness. One parent with older children, in case study 1, had successfully transmitted the language to his older children and had continued this exclusively Māori language relationship with them to this day. He was also a Poureo in his whānau, ensuring the intergenerational transmission continued with a mokopuna he is now raising.

Of the 20 children in the study, 15 had been immersed in the Māori language since birth. Four had been immersed from the time they either came to live with their whānau or, as in case study 7, the parent started speaking Māori to her first child when he was two and a half years old, and one was raised in English. Many parents decided at a crucial time, that is, prior to the birth of their child or the arrival of their whāngai, that they would speak only Māori to

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<sup>41</sup> Fostered, adopted child

<sup>42</sup> Grandchild

this child or children. Some parents made the choice whilst they were expecting their babies and others had made the decision prior to this, as in case study 6.

### **Language Learning and Use**

Of the 12 Māori-speaking parents, 11 of them had learnt Māori as a second language and one was a native speaker of the language. An ex-partner of one of the participants was also a native speaker. Of these parents, 11 were teachers, six were current or past tutors of Te Ataarangi, five were trained as Māori medium teachers in primary, secondary or early childhood, and one was a carver and was involved in running different types of wānanga<sup>43</sup> for his whānau and the wider community.

For this study I was interested in parents who had established their homes as a Māori language domain, and the normalised use of Māori was established within the whānau regardless of who they were with or where they were. All the Māori-speaking participants had attained a level of proficiency that allowed natural transmission of the language to their children. Rātima (2013) defines a highly proficient adult speaker as being able to speak, listen, read and write in the language and that conversations with other speakers are natural and they are adept at fully expressing themselves. Another measure is that the person is comfortable and can communicate effectively in an immersion environment, regardless of where or with whom it is.

There were varying degrees of Māori and English language use within these eight whānau. Four whānau had two Māori-speaking parents who predominantly spoke Māori to their children, but self-reported to speak a degree of English between themselves (20% to 75%) (see case study 1 to case study 4). Three whānau had a non-Māori-speaking parent in the home,

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<sup>43</sup> Forum for learning and discussions

so English was used between that parent and their children and also with the Māori-speaking parent.

Some children attended mainstream schooling, so their school days would have been conducted in English with a return to Māori after school. Others attended Māori medium education, so they would be exposed to Māori during their day, although it was not determined whether these children also used Māori in the playground. They would have then been exposed to Māori and English in the home. Even though at least one parent exclusively spoke Māori to their children, there was still a huge influence of English in these homes. The influence of English was determined by the parents' use of Māori or English between themselves, and the use of English from extended whānau and visitors, as well as the effects of the many forms of media. Some whānau chose a combination of mainstream and Māori medium for their children.

Many of the parents in the case studies had parents who had been raised in the language, but who chose not to speak it with them. Reasons for this have been highlighted in Chapter 2. The impact on their children, the parents in this study, is revealed through their stories. The outcome was the decision by these parents to learn the language to a high level of proficiency and then to continue on to transmit it to their own children. Many had a minimal amount of contact with the language whilst growing up with some having taken it as an academic subject at school and a couple had been involved in bilingual classes during their schooling years. Five of the parents shared how they had heard the language being used between their parents and other family or friends of that generation whilst they were growing up and consequently would have developed a passive understanding of the language.

### **Education Options**

Education was important to all of these parents and all had completed some form of tertiary studies, predominantly in the area of education. As seen in

Table 4, of the 20 children in this research, 13 were in immersion educational settings; nine attending kura kaupapa Māori and four in Māori immersion units within mainstream schools. Two attended an immersion enrichment programme one day a week and mainstream the other days of the week, three were in mainstream schools and one was in day care. The last had already left school and was pursuing a career in the Army. All whānau had at least one child in some form of Māori medium schooling. Four of the whānau chose mainstream schooling for some of their children. In three of the whānau all children attended kura kaupapa Māori, one had Māori medium in mainstream, two had a mixture of kura kaupapa and mainstream, and two had a mixture of Māori medium in mainstream and mainstream. Reasons for choosing mainstream schooling included wanting to develop their child's English language skills, lack of choice in the area, wanting their children to be able to walk to school and the child's choice.

### **Negotiating Space**

Spolsky (2007) recognises that a language domain is generally a social space, such as home or family, school, church or workplace. Given that the predominant language domain for these whānau was the home, an important consideration was how they negotiated space around the endangered language with partners and other non-speaking children in the whānau. Smith et al. (2014) argue that negotiating space requires a profound understanding of whānau and individual dynamics, which can be influenced by authority and identity. In relation to this research, this would have included parents together, children together, and between parents and children. For whānau, this is dependent on coming to a place of compassionate understanding considered contrary to a common resolution, respecting different values and ways of knowing.

Consideration is required by partners and sometimes children as to how space will be negotiated in their home, whose language is used in what circumstances in the homes where two languages were being spoken, and

what restrictions and/or guidelines are applicable. For the whānau who had two Māori-speaking parents, this was often an easier task, although there was tension around the amount of dominant language used between the partners. A partner in one of the two Māori-speaking whānau (see case study 2) insisted that her husband only spoke English to her when their children were not around, the reason being to minimise the times their children heard them speaking English together. Tension can exist in that each parent may have different thoughts about how and when they converse in Māori together, so negotiations need to be had as to how this will play out for each whānau. These restrictions were seen to change over time and were dependent on a number of factors. Certainly as children came into adolescence a big change in space could be seen.

### **Demographics**

The initial plan for this research was to have a range of whānau from both urban and rural locations to test for differences and similarities experienced in demographics and socioeconomic factors. Due to the lack of contacts in rural locations, only one whānau came from a rural location and the other seven whānau were from urban areas. Demographics differed between the locations in the socioeconomic factors and how likely it was to hear the Māori language being spoken in these communities. Support to create and maintain immersion environments was a big part of this research, so hearing the language being spoken by others in the community can be a big part of how the whānau views the status of the language and to feel that it is acceptable to use the language in the community.

Whānau were selected from a range of urban locations around the country, seven from within the North Island and one from the South Island. They ranged not only in the population of Māori residing in those areas, but also in the numbers of Māori speakers living in these areas. In most of the areas, Māori was the second most common language spoken, except for two of the areas. In Albert-Eden in Auckland, Chinese was the second most common

language spoken and in Dunedin it was French. The percentage of people who spoke Māori showed a dramatic variance from 15% in Dunedin to 32% in the Far North (Kaitaia) (see Table 2), indicating the probability that someone would be twice as likely to hear the Māori language spoken in Kaitaia than in Dunedin. These statistics were significant as they showed the areas likely to have access to other whānau raising their children in the language and thereby have support to normalise the language for these whānau. Other factors, such as the rate of unemployment and average incomes, were looked at as these have been recognised as having a bearing on self-esteem and identity, which may be factors that influence a person to want to learn their language (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1998).

Christensen (2001) argues that the socioeconomic position of Māori whānau and the added tensions can be problematic for energy to be directed towards reversing language shift. Other factors included educational qualifications, the median age and the average amount of rent charged in these areas. As previously explained, the majority of the parents in this study were teachers working in a variety of educational settings. One worked at a university, three worked at whare wānanga, two were primary school teachers, one was in early childhood, three were self-employed Māori language tutors, one delivered wānanga in te reo and tikanga,<sup>44</sup> and one worked at an after-school programme that also ran holiday programmes for children.

Rātima (2013) explains the significance of understanding population distribution in relation to minority language maintenance and the importance of access to other speakers able to engage in naturalistic conversations. Language speakers can often be recognised in and around Māori immersion schooling where a high density of speakers reside and where speaker communities may be prevalent. This does not exclude locations of lower numbers of speakers, as these conditions can sometimes be the impetus for

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<sup>44</sup> Māori language and customs

these communities to gather, often for support and opportunities for language use. Such is the case in Dunedin, which had one of the lowest percentages of Māori population and the lowest number of Māori speakers, but where the Māori speaker community was very strong and they had many shared activities and opportunities to use the language together. Another factor that assists heritage language maintenance is the relative ease in which whānau are able to return to their tribal homelands for connectivity, support and the continued development and reflection of their language skills.

The demographics looked at the percentage of Māori people living in the locations of the whānau in the case studies. These statistics varied considerably with the lowest percentage of Māori, 6.8% in Albert-Eden, Auckland to 59.4%, the highest, in Kaitia West (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). The Māori population in the locations ranged, with two locations at under 10%, two above 50% and the remaining between 20% and 40% (ibid). The probability of hearing the Māori language being spoken, was more likely in the areas with a higher percentage of Māori.

Overall, the demographics gave an indication of the make-up of Māori living in that area and also the socioeconomic make-up of the area. Income levels, qualifications, unemployment rate and average rental prices followed the same pattern, with the higher income levels in the lower Māori population areas. In two of the areas, Auckland and Dunedin, Māori was not the next mostly spoken language after English. In these areas it was Chinese and French, respectively. This then gives an indication of the factors that these whānau may have been up against in not only their language being an endangered language, but to also have fewer Māori speakers than a foreign language. It illuminates some of the issues that these whānau have and would be faced with throughout their journey of normalising the language within their whānau. The percentage of Māori people who spoke the language in these communities did not have a significant difference from the numbers of Māori who lived in these areas. All the levels of Māori speakers

dropped from the 2006 statistics. Statistics for Māori who spoke the language in the areas in which the participants lived varied from between 15% in Dunedin to 32.1% in the Far North District. All these statistics decreased from the last census taken in 2006 (ibid).

The report, 'Ka Mārō te Aho Tapu, Ka Tau te Korowai :Te Reo Māori findings from Te Kupenga 2013', (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), surveyed 5549 respondents about the express drivers related to Māori language proficiency and usage inside and outside the home. Findings from this report revealed that the Māori language is spoken by an estimated 55% of Māori adults, ranging from those who spoke the language very well or well (11%) and those who could speak it fairly well (12%), to those who could talk about basic things in Māori (32%) (ibid). Those who reported to speak the language very well, well or fairly well were a combined total of 23%, which closely correlates with the results from the 2013 Census in which 23.7% of Māori people were reported to speak the language.

Other significant factors from this report that correlated with the findings of this thesis included that indicators of social and socioeconomic measures are not a major factor in the ability and use of the Māori language. What these findings possibly show is that the level of income does not impact significantly on the likelihood of someone speaking Māori. The correlation between income level and language use is an important finding because it demonstrates that the financial position of a whānau should not be a determining factor or barrier in their ability in and use of the language. There are, however, other factors that may not have been considered in these results, such as the proportionately lower incomes of Māori to Pākehā and that Māori make up the majority of Māori language speakers. In addition, native speakers are possibly lower income earners because they are elderly, and new or second language speakers are more likely to have access to education and the means to acquire the language. There was a strong correlation between age and use of Māori language, showing older Māori



people to have a higher level of proficiency than younger Māori (ibid). Findings showed that the significance of culture to a person relates to how probable it is they will converse in Māori inside or outside the home domain (ibid).

Findings from Te Kupenga showed that high numbers of first language speakers of Māori use the language both inside and outside of the home. This was not the case for second language speakers of the language who used it less than half of the time. This group of statistics would have included the parents from the case studies in this thesis. For those who were first language speakers of Māori, 79% speak some language in the home and 82% speak some outside the home. The proportion was equal at 33% both inside and outside the home for those whose first language was English (ibid). This group was likely made up of second language learners of Māori, such as the parents in this thesis.

In regard to education, those with a higher level of qualification – diploma or degree – are more likely to be proficient speakers of Māori (ibid). This finding correlated with the parents in the case studies, the majority of whom had a tertiary qualification. King (2007) identified the growing number of dedicated second language Māori speakers, who had obtained university qualifications and predominantly worked in education, as part of the group that was ensuring the language they had acquired was being transferred naturally to their children. Another of the findings showed that having children in the home was a motivating factor for families to speak Māori and higher levels of use were reported in homes with children (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Higher levels of language use in the home were reported by families who had children attending Māori medium education and by larger families (ibid).

### **Pilot Case Study Rationale**

According to Teijlingen and Hundley (2001), a pilot study, sometimes referred to as a feasibility study, concerns a smaller version of the full research project

that involves the pre-testing of a specific research tool, in this instance the interview questions. Conducting a pilot study can increase the chances of success in the main study, give insights for the researcher and confirm how to proceed with the study (ibid). For this research I elected to conduct a pilot case study (PCS) to test the suitability of the interview questions, in particular, the wording of questions, the order they are asked and the types of answers that may be given. The pilot case study was conducted under similar conditions as the subsequent case studies and the participant was advised that this was a pilot study and that her critical analysis and feedback would be required to identify ambiguities, as well as any difficult questions. It also gave the opportunity to gauge the length of time taken to answer all the questions. The pilot case study was conducted in English.

Following the interview, the pilot case study participant and I sat and discussed in detail the questions and how effective they were. As a result of these discussions one question was re-worded to better reflect the focus of the case studies, one question was changed because it was unclear, and another question was asked that defined a focus point. Three new questions were added that focused on language relationships, something not initially considered. Conducting the case study proved to be a very valuable exercise in checking for consistency of the interview questions. The researcher was also able to determine the appropriate length of time the case study interviews may take.

## **Pilot Case Study – Andrea Hall**

### **Introduction**

Andrea Hall is 54 years old and has whakapapa connections to Ngā Puhi through her mother, and her father is Pākehā. She lives with her daughter, Liza, who is 27 years old and her two mokopuna, Harmony who is four years old, and Andre who is three years old. This whānau lives in Hamilton (see Table 2 for more information on the demographics for this region).

## **Background**

Andrea explains that as she was growing up her family did not interact in the Māori world and she remembers her mother saying to her, “This is a Pākehā world and you have to learn how to get along in that world.” Māori words were foreign to her as she was growing up. Due to her lack of exposure to the language, she was not accustomed to hearing it being spoken. It was not until she became a parent that she realised that she lacked an understanding and knowledge of her culture. She recalls this realisation coming whilst she was watching a high school kapa haka performance. This event became the catalyst for her wanting to learn the Māori language.

When Andrea’s mokopuna were two and three years old respectively, Andrea moved in with them and their mothers, her two daughters. She made the decision that she would only speak Māori to her mokopuna, something she had been doing intermittently since they were born. The difficulty was that both her mokopuna already had English as their first language. Her daughter, Liza, is not a fluent speaker of Māori, but she does have a passive understanding of the language and will use her language skills in certain situations.

## **Andrea’s Language Learning Journey**

After a couple of initial attempts to learn the language, Andrea came across the kaupapa of Te Ataarangi (discussed in Chapter 2). The nurturing, supportive whānau atmosphere, an inherent part of the kaupapa, is something that sustained her learning over a number of years. Andrea began learning the language in Auckland in 1999. She continued to increase her language skills and went on to complete a Master’s degree in Māori in 2011. During this time she also became a tutor of Te Ataarangi methodology and went on to lecture and co-ordinate the Bachelor of Māori in Immersion

Teaching<sup>45</sup> (BMIT) degree programme and continues to work for Te Ataarangi today. In her occupational role as programme coordinator, Andrea attends training sessions with language mentors and language experts who assist in further developing her language skills and strategies for maintaining language use with her mokopuna.

### **Family Language Policy**

Andrea, through her decision to raise her grandchildren as Māori language speakers, is engaging in language planning. She has goals and has made the commitment to speak as much Māori to her grandchildren as possible, to give them a good grounding in their heritage language. She understands that her grandchildren will be proficient in both Māori and English. Andrea explains that maintaining an immersion environment can be an arduous task if you do not have support.

Every day I make a conscious effort to speak only Māori to my grandchildren. It's not easy and I have to constantly remind myself to kōrero Māori with them but it gets easier as we go on and they acquire more and more language. (Hall, 2012)

Harmony and Andre both attend a local kōhanga reo, something Andrea initiated as she recognised that this would increase the exposure of language her mokopuna received on a regular basis and support Andrea in normalising the use of Māori with them.

### **Normalised Language Use**

Andrea recognises that language use is not yet normalised with her mokopuna as she still has to prompt them to speak Māori, a normal thing for children acquiring a second language. Harmony will quickly switch when reminded, but Andre takes longer to make the switch back to speaking Māori. However, the rewards have been that both her mokopuna can now sustain a

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<sup>45</sup> Degree programme delivered between 2001 and 2009, specialising in the theory and practice of immersion teaching. Delivered through a joint venture with Te Ataarangi and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

conversation in Māori. This is a great improvement since Andrea started speaking Māori to her mokopuna and at times they will initiate language use between themselves. Andrea has found it easier to manage her mokopuna and their behaviours through the medium of Māori, possibly because they have developed a special bond together in the language.

### **Poureo**

Andrea is the principle motivator, the Poureo in their household, but she finds it can be a struggle at times. The main difficulty is that her mokopuna already had English as their first language when she began speaking only Māori to them. She is not only teaching them a new language, but also promoting it as their first language. Being critically aware of the reasons for language revitalisation encourages Andrea to maintain the use of Māori in all situations. The intergenerational transmission of the language is the key factor in the revitalisation of a minority language (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky 2003).

### **Language Strategies**

Three language strategies were identified from the interview with Andrea. The first of these was promoting the car as a language domain. Andrea's car has become an immersion domain and her mokopuna only speak Māori to her and each other whilst travelling in the car. This has become automatic for her mokopuna, especially after she picks them up from kōhanga reo in the afternoon. Andrea says that her mokopuna love singing and quickly learn the waiata she plays in the car or waiata they have learnt at kōhanga reo. Being a confined space and the regular times spent there could account for the relative ease and quick association Andrea's mokopuna have with the car as an immersion domain.

The second strategy is monitoring the amount of English TV and DVDs her mokopuna are exposed to. When her mokopuna watch an English language movie, Andrea will ensure she spends time discussing the movie with them in Māori. This was a common theme with many of the whānau who find that

there are very few DVDs available in the Māori language. The third strategy is the use of prompting. Andrea prompts her mokopuna if they make a grammatical mistake or codeswitch,<sup>46</sup> by modelling the correct words or sentences and having her mokopuna repeat them back to her. Described as the expressed guess style, this strategy works well and her mokopuna quickly adjust (King and Logan-Terry, 2008; Lanza, 2004).

## **Challenges**

The challenges that Andrea has faced on her journey in establishing the Māori language as the normalised language of use has been the lack of vocabulary and the influence of English. Andrea has found speaking Māori to her mokopuna challenging and shares that it is a huge commitment to decide to bring your children or mokopuna up in a language that is not your first language. Some of the biggest challenges have been trying to find the appropriate vocabulary to communicate effectively with her mokopuna on a daily basis. Many of the everyday things that she does with them she finds difficult to explain because of the lack of vocabulary in certain situations, for example, asking Harmony to put her head back whilst washing her hair. Andrea takes the time to research these concepts so she can maintain an immersion environment with her mokopuna.

The influence of English is strong with this whānau as both mokopuna had already established English as their first language. As also seen in case study 7, this requires a lot more effort on the part of the parent or grandparent. The kōhanga reo Harmony and Andre attend uses the tuākana-tēina model<sup>47</sup> to reinforce speaking Māori. However, Andrea has found that some of the older children coming into the kōhanga reo after school bring a strong influence of English into the environment. Andrea explains that the times that she reverts to speaking English to her mokopuna is when she is tired or

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<sup>46</sup> Switching between two languages in the same sentence

<sup>47</sup> Part of traditional Māori society where an older sibling (tuākana) helps and guides a younger sibling (tēina)

stressed, something experienced by many of the Māori-speaking parents in the case studies. There are also times when speaking to an English interlocutor Andrea can forget to switch back to Māori when talking with her mokopuna.

### **Parental Language Development**

Andrea facilitates Te Ataarangi language classes at kōhanga reo for the parents of children attending the kōhanga reo. This helps to develop her teaching and language skills. In addition, she attends professional development sessions with language experts and language mentors. This provides her the opportunity to discuss topics related to maintaining language use with her mokopuna.

### **Support**

Andrea sees the benefits of being part of a support group with other whānau who are also raising their children speaking Māori. Socialising in the language has been noted by language experts as an important part of maintaining a minority language, that is being with peers who also use the language as a normal part of their everyday means of communication (Waho, 2006). Andrea has found her principal support through her involvement in kōhanga reo and Te Ataarangi.

### **Summary**

The pilot case study participants, Andrea and her mokopuna, are an example of how intergenerational transmission can be accomplished even if English has already been established as the child's first language. Andrea highlights that raising children as first language speakers of Māori requires a lot of effort and support. The pilot case study assisted in refining the methodological approach for the case studies. In addition to eliminating ambiguous questions and adding questions to areas not previously considered, conducting the pilot case study also helped to inform the research process by giving an insight into the possible outcomes. The research process was

improved by prompting awareness of success factors, such as allowing sufficient time for the interview, time for whakawhanaungatanga and putting participants at ease, time for any questions the participants may have, and allowing enough time for setting up prior to the interview (equipment for recording and note-taking, signing consent forms). Other points that were brought to the fore were of a more practical nature, such as ensuring the equipment was working and having a back-up plan in case of failure.

Language revitalisation is something that all parents can be actively involved in by choosing to use the language in the home with their children. This chapter has discussed the theories, methods and research strategies used in this thesis and helped to scope and introduce the upcoming case studies. The desire for these parents to ensure a better future for their children can be seen in their passion to transmit their heritage language to their children. By no means an easy task, it requires years of sustained motivation. Their stories can help others to understand how and why they have chosen this path.



## CHAPTER 4

### CASE STUDY PROFILES 1–4

#### **Introduction**

The following case studies have been divided into two chapters according to the amount of language use in the home and the degree of having to negotiate space in the home as a Māori language domain. By chance, four whānau had two Māori-speaking parents, and four had one Māori-speaking parent. Those with two parents who speak the language suggest that their children will have access to two differing examples of Māori language use. The children with two Māori-speaking parents have the potential to be exposed to twice as much Māori language as those who have only one Māori-speaking parent. The homes with one Māori-speaking parent also have the added feature of an English language parent negotiating space in the home.

Having one or two Māori-speaking parents by no means implies that raising bilingual children is more or less difficult for either group of whānau or that one group is more advanced than the other. It does, however, highlight the different conditions whānau are faced with throughout their journey in raising their children predominantly in the Māori language. Prospective parents can thereby assure they are prepared prior to undertaking the task of raising their children in Māori.

Table 4: Case study whānau, children, ages and education choices

No.	Whānau	Children	Gender and age of child	Child's education
CS1	Pine & Rohatai	1	M6	KKM
CS2	Alayna & Thompson	4	M12, M10, F8, F7	Main/Imm/Imm/Imm
CS3	Ana & Tukino	2	F13, F12	KKM/KKM
CS4	Koro & Mariana	3	M18, F15, F6	Army/Main/KKM
CS5	Erina	1	M6	Imm
CS6	Karangawai & Lance	3	M14, F5, F5	Main/KKM/KKM
CS7	Paia & Marcel	3	M9, F5, M3	Main-Imm/Main-Imm/Main
CS8	Rukuwai & Tangata	3	M18, F15, F8	KKM/KKM/KKM

Note: CS = case study, M = male, F = female, KKM = kura kaupapa Māori, Main = mainstream, Imm = immersion

This chapter will examine the first group of case studies, including those who had two Māori-speaking parents in the home. Parents include Pine Campbell and Rohatai Pewhairangi from Hamilton, Alayna and Thompson Hokianga from Hastings, Ana Hotere and Tukino Turu from Kaitaia, and Korohere and Mariana Ngāpō, also from Hamilton. Collectively, they have ten children (see Table 4) attending a range of educational facilities including kura kaupapa Māori, immersion units in mainstream schools, and mainstream schooling. Potentially for these whānau, negotiating space would have been a simple process, given their mutual agreement to raise their children exclusively in the Māori language. Negotiating space can be extended to the language relationships between the parents, none of which was exclusively Māori. This provided an underlying tension in some households and in others a mutual acceptance. This was observed with whānau who had been speaking Māori with their children for a longer period. Some of the areas of tension could be seen around the differing levels of proficiency between couples, as well as the desire to keep the home a Māori language domain. Negotiating space also extended to spaces outside the home. Many whānau talked about how they initially experienced a level of anxiety whilst out in public with their children, but how this anxiety eased as they became more comfortable and confident speaking with their children in all domains.

Whānau in the first group come from a range of economic and social backgrounds. All the parents have tertiary qualifications and all are closely connected to their iwi in that they either reside in or return there often. Of the eight parents in this group, seven learnt Māori as a second language. All the children in this group were raised as first language speakers of Māori from birth or from the time they came to live with their whāngai parents.

## **Case Study 1 – Rohatai Pewhairangi and Pine Campbell**

### **Introduction**

Rohatai Pewhairangi and Pine Campbell were the fourth of my whānau to be interviewed and, following contact via email, a date was set to interview them both at their home in Hamilton East (see Table 2 for more information on the demographics for this region). Rohatai is 47 years old and has whakapapa connections to Ngāti Porou, Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāi Tūhoe. Her partner Pine is 51 years old and has whakapapa connections to Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa and Ngāti Porou. Pine's father is a native speaker of the language and his mother speaks English. Both Pine and Rohatai are second language learners of the Māori language. They began learning Māori whilst they were still at high school. Pine and Rohatai's relationship brought together two different whānau as they both had their own children prior to becoming a couple. Rohatai and Pine live in Hamilton with their six-year-old mokopuna, Paku.

### **Background**

Prior to the arrival of their mokopuna, Paku, Pine's older children had lived in the household at varying intervals throughout the time he was learning the Māori language. Earlier in his learning journey, Pine had made the whānau home a Māori language domain and all his children were aware of this. It followed then, with the arrival of Rohatai and Pine's mokopuna, Paku, Māori would be the language Paku was raised in.

Paku came to live with Pine and Rohatai when he was only four months old. Rohatai had made the conscious decision even before Paku had arrived that they would raise him in the Māori language and from the first moment, when she picked him up, that is how it has been.

Ko te reo Māori mai i te miniti kotahi. Mai i taua wā ko te reo Māori. I mua i tana taenga mai, i mua i te whakaaro ka haere mai a Paku me te tiki i a ia ko te reo Māori tōku hiahia. Kia ora te reo Māori. Kia kite te whānau he oranga, ehara mō mātou anake, mō te whānau katoa. He reo tuku iho. Nō reira i te wā i pātai mai, mā māua ia e whakatipu, ko te reo Māori tōna reo i te mea kua tau kē i roto i a au. I te pīrangī au ki te hoki atu ki tōku Māoritanga, ko te reo Māori hoki.

It was the Māori language right from the beginning. From that time it has only been the Māori language. Before he [Paku] arrived, before the thought he would be coming and then going to pick him up, speaking the language was all I wanted. So the language would be revitalised. So the whānau could see the benefits, not just for our whānau but also for the wider whānau. A language that was passed down from one generation to the next. So when we were asked to raise him it was already set that Māori would be his language because it was already set within me. I wanted to return to my culture, especially my language.

### **Rohatai's Language Learning Journey**

Rohatai began learning when she was at Te Waipounamu Māori Girls College in Christchurch, through a grammatical approach that placed little emphasis on oral proficiency. When a group of Te Ataarangi tutors came to Te Waipounamu<sup>48</sup> in 2000 she was exposed to a different way of learning. She was working in a kōhanga reo at the time, but lacked the confidence to speak in Māori due to her limited proficiency. Whilst Rohatai was at ease talking with the children, she felt whakamā<sup>49</sup> speaking Māori around other adults.

I haere mai a Te Ataarangi ki a mātou... tūtaki ai i te kaupapa o Te Ataarangi i reira, he ātaahua te kaupapa. He ngāwari te āhua o ngā kaiako. He pikinga wairua hoki. I ahau kē te paku reo engari ko te mea e ngaro ana ko te kaha whakahua me taku kore whakapono ki ahau anō.

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<sup>48</sup> The South Island

<sup>49</sup> Embarrassed, ashamed, shy

Te Ataarangi came to us [in the South Island]... where we observed the methods they used. I found it a beautiful kaupapa. The tutors were easy to understand. It replenished my spirit. I had a limited understanding of the language but the thing that was missing was my ability to speak. I didn't have much confidence in myself at that time.

Rohatai, as with many other second language learners, found the philosophy and methodology of Te Ataarangi provided a safe positive learning environment that gave her a degree of confidence not previously experienced. Rohatai was able to learn in an adult-centred environment, something she had not experienced whilst at kōhanga reo. Language was targeted around adult conversations and enabled language relationships to develop with other adults who were also learning. The learning style suited her needs.

The method using the rākau was simple. Total immersion learning felt right. During the lesson the eyes are focused on the rākau and not the person, a big thing for the shy. The teacher is the glue, the soft place to fall, not correcting, but redirecting. Another key to a great teaching style, although frustrating at times, I had to use my ears a lot more than ever before. (Pēwhairangi, 2014)

In 2001, Rohatai continued her learning with Te Ataarangi at the Waikato Institute of Technology (WINTERC) completing a Certificate in Te Reo Rangatira and then Te Kura Rākeitanga,<sup>50</sup> the first year of a diploma in Māori language. She went on to enrol in the Bachelor of Māori in Immersion Teaching (BMIT) programme, which she successfully completed in 2005. Rohatai recounts her journey with the BMIT.

Ehara i te mea i whai tērā kaupapa mō te tohu... he whāinga, he painga, he oranga anō, kia pai te reo, kia whai wāhi kōrero Māori... te whakapakari. I whai kaha au i roto i te BMIT, aua tau e toru. Koirā ngā tau i ako au i ngā mea nui rawa atu e pā ana ki te ao Māori. I whai hua mai i ngā akoranga o te BMIT.

I didn't follow this path of study just for the degree... The goal, the purpose was to develop my language skills, to have other fluent speakers to speak with and to increase my language use. I gained strength during those three years. During this time I learnt the most about what had happened to Māori from a Māori perspective. The lessons gained within the BMIT were invaluable.

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<sup>50</sup> Diploma in Māori Language (Year 1)

During her time as a BMIT student, Rohatai learnt about the importance of intergenerational language transmission and its impact on language revitalisation. Having this knowledge helped her to make the decision to raise her mokopuna as a first language speaker of Māori. Rohatai went on to become a tutor with Te Ataarangi, teaching beginner-level classes.

### **Pine's Language Learning Journey**

Pine began learning te reo when he was at Tipene College, a Māori boarding school for boys. Other students he met during this time included young men who were first language Māori speakers, many of whom came from Ngāi Tūhoe. Tūhoe was one of the few iwi who were still raising their children as first language speakers of Māori in the 1970s, that is, Māori was the language of the home (Benton, 1991). Pine recalls a kapa haka trip to Ruatahuna in his final year at school.

Ko te mea whakamā ka pā mai ki a au, ko ngā tamariki kōhungahunga e haka ana ki a mātou, e kōrero Māori ana ki a mātou, engari kāore ahau i paku mārama ki ā rātou kōrero. Nō reira, koia i puta te whakamā ki au.

The thing that was embarrassing for me was these young children doing the haka for us and speaking Māori to us and I could not understand what they were saying. This caused me much embarrassment.

From school Pine travelled overseas, first to Indonesia then Australia and later to Central America, principally for the surfing. Whilst in Indonesia he picked up a basic understanding of the language and later in Central America he and his children quickly became proficient in Spanish. The whānau then moved to the Gold Coast and it was while he was there that Pine felt the call of home.

Ka whakaaro ake, kāore au e hiahia kia tipu me he mozzie aku tamariki. Nō reira, hoki pēnei mai ki te rapu i te mea ngaro, tō mātou Māoritanga.

He thought he didn't want his children growing up as Mozzies.<sup>51</sup> This eventually brought him back home to discover what was missing in his life, his Māoriness.

Pine then enrolled in a Māori language course at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT) in Auckland doing Te Whanake<sup>52</sup> series. Following these classes, Pine enrolled his son in kōhanga reo and went along with him as a parent helper. This is when he began the Māori language relationship with his children. The whānau moved to Raglan and Pine heard about Te Ataarangi programme being delivered at WINTEC in Hamilton. He joined Te Ataarangi in 1996 and completed three years' full-time study, finishing in Te Kura Pūaotanga.<sup>53</sup> Pine found this methodology to be different from what he had experienced at AUT. Te Ataarangi is based on learning in an immersion environment, right from the beginning. Pine's language skills improved greatly and he contributed this improvement to being a part of a language speaker community with teachers and fellow students and using his language on a daily basis. Pine then went on to carry this philosophy into the domain of the home.

I huri te reo o te kāinga ki te reo Māori. Ko te mea tuatahi ko taku mahi tīnia te pouaka whakaata, kotahi hotaka i te reo Pākehā. He aha tō rātou hiahia? Ka whiri rātou ko Simpsons, koia anake. Mutu te Simpsons kua tīnia. Ka pāoho kē ko ngā hōtaka o te Waka Huia i runga i ngā rīpene, toru haora te roa. Ka whakakā, ka waiho te reo kia rangona ki te whare.

Māori became the language of the home. The first thing was to change the channel on the TV, only one English language programme. What did they [the children] want to watch? They chose *The Simpsons*, that was all. When *The Simpsons* was finished it was changed. *Waka Huia* videotapes, three hours long were played. It was turned on and left to run, it could be heard throughout the house.

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<sup>51</sup> Māori-Aussie – a nickname given for Māori living in Australia

<sup>52</sup> A set of textbooks, study guides, CDs, teachers' manuals and a dictionary for learning and teaching Māori language (<http://www.tewhanake.maori.nz>)

<sup>53</sup> Diploma in Māori Language (Year 2)

Following the separation from his then-partner, the mother of his children, three of his children went to live with their mother and one of his sons stayed with Pine. Pine and his son spoke only Māori to each other during this time and to this day they speak to each other only in Māori, even though his son is now nearly 27 years old. This became the start of Pine's home being a Māori language domain.

Pine went on to complete the Bachelor of Māori in Immersion Teaching with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi in 2004 and then undertook postgraduate studies at Waikato University. Pine is also a tutor of Te Ataarangi, delivering classes to intermediate and advanced levels. Pine has a passion for recycling, gardening and caring for the environment.

### **Family Language Policy**

Through their critical understanding of language revitalisation, Pine and Rohatai have an awareness of the state of the Māori language and are passionate about the normalisation of language use within their whānau. Due to their strong impact belief (De Houwer, 1999), they are committed to ensuring that they contribute to revitalising their heritage language. They use the minority language at home as their preferred approach of transmitting the language to Paku. Rohatai explains, “Nō te kāinga tōna reo. Nō tēnei whare, nō māua tōna reo. Ko Te Kōhanga Reo, ko te kura... he tautoko.” His [Paku's] language is from our home, from Pine and I. Kōhanga and kura are there to support what we do.

Pine and Rohatai through their explicit management influence the language Paku is exposed to. Although they did not have a written language plan, they were engaged in family language planning and were committed to intergenerational language transmission. Pine had successfully accomplished this with his children and together with Rohatai was now repeating it with the next generation.



Tērā pea kua whakatutuki te whāinga, engari kei te haere tonu. Ko te reo Māori kei roto i a Paku, tērā te whāinga. Ka haere mai tētahi atu ko te reo Māori kei roto i a ia. Kāre i whakarite whāinga, ko te hiahia kia Māori.

Perhaps we have already met our goals but we will continue on. Our main aim is that the language is instilled within Paku. If someone else comes along we will do the same and instil the language in them. We didn't make specific plans, we just want the language to be normalised.

### **Parental Language Use**

A theme that became clear throughout the research was the level of English being spoken between partners who were proficient in the Māori language. Predominantly the language used between Pine and Rohatai has been English. Their response to my question about the percentage of time they spoke Māori to each other was around 20%. So although their home is a Māori language domain in that they both speak only Māori to Paku and Pine's children, the predominant language used between Pine and Rohatai is English. The fact that they speak only Māori to Pine's children and Paku challenges them to speak more Māori to each other. Pine explains how his language relationship with Rohatai began.

Te tūtakihanga ki a Rohatai ko ō māua reo i taua wā, ko te reo Pākehā. Ka huri māua ki a māua ko te reo Pākehā, ka huri ki ngā tamariki, reo Māori, engari māua, ā, reo Pākehā. He mea uaua ki ahau te huri ki te kōrero Māori, pērā i aku tamariki, i taku pāpā, kua ū, māua ko Rohatai, kāore anō kia ū.

When I met Rohatai the language we used at that time was English. Together we speak English, to my children it is Māori, but we speak English. It's very difficult for me to be speaking Māori to my children and to my father with whom the language is normalised and then turn and speak English with Rohatai... it's not yet normalised with her.

Rohatai recognises the language relationship with Paku as a strategy to help her and Pine speak more Māori together.

Ki te kore a Paku, tērā pea kua tino raru ō māua reo Māori. Kāore au i te mōhio he aha te take te nuinga o te wā ka kōrero Pākehā māua. I ētahi wā ka rere noa iho te reo Māori. Ehara i te mea kua whakaaro, ka kōrero Māori.

If Paku wasn't here perhaps our Māori language would be compromised. I don't know the reason we speak English most of the time. Sometimes the Māori language just flows. We don't think about it, we just speak.

Rohatai shares how Paku has questioned her and Pine about their use of English. She explained to him that he is very lucky that his first language is Māori. However, her and Pine's first language, the language they were raised in, was English, hence the difficulty to speak Māori together. Unlike him they learnt Māori as a second language. Pine has warned Rohatai that there may come a time where Paku will turn away from speaking Māori because they have not shown how they value the language by speaking English to each other. Spolsky (2012) highlights how members of the same family can have different language practices and beliefs and can be influenced by each other.

This whānau had the lowest level of language use between Māori language partners. Reasons for this can be that, as Rohatai has previously mentioned, her and Pine's relationship began through the medium of English. Research shows that it can be difficult for bilinguals to change the language they speak to a person once they have formed a relationship in that language (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999). Another reason could be the difference in levels of proficiency when they met. Rohatai was still learning and was less confident in her skills and ability to communicate effectively and confidently. These issues are explored further in Chapter 6.

### **Normalised Language Use**

All the members of this whānau are proficient in the Māori language, including Pine's older children. His grandchildren are bilingual in that they attend immersion schooling; however, their parents do not speak Māori to them at home. Pine explains how he never gave his children the choice to not speak Māori. The only times he would speak English to his children was for concepts that were difficult to explain in Māori or where he lacked the vocabulary, such as teaching them how to snowboard. Pine's children all speak Māori to Paku whose world is immersed in the Māori language. Māori

is his first language and everything Rohatai and Pine do with Paku is always through the medium of Māori, regardless of where they are. Rohatai explains:

E ono ana tau ināianeī, hika he waha nui tana, he tohutohu ana, engari ko te reo Māori tōna reo. Kaha ia ki te kōhetehete, ka hoki au ki te kōhetehete i a ia, engari ko te reo Māori. Tika ngā kōrero a Pine, ko Pine te Poureo... he painga mō Paku, he painga hoki mā mātou. I te mea ko te reo tōna reo, kua here. Ko te reo ki a Paku i ngā wā katoa, ko te reo Māori. Ki te kōrero Pākehā ahau kua raru. He painga mō ngā tamariki a Pine. Ka haere mai ngā tamariki pakeke ki kōnei, he kaha te reo Māori. Mātou katoa ka kōrero Māori... mārama pai a Paku ki te reo Māori.

He [Paku] is six years old now, goodness he has a big mouth, he tells us what to do and he's not afraid to speak his mind but always through the medium of the Māori language. He often argues and we have our differences but again only in Māori. Pine is right, he is the main instigator of the language which is helpful for Paku, for all of us because he ensures the language is used. The only language we speak to Paku is Māori, all the time. If I speak English to him, he knows he is in big trouble. When Pine's children are here they only speak Māori. The language is normalised with us all, including Paku.

Pine and Rohatai have grown and continued to develop Paku's language skills and now see the difference between his proficiency and that of his friends at school, most of whom do not speak Māori at home. "Kua kite te pai o tōna reo, o Paku, kua kaha, kua mau, kare tōna whakamā, kei te mōhio ia, koirā te rerekē." We have seen the strength of his language, he is proficient, he is not afraid to speak and he clearly understands, that is the difference.

Rohatai and Pine converse with Paku in Māori regardless of where they are. Rohatai recognises that Paku is bilingual and sees the importance in answering all his questions, even about English words. If he asks about English words, Rohatai will explain to him that it is an English word and that the pronunciation is different from that of Māori.

### **Poureo**

Pine is the Poureo, the motivator in their home and everyone is aware of the role he plays. Pine shares, "Ko au te hunga mārō, mārō mō te reo Māori. I

au i te kura ko au te hunga mārō i te rōpū.” I am the determined one, unfaltering for the Māori language. Whilst learning the language everyone knew I was the staunch one of the group. What Pine appreciated about having Paku come and live with them was that he had another person who could be a pou<sup>54</sup> for their whare, and for the intergenerational transmission of the language. Rohatai agrees that Pine is the pou of their whare; he is determined and the one who always maintains the language in their home. She explains that, although he is mārō,<sup>55</sup> it is his way of showing others that this is how I do things and if you want to join me you can, if not that’s fine as well.

### **Language Strategies**

Rohatai and Pine employed four particular strategies that assisted Paku to develop and maintain his use of the Māori language in the home. The first strategy was exposing Paku to the Māori language in books, even if this meant translating English books whilst reading them or adding Māori words to English books. Rohatai explains.

Kāore i a au ngā pukapuka mō ngā pēpi hei pānuitanga ki a ia. I a au ētahi pukapuka Pākehā. Ka tāpiri ngā kupu Māori ki runga i ērā. Tērā pea he pukapuka pikitia noa iho. I roto i aua pukapuka katoa... ko te rapu i ngā kupu, kāore i te mōhio.

I didn’t have any baby’s books in Māori that I could read to him [Paku]. I only had English language books. I added the Māori words on top of the English ones. It might just be a picture book. I did this with all the books. I had to look up the words that I didn’t know.

Using this strategy ensured that the first words Paku was exposed to were in Māori. Rohatai ensured that as much as possible his world was immersed in Māori. The second strategy was the use of Māori dictionaries. Not having all the vocabulary required to speak Māori to her grandson meant that Rohatai needed to be constantly looking up words to be able to successfully socialise him in the language. Not having been raised in the Māori language required Rohatai to learn many different concepts, especially around raising a baby.

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<sup>54</sup> Supporter, stalwart

<sup>55</sup> Unyielding, determined

The third strategy was Pine and Rohatai's use of prompting. Rohatai explains how she prompts Paku to speak Māori. She likens reminding him to speak Māori to reminding him to brush his teeth. She sees both of these tasks as a vital part of parenting. Prompting Paku to speak Māori extends to times when his friends come to their home. On occasions he has been overheard warning his friends to speak Māori whilst in his home. Rohatai was aware that if her and Pine did not constantly remind Paku and his friends to speak Māori they would simply speak English, the dominant language, which would be counterproductive to reversing language shift. Rohatai argues:

Kaha māua ki te akiaki. He aha te take kei te kōrero Pākehā kōrua? Koirā tā māua ki a Paku, te akiaki kia kōrero Māori ia ki ana hoa kōrero Māori.

We insist that they speak Māori and ask why are you two speaking English? That is our commitment to Paku to encourage him to speak Māori to his Māori-speaking friends.

The fourth strategy employed in the household was restricting the amount of English language media Paku engaged with. Rohatai and Pine, as with other parents in the case studies, restrict the amount of English language television Paku watches. If the whānau watch English movies together they will discuss them in Māori. Paku has access to computers at school, but not at home. Paku is allowed to play games on Rohatai's iPhone for a limited period as a reward for doing well in his sports. All these different types of technology can have a major effect on the amount of English children are exposed to and this is a strategy Pine and Rohatai use to ensure that this is kept to a minimum, not only to minimise the influence of English, but also to balance this with all the other activities he is involved in.

These strategies can be all recognised as factors in family language policy or language management, part of the invisible work that happens within families raising children in their heritage language (Caldas, 2012; Spolsky, 2003).

## Challenges

Prior to attending kura,<sup>56</sup> Paku was only conversing in Māori both at kōhanga reo and at home. Rohatai noticed the influence of English when Paku started at school. However, they have made a concerted effort to address and deal with this as it arises, including constant reminders to Paku to only speak Māori. Rohatai recognises how Paku changes his language to align with that of his friends:

Kua kite hoki au he reo Māori anō tō rātou o te kura, he momo 'cool'. Ka tapiri he kupu Pākehā ki te kupu Māori ahakoa kei te mōhio ki te kupu Māori. He cool kē tēnei kupu Pākehā ki te taha.

So I've seen that they have a different language at school, it's about being cool. They add English words to their Māori ones, even though they know the correct word in Māori. It seems cool to them to add English words they know.

Rohatai and Pine make a point of prompting and reminding Paku of the correct language structures if they hear him speaking in this way. Baker (2000) argues that codeswitching is normal and to be expected in the early phase of bilingual development. The difficulty is that many parents of bilingual children do not like to hear their children mixing languages. The solution Baker offers is to have rules to keep the languages separate (ibid).

Pine explained that all his children only speak Māori when they return to visit. He recounts how his youngest daughter said to him that her friends at school asked why her and her brother continued to speak Māori to each other while the other tamariki<sup>57</sup> at school spoke English to each other in the playground. Pine explained to her that she needed to be strong in speaking only Māori, because when she had her own children it would be so much easier for her to pass the language on to them. Pine's daughter found that appealing, the thought of passing on the language to her own children. Although, when his daughter was around 16 years, she preferred to speak English. The

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<sup>56</sup> School

<sup>57</sup> Children

language choice of bilingual adolescents is a well-documented occurrence and is discussed further in Chapter 6.

Both Pine and Rohatai said that the only time they speak English to Paku is if they are really angry. The whānau know that they are in trouble if they hear them speaking English to the children. Pavlenko (2010) explains that first language socialisation can be seen to produce the strongest connection to one's emotions, hence the tendency for bilinguals to revert to their mother tongue in highly emotive situations.

### **Parents' Language Development**

Rohatai would like to continue to develop her language skills. “Ko te mea e ngaro ana, kāore ahau mō te whai i tētahi akoranga mōku ake. Koirā te mea e ngaro ana, hei whakapakari i au anō.” The thing I find missing is that I'm not doing anything to develop my skills. That's what's missing, some learning to help nourish me. Rohatai and Pine try to attend any wānanga reo<sup>58</sup> or training hui<sup>59</sup> that are held in relation to their teaching roles to further advance their language skills.

Pine likes to listen to tapes of kaumātua<sup>60</sup> speaking in Māori and spends time transcribing them and putting them into a format that he can listen to on his phone. Rohatai also helps him to transcribe these tapes and she has learnt a lot from doing this. Pine adds, “Mai rā anō tērā whakaaro ōku ki te whakamahi ērā rauemi, ērā taonga hei taonga whakarongo.” From a long time ago I had the thought to use these resources, these treasures for listening to and learning the language.

### **Support**

Initially Paku's extended whānau were not happy or supportive of Rohatai raising him in the Māori language and they challenged her decision. They

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<sup>58</sup> Māori language seminar, forum

<sup>59</sup> Professional development, gathering, meeting

<sup>60</sup> Elderly man or woman

asked her why she was not speaking to him in English. She would return the challenge and ask why they were not speaking Māori or Spanish to their children, as these were their heritage languages. However, as time went on, they have come to agree with how she is raising Paku and are now considering learning the language themselves. Rohatai sees this as a very positive outcome from her decision to raise her mokopuna in the Māori language. These whānau can be recognised as having right-shifted in relation to the ZePA model, from Zero to Passive, a shift that potentially supports reversing language shift (Higgins and Rewi, 2014).

Rohatai has become aware of other people taking notice of how they are raising Paku and they can see that it is possible for their children to learn another language as well. They also assist other whānau who want to speak Māori to their children in the home with strategies and support.

Paku spends a lot of time with Pine's parents and Pine's dad speaks Māori to him and his mother speaks English. Paku is always excited to visit Pine's parents and is always happy to be speaking English to his Nan.

Kei te rongō au ki te tino harikoa ki te tuku i te reo Pākehā ki taku māmā, tana Nan. Ki au kāre i te mōhio ko te reo Pākehā e tino hiahia ana ki te whakaputa ko te kōrero ki a Nan te tino hiahia.

I hear how excited he is to be able to speak English to my mother, his Nan. I don't know if it's because he can speak English or he is just happy to talk with his Nan.

Pine's dad visits them at their home and speaks Māori with them, something he really enjoys being able to do. "Ka haere mai taku pāpā ki kōnei ētahi wā noho ki te kōrero Māori. Koinā pea tana wāhi kōrero Māori, ki kōnei." My father comes to visit and speak Māori with us. Perhaps this is the place where he feels he can speak Māori.



## **Summary**

This whānau have been using the language together for a number of years, beginning with Pine whilst he was acquiring the language and making the conscious decision that his home would become a Māori language domain. The language transmission continued with the next generation when Paku arrived and there have been challenges and successes along the way. Paku's arrival has not only helped maintain the home as a Māori language domain, it has also assisted in ensuring his grandparents' continued use of the language. In this whānau, the language, although not in everyday use, is being used between four generations.

## **Case Study 2 – Alayna and Thompson Hokianga**

### **Introduction**

Alayna and Thompson were the sixth whānau to be interviewed. I was introduced to Alayna by a Te Ataarangi contact who lives in Hastings. Following several emails and a couple of phone calls, a time was set to meet with Alayna, her husband, Thompson, and their four children in Flaxmere at Alayna's workplace, Te Aka. I realised that, although Alayna and Thompson were referred to me from a mutual acquaintance, we had previously met when they had attended a Te Ataarangi kaiako<sup>61</sup> training programme some years previously. Alayna is 31 years old and is from Napier, and her husband, Thompson, is 33 years old. They are both from Ngāti Kahungunu. Alayna has affiliations to Ngāti Hinepare, Ngāti Maahu and Ngāi Tawhao. Thompson has affiliations to Ngāti Kere and Rahunga-i-te-rangi. They have four children, two girls and two boys. Tū Matangaro, their oldest son, is 12 years old, and Tamaiawhitia, their second son, is 10 years old. Warea, their daughter, is eight years old and Manukatea, their youngest daughter, is seven years old. The Hokianga whānau reside in Hastings (see Table 2 for more information

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<sup>61</sup> Language tutor

on the demographics for this region) and have connections and involvement with their iwi, hapū and marae.

## **Background**

Alayna is a second language learner of Māori and Thompson was brought up with the language. They began speaking Māori to their first child at birth and have continued speaking Māori with their subsequent children. The oldest child attends intermediate at a mainstream school and the younger three children attend an immersion unit in a mainstream school. I arrived for the interview as Thompson and Alayna were finishing a wānanga that was being facilitated by Thompson and was able to spend a little time talking with the children first. I asked them a few questions about what they thought the benefits of being able to speak Māori were for them. They responded that they enjoyed that they knew more than one language and seemed keen to extend their knowledge and learn at least another language. They liked that they could speak to each other or to their parents in Māori and their friends could not understand.

I found the children to be very easy going and they were happy to share with me, someone they had not met before, some aspects of their language use as a whānau. It was evident to me that their parents had a major effect on them. They were confident and had a real thirst for learning, especially from a Māori worldview, something their parents were consciously exposing them to. In other ways they were just like normal kids and would debate amongst themselves and then want their mother's attention whilst we were talking. At times they were happy to sit and listen to our conversation and add their thoughts if the opportunity arose.

## **Thompson's Language Learning Journey**

Thompson, the only native speaker in this study, talked about how he was raised in Māori by his elders. He was instructed from an early age in the customs and practices of his people. He was groomed in the art of

whaikōrero<sup>62</sup> and was a speaker for his whānau on the marae. He remembers when he was only 10 years old being asked to stand and speak on the marae. He ran into difficulties with the Māori language when he was at high school. This was where he first saw Māori in the written form and thought that the language he learnt was wrong. During his childhood he developed a real love for learning English and put his efforts into reading and speaking English well. He even entered the Ngā Manu Kōrero<sup>63</sup> competitions when he was at high school in the English section. He says it gave him a sense of achievement. Following school, he put the Māori language to the side and decided to follow other pathways. Thompson went on to become a kaiwhakairo<sup>64</sup> and an undertaker amongst his many other talents.

### **Alayna's Language Learning Journey**

Alayna first encountered te reo when she was at high school and entered a bilingual class, learning some grammatical aspects of the language, such as sentence structures. It was not until she entered teacher's college at Massey University where she studied for three years that she was exposed to an immersion learning environment. From this experience she significantly increased her proficiency level in the language, which then enabled her to raise her children in the language. She would like to further her learning and continue to increase her knowledge and language skills. She attends different kura and wānanga reo and enjoys the company of her classmates, but she realises that she is a minority amongst her peers when it comes to speaking Māori in the home. A natural occurrence for this whānau is speaking Māori together as their normal means of communication.

### **Family Language Policy**

Alayna has a critical understanding of language revitalisation and why it is important to raise her children in the Māori language. She not only wants her

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<sup>62</sup> Formal speechmaking

<sup>63</sup> Secondary schools speech competition

<sup>64</sup> Carver

children to be proficient in Māori, but she also wants them to be knowledgeable and have a vast range of experiences in the Māori world. By raising their children in the Māori language, Alayna and Thompson are shaping and moulding their family language policy.

This whānau use the minority language at home as the method of passing on the language to their children. Alayna explained that they have goals for their whānau that are planned so far ahead that they each know what they want at their funerals. Their plans are lifelong ones. Te Huia (2013) comments that Māori who consider themselves to be custodians of their culture are likely to be motivated by a sense of responsibility for language and cultural preservation, ensuring their transmission to younger generations. Alayna explains that, as parents, they will continue imparting their knowledge to their children for as long as their children are open to receiving it.

Alayna and Thompson recognise the importance of what they are doing and that there is no one else who can take on this task, that is, sharing their love of the language and culture with their children. They understand that this has to come from them and that they are the only ones who will ensure that the language continues for their children and grandchildren. Importance is given to discussing and explaining things to their children so as to strengthen their understanding and support of both the language and cultural practices. The language is a living reality for this whānau and intergenerational transmission of the language is firmly established for the second generation with the aspiration to continue on to the third generation.

Alayna and Thompson would like their children to be steeped in the Māori language first, but they also realise that English is everywhere around them and that the children are learning this language as well, even without their input. The children are free to choose what path each one of them will follow, but the important thing is that they have a strong foundation in the Māori world and especially in the Māori language. Conversely, they allow their

children to interact with various forms of English media and technology. The children watch a mixture of Māori and English television programmes, as well as playing computer games in English. They all have Facebook pages and listen to both Māori and English music. Alayna discussed the importance of not restricting the various types of technology and media available to the younger generation:

Taku hiahia kia tū pakari i te ao Māori, kia tū pakari hoki i te ao kikokiko. Ki te hīkoi ngātahi ērā ao, ka rawe ki ahau.

My desire is that they stand strong in the Māori world and stand strong in the Pākehā world. If they walk equally in these worlds then I will be very happy.

### **Parental Language Use**

When Alayna first met Thompson she did not know that he could speak Māori. She remembers sending him a letter in Māori as she wanted to practise her skills in Māori, but he responded to her in English. The language they began their relationship in was English and now they speak to each other in Māori at the most 50% of the time. This is despite the fact that they speak Māori to their children all the time. The subject of initial language contact is discussed further in Chapter 6. Alayna determines how much English her children are exposed to by specifying the rule that, if the children are present, her and Thompson must speak Māori together. However, if it is only the two of them, then English is allowed.

### **Normalised Language Use**

Alayna and Thompson's oldest child was born when they were still in Palmerston North while Alayna was in her second year at teacher's college. It quite naturally happened that they started speaking Māori to him. Thompson had made the decision that he would speak Māori to his son when he was born. This followed on for the subsequent children who came along and by the time the youngest was born it was much easier, because the older siblings were there to speak to her as well. The youngest child, although she did not go to kōhanga reo, is very confident and proficient in the language and is not afraid to correct her older siblings.

Regardless of where they are, this whānau always speak Māori together. “Ia te wā, ia rā, ahakoa ki whea, ki waho, ki te kāinga, ki te hokomaha, te tāone.” Each and every day, regardless of where they are, be it the home, the supermarket or in town. Language use is normalised for this whānau and continues even if non-speaking whānau and friends come to visit. This family will speak English to the visitors and continue speaking Māori amongst themselves, even if they are arguing. Alayna explains about their home, “Mōhio whānui ngā hoa, ngā manuhiri, he kāinga reo Māori.” Our friends and visitors all know that our home is a Māori language domain.

Prior to the start of the interview with their parents, the children sang me seven verses of a 13-verse mōteatea they had all been learning at home. Learning waiata, karakia<sup>65</sup> and mōteatea is an important activity this whānau participate in together each morning. Alayna and Thompson ensure they incorporate tikanga into their everyday lives and the children demonstrated a sense of pride and positive identity in relation to being Māori. Alayna commented that her children already know a wide range of waiata and mōteatea from both her and Thompson’s hapū.

As a whānau, they have attended many tangihanga and have observed differences in the level of support both on the paepae<sup>66</sup> and in the kāuta.<sup>67</sup> They have been to tangi where there are no kaikaranga<sup>68</sup> or kaiwhaikōrero<sup>69</sup> and witnessed the lack of support for the whānau pani.<sup>70</sup> They have been to other tangi where there has been the greatest level of support. This has caused them to think about what they would like to happen at their own funerals and what needs to be put in place to realise their goals.

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<sup>65</sup> Prayer, invocation

<sup>66</sup> Orator’s bench

<sup>67</sup> Cook house, kitchen

<sup>68</sup> Woman who performs the ceremonial call

<sup>69</sup> Male orator

<sup>70</sup> Bereaved family

Experiencing cultural practices through the medium of the language allows these children access to an increased level of understanding.

Some friends have commented to them that they are putting unnecessary burdens on their children by involving them in everything they are doing. Alayna disagrees. She expresses that what they have exposed their children to can sometimes be very profound, but as parents they ensure that they explain things to their children in a way that they can understand. She feels assured that her children will have the necessary skills to support them in life. These parents have a strong impact belief in that they recognise that they are responsible for shaping their children's heritage language experiences (King et al. 2008).

### **Poureo**

Alayna is the main support person in the whānau, the one who encourages everyone to speak Māori all the time. Alayna encourages Thompson to share his knowledge and language with her and their children. “He tino hōhonu tana mātauranga.” There is a distinct depth to his knowledge. Alayna notes that, at times when she is really angry, she will switch to speaking English, something that other parents in the case studies reported doing. However, what she has found, and that was also seen in case study 7, is that regardless of the language she uses with her children, they will always respond to her in Māori.

Alayna does not have to prompt her children to speak Māori. They automatically speak Māori to her and Thompson and amongst themselves. This is something she wants to ensure continues to happen even once they reach adolescence. As parents, Alayna and Thompson are very conscientious about celebrating the talents and skills of each child. They recognise that each child is unique and that as a whānau they spend time acknowledging the special qualities of who they are.

## Language Strategies

Four specific language strategies were seen as being used by Alayna and Thompson. The first was how they enforced their home as a Māori language domain. A strategy that Alayna developed was to designate Māori-only domains in the home for her and Thompson. The parents ensure speaking in English is away from the children as much as possible. The home domain extends for other Māori speakers who visit the home, especially the children's friends. Most of these children have some Māori language proficiency and Alayna ensures they use the language skills they have. She has found that these friends pick up the language very quickly just by being exposed to it. Thompson has explained to his children that, regardless of what they do in life, especially in regards to the language, that their home will always be a Māori language domain, a place of support in both a physical and spiritual sense.

The second strategy involves Alayna's workplace. Alayna tutors an after-school programme, Te Aka, in Flaxmere where she speaks Māori to all the children who attend. She has seen how keen they are to learn, especially as she continues to speak Māori to her children. She likes that there are no restrictions on what they teach, so she does what the children want to do but through the medium of te reo. What she has seen is that these children all value the language and her children help in this as well. She has seen the benefits of this programme and how the children are able to recite their pepeha<sup>71</sup> and whakatauki<sup>72</sup> and how they are becoming confident learners of the language.

The third strategy was the use of dictionaries. Alayna and her children make use of the many dictionaries in the home to assist them to translate English words and concepts into Māori. This was a common theme amongst all the whānau in the research. The fourth strategy is about how they incorporate Māori cultural values and practices as a whānau. As a whānau, they gather

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<sup>71</sup> Tribal saying

<sup>72</sup> Proverbial saying



together each morning and share time for karakia, pānui<sup>73</sup> and waiata. These practices bring them together and strengthens the intergenerational transmission of language and culture.

## **Challenges**

Whānau have not always been supportive of Alayna and Thompson's efforts to raise their children through the medium of Māori, especially when they first started. There has been a definite change in the attitude of some of their whānau members. Alayna's brothers and sisters did not want anything to do with the language when Alayna and Thompson started speaking Māori to their children, and some even questioned what they as parents were doing. "Ka kite rātou i aku tamariki me te kī... pīrangī au. Nō reira kua tīmata ki te ako hoki. Mai i te kore tautoko, ki te tautoko." They see my children and say, I want that. So they are starting to learn. They have gone from not supporting to total support. Friends they associate with are very supportive of what they do and are seen as a bit of a novelty to some whānau. Thompson's father is very supportive and proud of his grandchildren and sees the legacy being carried on by them.

One of the difficulties Alayna and Thompson have found in raising their children in te reo Māori is the lack of speaker communities and other whānau who are also raising their children in Māori, especially in Hastings where they live. The situation was different when they were living in Palmerston North as there were many whānau for whom the Māori language was normalised. The problem was that Alayna and her whānau do not have other models for the language and are essentially only speaking to themselves. Through their actions, this whānau have been the beginnings of a language speaker community. They are supporting others, whānau and friends to join their speaker community, especially through Alayna's involvement at Te Aka.

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<sup>73</sup> Notices, announcement

Another challenge that was noted by the oldest child who attends a mainstream school is having to explain to his parents in Māori about things that happen at school. He does not always have the words to explain what he wants to say, more so when they include complicated English words. In these instances, his parents allow him to speak in English to convey his message clearly.

### **Parents' Language Development**

Alayna and Thompson spend a lot of their weekends facilitating cultural and language wānanga for whānau and therefore do not have a lot of time to advance their own language skills. Alayna is aware that her children are learning fast and she needs to keep ahead of them. Alayna develops her learning through watching Pānia Papa on the Māori language TV programme *Ako* and attends kura reo to extend her learning. Kura reo are week-long intensive language sessions conducted by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, where the focus is on language quality and is delivered by exemplary speakers of the language (Christensen, 2001).

### **Support**

This whānau have principally relied on each other for their support. They help each other and find situations to develop their skills and knowledge. Alayna is thankful for her husband and his in-depth knowledge of tikanga Māori that he shares with his whānau and community. Their commitment and involvement in facilitating wānanga, hui and tangihanga mean they have exposed their children to real-life situations from a Māori perspective.

### **Summary**

Alayna and Thompson are committed to ensuring that they impart the language and cultural knowledge to their children, whilst realising that their children will reach an age when they will make their own choices about whether they choose to maintain language use. These parents have recognised that they have a limited window of opportunity to instil a sense of

value for the language that ensures their grandchildren are also first language speakers of the Māori language.

### **Case Study 3 – Ana Hotere and Tukino Turu**

#### **Introduction**

Ana and Tukino were known to me prior to this research and, following an exchange of emails, a date was set to interview them at their home in Kaitaia. Ana is 48 years old and is from Ngāti Kahu, Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Whatua and Ngā Puhi. She lives with her partner, Tukino, who is also 48 years old and is from Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Maniapoto and Taranaki. They live in Kaitaia with their mokopuna, Hineteina, who is 12 and their niece, Anamoerangi, who is 13 years old. Hineteina has been with Ana and Tukino since she was 18 months old. Anamoerangi has been living with them for just over a year. Ana's sister, Koko, who is 50 years old also lives with them. Ana, Tukino and Koko are all second language learners of Māori. The whānau live in Kaitaia West (see Table 2 for more information on the demographics for this region).

#### **Background**

Both Ana and Tukino's parents were raised in the Māori language, but did not speak the language to their children. Tukino was raised by his grandparents who only spoke Māori to him until he was five years old. When his father died at this time, he returned to live with his mother who only spoke to him in English. "The general thoughts of the time were that the value of the language extended to the marae, hui and grandparents."

Hineteina has been raised through the process of whāngai and came to live with Ana and Tukino when she was 18 months old. Anamoerangi, also a whāngai, has lived with Ana and Tukino for the past year. Both girls attend kura kaupapa Māori in Kaitaia.

### **Ana, Tukino and Koko's Language Learning Journey**

Ana learnt Māori as a second language when she attended St Joseph's boarding school in Napier. Ana explained that, at the time, she lacked motivation to learn the language that was based on Te Rangatahi<sup>74</sup> series. It was not until Ana moved to Taranaki<sup>75</sup> in 1996 that she began to appreciate learning the language.

Tukino began learning in 1992 at the Western Institute of Technology (WITT) in Taranaki. The course was Te Tohu Mōhiotanga,<sup>76</sup> which included mahi rākau.<sup>77</sup> Tukino had access to a wealth of knowledge through tutors, such as Huirangi Waikerepuru, Ruakere Hond, Hineara Parata and Riro Pakomio. In 2000 both Ana and Tukino moved to Hamilton and enrolled in the Kura Rākeitanga at WINTEC, which they completed, and the following year enrolled in the Bachelor of Māori in Immersion Teaching with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

Ana's sister, Koko, began her language learning journey in 1997 at Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland. The following year she moved to Hamilton to enrol in the Kura Rākeitanga at WINTEC. She continued on to complete Te Kura Pūaotanga and the Kura Pouako<sup>78</sup> in 2000. Koko later went on to complete the Bachelor of Applied Social Sciences (BASS) at WINTEC and is currently completing her Master's thesis with Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi.

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<sup>74</sup> Māori Language learning books written by Hoani Waititi

<sup>75</sup> Place

<sup>76</sup> Diploma in Māori Language delivered through Western Institute of Technology at Taranaki

<sup>77</sup> The manipulation of cuisenaire rods – the methodology adapted by Te Ataarangi based on Caleb Gattengo's Silent Way Method

<sup>78</sup> Te Ataarangi senior tutor training programme

### **Family Language Policy**

Ana and Tukino have followed what feels right for them and their whānau in regard to language planning and they have learnt a lot along the way. Ana and Tukino have a critical awareness of language revitalisation and maintain the commitment to speaking Māori, thereby ensuring the language is transferred to the younger generations not only with their whānau but also with other whānau they work with.

Ana and Tukino used the minority language at home approach, which has worked very well for them as they are both highly proficient in the language. They made the decision to transmit their heritage language to Hineteina when she came to live with them and it was natural that they would extend this to Anamoerangi as well.

### **Parental Language Use**

The percentage of time that Ana and Tukino spoke Māori to each other was the highest of those interviewed. They explained that they would converse to each other in Māori around 75% of the time, although this varied depending on the context and situation. They would text and speak to each other on the phone in Māori. The difficulty arose when they were watching television, listening to the radio or had a meeting with an English interlocutor in that they would often forget to switch back to speaking Māori. When they realised they were speaking English they would immediately switch back to Māori. Ana admits that at times it takes effort to switch to using Māori, as it is her second language. This can also be recognised in Christensen (2001), who described how participants from Te Hoe Nuku Roa research programme identified a lack of motivation as a significant factor in not using Māori more often and some would forget and inadvertently start speaking English.

Ana explained that the amount of time she spoke Māori to her sister was around 60%, less than what she spoke to her partner. Ana identified that it was because her and Koko found it easier and quicker to speak English and

their primary relationship was developed through the medium of English. “Ahakoa kua ako te reo, kei reira tonu taua taha Pākehā e kaha tonu ana te uru mai, te pēhi me kī.” Even though we have learnt the language, there is still the strong influence of English that comes in, that suppresses us [from speaking Māori].

### **Normalised Language Use**

Ana and Tukino made the decision that they would speak only Māori when their 18-month-old mokopuna, Hineteina, came to live with them.

I te taenga mai o Hineteina i mua i a māua. Koinā tō māua nei whakaaro i taua wā, ko tana reo Māori te reo tuatahi. Karekau he reo tua atu. Ngāwari noa i te timatanga, i haere ia ki te kōhanga reo.

From the moment she came to live with us, the only thought was that her first language would be Māori. There is no better language for her. It was very easy in the beginning and she attended kōhanga reo.

Regardless of where this whānau are together, they speak only Māori, whether they are out in the community, shopping or with family and friends. Māori is their primary means of communication. When Māori-speaking friends of Hineteina and Anamoerangi come to their home they all know that their home is a Māori language domain.

Their mokopuna having a strong knowledge of Māori has been a key motivating factor for Ana and Tukino. Having proficiency in the Māori language is more important to them than concentrating on raising bilinguals. However, their mokopuna being bilingual is a natural result of being raised as monolingual speakers of Māori. English is everywhere and these children are exposed to it on a daily basis. Ana commented that she knows it would have been easier to raise their mokopuna through the medium of English as this is her first language and everyone speaks the language. However, they have chosen the path less travelled and they see the benefits in that their mokopuna are now proficient in both languages.

## **Poureo**

When I asked who was the lead motivator in their whānau, the person keeping them on track with speaking Māori in the home, Ana and Koko agreed that it was Tukino. He is the one who motivates the whānau to speak only Māori and monitors the language use of their mokopuna. Tukino ensures that the quality of language their mokopuna speak is high. He has encountered problems with the quality of language being delivered at their school and finds he has to constantly correct his mokopuna. The problem is that his mokopuna do not always have confidence in what he says and are more likely to follow the example of their teacher and peers. Tukino insists that they use the language correctly.

Ka hoki pēnei mai ki te kāinga, ā, waiho ēnā, kaua e kōrero pēnā ... kia tika te whakatakotoranga o ngā kupu. Ka whakamā mātou inā ka puta koe, kātahi ka kōrero pērā koe ki ōu hoa. He kaiako mātou katoa mō te reo Māori, nō reira kia tika tō tātou nei reo.

They return home [from school] and Tukino says, leave that, don't speak like that here. The structure of the language needs to be correct. We will be highly embarrassed if you are out and others hear you speaking like that to your friends. We are Māori language tutors, therefore, ensure you speak our language correctly.

Reminding their mokopuna to speak correctly was a constant issue and something Tukino is very passionate about. Te Huia (2013) supports the notion that a motivating factor for parents is to ensure their children acquire good skills in the heritage language, as poor language skills reflect negatively on the parents.

## **Language Strategies**

From the interview with Ana and Tukino, three strategies were identified that assisted them in raising their mokopuna in the heritage language. The first of these strategies was using dictionaries and other native speakers for help in developing concepts and words in Māori. Tukino explained that, at times, he would even make up words in Māori to fill the gap.

The second strategy seen in this case study was how Ana and Tukino restricted the amount of time the girls were exposed to English TV programmes, internet and Facebook. They found this to be harder as they got older. The third strategy these grandparents employed was taking their mokopuna with them to the weekend wānanga they facilitated as a part of their employment. Ana and Tukino have found the mokopuna to be helpful with the students who attend these wānanga, as they put the students at ease and consequently the mokopuna are exposed to a wider range of speakers and domains. Students were able to see that it was possible to raise children as Māori speakers. The girls also assisted in other ways, including singing waiata, playing the guitar and setting out the rākau.

### **Challenges**

The mokopuna in this whānau know that they must always speak to Ana and Tukino in Māori, but these grandparents recognise the resistance from their mokopuna as they have reached adolescence:

Mōhio pai rāua me whakautu i roto i te reo Māori engari ko taua āhuetanga o te rangatahi, tē pīrangi ki te kōrero i te reo Māori. Ka puta mai i te kēti, te ruma o te kura pea, ka huri tōtika ki te reo Pākehā. He uaua, me waiho rātou kia waiata Pākehā, kia kōrero Pākehā... e aua?

They are both well aware that they must respond to us in Māori. However, being teenagers there is resistance to speaking Māori. They leave the house or the classroom at school and immediately switch to speaking English. It is difficult, do we leave them to sing their English songs and constantly speak English? It's difficult to know what to do.

Adolescents preferring to speak English was a major issue faced by other whānau in this research, as seen in case study 8. Having been brought up speaking Māori in the home, attending kura kaupapa Māori and reaching a certain age, they no longer wanted to speak Māori and were more interested in speaking English. The situation is not helped by the parents of their friends who do not mind their mokopuna speaking English to them, mostly because these parents do not speak Māori to their children. Caldas (2012) explains that this situation occurs with many bilingual adolescents in that they go



through a period of not wanting to identify with or speak the minority language. The issue of bilingual adolescents is explored further in Chapter 6.

### **Parents' Language Development**

Ana and Tukino have been involved in the revitalisation of the language for a number of years and ensure their language skills continue to develop. This has been achieved through them spending time with kaumātua from their marae and hapū. Ana and Tukino commented on the large number of kaumātua living in Te Tai Tokerau<sup>79</sup> and how valuable they were as repositories of cultural knowledge.

### **Support**

Ana and Tukino's whānau are very supportive of their decision to bring their mokopuna up speaking Māori. Many of their whānau are also proficient in the language and will speak to the girls in Māori whenever they are with them. Ana's sister, who is a kaiako, encouraged them to let their mokopuna speak in English as she was growing up, her advice being that the main thing was that Hineteina only ever spoke to her grandparents in Māori.

Waiho te mokopuna... ko taua reo māwhitiwhiti. Ko te mea nui kia kua te mokopuna e kōrero Pākehā ki a kōrua, engari waiho a ia... kerewa rawa atu te reo māwhitiwhiti.

Leave your grandchild to switch languages. The main thing is that she doesn't speak English to both of you, but leave her... she is very clever in being able to switch languages.

Allowing their mokopuna to use the majority language in certain circumstances can be recognised as translanguaging, which in this case is the ability to use both languages interchangeably. Although it was hard for Ana and Tukino to let their mokopuna switch languages initially, they are glad they did because they now they see the benefits of it. Hineteina has developed a love of learning and reading in English, something not all her

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<sup>79</sup> Northland

peers at kura kaupapa Māori have developed. Ana and Tukino have fun listening to her pronunciation in English and how she translates things from Māori to English.

### **Summary**

Raising children as first language speakers of a minority language is a difficult task, but one that this whānau have managed to accomplish. They realise that they are an example for other whānau who want to achieve the same thing. Ana and Tukino share what knowledge they have learnt over the years with other parents and grandparents who are inspired to do likewise.

### **Case Study 4 – Korohere and Mariana Ngāpō**

#### **Introduction**

Koro and Mariana were the last of the whānau to be interviewed. I met this whānau through my daughter who attended high school with Koro and Mariana's oldest daughter. My daughter had mentioned that she had a friend whose whānau only spoke Māori to her youngest sibling. I made contact with Koro via email and arranged a time to meet him and Mariana at their home in Hamilton. Koro is 41 years old and is from Hauraki, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Pūkenga, Ngāti Paoa and Ngāti Awa. His wife, Mariana, is also 41 years old and is from Rangitāne and Ngāti Kahungunu and is the youngest in her whānau. Her father is from England. Koro and Mariana both grew up in Tokoroa and met whilst at high school. They have three children: Rangitane, their son, who is 18 years old, Te Paea, their eldest daughter, who is 15 years old and Maata, their youngest daughter, who is six years old. The Ngāpō whānau live in Hamilton (see Table 2 for more information on the demographics for this region).

## **Background**

Koro and Mariana are second language learners of the Māori language. Their three children are all first language speakers of Māori. Koro began speaking to their eldest child when he was born and continued this with their subsequent children. Mariana built her proficiency, learnt alongside her children and used what language she had with them. The oldest has left school and is training in the Army, but attended kura kaupapa Māori and mainstream schools. The oldest daughter attended kura kaupapa Māori until she started high school and now attends a mainstream school and the youngest child is at kura kaupapa Māori.

When they started out speaking Māori to their children, their whānau did not support their efforts. “Atu i aku tamariki me ētahi o aku karangatahi, ētahi o aku huanga whanaunga kua kore rawa atu nei te reo Māori.” Besides my children and some of my cousins, there are no others in my family that speak the language. The initial lack of whānau support has changed over the years.

## **Koro’s Language Learning Journey**

Both Koro and Mariana started learning the Māori language whilst at Tokoroa High School. Due to the diverse ethnic population in Tokoroa, they were exposed to most of the Pacific Island languages whilst they were students and were aware of how these languages were used by their fellow students. From there Koro went on to Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato and completed Te Tohu Paetahi, a Bachelor’s degree delivered in total immersion. His time at Waikato University was spent with some very skilled native language speakers who were teachers of the Māori language. Koro then went on to complete an Advanced Diploma in Teaching at Waikato University.

After completing his studies, Koro went on to teach at a number of high schools in Hamilton. During this time he completed his Master’s and then taught in kura kaupapa Māori before returning to Waikato University as a tutor in the Faculty of Education. Koro later went on to be one of the first group of

students in Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori<sup>80</sup> taught by Dr Tīmoti Kāretu, Dr Te Wharehuia Milroy and Professor Pou Temara, who are a representation of excellence in the Māori language. Te Panekiretanga is a course for those who are already proficient in the language and would like to further advance their Māori knowledge and language skills. Koro adds, “These guys are... my role models and if it weren’t for them I would know nothing” (Waikato University, 2012).

Koro completed his PhD in 2012 and was the first person at Waikato University to submit a thesis in the Māori language. His thesis is titled ‘Te Whare Tāhuhu Kōrero o Hauraki – Revitalising Traditional Māori language of Hauraki’. Koro explains his passion for this kaupapa.

This was a subject close to my heart. There are no native speakers left in Hauraki, and it concerned me that a lot of the traditional language, the more formal aspects of our language were being lost. It seemed natural for me to write my thesis in Māori. (Waikato University, 2012)

Koro has been involved with running wānanga reo on marae in Hauraki for over fifteen years, which helped to inform his research.

### **Mariana’s Language Learning Journey**

From school Mariana started working for the Ministry of Education alongside the Māori group who assisted iwi to develop their education plans. When her youngest child was born, she became a student at Waikato University, completing a Bachelor’s degree, then went on to complete a teaching degree and gained a teaching position at Nawton Primary School in the bilingual unit. She has been formally learning te reo for about eight years now.

Although Mariana’s language proficiency has now grown, she started out in the beginning by joining her children in kōhanga reo. She firmly believed in raising their children in te reo and having their home as a Māori language

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<sup>80</sup> The Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language (King, 2007)

domain. In the early days, she spent a lot of time not speaking in Māori as she was still developing her language skills. Mariana has picked up most of her reo from listening to Koro and having the confidence to speak it with her children in the home. Koro would correct her when required, something Mariana agreed to. As her children grew so too did Mariana's confidence and she was able to speak longer sentences to them, even though initially it was more instructional language.

### **Family Language Policy**

Koro and Mariana have had a language plan that started with their first born child and this has changed and developed over the years and now incorporates strategies that include the wider community. Prior to the birth of their son, they had already made the decision that they would speak only Māori to him and that their home would be a Māori language domain. So it progressed naturally with him and things were well set when their younger children arrived. This whānau uses the minority language at home and it works well for them. Although, more recently, language use with the older children has decreased, as mentioned earlier, everyone in the whānau maintains using Māori with Maata, their youngest child.

Their longer-term language plan includes being involved in the ongoing development and revitalisation of the language and tikanga of their iwi, Hauraki. All the whānau attend monthly wānanga back in Hauraki, of which Koro is a tutor and principal organiser and the great thing is that the whole whānau can attend these together to help build their community of speakers. As part of these wānanga, Koro ensures the students, most of them extended whānau, are aware of the need to make their own whānau language plans and strategies as well as hapū ones. Koro has already seen the benefits of this with different whānau members who attend the wānanga arranging to bring other whānau in their region together to learn waiata or to learn the language.

Although Koro and Mariana initially spoke only Māori to their two oldest children, they saw that they had probably neglected their older children's development in English. The strategy has been different for their youngest child, Maata, in that Koro and Mariana allow her to use English in the home so that she becomes proficient in both languages. Koro notes that Maata's Māori is more advanced than her English at this stage. They realise that they were new parents and had not done any research into raising a child in an endangered language. They decided that they needed to be careful and ensure their youngest child was knowledgeable in both languages.

Engari me reo Māori i te tuatahi kia mau pai te reo. Kātahi ka huri atu ki te whakaako atu ētahi rerenga Pākehā ki a rātou, kia mārama pai ai rātou ki ngā reo e rua.

However, it is important that the Māori language comes first and that they have a really good grasp of that, then they can add English sentences so they develop a good understanding of both languages.

They sent their oldest child to kura kaupapa Māori for his primary school years and in his secondary years they sent him to mainstream for three years, returning to kura kaupapa Māori in his final two years. This is also the plan for their daughter, although this has not been definitely finalised at the time of this interview. They will leave the final decision to her and understand that there are more options available for her in mainstream schooling.

Koro explains that their reasons for sending their children to kura kaupapa Māori are not just because of te reo. He states that their children get this at home where he can ensure that the quality of their children's language is high. They also have their wānanga reo on their marae back home in Hauraki that they all attend as a whānau, so they are happy with the amount and the quality of language their children are currently receiving. The reasons they have sent their children to kura kaupapa Māori is because there are certain programmes that are beneficial for their children.

Engari mehemea ka kaha tātou ki te kōrero Māori ki ā tātou nei tamariki i roto i te kāinga, kua kore pea he take mō ngā kura kaupapa me ngā wharekura.

However, if we were more conscientious about speaking only Māori to our children at home maybe there would not be a need for kura kaupapa and wharekura.

### **Parental Language Use**

Koro and Mariana speak Māori together about 50% of the time. Koro notes that the reason for speaking English can sometimes be due to a lack of energy. Despite this, everyone will speak only Māori to Maata, even her older siblings, and Maata always responds to them in Māori. The level of language use between the parents can be understood in relation to the language of initial contact, the inertia principle (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991). When Koro and Mariana met, English was the language they formed their relationship in, so it can be difficult to then change the language of communication. Added to this is that Koro achieved proficiency in Māori prior to Mariana, which can impact the confidence of someone still learning. This issue is explored further in Chapter 6. Despite this, Koro and Mariana have managed to create an environment where they use the Māori language together around half the time, which is still a significant undertaking.

### **Normalised Language Use**

Koro started speaking Māori to their oldest child when he was born and as Mariana grew in confidence she too would speak to him and her other children in Māori. “I te wā i whānau mai taku tama i huri atu tēnei whare hei whare kōrero Māori.” When my son was born, our home became a Māori speaking home. Koro maintains that his example of language use in the home environment has been the main influence on their children’s language use.

Language use within this whānau was always in the Māori language until the older children became teenagers and began wanting to use more English. However, what is evident with this whānau is that the youngest child, Maata, has become the motivating factor for this whānau to continue speaking Māori together. Everyone in the whānau speaks to Maata only in Māori and Maata responds to them only in Māori. This is regardless of where they are or who

they are with. For Koro, the Māori language has become so normalised that even when he is in emotionally charged situations he will only speak to his children in Māori. This was different to other parents in the case studies who reported they switched to English in similar situations. Koro uses humour to ensure the whānau does not take things too seriously, especially when they have debates or disagreements together.

When the whānau return to their marae in Hauraki for wānanga reo they all speak Māori amongst themselves and to other interlocutors. When whānau who are English interlocutors talk to Maata she responds to them in English or asks her parents if she does not understand what is being said. Koro reported that when Maata watches TV she prefers programmes on the Māori channel. She also enjoys singing Māori songs. Like her older siblings, Maata asks a lot of questions about English words. The whānau always explain things to her in Māori. Koro has noticed that Maata is a quick learner and has had the benefit of her older siblings to talk with and help her.

### **Poureo**

Koro is the principle motivator in their whānau and this support extends to others who are learning the language, especially to those who attend their wānanga reo in Hauraki. Koro explains that these wānanga are run on the weekends and usually by the weekend you are tired and there are other kaupapa happening, such as sports and kapa haka, and it can be a long way to travel back to Hauraki. It takes a high level of energy and commitment to continue this type of work. He admits that there is a cost to being so involved in the revitalisation of the language, something that is not always acknowledged. There is not only a cost to the individual, but also to their whānau. There is an expectation that those who have received assistance and support during their learning journey will also be prepared to reciprocate for others. Koro explains, “The first thing you learn is you never stop acquiring or contributing to the Māori world” (Waikato University, 2012). The notion of reciprocity is highlighted in Rātima and Papesch (2014) in the



example of Te Rita and her journey through university. Te Rita had a connection to her tutors at university through her mother and these teachers ensured Te Rita was helped in order to repay the debt of kindness shown by Te Rita's mother. There was also the expectation that she would show that same kindness to their whānau if the opportunity ever arose.

Koro is also a great example to his children and wider whānau in that he has written his PhD in te reo Māori. "My hope is that writing a PhD in te reo Māori... will serve as an example for my kids, nephews and nieces that anything is possible if you work hard and focus" (Waikato University, 2012). Koro espouses the benefits of knowing more than one language:

You look overseas, in Europe, children speak at least three languages but the majority of our children in New Zealand cannot. Māori is an indigenous language of New Zealand, it's important for us to speak it; it contributes to our cultural understandings, can contribute to tourism and if you don't have the language it's difficult to participate in Māori events, particularly on marae. (ibid)

### **Language Strategies**

Two language strategies that assisted in maintaining Māori language use with this whānau were identified. The first was exposing Maata to other Māori language speakers outside of the home and school. Her parents supported her involvement in sports activities, as well as opportunities for socialising, such as birthday parties. Many of the parents of these children were from their school community who are also raising their children in Māori. As the older children were growing up they were involved with waka ama,<sup>81</sup> kapa haka, karate and football and, even if these kaupapa were English-speaking, they would maintain immersion Māori language use with each other.

The second strategy was attendance by the whole whānau at wānanga reo. The expectation is that Māori immersion environments are maintained for the duration of the wānanga with all participants and this rule assists the Ngāpō

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<sup>81</sup> Outrigger canoe

whānau to use the language not only amongst themselves but also with other Māori speakers.

## Challenges

Koro and Mariana have immersed their whānau in the Māori language for 18 years and have seen a number of changes that have occurred for their children. Koro argued how their children changed their language preference when they became adolescents:

Ka āhua 14 ki te 15 tau te pakeke kātahi ka tau mai te whakaaro i roto i ngā tamariki ka hiahia au kia kuhu atu ki te ao Pākehā... kua tino kitea tērā. Ehara i te mea i roto i a māua nei tamariki, a mātou nei tamariki anake, engari, mō ētahi atu taura whānau i roto i ngā kura kaupapa. I a au e whakaako atu ana ka kōrero ngātahi mātou ko ngā mātua mō o rātou nei tamariki. Nā rātou i ki mai ki ahau, oh matua, kei te pērā hoki aku tamariki ki a au. Kua āhua 14 ki te 15 te pakeke ka huri o rātou nei whakaaro ki te whaiwhai atu i ngā āhuatanga Pākehā... ko te reo te tuatahi. Kāore rātou e hiahia ana kia noho tonu i roto i te reo Māori anake. Kāore a mātou nei tamariki i kite atu te kaha pakanga a te ao Māori mō te whakaoranga o te reo Māori. Nō reira ngā mea i tipu ake i Te Kōhanga Reo me Te Kura Kaupapa kāre rātou e paku whai whakaaro ake ana mō ngā rōpū pērā i a Ngā Tamatoa, Te Kotahitanga, ērā momo mea tae noa atu ki ngā tāngata i kaha pakanga atu ki te Kāwanatanga i te tau 1972... 1976 kia hoki tonu mai te reo i roto i ngā kura.

I have really seen in my children at around the age of 14 to 15 the desire comes for them to want to be involved in the Pākehā world. It's not just something unique to our children, I have seen this with others in kura kaupapa. While I was teaching I would talk to the parents about their children. They said their children were the same. Around the age of 14 to 15 years old they start wanting to know more about things from a Pākehā perspective and the language is the first thing. They do not want to stay in the Māori world alone. Our children did not witness the struggle there was to revitalise the language, the groups such as Ngā Tamatoa,<sup>82</sup> Te Kotahitanga,<sup>83</sup> those who fought and petitioned the government in the years 1972 to 1976 to return the language to the schools.

Koro explains that, regardless of the fact that his children do not fully understand the historical background of the language, they still recognise the

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<sup>82</sup> Māori activist group that promoted Māori rights

<sup>83</sup> Māori Parliament Movement

value of the language so much that they will be outspoken towards anyone who makes the comment that there is no benefit in acquiring the Māori language. Koro understands that the ultimate goal is the revitalisation of the language and recognises the benefits that his children receive knowing who they are and being confident in the Māori world.

### **Parents' Language Development**

Koro comments, “Ka kore te tāngata e mutu tana ako ahakoa ko wai.” There is no time that learning ceases regardless of who the person is. Learning for Koro is an ongoing, lifetime thing and one way to ensure the language survives. He asserts the importance of ensuring proficiency is not lost by returning to the experts who have the skills and can assure quality. Mariana aims to continue developing her language skills by attendance at wānanga reo held in Hauraki.

### **Support**

In both Koro and Mariana’s whānau they are the only ones who speak Māori to their children. When they first began speaking Māori to their son, their whānau did not support them. The whānau did not understand their reasons for raising their son in Māori and could not see any benefit of their son being able to speak Māori. They did not recognise the value of te reo and this was at a time when there was not much support for Māori issues. Many whānau were focused on the Pākehā world and both Koro’s and Mariana’s parents followed that particular philosophy. However, the whānau have since changed their minds, something seen in other case studies. The whānau have seen the benefits of them speaking Māori to their children now and wish it was something they had done as well. Some have since gone on to learn te reo and more about the Māori world, which Koro and Mariana totally support.

### **Summary**

Koro, Mariana and their children are a great example of not only how language use can be normalised within the whānau, but also how that can be

extended to include marae and hapū. Koro and Mariana made the decision over 18 years ago that they wanted to raise their son in the Māori language and the benefits have been numerous, including the intergenerational transmission of the language to all their children. Maata, as the youngest child in this whānau, has become the focus, the inspiration and the motivation for this whānau to continue using the Māori language together.

This chapter has introduced the first group of case studies, those in which two of the parents were Māori language speakers and were raising their children as native speakers of the language. Their individual stories are a combination of inspiration and admiration for the goals these parents have accomplished. Raising children as first language speakers of Māori is not an easy task, but as argued by Baldwin (2013) the test of any long-term commitment, such as raising your children as bilinguals, is motivation and the perseverance to continue developing and evolving with the heritage language.

## CHAPTER 5

### CASE STUDY PROFILES 5–8

#### **Introduction**

The following four case studies were the second group and involved the four whānau who only had one Māori-speaking parent in the home, all of whom were the mothers. The role and importance of women in language revitalisation has been discussed in Chapter 2. Māori women play an important role, especially in this group of case studies. All the mothers in these case studies were the only Māori speakers in the home modelling the use of the heritage language. De Houwer (2007) reported that the most effective strategy for ensuring intergenerational language transmission of a minority language is to have two parents who have the linguistic ability to transfer the language. However, in single-parent families, successful language transmission of the minority language is still possible if there is a firm commitment to speaking the target language. This was certainly the case with each of the whānau in this group of case studies.

Three of these whānau had non-Māori language-speaking fathers and one was a single mother. That these households had the additional feature of a parent who only used the English language meant these children were hearing and being exposed to more English language than their counterparts in the first group of whānau. English was the language used between the fathers and children as well as the mothers and fathers. These fathers all had a degree of passive Māori language knowledge from having been exposed to the language use between their partners and children. They also had the added dimension of negotiating space in the home with these two languages, something to be considered at the time of undertaking the one parent one

language approach. This approach in itself takes into consideration tensions in managing such a problem. The whānau in the second group were Erina Henare-Aperahama from Auckland, Karangawai Marsh from Palmerston North, Paia and Marcel Taani from Dunedin, and Rukuwai Daniel from Rotorua. They had ten children between them attending kura kaupapa Māori, immersion and mainstream (see Table 5).

## **Case Study 5 – Erina Henare-Aperahama**

### **Introduction**

Contact was made with Erina through a whānau member who teaches with her at a primary school in central Auckland. Following a number of emails, a time was set to conduct an interview at her workplace in Auckland. Erina is 44 years old and lives with her son, Maanawa, who is six and a half years old. She had recently separated from her husband, Ruia. She is the only single parent in the study. Erina has whakapapa connections to Te Aupouri and Te Rarawa and lives in the Albert-Eden local board area in Auckland (see Table 2 for more information on the demographics for this region).

### **Background**

Erina's dad is Māori and her mum is Pākehā. She was brought up in Wellington and spent most of her life there and only moved to Auckland in 2001. She remembers her dad learning te reo when she was growing up. He attended a course at the local polytechnic:

I remember on the inside of the toilet door all of the pronouns, au,<sup>84</sup> koe,<sup>85</sup> ia,<sup>86</sup> māua,<sup>87</sup> tāua.<sup>88</sup> I remember sitting in the toilet and reading those and thinking oh, okay... didn't know how to

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<sup>84</sup> I, me

<sup>85</sup> You

<sup>86</sup> Him, her

<sup>87</sup> Us two

<sup>88</sup> You and I

put them into sentences or anything. That was obviously one of dad's little strategies.

Maanawa has been raised as a speaker of the Māori language, a decision his parents made prior to his birth. His father, Ruia, is a native speaker of the language and Erina is a second language learner of Māori. Maanawa attends a Māori medium unit at a mainstream school where Erina is a teacher.

### **Erina's Language Learning Journey**

Erina began her Māori language journey when she attended Wellington High School in 1982. At the age of 13, she entered a bilingual class, a new programme that was being trialled at that time. They had some instrumental people at the time who helped set up the unit, namely Turoa Royal who was the Principal of the school at that time and Whatarangi Winiata who was the Chairperson of the Board of Trustees. She considers herself fortunate to have been a part of this unit. The purpose was to inject and incorporate as much language and kaupapa Māori into the programme as possible.

After leaving high school, Erina entered teacher's college because she wanted to teach children who were emerging from kōhanga reo. While at teacher's college she did some te reo Māori language papers at Victoria University as she needed to further develop her language skills. She recalls that she was terrified when she attended her first live-in at the university marae. Participating in such an event meant that everyone had to stand up to do a presentation in Māori. When it was her turn she just froze and ended up reading her speech from her paper. The difficulty was that Erina was placed in an advanced class because of her language learning experience at high school. The other students in her class were more advanced than her and consequently she did not cope well. In addition, as a learner of the language, Erina would have felt the anxiety of having to perform not only for the tutors whose language proficiency was far superior, but also having to present in front of her peers.

This episode did not go down well with the tutors and the following evening Erina was made to stand again to deliver another impromptu presentation. She stood and just stared at everyone not knowing what to say. “I just turned into this big puddle of tears and just fell into my sleeping bag and hid and just refused to come out.” All her fellow classmates felt sorry for her. However, this was not a sentiment that she reported being shared by her tutors. The experience of being made to stand in this way without prior warning meant that Erina was neither able to prepare what she might have said in her speech, nor was she emotionally prepared to resit the assessment. As a result of her unfortunate experience, Erina struggled with the course work and consequently stopped attending classes. The lecturers from her language courses contacted her tutor at teacher’s college who asked Erina why she had stopped attending classes. Erina eventually returned to university to complete her Māori language papers.

Rātima (2013), in his research of 17 proficient Māori second language learners, found that for them learning was a cultural transformation. Learners of a heritage language will often have higher levels of anxiety as there is more invested than someone who is just learning another language. The effect for many second language learners when exposed to new environments and speakers considered superior can be a culture shock displayed as heightened anxiety around speaking the language. The effect for some can be intense and even debilitating as seen in the case with Erina.

The following year Erina had a new tutor at teacher’s college who predominantly taught in Māori, something Erina really enjoyed. “She was amazing and I learnt so much from her and I think my proficiency improved from just having to use it in a context that was relevant to me.” She continued with papers at Victoria and completed Te Tohu Māoritanga<sup>89</sup> and also

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<sup>89</sup> Diploma in Māoritanga – foundation course in Māori language, culture and society. Delivered through the School of Māori Studies, Victoria University.



completed some papers towards her Bachelor's in Māori whilst also completing her Diploma in Teaching at teacher's college.

Teaching in a bilingual class in Porirua, Erina soon realised that bilingual education was not the optimum method for learning Māori as the children, if given the choice, would always resort to English. English was the language the children were most comfortable with, despite the fact that some of them had attended kōhanga reo. Erina found in her experience that immersion teaching was the only way, especially as the language was not being spoken by whānau in the home. Rātima (2013) reflects that, in his experience, advanced levels of proficiency are not possible with methods of teaching that favour English as the means of instruction.

### **Family Language Policy**

Erina has a critical understanding of the importance of language revitalisation and the intergenerational transmission of language. In addition to the use of language with her son, she assists in the revitalisation through her role in immersion education and supporting other whānau to increase language use with their children. Erina has had many goals over the years in relation to the use of Māori with her son and these have evolved as he has grown. The support Erina and her son have received from outside of the home through his Māori-speaking whānau at school and the 'Māori 4 Kids'<sup>90</sup> whānau has been invaluable.

Erina is the only parent in the home and uses the minority language at home strategy, which was also used when she lived with her husband. Maanawa maintains contact with his father and their language relationship is different from Erina's relationship with her son. Ruia brings another level of language ability, given his upbringing in Māori. "Ruia gets to play with him in te reo... amazing imaginative play and Maanawa loves that. Ruia can... make stuff up

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<sup>90</sup> A group based in Auckland that support whānau who are raising their children in the Māori language

and pretend they are Harry Potter. Ruia manages to make it as Māori as you can even without really thinking.” One way that assisted this whānau to normalise the language when Maanawa was still young was Ruia’s advice to Erina to keep her language sentences simple. She explains that she gained a lot of confidence from following this example.

Erina uses te reo with her son wherever they are and is not as inhibited as she was in the early days. When she travelled with Maanawa to the United Kingdom and he was three months old, she only spoke Māori to him. She says it actually felt more normal to speak Māori there than at home, “because nobody really bats an eye when people speak another language there.” At home on an everyday basis when she and Maanawa are out and about they speak Māori. She has found that most people are really positive and supportive of what she is doing. In the supermarket she has had people in line saying, “Oh that’s so beautiful that you’re speaking te reo with your son.”

Erina would like Maanawa to be a highly competent and eloquent speaker of both Māori and English. She does not want him to be at a disadvantage where he is really good at one language and not so good at the other. She explains that this was a factor in Ruia’s upbringing, that he was really good at Māori but had some difficulties with English.

Erina has seen her son’s improvement in reading English. He is now reading by himself and uses his Māori language reading skills and strategies to decipher words in English. He uses prediction skills and can make sense of the English words. Erina has impressed on Maanawa that if any of their Māori speaker community converse with him in Māori that he should not reply in English and, if necessary, Erina will prompt him. Erina notes that it will be interesting to see how her son and his Māori-speaking friends progress as they get older, given the differing circumstances and choices made by parents in regard to schooling and family language policy.

## **Parental Language Use**

Erina stated that when she met her husband, Ruia, the predominant language they used together was English. She explained that while she was still living with Ruia they spoke Māori to each other around 50% of the time, depending on what was happening in their lives. Erina explained that it was quite hard to make the transfer to using Māori. As a second language learner she would feel shy speaking Māori in front of Ruia who is a native speaker, but she eventually got over that. She also gave him permission to correct her when the need arose. Erina reported feeling he generally did this in a way that was appropriate, by saying the correct word or sentence structure. Erina would often get frustrated with herself and decide that she would speak only Māori to Ruia, but often become so discouraged with her lack of vocabulary that she would end up using English, as it was just easier for her. “So even when Maanawa was born we were not that great at only speaking Māori to each other. We only spoke Māori to Maanawa, but didn’t always speak Māori to each other, which I do regret a bit.”

## **Normalised Language Use**

Erina explains that her fluency increased with the birth of her son, Maanawa:

When my son was born I wanted his first language to be te reo and so I knew as his main carer I was going to have to provide that for him. I knew no matter how hard it got I was going to have to dig really deep and only speak Māori to him so that’s what my husband and I did. It’s alright for my husband because he is a native speaker. When he [Maanawa] was a baby it was quite easy because everything you say to them is so repetitive. We lived with dictionaries all around the house. Writing up little things on the wall, like around his changing table so that I would have the language there.

After a while I stopped doing that because I would just look for the word I needed or I would ask my husband if he was around. We would just be using it all the time... he went everywhere with me even in English-speaking settings. If anyone spoke to him in English I just translated everything for him. I hadn’t thought... it wasn’t a big plan and this is what I’m going to do. It was just what I thought would be the right thing to do. His whole world at home was te reo and I wanted him to know what was going on. I

suppose I was doing it more because I thought it might help him understand what people were saying to him as opposed to me trying to surround him only in te reo. We would go to his cousin's place, my sister's kids, and they would speak to him, or my mum and dad would speak to him and I would just translate everything for him... to him. It's a strategy that I have started using and it's become a habit. I don't know if it was the right thing to do or not but it seems to work really well for him and he didn't really speak English till he was three and a half years old.

Erina explains that learning for Maanawa has been a continuing role of firsts for their whānau. From the early days of his first language being Māori to now being a confident, proficient speaker of the language.

### **Poureo**

As the Poureo, Erina explained her reasons for wanting to speak Māori to her son. "Not wanting him to go through the same battles that I have had. I don't think this is a unique feeling to me. I think that is a big motivator for many parents who want their children to have te reo in their lives naturally." Erina has thought a lot about her decision to immerse her son in Māori. It is not a decision she took lightly, but a decision that has been ongoing, facing the challenges that arise and developing strategies along the way. Erina has also experienced many successes along the way. Although Erina finds maintaining language use difficult at times, she has found ongoing support from others to be essential.

### **Language Strategies**

Erina developed five particular strategies she used to assist in developing and maintaining a Māori language environment for her son. The first of these was reading to her son. Maanawa being able to read well in both languages and have a good level of comprehension is important for Erina. Her strategy, from when he was a baby, was to read him Māori language picture books and to translate English language picture books into Māori.

The second strategy was exposing him to Māori language songs and TV and restricting English language songs and TV. In Maanawa's younger years, Erina only played Māori songs in the car and if he watched English programmes on TV she would translate them for him and discuss them in Māori. Erina saw this as a strategy in that he was getting both languages and this had an impact. Maanawa was only allowed to watch Māori TV and some of his favourite shows that were recorded. Now Maanawa is more interested in watching programmes, such as *What Now?* and *Sticky TV*.<sup>91</sup> Erina is disappointed in the choice of Māori language programmes for children in the afternoons. If Maanawa does watch English programmes, Erina makes sure to talk about them to him in Māori to ensure he is still getting Māori language input. Maanawa quickly picks up when anyone in these English language programmes says something in Māori. "They just said *kia ora*<sup>92</sup> or *kai*<sup>93</sup> *māmā*."<sup>94</sup> His ears are well attuned to it and he will be like 'Wow, can they speak Māori?'"

The third strategy is around the language used with Māori-speaking friends. I asked Erina what language Maanawa's Māori-speaking friends spoke when they came over to their home or when they met in the community. She explained that most of them spoke English and would have to be prompted to use Māori. Erina found the children wanting to speak English interesting, as when these children met, Māori was the language they all used together. With some friends, language use is bilingual, which is a definite change from when they were younger. She has observed that speaking English does not appear to be a conscious decision not to speak Māori, instead these friends are just socialising and it can be a novelty speaking English sometimes. As these children are all bilingual at times, they have things they want to express in English as well. Erina adds:

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<sup>91</sup> Children's English television programmes

<sup>92</sup> Hello, thank you

<sup>93</sup> Food, eat

<sup>94</sup> Mother

Māori has perhaps become so normalised for them that it's not a big deal. English is this extra thing they get to do. We would really like to believe that they have grown up with this Māori relationship that has now turned into a bilingual relationship and that it will maintain and as they get older they develop their own importance and value for te reo that they will choose to speak Māori to each other.

The fourth strategy was around using Māori together in public. Many of the whānau in the case studies found that they attracted a lot of attention to themselves when they spoke Māori in public. Many found this uncomfortable when they were initially establishing Māori as their primary means of communication. However, they found speaking Māori in public became easier and eventually it was no longer an issue for them. Erina explains the difficulties she found speaking Māori to her son in public:

When we went to the supermarket. It was hard when we were out in the community speaking Māori because people look at you and people would ask, what's that language you are speaking? Umm Māori! Ah... I've never heard it spoken quite like that before.

Despite the reactions to her speaking Māori with her son in public, Erina maintains that people are mostly positive if not sometimes surprised. This was a different experience from the time she spent in London where the use of language other than English was commonly heard in public. Language use in a public forum, even amongst a whānau, is open to the influence and effect of other people who occupy public spaces, unlike language use in the home, which is exclusively under the control of the whānau.

The fifth strategy was around extending their vocabulary. Erina talks about the many times she has not known a word in Māori and has used the dictionary to look the word up. She recognised the benefit of Maanawa being aware that she was still learning and that her continued learning was not a big deal for him. Maanawa would often get the dictionary for Erina and they would look for the word together. When she lived with Ruia she would ask him or she would text one of the parents in the group, Māori 4 Kids.

## Challenges

As Maanawa got older and his language evolved and he was better able to express himself, Erina observed that she reached a plateau and her language vocabulary was no longer adequate. She would try to explain herself in English, but quickly realised that he would not understand the concept in English because they did not speak to each other in English. These plateaux challenged her to seek other strategies and not give up:

If I was raising my child in English the language I would be using with him would be of a much higher level and I do know that, even now I know that. That's because Māori is not my first language, it is a second language and I do struggle with it and I do resort to my tried and true sentence structures. New stuff coming in I have to make a conscious effort to use it, to integrate it to become a normal way for me to say things. Really having to push past those plateaux to remind myself that this is what I wanted and even though I'm not able to say as much as I would if I was just speaking English to him that's not a good enough reason to stop. I still find the plateaus now and I have never spoken as much English to Maanawa at home as I am at the moment and it's a daily battle with myself. Beating myself up because I hit a plateau and I let too much English come in... so I'm really having to fight hard with myself to pull it back because it so easily infiltrated my home reo status.

Erina finds it difficult now because she is the only example to follow and she often doubts whether she is saying it correctly as she does not have anyone to bounce off. Having reached a plateau, as also seen in case study 7, highlights the need for more support for whānau raising their children through the medium of the Māori language, such as a Māori language resource specifically targeted for the relationship between parents and children.

Erina clearly remembers the few times she spoke English to Maanawa when he was a baby. She describes how it felt wrong, like she had eaten something rotten or that she was speaking a foreign language. Other times she would ask herself why she thought he would understand her. Now that she is alone raising her son, she finds it difficult to maintain a Māori speaking environment in the home. Erina is consciously trying to remedy the situation,

which is to severely limit the amount of English she speaks to her son; not an easy task. Fatigue is a big factor and something mentioned by parents in other case studies (see the pilot case study). During times of stress it is harder to think about how to respond to your child in Māori and easier to revert to your first language. Revis (2015) argues that language maintenance can be a big responsibility and present an emotional burden for mothers who often manage a multitude of obligations.

### **Parent's Language Development**

Erina attributes her increase in proficiency in Māori primarily to her son and raising him in an environment using the Māori language every day. One goal that Erina has is to continue to increase her proficiency and be able to say everything she needs to eloquently, proficiently and economically. Attending kura reo has helped to develop her proficiency and something she tries to attend every year. Kura reo gives Erina exposure to a different quality of reo, as well as different dialects. Erina understands that the best and only way to speak more proficiently is to be around people who have that ability and listen to the sentences used and then practise using them.

Teaching in an immersion unit has also helped Erina to strengthen her language proficiency. Erina is aware that she needs to make a concerted effort to speak Māori to Māori-speaking staff members at school, otherwise she is predominantly only speaking to children with their levels of language. Erina is presently enrolled in Te Pīnakitanga ki te Reo Kairangi<sup>95</sup>, which she enjoys, and for her it is like attending a kura reo every week. Attending this course gives Erina confidence, examples of new language structures and other adult speakers to converse with.

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<sup>95</sup> Level 7 Diploma – advanced total immersion Māori language programme delivered by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa



## **Support**

Erina talked about how happy she was when they discovered a local Māori language playgroup. She did not attend coffee groups, playgroups or even antenatal groups as there was not anybody that she felt she could relate to, nobody who spoke Māori, nobody who was trying to raise their child in Māori, nobody who could help. Meeting up with Stacey Morrison, a well-known Māori television celebrity, and other parents at the playgroup, Māori 4 Kids, was everything she had been looking for. There were mums there who if they were not proficient speakers of the language were trying their best. What followed on from there was that Erina became organiser of the group and this included applying for funding.

Being a part of the group Māori 4 Kids has made a huge difference for Erina and ultimately Maanawa. The support, encouragement and inspiration she receives from other parents are truly life-changing. Erina has found it a privilege being involved with the group of mainly women who assist in organising the movement. The motivation they offer each other via phone, texting and Facebook helps her immensely and, in turn, she likes to help others. Having a Māori speaker community is important because Maanawa can see the language is normalised with other whānau, and she and Maanawa have other children and adults with whom they can socialise.

The focus of Māori 4 Kids is about using contextualised language for raising children that is fun and topic-based, for example, discussing household chores. It is about providing language they can take home and use straight away. Erina adds that the language for raising children can be different from what might normally be learnt in a language class. The approach used by this group warms parents to the language without making them feel inadequate. The group also looks at language planning as an important part of intergenerational language transmission.

The support Erina has received from whānau has been a critical success factor. Erina's younger brother, a proficient Māori speaker who went through kōhanga reo, is now completing his PhD and Erina uses him as a positive role model for Maanawa. Erina also has support from Ruia's whānau and recognises how the adolescents in the whānau strongly identify as Māori. Conversations these young people have on Facebook with their Māori-speaking friends is predominantly in the Māori language and they will often initiate conversations in Māori.

### **Summary**

Erina is an example of overcoming hardship in learning the language and making the decision when her son was born to ensure his world would be immersed in the Māori language. Erina sought support to assist herself and her son in their journey together. Through the support they received she has also been able to support others to increase the use of Māori language with their whānau. As she explains, in the end it comes down to you as the parent, and that no one else has such a major influence on your child.

## **Case Study 6 – Karangawai Marsh**

### **Introduction**

Karangawai was the first of the whānau interviewed. Contact was made with her via email and she agreed to be interviewed at my workplace in Hamilton. Karangawai lives in Palmerston North, but she was visiting her parents who live in Hamilton. Karangawai is in her early thirties and has whakapapa connections to Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Maniapoto, Te Arawa, Ngāti Porou, Ngāi Tai, Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairoa and Ngā Rauru. Karangawai lives with her partner, Lance, who is from Te Aitanga-a-Māhaki, their 14-year-old son, Tupea, and their five-year-old whāngai twin girls, Te Aumihi and Te Aorangi, whom they have raised since birth. Karangawai and her whānau live

in Palmerston North (see Table 2 for more information on the demographics for this region).

## **Background**

Karangawai started speaking Māori to her twins when they were born. She is a second language speaker of Māori. One of Karangawai's older sisters is fluent in Māori and this sister and her husband also speak Māori to their children. Karangawai's father's first language was Māori, but he was from a generation who were punished for speaking Māori at school (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Consequently, he did not transfer the Māori language to his children. Her mother is Māori and has a limited understanding of the Māori language.

Although Karangawai was not brought up with the Māori language, she says it was very strong in their wider family, mainly due to the influence of her grandmother, Oka Winterburn. Oka was a native speaker of the language and one of the first teachers of Te Ataarangi in Wellington. Her son, Haimoana, set up Te Reo Maioha in Ōtaki, the first full-time Te Ataarangi site to operate in the region and has taught many hundreds of students and actively sponsored many kaiako to be trained (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009). Karangawai explains the impact her grandmother had on their whānau and their use of reo Māori:

All of her seven children have been students of Te Ataarangi at one time or another, three carried on to become Te Ataarangi kaiako. Of her 27 mokopuna, 19 speak Māori. Of her 40 plus great- and great-great-grandchildren 23 speak Māori. Six of the 40 plus are still infants and have not yet started to speak, but are most likely to be Māori speakers as well.

The value of the language is clearly illustrated in the commitment this whānau has shown in their efforts to ensure continued intergenerational language transmission. They demonstrate a high level of motivation and have established language use as a normal part of their lives.

## **Karangawai's Language Learning Journey**

Karangawai's first language is English and she is a highly proficient second language speaker of Māori. She began learning the language in 2001 attending a full-time Te Ataarangi programme, Te Pōkaitahi,<sup>96</sup> in Ōtaki. The following year she moved to Hamilton and enrolled with the Waikato Institute of Technology (WINTEREC) to complete the second year programme of Te Ataarangi, Te Kura Rākeianga. During this time she also attended the Kura Whakangungu Kaiako<sup>97</sup> with Te Ataarangi where she began to develop her teaching skills. The following year Karangawai enrolled in the Bachelor of Māori in Immersion Teaching (BMIT), a degree delivered through a joint venture with Te Ataarangi and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi.

During this time Karangawai became aware of the importance of language revitalisation and how that process needed to start in the home between the generations. This was when she made the decision to use the Māori language with any future tamariki. "It was probably the second year of BMIT that I decided I would only speak Māori if any more kids came along... I was not going to speak English to them." Karangawai's critical awareness increased and she realised that "teaching the reo is going to do one little thing but it's not really going to contribute to the revitalisation of te reo Māori if we are not using it with our own tamariki. What we could do for the kaupapa was to bring it into our homes." Karangawai graduated in 2006 and returned to teach for the BMIT programme up until it ended in 2009. Karangawai also completed a Bachelor of Māori Visual Arts at Massey University, an area she has a great passion and talent in and is currently completing her Master's at Massey. She also hopes to return to finish her BA Hons in Māori Studies at Victoria University.

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<sup>96</sup> Māori Language Certificate Programme (Level 4)

<sup>97</sup> Te Ataarangi tutor training programme that was delivered at different venues around the country

## **Family Language Policy**

Karangawai explains that, although she does not have a written language plan, she is aware of the commitment she has taken on and continues to develop strategies to maintain Māori with her girls. Karangawai has engaged in family language policy by raising her girls in their heritage language. What is evident with Karangawai is her level of understanding and critical awareness of the issues around language revitalisation. She clearly recognises her ability to determine and control the linguistic norms within her family. This was a common theme with all those interviewed, that is, their ability to set goals, to achieve positive results and to provide leadership for others.

When the twins were born, Karangawai and Lance made the decision that they would follow the one parent one language approach (see Chapter 2). In this case Karangawai would speak only Māori to the girls and Lance would speak only English. This seemed the better option as Lance was not fluent in Māori and Karangawai did not want him speaking Māori to the twins that was grammatically incorrect. Karangawai's son and Lance do not speak Māori, although they both have an understanding of basic commands and will use simple phrases or instructions with the twins.

Although Karangawai did not think that raising the girls speaking Māori had made a difference to how they relate to each other as a whānau, she has found that her relationship with her partner has changed:

In the last couple of years we are more accepting of each other than we were before. He is more open to things than when we had Tupea. He didn't want anything to do with things Māori but since the girls have come along it's such a big part of their lives and how we bring up the kids he has become much more accepting of things Māori.

Karangawai has seen the benefits for both her partner and her son, in particular their understanding of te reo Māori, since they have had the twins. Initially, it was difficult for Lance because Karangawai speaking Māori was

new for him and he did not understand what was being said. Once understanding increased, Lance and Tupea would speak to the twins in Māori, some words and simple instructions. Lance has observed how the twins take more notice of his instructions if he speaks in Māori. Karangawai, however, is quick to correct any language mistakes and reminds them they are the English speakers of the house.

Initially for Karangawai, speaking Māori to the twins felt like a chore and required some effort, but after about two months it became like second nature. She shares her journey with the whānau she now works with as an He Kāinga Kōrerorero language mentor. She explains that it takes a concentrated effort in the beginning, but with perseverance things eventually get easier. Karangawai would like Māori to be the twins' dominant language, which is what they predominantly speak amongst themselves and other children. She is aware that cementing that relationship with Māori prior to birth has helped, as has not having to later switch from speaking English. Karangawai uses English language TV programmes and DVDs, such as *Barbie*, to help the girls with their English language.

The twins, Te Aumihi and Te Aorangī, attended kōhanga reo from the age of two. Now the twins are at school and attend Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Mana Tamariki in Palmerston North, one of two kura kaupapa Māori in the region. The school has been a vital link in supporting language use. The school has a policy where each whānau at the school must have at least one Māori-speaking parent who only speaks Māori to the children, either inside or outside the school. Karangawai has found the support she gets from the school community to be invaluable and appreciates the speaker communities that have developed around their shared activities and friendships.

### **Normalised Language Use**

Māori is the first language of her whāngai twin girls. Karangawai and Lance had agreed to raise the twins prior to their birth. Karangawai has

predominantly spoken Māori to them since they were born. She says that they use Māori 99% of the time. Karangawai made the decision to speak only Māori prior to the birth of the twins. Karangawai shares her story of how the girls came to live with her whānau:

I te mōhio au ka haere mai ētahi tamariki, ētahi pēpi (he rongo ā-wairua). Kāore au i te mōhio ki te ara e tae mai ai rāua engari i te mōhio, i te haere mai he kōtiro, he māhanga. Nā, i a mātou ko taku hoa e noho tonu ana ki Rotorua, ka mea atu au ki a ia, ki te whānau mai ētahi tamariki anō ka kore rawa au e kōrero Pākehā ki a rātou. So that was already set. I think that was through the BMIT, no it was definitely through the BMIT studies and being involved in Māori language revitalisation initiatives.

I instinctively knew that we would be having more children, our own or adopted. I didn't know how they would come, I just knew they were coming, twin girls. Whilst we were still living in Rotorua I said to my partner, if we have any more children I would not speak English to them.

Having the twins inspired and motivated Karangawai to fulfil a dream she had of being able to speak only Māori to her children from birth. Chrisp (2005) notes that motivation is a key factor in the intergenerational transmission of Māori within the family. Hond (2013) explains how a high level of commitment is needed in order to maintain use of a minority language. Whānau need to be aware and make a personal connection with the language and culture that will motivate and continue to sustain language use in all domains (ibid).

Karangawai and the girls use reo Māori wherever they are, at home, with whānau and friends, in the community, shopping or at the kura kaupapa Māori they both attend. She explains, “Ko te reo Māori anake tō mātou reo whakawhitiwhiti.” Māori is the only language we use to communicate with each other. Karangawai explains that now it is normal to speak only Māori with her twins. It has become an automatic response. There have been a few rare moments when she will be speaking English to her son and forgets to switch back to Māori when she starts talking to the twins, but once she realises she quickly switches. The twins do not understand why everyone cannot speak Māori because for them it is normal.

With other whānau the girls will interact in the language of the interlocutor, but with strangers they speak through Karangawai. They speak only Māori at school. The few times they use English together is when they do not know the names of things. If she does not know a word or phrase she will look it up or make it up, a strategy also used in case study 3. One of the positive benefits for the Māori language is that this whānau are contributing to its revitalisation, now that it is used as a normal means of communication for Karangawai and the twins.

### **Poureo**

Karangawai, as the only Māori-speaking parent, is the Poureo in this whānau. She understands why it is important to speak Māori to the twins and the consequences of her language choices as a bilingual. Although it took some time initially to establish a Māori environment, she now sees the benefits of starting from birth. As a Pouārahi with the He Kāinga Kōrerorero programme, Karangawai now has an opportunity to take te reo into someone else's home, to share her experiences and to support the efforts of other whānau to create a Māori language domain. Karangawai occasionally takes the twins with her on visits as this motivates and encourages language use amongst the He Kāinga Kōrerorero whānau.

Karangawai was in a unique position in that she had an older son for whom English was his first language. She had experienced bringing up a child with English as the first language, therefore knew that she wanted things to be different for the twins. I asked Karangawai if she had ever spoken Māori to her son, Tupea. Karangawai explained that she did attempt to speak Māori to her son at the age of two, the year they both moved to Ōtaki. Karangawai started learning the language, but found the move and trying to learn a new language too stressful for her son. She realised that she lacked the necessary proficiency to confidently converse with him about everyday things. Language knowledge appears to be a key factor in supporting



intergenerational language transmission. Chrisp (2005) argues that parents and caregivers must not only have sufficient knowledge of the language, but they must also be confident in using it in a variety of situations. Karangawai added that her son has pursued kaupapa Māori at school, such as taking Māori as one of his subjects and becoming involved in the school kapa haka group. An area for further research would be to investigate how children with English as their first language find living in a home that is raising siblings as first language speakers of Māori.

### **Language Strategies**

One strategy that was identified from the interview with Karangawai was her development of and use of resources. Due to the lack of resources available in the Māori language, Karangawai has been active in creating resources. She makes sure that the resources she develops for her role as a tutor of adult students can also be utilised with her twins, thereby fulfilling a dual purpose. In addition, Karangawai has been experimenting in developing cartoon characters for children as she recognises how quickly they learn through this medium. She thinks it would be beneficial to have them interacting with this technology in Māori.

### **Parent's Language Development**

Karangawai continues to further develop and expand her own language knowledge, especially around practical day-to-day topics and art concepts. She knows she will need to be able to express and explain certain kaupapa as the girls get older. Karangawai attends kura reo regularly to further advance her Māori language skills and to have exposure to highly proficient speakers. As a Pouārahi with He Kāinga Kōrerorero, Karangawai also attends training seminars with other Pouārahi and language experts who assist in the development of her language skills.

## **Support**

Karangawai is fortunate that there is a very active and supportive Māori speaker community in Palmerston North and consequently she socialises with other whānau who also speak Māori. This highlights the importance of having active speaker communities and may account for the lack of challenges identified in this case study. Karangawai has the advantage that many of her whānau also speak Māori to their children, so there is support when she visits her whānau. The children are also able to interact together in the language. The twins recently visited whānau in Australia and were able to converse with their kuia<sup>98</sup> and koroua<sup>99</sup> in Māori, something these kaumātua had not been able to do in a long time due to the lack of proficient speakers. The visit prompted whānau there to want to learn and use the language more.

## **Summary**

Karangawai made the decision before her whāngai twins arrived that if she had any more children she would speak to them only in Māori. The decision made, she has been vigilant in maintaining her commitment and has gone on to ensure that her grandmother's legacy of intergenerational transmission continues. She encourages other parents to take on the task of ensuring the language survives and is used as a normal means of communication.

## **Case Study 7 – Paia and Marcel Taani**

### **Introduction**

I've had people say to me, you're still learning so how can you be speaking only Māori if you are not fluent?... If I waited till I thought I was fluent I would probably never do it. So you have to start at some stage. (Taani, 2013)

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<sup>98</sup> Elderly woman, grandmother

<sup>99</sup> Elderly man, grandfather

Following an introduction by a Te Ataarangi contact, a number of emails were exchanged and a date was set to interview this whānau at their home in Dunedin. As I arrived to their home I was greeted outside by their eldest child, Andre, who showed me into the home where the rest of the whānau were awaiting my arrival. This whānau consists of five members: the mother, Paia, her husband, Marcel, and their three children, two sons and a daughter. Paia is 39 years old and has iwi affiliations to Ngāti Whare, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Whakaue and Ngāi Tūhoe on her father's side, and is from Scotland and England on her mother's side. Her husband Marcel, who is 31 years old, was born and raised in Tonga and came to live in New Zealand in 1987. The oldest son, Andre, is nine years old. Their daughter, Jade, is five years old and the youngest son, Marcel Junior, is three years old. The Paia whānau reside in Dunedin (see Table 2 for more information on the demographics for this region).

## **Background**

English is Paia's first language. Her father is Māori, and his parents were native speakers of the language and he was brought up with the language; however, he never spoke it to his children. He did not share his reasons for this as they were growing up, but Paia recalls when she interviewed him for an assignment whilst enrolled in Te Ara Reo<sup>100</sup> that her father explained that when he was going to school he and the other children made sure to only speak Māori where the teachers could not hear them. Knowing this and the history of the demise of the Māori language helped Paia to understand why he did not use the language with them as children. Paia's mother is Pākehā and her mother learnt Māori at high school and was involved in kapa haka, so her mother understands some Māori and uses what she knows with her grandchildren.

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<sup>100</sup> Māori language learning programme facilitated by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

### **Paia's Language Learning Journey**

Paia grew up with a basic understanding of the Māori language, a mixture of natural acquisition and formal learning at school. "The funny thing is thinking about it now, I do not really have any memories of hearing it or learning te reo Māori as a child, as I grew older it just seemed as if what language I did know was always there." It wasn't until 2005, when Paia began her job as a Teacher Trainer with Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa,<sup>101</sup> that she sought to increase her use of the language. Paia completed Te Ara Reo with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and it was at that time that she met with language mentors who were delivering the Te Ataarangi programme, He Kāinga Kōrerorero in Dunedin. These mentors invited her to be part of the programme and Paia was keen as she had her oldest son, Andre, at the time. Paia was given assistance to help increase the use of reo in their home.

Paia commented that her children have been her inspiration and the motivating factor keeping her on the path of speaking Māori to her children, despite the fact that it can be difficult at times. Paia explains her reasons for wanting her children to have Māori as their first language. "I didn't want them to have to go through what I did and have had that feeling that something is missing when you're growing up... and it's difficult to learn when you're an adult."

### **Marcel's Language Journey**

Marcel is the only non-Māori speaker in the household, but he attempts to use what language he knows. Paia and the children predominantly speak English to him and continue to use Māori with each other. Initially, their language plan was the one parent one language approach. This approach involved Paia speaking Māori to the children and Marcel speaking Tongan. However, this has not happened and instead Marcel speaks as much Māori as he can or English to the children, one of the reasons being the lack of a Tongan

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<sup>101</sup> New Zealand Childcare Association

community of speakers in their region that Marcel can converse with. All of Marcel's family live in Auckland so there is little support in Dunedin for him. The times that Marcel's parents come to visit, they predominantly speak Tongan. This family have other Māori-speaking families to converse with on a regular basis, but not so with Tongan families.

### **Family Language Policy**

Paia describes how they went about setting up their home as a Māori language domain. "We tried different strategies like the diglossia approach. So we thought the kitchen would be our area we use te reo, but that didn't really work for us so we thought we would have the one parent one language approach. That's what we did." It was initially hard to make their home a Māori language domain as Andre already had English as his first language. Paia found that having subsequent children immersed in the language from birth was a much easier task. As with other whānau who have more than one child, it becomes easier as older siblings are able to speak to their younger siblings and become another model for language use in addition to the parents.

This whānau had a formal language plan when they were initially involved with He Kāinga Kōrerorero and would follow it very strictly. However; it seems to have evolved and they are now following what feels right for them. Some of the short-term goals they are working on at the moment include learning the correct use of 'māku'<sup>102</sup> and 'nāku',<sup>103</sup> as well as mihimihi,<sup>104</sup> and learning new pepeha from both their parents. Paia is always looking to increase the quality of the language both for herself and her children.

Marcel has picked up a passive understanding of Māori from listening to his family speaking together. He sees the similarities with the Tongan language

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<sup>102</sup> For me

<sup>103</sup> Belonging to me, mine

<sup>104</sup> Speech of greeting, tribute

and says the children respond better in Māori, so he likes to use it as much as he can. The children sometimes laugh at his use of Māori as he can get things mixed up, but they also assist him with the correct structures. Marcel is not bothered by this and feels it is important to have fun with the language and not take things too seriously. The day I arrived, Marcel had made French toast for the family and told them he had cooked 'tōhi māuiui', which caused Andre to laugh as he explained to his dad that you just gave us 'sick toast' and not French toast.

Maintaining an immersion environment was difficult in the early stages, but this has become easier as the whānau have grown in confidence.

Paia explains:

It would be easy to just switch... but then reminding yourself of the why. I haven't had many of those moments lately... earlier on yes. I thought it has to be all or nothing. I saw it as a lifetime thing, especially as time went on, a life commitment. It goes beyond these kids, it goes to our mokopuna and wanting them to have the language.

Andre and Jade attend the mainstream school close to their home as Paia wants them to be able to walk to school and to socialise with their friends outside of school. Paia talked about her decision not to send her children to kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. Essentially, it came to a matter of distance, as well as some difficulties these places were having at the time. Paia can see that she may have not been so diligent in speaking the language if her children were in an immersion environment every day. She realises that a lot depends on her constant effort every day in ensuring the language is spoken with her children.

Andre and Jade attend Kā Puananī o te Reo,<sup>105</sup> which provides a good quality of language for the children and Paia has found that their language learning has accelerated as a result of them attending this unit. This is an

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<sup>105</sup> Māori immersion education programme for children, delivered one day a week

alternative option that they have chosen to kura kaupapa Māori. At times, Paia has resistance from Andre in that he does not want to attend Kā Puananī. However, “once he’s there he’s fine and when he comes home all you hear is haka and waiata. We have just noticed that because they [Andre and Jade] go together that they are getting on better. On a Tuesday afternoon they seem to have a closer bond.”

The important decision for Paia and Marcel is that they would like their children to be competent and confident in both languages:

I think right from the start I’ve thought I want them to be able to have the skills and language to stand strong in both worlds so they are confident and competent in both languages but with te reo Māori being the language in the home and within their whānau.

Paia has an understanding and critical awareness of not only how her children being bilingual will benefit them, but also that they as a whānau are assisting to revitalise an endangered language.

### **Normalised Language Use**

When Andre was two and half years old Paia started speaking only Māori to her son. On reflection she thinks she could have made the transition a little smoother. She found that she would have to switch to English in certain situations due to her lack of vocabulary. However, with the guidance of the He Kāinga Kōrerorero language mentors, they devised strategies to overcome this.

Paia and her children use the Māori language wherever they are together. Paia adds, “It just feels so normal now, it feels like it’s been like this forever.” In the early stages, Paia found talking Māori to her son in public difficult as people would stare at them and she felt very self-conscious. However, now it no longer bothers her. The curiosity is there from the general public; however, Paia has found that most people are supportive and positive in their comments.

Paia has a critical awareness of the importance of normalising the language within their whānau and has made many conscious decisions around how they will implement their strategies, as well as where to school their children and why. Paia has ensured her children also share in this awareness of how fortunate they are to have te reo and how it was not always like this:

I think Andre and his relationship with the reo too has changed a wee bit. I think it's more positive now because I've had a wee talk to him about... cause sometimes he will go, "Oh I don't want to speak the language" and I go "Do you know how lucky you are?" But then I've had a bit more of a one-on-one talk with him about the history of the reo. Basically how it used to be and why things have happened and how things have happened. How his ancestors were not allowed to speak it so that's why we need to fight... this is why we need to do it now. Just giving him a broader picture. This has caused a shift in his attitude and now it has become more normal for him which seems to have made a difference.

Andre was the only other child besides the children in the pilot case study who was raised in English up until he was two and a half. Understandably, Paia has had more resistance from Andre to speaking Māori. This resistance has been more in the form of verbal protests rather than non-compliance. Despite his resistance, Paia acknowledges that he still continues to interact with her and his siblings in Māori.

When they are out and about, this whānau uses only Māori together and it has become so normalised that Jade has been known to burst into song and haka in the middle of the aisle at the supermarket and pūkana<sup>106</sup> to people as they pass her. Paia is very pleased at how her children are maintaining the language together. Even when she is away at wānanga for work, her husband says that the children continue to use Māori amongst themselves.

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<sup>106</sup> Stare wildly, dilate the eyes



## **Poureo**

Paia, as the only proficient Māori-speaking parent, is the Poureo for this whānau, but adds that her husband is totally supportive of raising their children as bilinguals. Paia realises that it would not have been possible to have their home as a Māori language domain without the full support of her husband. Marcel attends different school activities with the children and weekend wānanga where Māori is the only language spoken. Paia appreciates his ongoing support that demonstrates to their children that he values their language even though he does not speak it as proficiently as they do. Paia states that having both parents on board is necessary in this journey. Bauer (2008) supports the notion that the cooperation of a spouse encouraged language use in the home, thereby assisting language maintenance.

Paia acknowledges that raising their children in Māori has not been without its challenges, especially with the oldest, Andre, who at times did not want to speak Māori. The interesting thing for her is that he would always say it through the medium of Māori. Paia maintains her resolve and is not usually discouraged by the perceived resistance. Paia recognises that the biggest success for her whānau is the children speaking Māori to each other and also them having the confidence to use it with other people outside their home in a variety of situations.

Paia shares her thoughts about how others who are passionate about revitalising te reo Māori and normalising it with their whānau can do:

Kia kaha, don't give up. I think the hardest step is to make that decision and to stick with it. You need to be clear on your decision and your reasons for doing that and then once you have made that decision to stick with it. So for us it was one parent, one language... it's staying on that path. Things will get thrown at you and it's finding ways to deal with those. It could be too easy to switch back to English, that's the easy option. I find that with friends... we are speaking Māori to each other... oh... it's just easier to switch to English, but the benefits will come and it does get easier. I say to my students all the time, it gets easier and the

most effective way to make sure that the language stays with you is by using it. Make the decision, stick to it and be strong. Be clear about your reasons for doing it and keep reminding yourself of those reasons. That's the biggest thing and you just deal with things as they come along. It has gotten easier with each child. Right from birth is the easiest I find.

### **Language Strategies**

Paia employed a number of strategies to ensure she maintained a Māori immersion environment with her children. The first strategy was using dictionaries to translate words from English to Māori. The times that Paia uses English with the children are only when they do not know the word in Māori, but first they will look it up in the dictionary or even make words up, a strategy also used by whānau in case studies 3 and 6.

The second strategy Paia used was ensuring that she transmitted cultural values to her children. As a whānau they came together every morning and night for karakia and waiata. They mainly use informal language between themselves, but Paia also likes them to have the more formal knowledge for mihimihi and mōteatea. Jade likes to practise her skills with the whānau and will sometimes ask the whānau to leave the kitchen at dinner time and then karanga<sup>107</sup> them back in for dinner. Prior to my arrival, Paia explained to her children that a visitor was coming and they discussed together how they needed to prepare. The children thought they might need to do a pōwhiri,<sup>108</sup> but she explained that maybe a mihi whakatau<sup>109</sup> would be enough and Andre came out to the gate to greet me when I arrived. For Paia, it is more than her children just learning the language, it is also about them learning the customs and practices that are an essential part of being Māori. Other aspects that she ensures her children are exposed to are aroha<sup>110</sup> and respect between each other and what that actually means. Having turns to

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<sup>107</sup> Cermonial call. Karanga is often done on the marae to call visitors and whānau into the dining hall for a meal.

<sup>108</sup> Formal welcome

<sup>109</sup> Speech of greeting

<sup>110</sup> Affection, sympathy, compassion, love, empathy

lead waiata and karakia and having responsibility for these matters are important to this whānau. Paia also likes to encourage her children to understand the principles of tuākana-tēina. This is something Paia and Marcel have instilled in their oldest son and are now teaching to their younger children. Andre, as the oldest child, has taken on the role of tuākana and will correct his younger siblings when necessary, but Paia explains that it is not just with the language, it is in everything he does, such as helping his younger brother or the care he shows his sister at school.

Paia sees that using te reo Māori as a whānau has made a difference in how they relate to each other. She can appreciate that cultural practices, values and beliefs have a much deeper meaning when expressed through the medium of the Māori language. She gave an example of how she might say to her children, “He tama marae koe” or “He kōtiro marae koe.”<sup>111</sup> They both know what the marae is about and the kinds of things you need to be doing on a marae so they can understand what that particular phrase means to them. It is important to Paia that her children are aware of the importance of how they relate to others in different situations.

The third strategy seen with this whānau was how both parents support and encourage their children to read. Paia supports her children to read in both languages and more recently Jade’s reading level in English is better than her reading level in Māori. Paia has made a conscious effort to have Jade read something every day. The children read to Marcel in English and Paia in Māori. Paia finds she has to translate books that are in English, another arduous task, otherwise she asks them to go to Marcel and read to him in English.

The fourth strategy involves Paia’s response to her children’s codeswitching. She has recognised that if they do not know a word in Māori they will add the

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<sup>111</sup> You are a boy of the marae, you are a girl of the marae. Both these expressions imply that these children are generous and hospitable.

English word in the sentence. Paia's strategy is to repeat the word back to them in Māori so they can hear the correct use of the word. She has found that this strategy works well and the children then use the correct word. This strategy can be recognised as either the 'expressed guess' or 'repetition' style (King and Logan-Terry, 2008; Lanza, 2004), depending on whether Paia wants her children to repeat what she has said.

The fifth strategy, as seen with other whānau, involves exposure to Māori media, such as TV programmes, DVDs and music, and restricting access to these mediums in English. Paia tries to encourage her children to watch Māori language programmes on TV, but they now prefer children's programmes that are in English. Paia has found that the children will now negotiate together and come to her as a united force with what they want to watch, usually something other than *Pūkoro*,<sup>112</sup> which is what she has said they can watch. They will go outside or do something else if she turns the channel to something they do not want to watch. The children have some DVDs in Māori that have been watched so many times they are now scratched.

Paia has found that the resources in Māori are very limited and there is never enough to keep her children satisfied. They have become bored with programmes like *Mīharo*.<sup>113</sup> What Paia is heartened by is, regardless of what they watch on TV, the children will discuss what they are watching together in Māori. Paia spends time talking to them about English movies they watch on TV in Māori, as there are very few Māori language movies available. Jade went through a stage of wanting to watch *Ako*, a Māori language programme with Pānia Papa, aimed more at an adult audience. Jade has said she wants to be a teacher when she is older. The children have made up their own game called 'nāku' (mine), which is a competition to claim as many things from the TV advertisements as they can as their own. This can, however,

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<sup>112</sup> Māori language television programme aimed at children five years and under

<sup>113</sup> Māori language television programme aimed at school-aged children

cause disagreements and often ends in tears, but the main thing is that it is all done in Māori.

Games on the internet are restricted to once or twice a week as they are all in English and because Paia does not agree with her children having too much screen time. Again, a lot of the Māori content is too easy for the children so they prefer games that are in English. The children like a resource from Kotahi Mano Kāika (discussed in Chapter 2), where they can make a book online.

### **Challenges**

One of the biggest challenges for Paia was in establishing their home as a Māori language environment. This required a lot of effort on her part and something that she is constantly aware of. Having established their home as a Māori domain, it is now maintaining that norm. She has learnt a lot from her earlier struggles and is now able to support others in their efforts to do the same. Having her children attend mainstream education requires Paia to translate their homework into Māori when she helps them. This can sometimes be difficult if she does not understand the concepts.

Paia finds that living in Dunedin means there is far less opportunity to immerse your children in te reo compared to somewhere like Auckland where there is a choice of Māori medium schooling options. The lack of resources and educational opportunities mean that, as a whānau, they have had to be very clear about what they want for their children and how they implement their language goals.

### **Parent's Language Development**

Paia ensures her language continues to develop and progress. She attends kura reo whenever she has the opportunity. Paia has also completed Māori language papers at university to further develop her language skills. She is

aware of the ongoing need to increase the quality of language she uses with her children. “I would like the quality to be higher, it’s that ongoing learning.”

## **Support**

Paia explains how important it is to get support both in the initial stages and ongoing. Without support it can be very difficult to maintain an immersion environment in the home and there is no way to measure progress. Feedback from others who have proficiency in te reo is important as this can be a guide in understanding how children are progressing. Paia has been very proactive and uses all the support that is available. She has found that, with the support of He Kāinga Kōrerorero, the Kā Puananī whānau and other support groups she has helped to set up, she has been able to maintain an immersion environment with her children. Māori-speaking parents have also tried to support each other through texting and Facebook. Paia explains, “It’s like you almost need things instantly when you come across different things, concepts and words.”

This whānau have also been involved in Kotahi Mano Kāika, a Ngāi Tahu initiative to increase the number of homes using te reo Māori. Although the dialect is different from her own, she describes how they have been made to feel welcome and have been nurtured and supported by this extended whānau. She likes that they can come together with other Māori-speaking whānau and the children spend time with other children for whom the language has become normalised. She also realises that the ideal would be to return home to learn their Tūhoetanga.<sup>114</sup>

All of Paia’s whānau are very supportive of how they are raising their children in the Māori language. It has inspired other whānau members to want to learn the language and they would like their children to learn as well. She ensures she uses as much reo as possible with her nieces and nephews and

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<sup>114</sup> Language and customs particular to this tribe

they enjoy learning waiata. They all know that Paia and Marcel's home is a Māori language domain.

### **Summary**

This whānau have demonstrated how you can still raise your children in the Māori language even if they have already established English as their first language. Paia made the commitment that she would raise her children in Māori and went about setting up a support network. The support of her husband has been crucial to this whānau deciding to raise their children as bilinguals. The steps they have taken and the lessons learnt can assist other whānau wanting to follow the same path. Difficulties were observed around the lack of resources for Māori-speaking children, especially in regard to television.

Paia share her thoughts about the future for her whānau:

I thought it has to be all or nothing. I saw it as a lifetime thing, especially as time went on. It goes beyond these kids, it goes to our mokopuna and wanting them to have the language. I can see our ideal future with the kids and their kids and speaking Māori to them.

### **Case Study 8 – Rukuwai Daniel**

#### **Introduction**

Rukuwai was the second of my interviews and, following a number of emails, we arranged to meet at her workplace in Rotorua. Rukuwai is 53 years old and has whakapapa connections to the majority of hapū of Te Arawa. All of her siblings have varying degrees of proficiency in the Māori language. Her parents were native speakers of the Māori language and they spoke to each other and other adults in Māori, but never to their children. “Kāre a pāpā, a māmā rānei e kōrero Māori i waenga i a mātou, ki a mātou rānei.” My parents

did not speak Māori with or to us. Rukuwai’s first language is English, she learnt Māori as a second language at He Kāinga mō te Reo<sup>115</sup> (HKMTR). She has become a highly proficient speaker of the language and now is a tutor and language mentor. “Ahakoa ko te reo Pākehā taku reo tuatahi, tino ātaahua taku reo Māori ki au.” Although English is my first language, my reo Māori is very beautiful to me.

## **Background**

Rukuwai and her husband, Tangata Daniela, who is from Atiu in the Cook Islands, have eight children. Their oldest son passed away in 1991. They have five daughters and two sons. The oldest is Te Aruhe who is 35, then Te Reina who is 31, Mihikore who is 27, Tiki who is 21, Te Manawa o ngā Tūpuna Moeroa who is 18, Te Piata Rau who is 15, and their youngest is Tino Pai who is eight years old. Mihikore was the first of their children to attend kura kaupapa Māori whilst in her third form year. All her younger siblings attended kōhanga and kura kaupapa Māori, with Te Piata Rau and Tino Pai, the youngest, currently enrolled at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ruamata. Rukuwai has eight mokopuna, three of whom live in Australia. Rukuwai recognises the importance of these mokopuna having te reo in their lives, more so whilst they are away from home, and actively encourages her children to speak Māori to these mokopuna. Rukuwai lives with her husband and their three youngest children in Rotorua (see Table 2 for more information on the demographics for this region).

## **Rukuwai’s Language Learning Journey**

Rukuwai began learning te reo in 1991 at HKMTR. Her parents were part of the generation who were punished for speaking Māori at school. Following the death of her father in 1990, Rukuwai made the decision that she wanted to learn to speak Māori, largely due to the fact that she did not understand what was being said during her father’s tangihanga. “Rima rā, rā roa, rā kore

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<sup>115</sup> Te Ataarangi language learning initiative based in Rotorua



mōhio, uaua te noho tau ana.” Five long days of not being able to understand what was being said, it was difficult to be at ease. Edge et al. (2011) argue that the inability to farewell loved ones in a culturally appropriate manner can be the motivation required to develop the skills necessary to enable participation in these contexts. The following year Rukuwai started her language learning journey at HKMTR and found that her life changed dramatically:

Kua rerekē katoa taku oranga, taku ao nā taku reo Māori, nā taku mōhio ko wai au, nō hea au.

Learning my language has changed my whole life, my world is vastly different because I now know who I am and where I am from.

Rukuwai enjoyed her time as a student at HKMTR and loved the whānau atmosphere of learning. She quickly became close to the Pouako, Ani White. Rukuwai took on a teaching role in the classroom filling in for Ani, the main tutor, and one of the founding members of HKMTR. The following year her son, Tiki, was born and she took him to classes with her and subsequently her younger children as well. HKMTR was seen as a place that supported mothers and their children in a whānau-responsive atmosphere. She spoke only Māori to him from birth, even though she was still learning. She says they learnt together:

Maumahara au ki te uauatanga ki te kōrero ki a Tiki me taku reo iti nei. I tīmata tahi māua ko Tiki ki te ako, nā reira ka kōrero au ki a Tiki, ka mātakitaki mai a Tiki, mīharo au, kōrero ana a Tiki, mahi ana a Tiki.

I remember how difficult it was to converse with my son, Tiki, with my limited language skills. Tiki and I started learning together and I would speak to him, he would watch me and I was surprised at how he would respond.

Rukuwai began her degree with the Bachelor of Māori in Immersion Teaching in 2001, its inaugural year. She successfully completed it and was one of the first to graduate in 2004. This was a very proud moment for Rukuwai as she was one of the first of her generation to receive a degree. Rukuwai continued her postgraduate studies at Victoria University and graduated with a BA Hons in 2006.

Rukuwai has been following this path now for more than 20 years. She has had many years of experience and seen lots of changes throughout her children's lives, first as babies and toddlers at kōhanga, then as young children at kura, and now as teenagers and young adults, and on to becoming parents themselves. She now has grandchildren for whom she wants Māori to be their dominant language. Of Rukuwai's children, all except one are highly proficient in the Māori language. Her four youngest have all attended kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. The oldest three daughters all attended mainstream schools and when the third, Mihikore, was at high school she asked her parents if she could go to Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ruamata. Initially, her parents did not think this was a good idea; however, she insisted and, after a lot of discussion, her parents eventually agreed. The oldest daughter, Aruhe, went on to learn the language as a young adult at HKMTR and she also speaks Māori to her children.

Rukuwai credits Te Ataarangi and especially her first teacher, Ani White, with making a huge impact on her not only as a student learning her language, but also as a Māori woman:

Today I reflect on why Ani had such an impact on me... I think as students we are all looking for the role models in our lives to move to the next step. Te Ataarangi, its philosophies, its teaching methodology and its genuine passion for hope for the revival for the reo had become synonymous with Ani... I believe in Te Ataarangi as a vehicle of hope in all aspects of our living. It's not just about learning the reo me ōna tikanga, it is about love, acceptance, confidence, expressing yourself as a real person without pretence, without judgement, learning the skills we need as a people to progress towards our true potential taking our places in the communities we live in as leaders. (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009:25)

Te Ataarangi has been instrumental in Rukuwai's life and she describes how it provided a lifeline for her, one she is always keen to share with others. The methodology of Te Ataarangi is such that it engenders confidence and self-belief:

Because the kaiako's input is minimal you learn to use your own mind to make decisions about the words you are learning and what

you think they mean. Most of the time the kaiako silently reaffirms your efforts with a slight nod, or sitting just waiting until you come to the realisation yourself, which engenders the little steps in believing in yourself. (ibid)

### **Family Language Policy**

Through her involvement in Te Ataarangi, and especially He Kāinga Kōrerorero, Rukuwai is well aware of the importance of language revitalisation and why it is necessary. Her involvement with the revitalisation of the language for over 20 years has given her valuable insights and knowledge. Rukuwai has used the minority language at home approach and has seen the benefits not only in her children acquiring the language, but also in her husband gaining a basic understanding of the language.

Although Rukuwai has not always had a written language plan, she has been engaged in language planning through her in-depth knowledge and understanding of language revitalisation and has over the years implemented a number of language planning goals, which have been fulfilled. From my observations, much of the success is due to the initial and ongoing development first and foremost of Rukuwai's own language proficiency and then making the choice to start transmitting the language to her newborn son. This has probably led to a naturalisation of speaking to all the subsequent children and then to her mokopuna.

Rukuwai has chosen to school her children in Māori immersion settings. The youngest four children all went through kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. She has received a lot of support from her involvement with these kaupapa. The kura has a policy that each whānau must have a Poureo that speaks Māori in the home, therefore, making the transition from school to home very fluid and natural.

## **Normalised Language Use**

Rukuwai did not speak English to her younger four children as they were growing up, so Māori is their first language. However, once her older children reached adolescence the use of Māori decreased. Rukuwai used to prompt her older children to speak Māori as they were growing up, but stopped doing that when her youngest arrived to live with them. Rukuwai has found that she and Tino Pai have a very different language relationship; language use between them is normalised and it flows freely, regardless of the subject or context.

All her children continue to speak Māori at school and any associated events, such as sports. They also speak only Māori to other Māori-speaking people they know. They will also speak Māori when they do not want their father to understand what they are saying.

## **Poureo**

Rukuwai has always been the main speaker of Māori with her children and grandchildren. Her husband, Tangata, was raised in the Cook Island language while he was growing up in Atiu, but rarely spoke the language as an adult. Tangata has always been supportive of raising their children as bilinguals. His predominant language is English, although Rukuwai has observed that he understands a lot more than he says. He will use what language he knows with the younger children, but will speak only English if other adults are around:

Āe, kei te mārama, kei te mōhio ki te whakawhiti kōrero engari ka noho puku a ia. Ka noho puku mēnā he tangata anō. Pai noa iho tana tuku i te reo Māori hei reo kōrero mō taua wā.

Yes, he understands and can respond in the language; however, he chooses to remain silent. He will not speak in Māori if others are around. He is okay to speak Māori for that time.

Rukuwai has been instrumental in motivating her extended whānau to learn the language. Through her role as Pouako and language mentor and using the language with her children, she has set an example for others in her whānau to follow. Rukuwai explains:

He reo o mātou katoa, reo Māori o mātou katoa. Karekau o mātou reo i te wā e ora ana o mātou pakeke, mātua. Nō tērā tīmatanga kua haere mai ko aku tungāne, aku tuākana, aku tēina ki te kura rā me ngā kura pō.

We all have the reo in our whānau. None of us had the reo when our elders, our parents were alive. From that time all my whānau have come to learn, my brothers and my sisters. They have attended either day or night classes.

A major goal for Rukuwai is to see more Māori speaker communities not just with her whānau, but also with her hapū and wider community. She has assumed the role of mentor and teacher to many of her whānau, hapū and iwi. Rukuwai facilitates a number of wānanga and kura that help to revitalise the language on their marae and has taken on the role of kaikaranga both on her marae and other marae she visits around the country:

Ināianeī kei au ngā pūkenga mehemea ka haere ki te marae, ko au te kaikaranga, ka tū au. Kare au e tatari ana kia whakaae mai ki ahau. Inā kare he tangata ki te kawē, ka kawē e au.

I now have the required skills should I be called on to lead the ceremonial call onto the marae. I don't hesitate to carry out this task. If there is no one else willing or able to do it, I will take on this responsibility.

Carrying the role of kaikaranga is quite a significant task and not a role that all Māori-speaking women are comfortable performing. It requires knowledge, confidence, practice and a high degree of proficiency.

### **Language Strategies**

Two strategies were identified from the interview with Rukuwai, the first being the use of Skype. Rukuwai often Skype's her mokopuna who live in Australia to ensure they are still exposed to the Māori language:

Kōrero Māori tonu ana rāua i te mea i ngā wā kei te hono atu au ki a rātou kei te whakahaere kura hoki au i runga i te Skype. Kia mōhio rātou, kia kōrero tonu au, kia hanga kaupapa ka whāngai

tonu tērā ki a rātou me taku āki ki a Mihikore mā, kōrero Māori ki ngā mokopuna. Kaua e tukuna te reo kia ngaro atu i konā.

They [grandchildren] both speak Māori and we converse in the language via Skype. So they all know that I continue to speak regardless of the subject we are discussing. I continue to encourage my children to speak Māori to my mokopuna so their heritage language is not lost whilst away from home.

Rukuwai's use of Skype is a good example of how whānau can be supported in the absence of proficient speakers in the community. The second strategy that Rukuwai uses is with her older children. She continues to speak Māori with them even if they respond in English, a technique recognised as the 'move on' approach (Lanza, 2004). Rukuwai is no longer fazed by her children not wanting to speak Māori and continues to be the Poureo, which is motivating and leading by example.

### **Challenges**

Rukuwai has concerns for the reo of her children and mokopuna living in Australia. She has tried to get them to connect with Te Ataarangi kura operating in Sydney, but her children have been reluctant. "Kei te noho mokemoke te reo Māori i roto i aku tamariki ki Ahitereiria." The language is lonely in my children living in Australia. She sees a similar situation happening with her teenage children at home. They have reached an age where they prefer to use English as their dominant language. The exception is with the youngest, Tino Pai. She will still speak only Māori to Rukuwai, but speaks Māori and English to her older siblings and her father. Rukuwai has seen the gradual language shift as her children have got older:

Kei te kite atu au kei te raru mātou, kei te raru ngā tamariki ki te kawē i te reo ki te kāinga. I te mea māmā ake ki te kōrero Pākehā. He tere mārama. Kei te pono au, kei te tipu tērā whakaaro mō te kura te reo Māori... hoki mai ki te kāinga ka kōrero te reo o te ao, nā, ko te reo Pākehā tērā. O rātou pātuhi ki a rātou kei te reo Pākehā.

There is a dilemma; our children are choosing not to use the Māori language in the home. It is much easier for them to just use English. I believe that they see the Māori language as only being relevant for school and when they return home

they use the dominant language, which is English. Their texts to each other are all in English.

Crystal (2000) explains why languages die, in particular the sequence of events that take place. He describes a stage where the younger generations identify more with the dominant language and find their mother tongue has less relevance to them, especially during this time in their lives. Crystal identifies a sense of shame with adolescents about using the minority language and how they cease using it outside of the home. This can be clearly identified in this case study with the older children no longer wanting to speak the language.

This was a theme that came up a number of times in our interview and something seen in other case studies (case study 3 and 4). Rukuwai's older children were greatly influenced by their peers, a lot of whom spoke English at home and to each other. In addition, there is the influence of electronic media:

I te mea kei te reo Pākehā, ka hiahia rātou kia matatau ki ēnei momo. Ki te rorohiko, ki te pukamata, ki te waea, ki te pātuhi. Ngā momo āheinga kei runga i te rorohiko kei te reo Pākehā, nā reira koinā tō rātou reo whakawhitiwhiti i waenga i a rātou, ko te reo Pākehā. Ahakoa kei te kura kaupapa Māori rātou, ka noho ki te reo Māori ki te kura, ka toru karaka, huri ki te reo Pākehā.

As this [technology] is all in English they want to be skilled in the workings of it. From their computers, Facebook to their phones and texting. These different technologies are all the medium of English so it's important for them to be knowledgeable and skilled in these and they need to use the English language for this. Even though they attend kura kaupapa Māori, they adhere to speaking Māori whilst at school but once that finished they immediately revert to speaking English.

Rukuwai tries to maintain te reo Māori at home, but finds it a struggle at times and realises that her older children often become impatient with her. Rukuwai understands that, although her children are proficient in Māori, they have a lack of understanding about what they can accomplish with their bilingualism. "Kāore rātou e whakaarohia ko te reo hei reo waka kawē i a rātou ki nga taumata o te ao whānui. Kei te tiro whāiti pea." They don't think that the language

is a vehicle to carry them to higher levels in the wider world. Perhaps they only see the small picture.

### **Parent's Language Development**

As Rukuwai was learning the language, she attended many kura reo and enjoyed the challenge of working with language experts. As a language mentor and tutor of Te Ataarangi, Rukuwai has been involved in tutor seminars where language experts and other mentors come together to discuss the issues that arise in their field of work. These hui are all facilitated in the Māori language, so she has the opportunity to advance her skills.

### **Support**

The main areas of support for Rukuwai would come from her involvement with Te Ataarangi and the kaupapa, He Kāinga Kōrerorero, of which Rukuwai is a language mentor and has been for eight years. She also has had ongoing support from the whānau of Ruamata. Rukuwai, through her work as tutor and language mentor, has gone on to become a support for many other whānau.

### **Summary**

Rukuwai began learning the Māori language over 20 years ago. Not only has the language become normalised in her home with her children, but through her efforts she has also assisted other whānau to increase the use of the language in their homes. Rukuwai has faced challenges in that, once her children reached adolescence, they no longer wanted to use the language. This issue was seen with other whānau in the case studies and is something that is explored further in Chapter 6. Despite the challenges, Rukuwai has continued by example to value the language by first ensuring the intergenerational transmission with her children and continuing that transmission to her grandchildren. Through her efforts, Rukuwai has been actively involved in assisting the revitalisation of the Māori language.



This chapter has introduced the second group of case studies, those in which only one of the parents, the mothers, were transmitting the heritage language to their children. These whānau are all an inspiration to those who would also like to raise their children as first language speakers of their heritage language, even if there is only one speaker of the heritage language in the home. These parents can be recognised as having a strong impact belief, that is, knowing that they have the ability to influence language use within their whānau. Through their stories, these whānau have shared strategies, successes and also the challenges they faced raising their children in Māori. Raising children as first language speakers of Māori by parents who are second language speakers of Māori, an endangered language, requires a conscious effort and can at times be quite exhausting, especially given the powerful presence of the majority language. Continually ensuring they have the vocabulary required to explain and describe all the normal things that children encounter on a daily basis can be an ongoing challenge for parents. Although not always an easy task, it is most definitely a rewarding one.

## CHAPTER 6

### THEMES AND FINDINGS

#### Introduction

A language will die if it is not used and I truly believe that the heart of language revitalization lies in the community. (Horomia in Chrisp, 2005:154)

This chapter explores the main themes that emerged from the interviews with the nine whānau, including the pilot case study. Interview transcripts provided the basis for the analysis and reporting of findings. The examination of themes followed the six-phase thematic analysis approach by Braun and Clarke (2006). The most common themes from the case study interviews were identified, coded and then grouped into sections. They are all discussed in detail in this chapter.

#### Themes and Findings

Due to the large number of themes that resulted from the analysis, it was decided to group them into three separate sections under the following headings. The first section in this chapter considers the themes that were relevant to the parents, the second group were the themes that were associated with the children, and the third group were the themes that correlated to language planning issues. Table 5 shows the six parental themes that were identified from the case studies.

#### Parental Themes

As discussed in Chapter 3, parents are instrumental in reversing language shift as they determine the linguistic norms for their family. By raising their children in their heritage language they ensure the language is transmitted

intergenerationally. The following issues, listed as P1–P6, are the main themes from the case studies that were of relevance to the parents.

Table 5: Parental themes

P1	Māori heritage language learner
P2	When to start using Māori in the home
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### **P1: Māori Heritage Language Learner**

Māori have a complex set of choices to make and challenges to overcome when they choose to take on the task of language learning. It is likely for Māori that motivations for learning te reo Māori are not only driven by personal decisions, but also by responsibilities they feel as custodians of their culture. (Te Huia, 2013:107-108)

All but one of the Māori-speaking parents had a similar story in that they were part of the generation that missed out on the language as they were growing up. They experienced a sense of loss, they felt that something was missing in their lives and they had experienced feelings of being inadequate in situations where the Māori language was being used. They expressed wanting to be connected to the Māori world, to their Māoritanga. This gave rise to the realisation of the importance of language in terms of their identity as Māori. These factors motivated eleven of the parents to acquire the Māori language to a high level of proficiency. As also seen with the participants in Te Kura Roa (2014), parents who were not able to claim Māori as their mother tongue were forced to learn it as a second language. The majority of parents in the case studies were second language learners of their heritage language. Some had been introduced to the language in their high school years. Others learnt it as adults, either through community organisations, such as Te Ataarangi and kōhanga reo, or more formal institutions, such as polytechnic, university and whare wānanga.

Rātima and May (2011) explain that there is currently a lack of understanding about the experiences of adult Māori language learners. One of the main reasons for the interest in proficiency of Māori adult learners can be understood in relation to the threatened status of the language, particularly in regard to the regeneration of language in the home by those of child-bearing age. Te Huia (2013) in her study of motivations, enablers and inhibitors for heritage language learners gives some insightful understandings into the language learning process for Māori. She explains that Māori differ from the average second language learner in that they have an intrinsic connection to the language; the heritage language is more than just another language to them. For many Māori, language learning can be a highly emotive process, because their identity is intertwined with the language and culture. Anxiety and whakamā can be huge barriers faced by those learning a second language and must be negotiated in order to achieve higher levels of proficiency (Rātima, 2013; Te Huia, 2013). Timutimu et al. (2011) reported how participants who were learning te reo had feelings of inadequacy and lacked confidence in expressing themselves in the target language. For some, this had a positive effect. By acknowledging these vulnerabilities they were motivated and determined to speak more Māori in the home. Learning of a heritage language helps expose the learner to a new worldview, as well as forming skills and relationships that assist them to develop an in-group solidarity (ibid). This sense of unity enables the learner to actively engage with communities that use the language in a normalised way, whilst developing abilities that support a culturally based identity that is uniquely Māori.

A strong feature for those who may not have been raised in the language is a sense of belonging and the ability to feel at ease in Māori spaces or within Māori speaker communities. Being comfortable in these settings can help to improve their confidence, familiarity and cultural value (ibid). Once proficiency levels have increased, what may arise is an attitude of concern for the language and culture and an awareness of the state of the language. As

observed with the whānau in these case studies, parents were motivated by a sense of cultural preservation and a sense of responsibility to maintain the language for future generations. This resulted in parents making language choices for their children that assisted in reversing language shift. According to Chrisp (2005), intergenerational transmission cannot happen without a high level of proficiency in the language, which is something understood and actively pursued by these parents. Proficient learners often choose teaching and education careers as a means of sharing their knowledge with others, which was clearly seen through the chosen career options for parents in these case studies. As identified by Te Huia (2013) in her research and also seen with parents in the case studies, they sometimes become sought after for their language skills and cultural knowledge to conduct cultural specific roles within their whānau and wider communities.

The methodology used in learning a language, especially a heritage language, can significantly affect the levels of proficiency obtained. Immersion learning environments help to build oral proficiency, develop speaker communities and thereby normalise language use (Hond, 2013). The energy and effort required to learn a second language is significant, even more so when that language is a person's heritage language and is central to their identity.

## **P2: When to Start Using Māori in the Home**

A major focus of this research has been understanding how the transmission of a heritage language occurs in an immersion environment. First creating and then maintaining such an environment was crucial to the success of normalising the heritage language within these whānau. Not only did these parents transfer the heritage language to their children, but the children were also able to use that language with other adults and children, so it was being used intergenerationally as well as intra-generationally. Intra-generationally refers to the language use between the generations, such as parent to parent and child to child. Transmission happens in the early stages of growth of a child and, when the child has the required linguistic capacity, they are able to

use the language and dialogue opens up between the parent and child. When the child starts to verbalise, it can be a wonderful time for the parents, because they can then begin to see the fruits of their hard work and others are also able to see and hear the child communicate, probably one of the most important stages in the transmission of a heritage language. Typically, this can take from months to years. However, it is the same with any language the child learns. Having the child speak Māori can be harder for those who had already established English as the child's first language, but is by no means an impossible task. It appears to require more motivation and effort on the part of these parents (see pilot case study and case study 7). However, once again, the rewards were great when the children began to converse in the heritage language. Although these parents are second language heritage speakers, they have ensured that their children become first language heritage speakers.

Everyone has to start somewhere and experiences from parents in the case studies showed that the earlier this could be accomplished the easier it was. Starting to speak Māori to children from birth was a recommendation that came through in the interviews. Making the critical decision to use the Māori language in their ordinary, everyday conversations is what the majority of parents had decided before or at the birth of their children. Subsequent children born into these whānau followed the pattern of exclusive Māori language use from birth. The pilot case study whānau began the process of changing the home language when the children were two and three years old, and the whānau in case study 7, started the transition to Māori when the eldest child was two and a half years old. The mother and grandmother, respectively, of these children reported difficulties in the early stages and had to keep reminding their children to speak Māori.

Making a conscious decision to speak only Māori with your children prior to their arrival is an instrumental goal in family language policy. Having made the decision then required some practical strategies and approaches that for

these whānau often unfolded in the process. Although many whānau said that they did not have a written language plan, they were all engaged in language planning, having made the conscious decision to raise their children as native speakers of Māori. Caldas (2012) argues that most families do not consciously have a plan for the language they will speak to their children, and most will default to speaking the native language of the mother. For parents who decide to raise their children as bilinguals, they have generally considered the advantages and enhanced cultural capital that will be accessible to their children. For the parents in this research, by deciding to raise their children as first language heritage speakers they were choosing to assist in the revitalisation of the Māori language.

Waho (2006) explains the importance of starting early in establishing intergenerational transmission. The earlier the language is used between the generations, that is, between adults and children, the more it becomes normalised. The more it is used, the stronger the intergenerational transmission is that, in turn, ensures an environment more conducive to passing the language on to future generations. King and Fogel (2006), in a study with 24 families living in Washington DC who were raising their children as bilinguals, recognised the importance of early family language policy, especially if the result is native-like fluency.

As seen in Table 6, the length of time whānau had been speaking Māori with their children was between five and 21 years. Those who had been speaking the longest, between 16 and 21 years, were very experienced and consequently more relaxed in their use of the language, especially during adolescence, which is discussed later in this chapter.

Table 6: Length of time using the Māori language in the home

5-10 years	11-15 years	16-20 years	21 years
CS1		CS1 (older children)	
CS2			
	CS3		
		CS4	
CS5			
CS6			
CS7			
			CS8

### **P3: Normalised language use in the home and community**

One of the foremost goals of successful minority language revitalisation is the re-establishment of intergenerational transmission (Fishman, 1991). In order for this to happen, language use must be normalised. Normalised language use is reliant on Māori-speaking parents choosing to use the language in all domains of life with younger generations. Through socialisation in the language, children naturally inherit the identity and cultural norms intrinsically connected with the language and acquire an appreciation of the language as a pervasive aspect of daily life (Chrisp, 2005). Confidence develops the more proficient a person becomes, but proficiency develops the more the language is used. Maintaining an immersion environment in the home does require a concentrated effort, especially in the beginning. However, as most parents reported, speaking in the target language becomes easier and eventually normalised. Normalising the Māori language in the home can also be seen in Maxwell (2014) who, in her case study with five whānau raising their children through the medium of the Māori language, recognised that establishing a Māori-speaking home required “commitment, dedication and support” (ibid:46). For each of the whānau in this thesis, normalising the language in the home is a unique experience and should be acknowledged and supported for the contribution they have made to language revitalisation.

Proficiency in a language does not guarantee that the language will be used (Hakuta and D’Andrea, 1992). Speakers have a choice, conscious or



unconscious, regarding which language they will use. Generally, language choice is unconscious in that most bilinguals revert to the default language, which is often the dominant language. Reversing language shift requires bilinguals to make conscious language choices with an awareness of the consequences. Intergenerational transmission of the language requires a high level of proficiency to use the language with confidence (Chrisp, 2005).

All the whānau in this thesis made the commitment to speak only Māori with their children and other members of the whānau who had the required proficiency. The way this happened was different for each whānau and depended a lot on decisions they made at various stages in their children's lives. What may have seemed fine with one child can be very different for subsequent children. This can be seen in case study 6, where Karangawai's older son was raised through the medium of English, because Karangawai did not have the required proficiency when he was younger. After learning the language to a high level of proficiency and increasing her awareness of reversing language shift, she then made the decision to raise her subsequent children in the Māori language. With her increased awareness of the importance of reversing language shift, Karangawai developed a strong impact belief and was able to implement and positively influence their family language policy. Wano (1999) explains that children are greatly influenced by the language their parents use. As the Māori language is not commonly heard in wider community settings, it is even more important for parents to contemplate how to create the richness of language for their children in the home. Differing language situations beyond food, bed and family-time chores need to be developed to advance the language experiences of children.

Some whānau decided they would simply just speak Māori to their baby or child. They made the decision, made a commitment and stuck to it. "It was like, right, we just did it" (Case study 7). This was not always easy and at times they wondered why they were doing it, especially as it can take some time to see the benefits of what you have done, that is, to have your child

confidently conversing in Māori. All these whānau faced challenges along the way; however, they came up with strategies to get them through and these are discussed in Chapter 7. All whānau stated that it was normal for them to speak only Māori to their children and this had become an ordinary, everyday practice that they did together. Although it may have taken between three to six months to establish this type of environment, many said it was important to keep strong and focused on the reasons why they had chosen to do this. Karangawai encourages whānau that she now works with in He Kāinga Kōrerorero not to give up and explains that it does get easier. “In the beginning it felt like a chore, that’s what I explained to my He Kāinga Kōrerorero whānau that it will feel like a chore in the beginning but after a while it will become second nature” (Case study 6). Whānau reported that language use was easier once it became normalised. Paia states, “It feels so normal now, it feels like it’s been like this forever” (Case study 7). Pine in case study 1 began talking Māori with his son and now continues that legacy with his mokopuna. The language has become an innate part of their relationships. Daily use of the language can help to increase and develop language proficiency, as described by Erina in case study 5, by building vocabulary in relation to everyday activities. Working in a position that requires use of the language can also assist the development of proficiency in the language.

Decisions to normalise the use of Māori within the whānau have also been reported by Maxwell (2014) who stated that some parents in her study did not necessarily make a predetermined decision about raising their children in the Māori language, but rather it was more of a natural process that evolved. The whānau in this thesis appear to have already had a strong impact belief and although not stated emphatically, they knew intrinsically that their children would be first language speakers of Māori. Normalised use of the language was evident with all the participants who all predominantly spoke Māori with their children as the everyday means of communication. It also became easier as parents’ confidence increased in using the language out in public or

around friends and family. Some were conscious of their language use whilst out in public in the beginning and did not want to draw attention to themselves. Parents' attitudes changed as time went on and as they developed a stronger impact belief (De Houwer, 1999). All parents reported a positive attitude from the general public to speaking Māori with their children in the community. "People still look, but it's so normal between myself and my kids now that we don't even worry about anyone else, but people do stare and ask, 'What are you speaking?'" (Case study 7). These whānau were all promoting the Māori language as an ordinary, everyday activity by actively engaging together in the language wherever they were.

Parents in case studies 3 and 6, explained how they unintentionally remained in English after a conversation with an English-speaking interlocutor. They would occasionally forget they were not speaking Māori and continue speaking English to their children, but quickly remember and would switch back to using Māori. They also found this happened in reverse where they would be speaking Māori to their children and then start talking to an English interlocutor in Māori before realising they were doing so.

Erina in case study 5 talked about the difficulty she had in maintaining her home as a Māori language domain following the separation from her husband. Now raising her son alone she is finding it harder to maintain a Māori-only language domain and will be critical of herself for not strictly keeping to her initial commitment. This not only highlights the fact that parents need to develop a high level of proficiency to be able to transmit the language successfully to their children, but also that there needs to be support and resources available to parents, especially in relation to contexts around the home and raising children.

Many of the whānau in the research came across resistance from extended whānau members in the early stages of speaking Māori to their children. These whānau members expressed concerns about the children in these

case studies being disadvantaged in their English language skills and worried about how these children would cope. Negative attitudes to raising children in te reo Māori was also reported by Maxwell (2014) who identified how this created distance in family relationships. A grandparent in case study 2 had real concerns about her daughter giving her grandchild a Māori name and having people either mispronounce it or of her granddaughter being made fun of by her peers. It is assumed that this grandparent in her concerns about her grandchild being given a Māori name was referring to what Smith (1999) describes as the discriminatory schooling practices where teachers shortened the Māori names of children or gave them nicknames, rendering these indigenous names insignificant. This situation highlights how Alayna and Thompson had the confidence and conviction to do what was right for them, despite the opinions of others. According to Smith (1999:157), “Children quite literally wear their history in their names... realities which can only be found in the indigenous language.” These concerns from whānau members changed once the children became older and were speaking in Māori. Those extended whānau members often became the biggest supporters and some even went on to learn the language themselves to communicate better with their Māori-speaking whānau.

#### **P4: Poureo and Motivation**

As seen in this thesis, family play an instrumental role in supporting the heritage language when parental practices are consistent (DeCapua and Wintergerst, 2009). Spolsky (1995) describes the concept of a lead, someone who is instrumental within the community in normalising behaviours and influencing others to follow suit. The Poureo in the whānau had the important task of maintaining motivation amongst members of their whānau. The ‘pou’ can be understood as significant in providing a base or pillar of strength to their whānau. They hold the position of ensuring the language is maintained in all circumstances. Key drivers were a critical part of the Ngāi Te Rangi project, Te Reo o te Kāinga (Timutimu et al. 2011). These key drivers performed an important role as whānau leaders, motivating and

encouraging opportunities for language use, not always an easy task given the pressures of whānau dynamics whilst being relied on to keep up the momentum and balancing their own needs for support. The influence of these key drivers had a major bearing on the success whānau had in learning and using te reo (Timutimu et al. 2011). Reported in the findings of Te Kura Roa (2014), the role of lead was defined as an 'instigator', the person responsible for ensuring language transmission to younger generations.

Although not specifically discussed as part of the interview process for this thesis, one parent seemed to naturally take on the role of Poureo. Sometimes it was the only Māori-speaking parent, but in the cases of two Māori-speaking parents, one of them was more the motivator, someone who is zealous, dedicated and can be relied on to adhere to the principle of speaking only Māori. The Poureo is more likely to lead the initiative and continue it through with or without the support of the other parent. Often one parent will be more dominant in the whānau language maintenance process than the other. Conversely, research has shown that intergenerational language transmission is more likely to be successful in a household where both parents speak the minority language (Waho, 2006). Whilst a two-parent speaking household is optimum, successful transmission of the minority language is still possible in households with one heritage language speaker, as observed in case studies 5–8.

Motivation, intent and support are required to ensure intergenerational transmission of the language to younger generations. Parents are motivated by a desire to continue their cultural heritage through use of the language with their children. They can be motivated by the knowledge that they are assisting in the revitalisation of the endangered language. Feeling responsible and a deep sense of wanting to do the right thing for their children contribute to these parents' motivation to use the language. Maxwell (2014) identifies that the motivation to raise Māori-speaking children is a part

of instilling cultural values, thereby cultivating a strong sense of identity and connection to who they are as Māori.

Maintaining enthusiasm during times of stress and fatigue can be difficult for some parents. Therefore, a process of reviewing goals and family language policies can encourage and foster motivation during these times. Erina in case study 5 spoke about the importance of pushing through and continuing on and not giving in because of tiredness or lack of motivation. She felt these were not good enough reasons to stop speaking the language and maintaining the home as a Māori language domain. Pauwels (2005) argues that even the most passionate and dedicated families acknowledge that language maintenance requires substantial effort. Maxwell (2014) supports this notion and argues that whānau should be made aware of the difficulties they may face. For whānau in this research, knowing what others have achieved and what is possible can be a big motivating factor as well. Seeing and hearing children respond to their parents and other Māori-speaking people in the language can be extremely rewarding and helps keep parents motivated. Parents are the ones tasked with the responsibility for maintaining the momentum of speaking the target language over a number of years.

Spolsky (2012) talks about the ideological commitment required to ensure the language becomes the vernacular. For the parents in the case studies, this involved a change in lifestyle that for many happened when they began learning the language. The progression to then transmit the language to their children cemented that commitment. This is clearly illustrated by Rukuwai in case study 8, where she describes how learning the language changed her life and how different her life is now. Motivation for parents to use the language with their children was very high in the case studies. Of interest was how these parents applied themselves in ensuring their use of language across a wide range of contexts. Their consequent effort and determination was quite remarkable. The parents all made a decision that they would speak Māori to their children and followed it through with passion. All the whānau

were highly motivated to use the language every day, which can be seen as a critical success factor in normalising the language. The high level of motivation displayed by these parents is encouraging and can possibly inspire other whānau to pursue this path. Maybe of more interest is what motivates these parents to raise their children in a language that is not their birth language? Parents in case studies 1 and 7 discussed how they were aware of not being raised in the Māori language and the impact this had on their worldview. Others, as in case study 6, wanted to actively participate in the revitalisation of the Māori language and, by using it every day in the home, they felt they were making a significant impact on the survival of the language.

Transmitting the language between the generations ensured the link between past, present and future generations was maintained. Raising children as first language speakers of their heritage language helps to ensure confidence in their identity and knowledge of tikanga Māori. Certain life situations, such as the birth of a child, or the death of a parent or grandparent, can act as triggers motivating people to take up the challenge of learning and transmitting the language to their children (Chrisp, 2005; Te Huia, 2013).

#### **P5: Parental Language Use**

As described in Chapter 4, the amount of time parents spoke to each other in the Māori language was identified as a significant factor for half of the eight whānau as they were the group who had two Māori-speaking parents. Whilst language use with children was generally very high, this was not always the case for these parents. Three whānau reported use of reo with each other was a range of between 20% and 50% of the time, and was 75% for the other couple. Self-reporting of whānau, as in this research, has the potential for bias with under- or over-reporting. I was interested in these findings and asked them their reasons for rating themselves in this way. Whilst some were unable to identify a cause for the amount of language used together, others were able to recognise that their relationship had started through the medium of English and this was very difficult to change. Waho (2006), in his research

on intergenerational language transmission, supports this finding. “Fishman and Spolsky tell us that the language used when people first meet each other is the principal language they will use throughout their relationship. That language will maintain the emotional and natural bond between the two” (ibid:3). Spolsky and Cooper (1991) describe this initial contact language connection as the ‘inertia principle’. As evidenced in the findings, the relationships between partners in case studies 1–4 began through the medium of English, thereby making English the language in which their emotional bonds had been formed. Changing that relationship can be difficult, depending on the individual circumstances; however, it is not impossible. Research from Te Kura Roa (2014) also showed that the lowest source of language use was between spouses and partners. These findings suggest that spouses are not frequent participants in language conversations, despite what may be occurring in the home with children.

Piller (2000), in her research on the language practices of intercultural couples, argues that attempting to change the language one normally communicates to their partners in can be difficult due to the close connection between language and identity. She found that bilingual couples say different things to each other in different languages, which explains why they tend to stay with the language of initial encounter as they feel they may lose the sense of knowing each other, the sense of intimacy and predicting what the other will say if they switched languages. However, the perception of how power is viewed in the relationship, especially in regard to language skill and knowledge, can affect the choice of language one chooses to communicate in. “In a linguistic construction of reality, power may also accrue to a person through being an undisputed expert manipulator of a language” (ibid:9). In the first group of whānau, the case studies 1–4, all the male partners were more proficient or acquired language proficiency prior to their female partners. This can account for the feelings of inequality and embarrassment felt by the female partners whilst they were learning and gaining proficiency in the heritage language. As learners of the language they may have been



conscious of making mistakes or feeling that their language ability was less than perfect or as good as their partners. This was also reported by participants in Chrisp (2005) in regard to how averse they were to using their Māori language skills with those they perceived to have a higher level of proficiency than them, as they feared criticism of mistakes they made.

According to Piller (2000), using the language of contact becomes a habit, one that is hard to break, possibly because it has become the default language and the language that they automatically use unless a conscious decision is made to use a different one. Chrisp (2005) also reported the language of contact in his research with parents, looking at factors that support or hinder the intergenerational transmission of language. English-dominated speech patterns and speaking English was a difficult habit to break for these parents. Wano (1999) argues that the habit of Māori speakers speaking English is an element often overlooked in discourse about language revitalisation. He notes how difficult it can be to promote the second learnt language over the predominant language and be disciplined to use that language, especially when it is only spoken in a limited number of domains.

The effort required to sustain an immersion environment is intense, especially when the language is not your first language. As identified by Ana and her sister in case study 3, it is easier and quicker for them to express themselves in their first language. English is their default language, the language they have used together across all domains since birth, and therefore it has become automatic. These sisters found it required conscious thought and concentrated effort to override that habit, especially when they had been conversing with another interlocutor in English. Pavlenko (2010) explains how the emotional connections formed in first language socialisation are stronger than those later developed in second language acquisition and assist in understanding the preference for native language use between partners in these case studies.

The evidence suggests that, for the female partners in these relationships, there may have been a heightened sense of anxiety if their partners attempted to correct them. In addition, three of the male partners were the Poureo of their whānau so this may have added another inhibitor to their female partners, especially while they were still developing their confidence and proficiency. The male partners' increased levels of proficiency could be seen to equate with increased power in the relationship. As second language learners, these parents found communication easier in English with the ability to get their point across quicker and be understood with little possibility of being misinterpreted. Timutimu et al. (2011) in their findings described how some of the women in the study felt unsupported and lacking confidence in instances where their partners had a better understanding of te reo. How their partners communicated often increased the negative way these women were feeling. In comparison, when the women had a better understanding of te reo than their partners they were fully supportive of their partners' language development.

In contrast are the language relationships these parents had with their children and grandchildren. Children are less likely to judge the language ability of the interlocutor, which helps to put people at ease when conversing with children (Chrisp, 2005; Te Kura Roa, 2014). The relationship between grandparents and mokopuna was highlighted by Timutimu et al. (2011) as being the most significant language relationship. This relationship was seen as an important motivating factor for intergenerational transmission, as mokopuna were seen as being the future carriers of the language.

In the remaining three whānau, case studies 6–8, the mothers were the ones who spoke the language and their male partners spoke no or little Māori, although they tended to display a passive understanding. Therefore, it could be seen as a reverse of the above situation in that their partners may have felt a loss of power in the relationship due to the fact that they could not speak the heritage language. For some, however, the lack of knowledge and

understanding could be the motivation to learn the language. These issues raise the question about how strategies can be developed to assist partners who come together with differing heritage language abilities to feel empowered to converse together in the language as much as they speak to their children. This is a subject that would benefit from further research.

Language that can be used in everyday contexts is important in ensuring the intergenerational transmission of the language. Recognised by whānau in the case studies as being integral to their roles of heritage language transmission, parents have had to adapt, learn and develop their language skills along the way. Most language learning programmes are not designed to teach the everyday language necessary to raise a Māori-speaking child. The development of vocabulary and contexts appropriate to raising Māori-speaking children is an area of focus in Te Ataarangi programmes, He Kāinga Kōrerorero and Te Kura Whānau Reo.

The language needs to be heard and used not only with the different generations, but also within those generations. As seen in Revis (2015), the parents who ensured their children were exposed to rich socialisation opportunities in the heritage language were generally more successful in raising bilingual children. If positive heritage language relationships are not modelled in the whānau, this may influence how children develop language relationships later in life, especially when they become parents. Pine in case study 1 was aware that his heritage language relationship with Rohatai might be viewed by their mokopuna as an inherent lack of value for the language, which could have an adverse impact in the future. The issue of the long-term effects of heritage language socialisation is an area not covered in this thesis, but is a valuable subject for further research.

If the children in this thesis develop an awareness of the inertia principle, which is the language of contact, they may then choose a partner who has also acquired and uses the heritage language. Te Huia (2013) discovered in

her study of language learners that language proficiency was one of the factors that heritage language learners considered when selecting a partner. Having a committed partner who is passionate about using the language in the home could potentially affect language revitalisation efforts. As previously mentioned in case study 1, once someone opened the door to English in a relationship it was very difficult to close it again. Alayna in case study 2 made the conscious decision to speak English with her husband away from the children. Regardless of the fact that these parents speak only Māori to their children, acquisition of and exposure to English is inevitable in a monolingual, English-speaking country. The presence of English is in all domains of life, including all forms of media and school, as well as other non-Māori speaking friends and whānau.

#### **P6: Parental Language Development**

Parents in these case studies were aware of the need to continue to develop their language skills and keep abreast of their children's growing language needs. Most parents had busy lifestyles and consequently had limited opportunities for developing their own language skills. Some recognised how their language development directly impacted their children's advancing knowledge and language needs. Karangawai in case study 6 was aware that she needed to increase her skills prior to her girls needing vocabulary for more specific situations, such as when they reach puberty. It was important to continue socialisation in Māori in all contexts that were of importance to their children. Research by parents was required to find words and phrases that clearly expressed any new concepts that arose in the children's lives. Erina in case study 5 also realised that if she did not continue to develop her heritage language skills she would plateau and this would not be helpful for her son or their language relationship. In such instances, if she did not have the required vocabulary, she would switch to speak in English.

In their professional capacity as teachers, these parents had the added responsibility to continue to develop their heritage language skills. Paia in

case study 7 also raised concerns about the quality of her language and how this may impact on her children. Through her attendance at wānanga reo and kura reo, she could continue to ensure the quality of language she shared with her children continued to improve. Many found kura reo a valuable avenue to develop their heritage language skills in an immersion environment. King (2006) recognises residential immersion settings as strengthening the use of Māori for everyday activities and fostering Māori language speaking connections with other adults. Kura reo are grouped into different levels depending on language ability and parents found this a useful way to evaluate their language progress. The facilitators at kura reo are of a high standard, which ensures students are being exposed to exemplars that will extend their language knowledge and skills. Other areas enabling language advancement were a large variety of wānanga and spending time with native speakers of the language from their marae, as seen in case study 2. Parents in the case studies recognised that there was always a need to keep developing their language skills, as seen with Koro in case study 4, who had the view that learning was ongoing despite his advanced level of proficiency. Not having the required vocabulary can mean that parents or children will switch to use English words. In order to counter this, parents needed to be constantly finding and translating words. For some, such as in case studies 2 and 6, they made up their own words in Māori to help fill the gap they found in their vocabulary.

### **Children's Themes**

The issues affecting children were broken down to three key themes, as shown in Table 7. The first two themes were prompting their children to speak Māori and education options. Although the education options were often the decision of the parents, these decisions directly affected their children and, in some cases, with older children they were able to choose where they would go to school. The third theme was about adolescents and their use of the Māori language.

Table 7: Children's themes

C1	Prompting
C2	Education options
C3	Adolescents' language use

### **C1: Prompting**

Parents spoke of the need to remind their children to speak Māori and the difficulty they found as their children got older. Rukuwai in case study 8 spoke about how she no longer told her older children to speak Māori and at times would speak English to them rather than continually prompting them to speak Māori. She explains her reasons for taking this course of action:

Kei te rongu au i tērā hōhā. Pai noa iho a Tino engari, ko ngā mea pakeke, te taiohitanga, tērā reanga. Kare au i te kaha te kī, "kaua." Ka kōrero tonu au. Ētahi wā kua kōrero Pākehā ahau ki a rātou.

I can feel their frustrations. Tino [youngest child] is fine but the older ones, the adolescents, it's that age. I no longer tell them 'don't' [speak English], I just continue speaking Māori. Sometimes though, I speak English to them.

According to Curdt-Christiansen (2013), existing family language policies can be challenged by children, resulting in a shift by parents from explicit language management to a *laissez-faire* policy. Seen in the example with Rukuwai and her adolescent children, language practices depended on the cooperation of her children, their commitment and ability to accommodate their mother's wishes, which ultimately affected the language practices of the whānau (Revis, 2015). Another whānau who uses prompting was Paia in case study 7, more so when she had begun using Māori with her son who had already established English as his first language. Initially prompting him was a regular occurrence; however, she observed that, once language use in Māori became normalised, prompting was not required as often. Erina in case study 5 talked about the difficulty she had with maintaining her home as a Māori language domain. Prompting was required with her son, even though Māori was already normalised. Prompting for this whānau extended to the instances when Erina's son's Māori-speaking friends visited.

## **C2: Education Options**

Educational choices for children were predominantly made by parents, although as children got older some had input into the type of schooling they wanted to participate in. Of the 19 children who were still at school, 70% attended immersion schooling and 30% attended mainstream or limited immersion (one day a week). Therefore, a high percentage of these children were potentially immersed in the language for the majority of their day.

Whilst the majority chose kura kaupapa Māori for their children, others made the conscious decision not to engage in these educational settings. For some it was the simple fact that there was limited access to immersion settings. Others made the choice based on their impressions of the quality of education and in-house politics. Others gave their children the option to choose once they reached secondary school, thereby allowing them the opportunity to diversify in the choice of subjects. The potential of children being immersed in the heritage language in both the school and home environments suggests that language maintenance would be strong. In addition, children would be exposed to a range of interlocutors and contexts, strengthening intergenerational and intra-generational transmission of the heritage language. Intra-generational transmission, or the use of language between the generations, is an important aspect of language revitalisation. Something not reported in this thesis, but a possible area of further research, is the risk of over-exposure of children to the heritage language.

## **C3: Adolescents' Language Use**

The use of Māori language decreased with adolescents in this study and English became their preferred language of communication. Crisp (2005) explains that bilingual adolescents' preference for speaking the majority language is a well-documented occurrence. This seemed to happen naturally as children became older and the influence of English was more prominent. Peers, or sometimes siblings, had a major effect on what language the adolescents in the case studies chose to interact in. Caldas (2012) argues

that the adolescent peer group can have a detrimental effect on the language use of a bilingual, in that if the heritage language is not used or valued by their peers, it is highly probable that the child will refuse to speak the language as well. Media and technology played a big part with these young people in that many wanted to listen to popular music, most of which is in English. In addition are the other English mediums that adolescents like to engage in, such as television, the internet, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and Instagram. McKenzie (2014) argues that Māori have always been quick to adopt new technologies, especially the group she describes as 'Digital Natives', those who have been immersed in and mastered the technologies of the modern age. Parents in the case studies recognised that their children preferred to use English, as it was recognised as allowing access to these different forms of technologies. Poutu (2012) in her PhD research argues that speaking English seems to be the trend with teenage speakers of Māori. Their preference is to converse in English in social settings. All the things they consider to be cool and that have a major influence on them are all in English. The need for adolescents to be involved in mainstream trends and fashions impacts language use. Wano (1999) offers his advice to parents that, regardless of their adolescent's language choice, to continue using the heritage language as this validates their support and value for the language.

Parents initially spoke Māori to their children the majority of the time; however, this tended to decrease as children got older. The language management practices of whānau determined how this happened. Some parents insisted that their children only ever spoke Māori except to non-Māori speakers. Others who may have initially been more explicit about speaking Māori found that they became more lenient as their children got older, especially in the case of those with teenagers. Some parents with younger children were aware of the impending concerns they may face as they had seen this happen with friends. Most had decided they would confront the issue when it arose. Poutu (2012) poses the question: is the resistance of adolescents to speaking Māori because of it being compulsory in immersion schooling? She



feels that it could be too much for these children and it may have the effect of turning them away from the language. She suggests that a more positive attitude to the heritage language in the school, whereby children do not feel like it is a rule, could incite better engagement from adolescents. In these circumstances, adopting the practice of translanguaging, which is allowing the use of both languages to enable free-flowing communication, could lead to a higher level of engagement with these adolescents. Translanguaging could help to take away the stigma that may exist with having to always abide by the 'korero Māori'<sup>116</sup> principle.

An exception to the use of Māori by adolescents was noted where there was a younger sibling in the home. There appeared to be an implicit language belief exhibited by the adolescents that Māori should be spoken to babies and younger children. It appears to have been unusual for them to hear English being used with younger members of their whānau or, in having been exposed themselves to Māori whilst they were growing up, it had become normalised.

Caldas (2012) explained how his bilingual children went through a period of speaking the dominant language in their adolescence, and how this changed when they became adults and displayed an enhanced appreciation of their bilingualism. Caldas suggests as a strategy the possibility of children attending language camps. At language camp time is spent immersed in the heritage language with peers of a similar age. This strategy could be what motivates the child to see value in the language outside of the confines of the family and school (ibid).

Eckert (1989) argues that it is a natural phenomenon that adolescents go through a stage of change and identity construction. This can be more difficult for bilingual adolescents immersed in a monolingual culture that does

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<sup>116</sup> Speak Māori

not largely value their heritage language (Katz, 1996; McKay and Wong, 1996). It is a time of conforming to peers and disengaging from their families (Eckert, 1989). Those in the early adolescent years seemed the most vulnerable to the influence of peers. Caldas (2007) found in his research that bilingualism was not generally something that was valued by peers, even those from the same speech community. The peers of children in these case studies who attended immersion education were Māori language speakers, although generally were not being raised in Māori language homes. They would have spoken Māori at school, but outside of school English would have been the normalised language. Caldas (2007) argues that bilingual adolescents are more likely to conform to the language norms of their peers rather than the linguistic expectations of their parents. Their desire to conform extended beyond the presence of their peers and can extend to the home domain where they may refuse to speak the language of the parents, even in the absence of their peers (ibid). This can be clearly seen in case study 8 where Rukuwai's adolescent children no longer wanted to speak to their mother or their siblings in the heritage language. Not wanting to be seen as different is a big part of adolescence and ultimately just wanting to fit in with their peers is a big motivation to stop using their heritage language (ibid).

Caldas (2007) discusses how his children, who were the main subject of his research, felt embarrassed by their parents speaking to them in a language other than the dominant language. They even asked their parents not to speak to them in the minority language around their peers (ibid). This was also seen in case study 8 with the older children. Sometimes when they were out in the community, Rukuwai's children would ask her not to speak Māori, "Ka sshhh mai... kaula e kōrero Māori." They would say sshhh... don't speak Māori (Daniel, 2013). This was also reported in the study by DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009) where, although the children were generally positive about heritage language use, when they reached a certain age they no longer liked having to speak the heritage language to their mother in front of their friends. They deemed this to be rude, given their friends would not understand. In

contrast, there are times when peers could have a positive effect, especially if being bilingual was seen as being something cool, although generally peers are not accepting of differences and could make things difficult for bilinguals (Caldas, 2007).

Caldas (2007) offers hope and advises parents not to give up. He recommends to keep speaking the language even if their children respond in English. Perseverance on the part of parents can help as these children will generally move beyond the socialising pressures of their peers and go on to develop a more positive view of their bilingualism. As young adults moving past their teen years, they seem to develop an appreciation of their linguistic abilities and how it can be a source of confidence and pride in that they have skills that their monolingual counterparts do not. They also see the benefits of having learnt the language from birth and how much easier that is than learning it later in life. Caldas adds that “language socialisation is a lifetime process” (ibid:308).

Of interest but not covered by this research is the issue of whether these children or, in fact, other children raised in te reo Māori then go on to transfer the language to their children. Many of the older children in this research were not highly motivated to use the heritage language with their parents and peers, but maintained a high level of use with younger siblings. It is implied that these adolescents have an appreciation of the importance of transferring the language to the next generation and, once they have children, passing on the language will be an automatic thing for them to do. Possibly what is missing with these young adults is the critical awareness of why it is important to transfer the language between the generations and how the language may not survive if this is not done. The study by Maxwell (2014) involved five whānau raising their children as first language speakers of Māori. In four of these whānau at least one of the parents had been through kōhanga reo and/or kura kaupapa Māori and had consequently gone on to raise their own children in Māori. Maxwell attests that these isolated cases are not the only

ones, that other parents who are the graduates of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa are making the decision to raise their children in their heritage language. These findings are hopeful for reversing language shift.

Some parents in this thesis realised that raising their children in Māori is a lifetime journey and were anticipating the day they could also speak Māori with their grandchildren. Rukuwai in case study 8, whose older children spoke Māori, now had their own children and were living in Australia. She feared that her children were not speaking Māori to her mokopuna as they did not recognise its benefits in Australia. Her attempt to counter this was to regularly Skype her children and speak Māori to her mokopuna, thereby ensuring their continued exposure to their heritage language.

### **Language Planning Themes**

The last group of issues was identified in the language planning themes. These four themes were family language policy, support and resources, benefits to whānau and the home domain.

Table 8: Language planning themes

LP1	Family language policy
LP2	Support and resources
LP3	Benefits for whānau
LP4	Home domain

#### **LP1: Family Language Policy**

Family language policy lays the foundation for language maintenance and natural intergenerational transmission. Language planning integrates what whānau do in their daily lives, their beliefs and ideas about language, and their practices and efforts to influence the language use of family members. Family language policy can be defined as ‘explicit’ and ‘overt’ planning, particularly in reference to language use within families, and assumes that family members have examined their practices, formed strategies and devised rules (King et al. 2008; Revis, 2015; Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006). Family practices that shape family language policy can be clearly

seen occurring within the whānau in these case studies, despite the majority not having a written language plan. Parents, by the very fact that they had chosen to raise their children in their heritage language, were involved in a form of family language policy.

Parents have the greatest impact on their children's linguistic choices and are able to shape and influence language use in the heritage language. Tse (2001) describes parents as the caretakers of their heritage language as their attitudes, beliefs and support, or lack thereof, impacts the extent language is retained by their children. Parents adapt their children's language environment to assist in the preservation of the heritage language (Spolsky, 2012). All parents in the case studies had a strong impact belief that emphasised the importance of their language practices and the use of explicit management strategies.

Some examples of language management as reported in these case studies, include strategies used by parents to signal to children that their use of the dominant language is not appropriate. One of these strategies is the 'minimal grasp strategy', which is pretending not to understand or respond to the child when they use the dominant language (King et al. 2008). Kasuya (2002) suggests that this strategy can be useful when children are young as they learn that, in order to meet a goal, they have to use a particular language, in this case the heritage language. Döpke (1992) explains that, for parents, the insistence on using this strategy generally has a positive influence on children's heritage language development. The minimal grasp strategy can be recognised as being used by parents in the pilot case study and case study 1.

Another approach is the 'expressed guess' strategy where the parent repeats what the child has said in the dominant language in the heritage language, expecting confirmation from the child (Lanza, 2004). This differs from the 'repetition' strategy in that there is no expectation for the child to respond

(ibid). Again, both of these strategies were used at different times by the parents in the case studies. One strategy that does not assist heritage language development is the 'language switch' strategy. The parent, in response to the child's use of the dominant language, continues the interaction in the dominant language (De Houwer, 2009). The use of this strategy can be seen with Rukuwai in case study 8 where she explains how at times she does respond to her children in English.

These strategies, although predominantly used between parent and child, can also be seen in the case studies as extending beyond the whānau to include the children's peers, especially those who are heritage language speakers. Another factor in considering language management is how much time is acceptable for children to be involved in activities involving the dominant language, such as watching English language programmes or listening to music in the English language. One challenge faced by these whānau was the lack of other Māori-speaking whānau to interact with on a regular basis. In this way children develop relationships with other Māori-speaking adults and children and recognise how the language is normalised beyond their own whānau.

The parents in the case studies were aware of the state of the Māori language and had a clear intention as to how they could contribute to the maintenance of the heritage language. All the whānau in this research displayed a strong impact belief, as discussed in Chapter 2. They demonstrated a number of strategies employed to ensure their children's language use and the intergenerational transmission of their heritage language. The whānau in this research belong to a growing group of whānau who have made language choices that have a positive impact on revitalisation of the Māori language. Some recognised the cognitive advantages this afforded their children and others the enhanced social capital, but ultimately the priority was in reversing language shift. Consequently, these whānau devoted time and energy to utilising a range of language

strategies that would ensure their children became highly proficient first language speakers of the Māori language.

All whānau in the case studies had made salient steps in ensuring that they transferred the language to their children. They had all accomplished the first and second stages of intergenerational language transmission in that they had first become speakers of their heritage language and then they had actively transferred that language to their children. What would be revealing is whether their children transferred the language to their grandchildren. Language planning needs to include an understanding of macro and micro language environments and how they impact family language policies.. Awareness of choices that parents make on behalf of their children, such as choice of educational settings, plays an important part in their efforts to raise bilingual children. These parents have all shown an elevated level of understanding around choices they make for their children. Some have been unwavering in their decisions and others have been more fluid and made changes as the need has arisen. Caldas (2007) explains the importance of understanding the impact educational settings have on the bilingual child. These whānau, by the very act that they were raising their children in their heritage language, were establishing a new tradition for their children, one that it is hoped would be continued with their grandchildren and great grandchildren. These whānau have been proactive in their stance to assist their heritage language, giving their children a distinct advantage in their language proficiency, despite the lack of support from extended whānau.

Three of the whānau adopted the one parent one language approach – one parent, the mother, speaking only the heritage language and one parent, the father, speaking only the dominant language. In all cases, the children responded to the non-Māori speaking parent only in English, even if they attempted to speak in Māori. These parents believed the one parent one language approach was a good strategy for raising their children in a linguistically rich environment. Some had an in-depth knowledge of how this

worked whilst others were more ad hoc. Reasons for their use of the one parent one language approach included not wanting the non-Māori speaking parent to speak Māori as they were not confident in their ability in the target language, as seen in case study 6. The observation was that, as these non-Māori speaking parents increased their understanding of the language, they often preferred to use what language skills they had acquired with their children, as evidenced in case study 7. These non-Māori speaking parents had been exposed to the language in a passive form that had imparted some familiarity with the language (Chrisp, 2005). This was also the case with one of the older children who was not fluent in the language. He would use what language skills he had with his younger siblings, even if they were just simple phrases or commands. All but one of the non-Māori speaking fathers was supportive of their partner's efforts to raise their children in the Māori language. The father in case study 6, who was not initially supportive later changed his ideology once his children became proficient and conversant in the language. The father in case study 7, who was raised in the Tongan language, had initially thought he would speak only Tongan to his children. He found this difficult as he had very little support to transmit his heritage language, given the lack of Tongan speakers and support in his community. All the non-Māori speaking parents were of a similar mind in that they could see the tangible benefits of their children being immersed in the heritage language.

Bosemark (2013) makes the point that the one parent one language approach often requires extra language supplements. In this case, schooling in the Māori language would more than meet these needs. She also comments that this helps the child hear the language being spoken by more than the one parent as they quite quickly realise that they do not really need to know a language if it is only spoken by one other person. As discussed earlier, the other five whānau had adopted the minority language at home approach that they all found worked well for them.



A significant feature of this study would be to acknowledge the vital role parents play in their children's bilingual journey. To successfully raise bilingual children requires parents to be focused on their goals, to be persistent in their endeavours and to employ a range of strategies that correspond with their child's age and development (Fantini, 2008). Parents' influence cannot be underestimated and their positive attitudes and value towards the heritage language can affect how their children's attitudes to the language are formed (ibid). DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009) examined language maintenance and identity in their study of a family raising their children in the German language in an environment where English was the dominant language. In their study they draw attention to elements that assist in the intergenerational transmission of a heritage language. They recognised family as being instrumental in fostering and maintaining the heritage language through the parents' consistent efforts to support their children's bilingual identities and through the active promotion of positive attitudes towards the heritage language and heritage language speakers.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the three elements of language planning as discussed by Spolsky (2007) were beliefs, practices and management. These elements and the relationship between them will be examined, along with how practices by whānau in the case studies match or differ from their beliefs and what action if any, was taken.

The first of these is the parents' beliefs, what they think should be done about the language. All these whānau were unanimous in their decision to raise their children to speak Māori and to be able to speak it well. They believe their children should be highly proficient in the language and have a good understanding and knowledge of the culture. These parents recognised the connection between language and identity and how knowledge of that language assists in a richer understanding of culture. They understood that bringing their children up in Māori was a lifelong process and wanted to continue the intergenerational transmission process with their grandchildren.

They saw their children's bilingualism as an advantage. They wanted their children to have their language as a right and not have to learn it as an adult. They wanted their children to be empowered and confident in both languages, both cultures and both worlds.

Following this are their practices, what these parents did in connection to their beliefs. All these parents believed that their children should be proficient speakers of the language and all parents spoke Māori to their children from birth or soon after. They restricted the use of English in their relationships and predominantly only spoke Māori to them. They were aware of and regulated how much English their children were exposed to in their homes through television, computers and music and this was extended to the choice of education options. Some chose Māori immersion schooling to severely restrict the amount of English their children were exposed to and further develop their Māori language in a range of subjects and contexts. Others made decisions for their children's schooling, preferring to be the principle model and user of the heritage language with their children. All parents maintained a predominantly Māori environment with their children in most contexts and domains.

Of interest is how closely language beliefs matched language practices within the whānau in this research. All these parents wanted their children to be proficient first language speakers of Māori and all those in the study were. They all had differing ways of accomplishing this, although primarily they all just began speaking only Māori to their children, mostly from birth. They recognised the benefits their children have as bilinguals, secure in their cultural identity. Their children appeared to be confident in both worlds, Māori and Pākehā. For those who had reached adolescence, there was a change in how some used and valued the heritage language, something not unusual for bilingual adolescents. These findings highlight that language beliefs of whānau closely matched their language practices.

Planning and management for these whānau has been more organic and something that has developed out of a strong impact belief. They have at times tried things that have not worked, so made changes and adjustments as necessary. They see how things change, as do their children, and try to adapt and adjust their language management and practices. As their needs and goals changed so did their management of these. The strategies these parents employed with their children as babies changed as they got older and attended school. For the whānau in these case studies, language planning is more focused at a micro level. Parents are concerned with aims and goals that directly affect them and their whānau, although this can be extended out to their communities. Having flexibility but always keeping the main goal or intent was something that all these parents had achieved. They knew they wanted their children to be highly proficient in their heritage language, while some wanted a high proficiency in both languages.

An important factor in the revitalisation of an endangered language is that parents and caregivers have a critical understanding of the issues and why they are taking these on. All the whānau in this study had a critical understanding of why they were raising their children in te reo Māori, although this did vary between the whānau. For some it had become evident whilst they were studying that raising children as Māori language speakers was an important factor in the revitalisation of the Māori language. This knowledge fostered their motivation. Children can be seen as the motivating factor for ensuring language use within the whānau. For the case studies in this thesis it is probable that if these children were not around, the language would possibly be heard a lot less in the home.

## **LP2: Support and Resources**

Support and resourcing are major factors in learning a language and this can be intensified when that language is an endangered one. Parents raising their children in a language that they themselves were not raised in can be a totally new experience. For these parents, it has required learning a whole

new vocabulary, one that was not necessarily taught, whilst learning the language. Dictionaries took on a whole new meaning. Learning words for everyday activities with their children was an ongoing reality. Some even became resourceful and began to come up with their own words. They would write things on the wall, around the house and would translate books.

Support or lack of support was shown to be a major factor, especially in the early years when parents were establishing the Māori language as a norm within their whānau. The level of support had an effect on how these whānau fared. Those who had communities of support and adequate resources found raising their children in the Māori language much easier than those who did not. In this research parental support came in various forms from having someone to speak to who understood what you were going through to having someone to text for words and sentences in Māori, to having Māori language playgroups for children and seminars for parents. Having other whānau who were also raising their children in the language provided invaluable support, as this provided opportunities for children to normalise the use of the language with others outside of their whānau and helped raise the status of the language. It was in effect creating communities of speakers. Children and parents alike require others to mirror and be examples as to what can be accomplished. Te Rita in her journey to make her home a Māori language domain found her biggest support in her children. She learnt the language with her children and together they used the language in the home. The level of commitment she was able to sustain promotes her as a positive role model for others (Rātima and Papesch, 2014).

As with any minority language, resources are limited and never to the quantity or often quality of the dominant language. Support seems to depend on those who make the effort and give of their time. Many of the parents, all of them teachers, were inspired to make their own resources, often an adaptation of those in English. Parents had translated English language books either as they read them or actually writing the Māori words over the

English ones, as in case studies 1 and 5. A similar method used by Kopeliovich (2013), called her 'Happylingual' approach, includes amongst other activities the translation of texts from one language to another, principally aimed at stimulating children's metalinguistic knowledge. Parents using the one parent one language approach designated one parent for reading in English and one for reading in Māori. Others were in the position of creating resources for their professions and ensured they had a dual purpose of being appropriate and useful for their children, as seen in case study 6.

A support group used by the whānau in case study 5 was a Māori language playgroup called Māori 4 Kids. This support group provided valuable contact for this whānau in socialising their child in the language and providing much-needed parental support. Their child was able to interact with other children and adults in the Māori language and develop relationships outside of the home environment. Added to this is a growing support network that is developing through social media sites, such as Facebook, in particular Hei Reo Whānau and He Tamariki Kōrero Māori, specifically designed to support parents raising their children in the Māori language. Parents are able to ask questions or discuss issues of importance about raising their children in Māori. For all of the whānau they found they often lacked the vocabulary to talk about different situations in Māori in and around the home.

Many of these whānau utilised support that was available to them through specialised programmes, such as He Kāinga Kōrerorero, Te Kura Whānau Reo and Kotahi Mano Kāika, or through kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. Te Ataarangi programmes, He Kāinga Kōrerorero and Te Kura Whānau Reo provide support not only on a one-to-one basis with individual whānau, but also with the group of whānau, thereby developing a community of speakers. These programmes provide specialised support and assist in increasing the use of language in the home and the intergenerational transmission of the Māori language. One whānau, case study 7, was a part

of both He Kāinga Kōrerorero and Kotahi Mano Kāika and has found the support to be invaluable, especially in the beginning stages when she first started speaking Māori to her then two and half year old son. Two other whānau, case study 6 and 8, were language mentors with the He Kāinga Kōrerorero programme so knew of its benefits and had an awareness of how these principles could enhance language use with their whānau. Both of these mentors had already established their homes as Māori language domains prior to becoming mentors for this programme. Their personal experiences as parents also helped them in their capacity as mentors to assist other whānau, given they could speak from their own experiences. Resources, such as DVDs in Māori, were well used by these whānau, but they found a lack of good-quality, age-appropriate resources. Other whānau who had access to programmes, such as He Kāinga Kōrerorero and Kotahi Mano Kāika, had another range of resources, such as board games, placemats, wall planners, music CDs and online games.

An example of the use of media to assist in exposing children to the heritage language in the home can be seen in DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009), which explores the strategies a German-speaking mother used to foster the German language with her children in an English-dominant environment. One of the successful strategies employed was to expose the children to heritage (German) language media in the form of books, videos and audiobooks on tape. The mother was very successful in her efforts to raise bilingual children:

Bilingual children do not just happen (Okita, 2001). It requires a great deal of effort and work on the part of the caretaker(s), especially if there is little or no educational support or reinforcement. The mother, the primary caregiver in this case, consciously surrounded the children with German as much as possible. (DeCapua and Wintergerst, 2009:15-16)

In considering this example of success in raising bilingual children, it is also important to be aware of the differences between the German and Māori

languages, one of which has a high level of ethnolinguistic vitality while the other is an endangered language.

Another example of the benefits of technology can be seen in McKenzie (2014) who investigated the effects of using mobile devices in language teaching. There are multiple advantages for language learners in acquiring and utilising this type of technology. One particular method that could be of benefit to parents such as those in this research is the use of apps, such as dictionaries on their mobile devices. Having a Māori dictionary on their mobile device enables parents to search for words at any time in a quick and convenient manner (ibid).

Support from education avenues also assisted parents and children to adhere to speaking Māori outside of the home. Some schools were aware of the importance of reversing language shift and had implemented guidelines about parental responsibilities in ensuring Māori was used in the home. Some, however, found that once their children started kura kaupapa Māori their use of English increased, causing concern to parents. Others, such as the parents in case study 3, talked of their concerns about the quality of Māori language at kura kaupapa. Some, as in the pilot case study, went on to assist their kōhanga reo with language classes for whānau and tutors. Groups that come together for the specific purpose of fostering language use in whānau were another valuable means of ongoing support. It is important for the whānau in these case studies to be aware of and to connect with other whānau who have also normalised language use.

Some parents, as in the pilot case study and case study 7, set up classes for other parents wanting to learn the language and support groups for parents wanting to use the language together. All of the parents in the case studies were Poureo within their communities. The success of intergenerational language transmission depends on ongoing support. Those who had support systems in place from the beginning, such as Paia in case study 7, and her

involvement with He Kāinga Kōrerorero, found this support essential in assisting her to develop strategies to deal with the various challenges that arose. Those who did not have any support found it more difficult and were more likely to revert to speaking English when they did not know the concept or have the vocabulary, or felt frustrated or inadequate. Some used kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori as their support networks, especially if there were other Māori-speaking whānau that they socialised with and/or sports groups they belonged to.

### **LP3: Benefits to Whānau**

In Higgins and Rewi's (2014) ZePA model, right-shifting individuals from Zero to Passive to Active is an important factor in language revitalisation. All whānau in these case studies fit the 'Active' role in that they could all be considered proactive in regard to reversing language shift. These whānau have taken the initiative to raise their children in the Māori language and normalise the use of the language in all areas of family life. In contrast, the majority of extended whānau could initially fit the 'Zero' state in that there was little or no support and in some cases they were opposed to the parents raising their children in their heritage language. Many of these extended whānau members have since made a right shift to the 'Passive' state where they have become interested and more open to learning about the language. Some have even become 'Active' in that they have gone on to learn the language and support its use within their communities as seen in case study 7.

The benefits of whānau speaking Māori together and how it impacted on the extended whānau and community was significant in this research. The families who had a non-Māori speaking parent or child all reported an increase in the amount of language these non-speakers used with the Māori-speaking children. This was despite mistakes that were made, as seen in case study 7 when the father made French toast for breakfast. The father's misinterpretation of the word for French was a cause for light-hearted



amusement when the oldest son explained to his dad that he had used the word 'māuiui', which means 'sick' instead of Wīwī, which is the correct word for French.

Another example of the benefits for non-Māori speaking whānau and friends is the influence on whānau members and friends to learn the language. In case study 6 the Māori-speaking children are used to assist other whānau to feel at ease and to learn the language. The effect was to demonstrate to other whānau how the Māori language could be normalised. Also in this case study we can see the shift that happened for the non-Māori speaking parent and son. This was also seen in case studies 7 and 8, both of which had a non-Māori speaking parent. All non-Māori speaking parents picked up a passive understanding of the language and were able to use certain words and phrases with their partners and children. Some would only do so in the confines of the home and only around their immediate whānau. This may be because the children are younger and have shown that they do not judge the language input of others, they are just interested in communicating. What this shows is that, regardless of who is in the home and what their level of fluency is, they will invariably pick up more language from being exposed to the language on a daily basis. Hearing the language being spoken by younger generations can often be a source of pride and motivates whānau to continue.

Moving from a passive to an active state is another major step and one that may or may not happen. Once the child is able to speak, this may be a motivating factor for the non-Māori speaking members to want to move beyond a passive understanding and a basic command of the language to becoming active speakers of the language. What can be seen with these whānau are the varying degrees of participation for the non-Māori speakers of the language. As they become more comfortable and confident with their language skills, they are able to progress along to more active involvement, as seen in case study 7 where the father assisted in the kitchen at immersion wānanga reo. This may have put him out of his comfort zone, but he

progressively made these steps, attending other Māori language-based activities with his children until he felt he could commit more.

#### **LP4: Home Domain**

This thesis is interested in how language is normalised within the whānau and this typically started in, and was largely centred around, the home. The home is the critical domain for language use and intergenerational transmission of the language. Generally, families spend the majority of their time in the home and it is here that the foundations are laid for normalising Māori language use. From birth, and even prior to birth or pregnancy, parents are able to talk to their babies and young children, nurturing them in their heritage language and culture. This can initially be a challenging time for parents as they learn the required vocabulary associated with daily activities in raising a child. However, through support and programmes such as He Kāinga Kōrerorero and Te Kura Whānau Reo, raising a child in the Māori language can be made easier. Partner support is an important factor and if both parents are proficient in the language, this makes the task easier and provides the child with an enriched language experience. Findings indicate that engaging support from whānau, especially those who have proficiency can also assist greatly in the journey. Making small achievable goals initially, and revisiting them and reviewing them as a child grows, can assist. Raising a child in a minority language in a dominant society is not an easy task, but definitely a rewarding one, especially knowing that the children will have the skills and confidence to cope in two different cultural paradigms.

The home environment is under the direct influence of whānau decision-making. Key decisions are made in this setting with regard to language choice, that is, when, where, with whom and how a language should be used. Whānau need to understand the difficulty in making the decision to change established language use patterns. Further, seldom does such a shift in use happen spontaneously or without the determined effort of whānau members to implement and engage with a great many forms of language management

strategies. Parents can risk becoming quickly disillusioned in situations where they feel they have been ineffective because the pace of progress seems too slow. Strategies may include developing an inspirational vision, being clear about the worldview the whānau wishes to engage with and finding community-based immersion domains that will offer vital support when obstacles are encountered (Hond, 2013).

There are different language policy domains, one of which is the family domain. Language policy components including practice, ideology and management, as well as the beliefs of active participants regarding language choice, are present and can be meaningfully investigated within the family domain (Spolsky, 2012). Toman (1993:5) claims that “a person’s family represents the most influential context of his life and it exerts its influence more regularly, more exclusively and earlier in a person’s life than do any other life contexts.” Specifically, primary caregiver input, sibling and peer input were among those found to be the most influential (De Houwer, 2000). Kayam and Hirsch (2014) argue that, in order to examine heritage language maintenance and bilingual development, one must turn to family language policies first and foremost, followed by investigations of the level of community support. Family language policy components are most important, more specifically parents’ use of language within the home and their involvement in creating and locating outside opportunities. Language socialisation is a naturally occurring, dynamic process that accompanies changes in linguistic settings and that extends throughout the lifespan (ibid).

One measure of success used by Caldas (2012) as he was raising his bilingual children was being aware of the language the whānau all spoke together around the dinner table. He found this to be a good gauge as dinnertime can produce a relaxed atmosphere and is more likely to be when natural conversations flow, a useful strategy that could be employed by whānau raising bilingual children. Caldas adds that, at times when the conversation of children is more in the dominant language, to not lose heart

or give up. He encourages parents to keep speaking the heritage language because children speaking the dominant language may just be a phase (ibid).

### **Summary**

This chapter has identified the main themes from the case studies and has considered the key findings. The 13 themes that were identified were placed into three separate sections considering themes that affected parents, themes that affected children and language planning themes. These themes have presented a plethora of information about and understanding of factors that support or hinder normalising the use of Māori language within the whānau and provide any other parent who may be considering this journey with some tools that may assist that journey.

## CHAPTER 7

### DISCUSSION

#### **Introduction**

This thesis explores the significance and relationship of language revitalisation and normalised language use within the domain of the whānau. The purpose of this research was to investigate and consider the success factors that normalise the use of Māori language within the whānau. The research was developed through eight in-depth case studies with whānau who use the Māori language as their everyday means of communication, regardless of where they were or whom they were with. By no means an easy feat, these whānau have been able to sustain the momentum required to use and transfer their heritage language to their children consistently over a number of years.

#### **Reversing Language Shift**

If we just keep the language to ourselves where would it be today? (Baldwin, 2013)

Recognising and appreciating the commitment and energy required to raise bilingual children as first language speakers of a minority language requires a critical understanding of language revitalisation and language planning. For all the parents in the case studies, language planning happened naturally. Smith-Christmas (2014), in her examination of a family language policy in the context of an extended bilingual Gaelic-English family in Scotland, identified how the mother was overt in her desire for adherence to a Gaelic-centred family language policy with her children. Similarly, parents in this thesis can be recognised as being overt in their wish for adherence by their children to a

Māori-centred family language policy. The parents can be considered as the 'lynchpin', a phrase denoted by Smith-Christmas to explain the integral role parents have in reversing language shift within their family (ibid:515). The main focus for parents in this research was for their children to speak the heritage language. This was something these parents did not experience as they were growing up and they felt that their children's lives would be enriched by becoming bilingual in their heritage language. According to Smith-Christmas (2014), not being exposed to the heritage language during childhood was seen as an impetus for overt language planning and awareness that language use by parents in the home was crucial in determining language survival. In addition, the parents in this research wanted their children to have a strong sense of who they were and to be strong in their cultural identity, acquiring the cultural norms and practices associated with their heritage language.

Some of the parents reported how difficult it was in the initial stages to speak to their children in the heritage language. Staying in the target language became easier the more they persevered, developing confidence and vocabulary relevant to raising children. The early exposure of children to the heritage language has been well documented as being crucial in ensuring heritage language maintenance (Kayam and Hirsch, 2014). The actions of whānau meant they were doing more than maintaining their heritage language; they were becoming agents for reversing language shift. Parents in the case studies faced a remarkable situation of being raised as monolingual English speakers, then deciding in their adult years to learn their heritage language as a second language. Timutimu et al. (2011) argue that learning te reo is not as easy as wishing for it to happen. Planning and strategies need to be set out in a cohesive manner to ensure the Māori language thrives through action.

Research involving heritage language maintenance predominantly looks at immigrants to countries where another language is spoken and the effects of

heritage language loss or attrition with future generations. Maintaining an endangered heritage language that has limited status in its own land poses its own complexities. In the example of immigrants trying to maintain their heritage language, whānau in the case studies could not return to their homeland to hear the heritage language as the dominant language as their lived reality was that they were already in their homeland where their heritage language was endangered.

Parents in the case studies all first undertook learning their heritage language to a high level of proficiency, some doing so prior to having their children, as in Ana and Tukino in case study 3, or simultaneously whilst having their children, as with Rukuwai in case study 8. Others put off transferring the language to their children until they had developed a higher level of proficiency, as is seen with Karangawai in case study 6. Consequently, their children are exposed to language in a natural environment, ensuring it is a living language that has relevance to them in everyday life. Learning the language in the home environment gives the children in these case studies an advantage over other bilingual children who may learn a language in an educational setting.

For the children in the case studies, acquiring the language through the familial relationships of the whānau allows them to see the value accorded the language by their parents. They have a real connection with and understanding of the language and it can have more meaning to them than if they had simply acquired it in school. It is the language they use to express their emotions and to show their love. They also gain confidence in being able to speak with other Māori-speaking interlocutors. The advantage for these parents is not only the autonomy they have had in determining their child's linguistic abilities, but also the critical awareness they have developed in regard to language choice for bilinguals, thereby determining their success. There was no requirement to obtain funding or approval from anyone outside of the whānau. As was seen with some of the whānau, they continued with

their plans of intergenerational language transmission of their heritage language despite the disapproval of extended whānau members. There was no dependence or reliance on outside funding sources.

This thesis has shown that it is possible to transform a whānau from a space of not having their heritage language to a space of being immersed in that language with their whānau every day. The energy required to achieve such an accomplishment is enormous and is closely connected to issues of identity and culture. Whānau can take on this challenge of raising their children as bilinguals. There are, of course, some fundamental steps to undertake, but as shown by the whānau in the case studies nothing is impossible. The key perhaps is having the confidence to go ahead with making the whānau a Māori language domain. Many of the whānau did not know how they would achieve this and were possibly not looking to the future, but once they made the decision they followed it through. Although family language policy can happen naturally once the decision has been made, strategies and support can be enlisted to assist the process long term. Some of the strategies developed and used by the whānau in the case studies have been listed below in Table 9.

As shown in this research only one of the parents was a native Māori speaker. The other 11 parents, who were second language speakers of Māori, learnt the language as adults. These 11 parents spent many years acquiring the language to a high level of proficiency, which then enabled them to transmit the language to their children. Cho and Krashen (2000) argue that parental use of the heritage language is a critical factor in the maintenance of a heritage language. Raising children as first language heritage speakers of an endangered language by parents who have learnt the language as a second language has been presented as a possibility by all the whānau in this thesis. Despite the contrasts between the two groups of whānau, both groups were successful in raising bilinguals. This demonstrates that, with commitment and dedication, intergenerational transmission is possible in a variety of situations.



For parents or prospective parents considering raising their children as first language Māori speakers, they will need to consider how this might happen given their current levels of proficiency in the heritage language. Rukuwai in case study 8 took on the challenge and started transferring the language when her son was born, not long after beginning her language learning journey. Other parents, such as Karangawai in case study 6, decided to wait until her proficiency was higher before she felt confident to transfer the language.

Arguably the primary motive for the success these parents had in normalising the use of Māori language within their whānau was the sense that they were enriching their children's lives and giving them something they did not have as they were growing up. They were ensuring their children had a strong sense of identity, confidence and self-esteem in themselves as Māori. This requires a level of dedication and perseverance on behalf of these parents. An essential element in raising first language Māori speakers, is the parents' consistent language use in all domains and contexts, even if there is only one parent who speaks the heritage language or the parents are second language speakers of the language.

### **Whānau Language Strategies**

All the whānau had developed or used a variety of strategies across the time that they were raising their children in the Māori language. Chapters 4 and 5 highlight how more than one whānau would use the same strategy, such as three of the whānau in Chapter 5 using the one parent one language approach. Some strategies were developed by whānau to deal with a particular issue at a certain time and would sometimes be needed only for a limited period of time. Others were ongoing and used often by these whānau. In addition to these strategies, whānau used other community supports, such as kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, Te Ataarangi, whānau, iwi and hapū supports, tertiary education facilities and church groups to assist them in their whānau language journey.

Table 9: Whānau language strategies

PCS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The car was a Māori language domain</li> <li>• Modelled correct language structures when hearing incorrect use</li> </ul>
CS1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used the minority language at home approach</li> <li>• Insisted Māori-speaking friends of their grandson spoke Māori when they came to their home</li> <li>• Translated English books into Māori</li> <li>• Watched English language movies together and discussed in Māori</li> </ul>
CS2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Told Māori speaking friends to speak Māori to their children from the start</li> <li>• Children attended wānanga and hui with their parents</li> <li>• Incorporated Māori cultural values and practices as a whānau</li> <li>• Designated English-speaking areas in the home</li> </ul>
CS3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Let child switch languages with others but only te reo with grandparents</li> <li>• Used local native speakers as language resources</li> </ul>
CS4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Younger child was a motivator for the whānau</li> <li>• Allowed the use of English in the home</li> <li>• All whānau used te reo when they attended hui and wānanga on their marae</li> </ul>
CS5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acted as a translator for her son and ensured his world was Māori</li> <li>• Māori 4 Kids, Facebook, texting</li> <li>• Attended kura reo to develop language skills</li> </ul>
CS6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One parent one language</li> <li>• Developed resources that could be used by her children</li> <li>• Used her children as motivators for other He Kāinga Kōrerorero whānau</li> </ul>
CS7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Talked to her child about the history of the Māori language</li> <li>• He Kāinga Kōrerorero, Kotahi Mano Kāika</li> <li>• Karakia and waiata daily</li> <li>• Developed support groups outside the home</li> <li>• Non-Māori speaking parent actively supported the language</li> </ul>
CS8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used te reo with her mokopuna in Australia via Skype</li> <li>• Continued Māori language use with adolescents despite their responses in English</li> <li>• Supported others to learn and use the Māori language</li> </ul>

### Critical Success Factors

What follows are six key critical success factors that emerged from the findings in this research. These success factors can be utilised by parents or caregivers who are eager and have a passion to raise their children as first language heritage speakers. These factors have been listed in order of importance and are: (1) critical awareness, (2) family language policy, (3) Poureo, (4) support, (5) resources, and (6) parental language skills.

## **1. Critical Awareness**

For an endangered language to become the vernacular again for whānau who have missed a generation or more of speaking the endangered language, parents need to have a clear understanding of the factors of reversing language shift. As has been previously discussed, intergenerational transmission needs to be the central focus of language revitalisation. Family language policy concerns the choices and decisions parents make that ultimately impact their children's linguistic abilities. As seen in the case studies, it is important for parents to understand why it is significant to transfer the language to their children and how they can make a difference in maintaining the heritage language. Parents, especially, play an important role in raising the consciousness of whānau, friends and the wider community and can make the language a natural part of everyday life within their whānau (Te Rūnanga o Te Ataarangi, 2009).

## **2. Family Language Policy**

Family language policies can assist whānau to develop strategies for ensuring success in raising first language Māori speakers within the home. Developing an awareness of how language beliefs, practices and management influence factors of language use and language shift can assist parents in successfully raising bilinguals. Some areas for consideration are which approach may suit their whānau situation and which option they may want to implement, such as one parent one language or minority language at home. It is also useful to discuss as parents what options they may choose in regard to their children's education. Setting long and short-term goals can help produce results that are easier to achieve. Another important aspect is to have an understanding of how bilingualism develops and how this can be different for adults and children, for example, codeswitching and translanguaging. Codeswitching is a normal occurrence with bilinguals and, regardless of how parents manage this, it is important for parents "to avoid criticizing, or constantly pointing out mistakes, revealing anxiety and concern" (Baker, 2000:64). This knowledge will better equip parents to understand the

different stages of language development for their children. Acquiring a high level of proficiency will certainly assist in transferring and maintaining the language.

Whilst the educational options chosen by the case study whānau did not show a preference for one particular option, it is useful for parents to discuss the various educational options available and how they may impact on heritage language use in the home. Much of the literature supports using immersion schooling for children being raised in a minority language. Having a critical awareness of factors that will inevitably arise through the stages of a child's development will assist in determining appropriate strategies. Learning new vocabulary will be necessary for parents who are second language learners and, if it is an option, it is beneficial to start as early as possible, preferably before the birth of a child. Lewis (2007) argues that language planning is principally about influencing choice: "Choice places values upon te reo by way of the tensions that exist between the different choices being made available and the degree of investment one needs to make in order to be able to make a choice" (ibid:43). Raising bilinguals is a significant undertaking and one that can be supported through the knowledge and awareness of how factors influence language planning.

### **3. Poureo**

An important factor in ensuring the normalisation of language use within the whānau, as observed in this thesis, is the establishment of Poureo from within the whānau who will actively promote and foster language use through a variety of different strategies. The Poureo is the person in the whānau who champions the cause and advocates for everyone to adhere to the goals that have been set or agreed to. Poureo are an important factor in that they hold the vision for the whānau and keep reminding them of the vision when difficulties may arise. Having someone who is the Poureo in the whānau helps to motivate and support members when they are feeling tired, stressed or lacking motivation, so that ultimately they do not lose sight of their end goal.

#### **4. Support**

A question of paramount consideration is how and where to access support to raise first language Māori speakers. Parents in the case studies accessed a range of support from formal programmes with language mentors, such as He Kāinga Kōrerorero and Te Kura Whānau Reo, to Māori language playgroups, to Facebook pages, such as 'He tamariki kōrero Māori'.<sup>117</sup> The benefit of this Facebook group is that there are a number of parents who are also raising their children as bilinguals and they are all able to share their knowledge and resources. When required, parents sought support from sources outside the home, often from within their own communities. Seeing the benefits of their children speaking the language confidently was a great motivating factor. Other proficient speakers of the language can be invited to the family domain to speak together with your family as a supportive measure. Finding other whānau who are also raising their children as Māori speakers is beneficial, as children require other models of normalised language use. Being part of programmes, such as He Kāinga Kōrerorero, Te Kura Whānau Reo and Kotahi Mano Kāika (see Chapter 2), can provide valuable support to parents' efforts. Other areas of support include sports groups and kapa haka groups, especially where the language is being used. Support groups can be established with other whānau who aspire to make their homes Māori language domains. Essentially, it is important to take things one day at a time and to surround oneself with as much support as possible.

#### **5. Resources**

There is a growing, albeit slowly, pool of resources suitable for parents raising their children in the Māori language. In addition to the more common resources, such as Māori language books, videos and music, other avenues

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<sup>117</sup> This group provides support by answering questions, sharing resources and (advice) for parents and whānau raising their children through the medium of the Māori language

are opening up that incorporate new technology, such as apps and software programmes that specifically target children and the language. Apps available include talking books and games. Dictionaries are essential and, as discussed in the case studies, can assist with learning new vocabulary. Many dictionaries also have online versions, as well as apps for phones. Other resources, such as TV where Māori language programmes are presented, can help children, especially in the early stages. Other Māori language programmes can assist parents to develop their language skills. Resources are not just limited to books and apps, people are a valuable resource that can be tapped into especially if they are Māori language interlocutors. Grandparents, aunts and uncles or anyone who is willing and able to spend time with whānau conversing in the target language, especially with children, will help to build a community of support.

## **6. Parental Language Skills**

There is always room for improvement when it comes to advancing or improving language skills. Continued development of language skills is an important goal for parents wanting to raise their children as first language speakers of Māori. Parents in the case studies predominantly did this through attending kura reo and other professional courses available, such as Te Pīnakitanga ki te Reo Kairangi. This not only allowed ongoing interaction with other Māori speakers, but also exposed parents to other dialects and language experts. Learning new vocabulary was an important aspect of encouraging the normalisation of language. This included words and phrases involved with ordinary, everyday things in and around the home and out in the community, for example, vocabulary around caring for a baby.

### **Summary**

Successful strategies by whānau that promote and encourage language use of the heritage language have been identified in the case studies. Most strategies were developed by parents in response to challenges that had arisen. Raising children in their heritage language is not an easy task and

requires frequent reassessing of the situation as the children grow and circumstances change. What has been outlined in this chapter are some strategies and key success factors that can assist other whānau who aspire to raise their children in their heritage language.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

#### Introduction

If you as parents are fortunate enough to have your language, give this most precious gift to your children and if they do the same for their children we will not lose our identity. Everything that we are as a people is stored in our language. (Peters, 2013)

This research is important as it fills a gap that exists in the literature in regard to endangered heritage languages that are learnt as a second language and then transmitted intergenerationally as a first language. Minority languages that are endangered in their own lands do not have homelands where people can return to hear the language as the dominant language. What the whānau in this study have done is ensure the language will survive with their children's generation and hopefully with subsequent generations. If they can ensure it is then transmitted to their grandchildren's generation, then they will have assisted in the language being transmitted to three consecutive generations (Waho, 2006).

The findings from this research have shown the successful cases of eight whānau who have normalised the use of Māori within their whānau, not an easy accomplishment given the status of the Māori language in New Zealand. Strategies that may assist other aspiring whānau have been discussed in the previous chapter.

#### Limitations and Further Research

Due to the confines of this research, areas that were not covered included more in-depth analysis of children's experiences as first language speakers of Māori. Children's experiences of language socialisation are important in understanding language revitalisation at a micro level context, especially the



influences of whānau and education. Little research has been conducted in the field that specifically looks at children raised as first language speakers of their heritage language and how this influences decisions they make later in life, especially once they become parents. Of interest and a possible area for further research, would be to consider the impact on children being raised in the dominant language alongside siblings who are being raised in the endangered language. Partner relationships are another area of interest for further research, especially in the cases where both are speakers of the endangered language as this could impact reversing language shift. Research that considered the language of contact would be helpful for individuals seeking a partner who shares their aspirations for raising bilingual children.

Adolescent language use is an area for further research, especially given the changes in identity they experience and how these changes impact on target language use. Of interest is the concept of over-exposure to the heritage language, especially for children who are educated in immersion settings and have the heritage language as their normal means of interaction in the home. Beyond the teenage years, and particularly once they become parents, is an area that requires more in-depth research. Although parents were the main influence during childhood and into their teenage years, once children reached a certain age, they became increasingly independent and less influenced by their parents beliefs and practices. These young people are critical in the ongoing maintenance and survival of the language. Information from these types of research would assist language planners, education planners and whānau interested in undertaking such an approach.

One of the challenges faced by whānau in the case studies is that these whānau are principally achieving this alone. One area that was seen as lacking for the whānau in the case studies was access to other whānau and communities of heritage language speakers. Research could look at whānau who may have developed speaker communities and determine whether these

communities could be successfully replicated. One such successful example referred to earlier in 'speaker communities' was Belfast's Neo-Gaeltacht (MacPoilin, 2013). Other useful areas of research would be providing access to words, phrases and sentence examples appropriate for all stages of child-rearing, as well as communities of support.

Due to the small group in the case study the whānau represented were not typical of the average Māori whānau living in Aotearoa. The whānau in the case studies could be considered culturally well off and well connected in terms of their links and connections to hapū and iwi. The diversity of whānau, as in ethnic mix, was also limited in that only two parents were non-Māori. As defined in the latest census, 45.6% or just under half, of the Māori population identified with one other ethnicity group in addition to Māori and 6.4% identified with two other ethnic groups (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

### **Recommendations**

Recommendations for language planners and organisations tasked with delivering programmes and services to whānau interested in raising their children in the Māori language are as follows. One of the key areas described in this research was the lack of practical support for whānau who have chosen to raise their children as bilinguals. Given that they are principally doing this on their own, it would be prudent for government to support groups, such as Te Ataarangi, who provide specialist support in the form of language mentors and resources for whānau, such as those in the case studies. Currently there are more whānau than there are vacancies on these programmes. If more resources were put into these programmes, more whānau could become involved and further advance efforts to reverse language shift.

This thesis attempts to show that it is possible to re-establish Māori as the predominant language of use within the whānau, thereby reviving it as the first language of younger generations. This study suggests strategies that

assist in the normalisation of language as an everyday means of communication. This research has the potential to reach a wide range of whānau who want to raise their children as heritage language speakers. This can be accomplished through academic opportunities, social media as well as community and iwi networks.

### **Concluding Comments**

This research contributes to the understanding of how language use can be normalised within whānau, ensuring transmission to younger generations and thereby reversing language shift. Reversing language shift has occurred with the whānau interviewed, albeit on a small scale. However, it is a small movement that could potentially affect many other whānau if they aspired to take up the challenge. Baird (2013) has been instrumental in reviving her heritage language, Wampanoag. Her words are poignant for Māori who may have become complacent about the state of the Māori language:

Keep your language in your mind as a living member of your household and community. Try to do any and everything that you can for your language and work in a respectful way. Treat your language with patience and love and do the same for yourself and your family. (Baird, 2013:29)

This highlights the undertaking required by parents to raise a child as a bilingual of an endangered language. It necessitates a high level of personal commitment to using the language and a high level of motivation to establish the home as the primary domain of heritage language use, especially in the face of English dominance. These children, then, need to be empowered to carry the language forward for future generations to continue the legacy of 'Whakatipu te Pā Harakeke'.

## GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

ako	teach, learn; Māori language television programme for intermediate level
Aotearoa	New Zealand
au	I, me
Cook Island Māori	language of the Cook Islands
haka	Māori performing arts, war dance
harakeke	flax
He Kāinga Kōrerorero (HKK)	Te Ataarangi programme that supports whānau language development with language mentors who provide advice and strategies that facilitate intergenerational language transmission
He Kāinga mō te Reo (HKMTR)	Te Ataarangi initiative based in Rotorua
he tama marae koe / he kōtiro marae koe	You are a boy/girl of the marae. Both of these expressions imply that these children are generous and hospitable.
He tamariki kōrero Māori	A Facebook group providing support for parents and whānau raising their children through the medium of the Māori language
Hoani Waititi Marae	urban marae in West Auckland
hōhā	tiresome, bored, fed up
hui	meeting, gathering
hui rumaki	residential Māori immersion language sessions
ia	him, her
iwi	tribe
Kā Puananī	Māori immersion education programme for children, delivered one day a week
kai	food, eat
kaiako	teacher, language tutor
kaikaranga	woman who performs the ceremonial call
kaiwhaikōrero	male orator
kaiwhakairo	carver
kapa haka	Māori culture group
karakia	prayer, invocation
karanga	ceremonial call
kauhau	oral presentation
kaumātua	elderly man or woman
kaupapa	subject, topic, policy, initiative, matter for discussion
kaupapa-based whānau	groups who come together for a common purpose, sharing whānau values and ways of working
kia ora	hello; thank you
koe	you
kōhanga reo	Māori immersion pre-school
kōrero	to speak, talk, discuss

koroua	elderly man, grandfather
Kotahi Mano Kāika (KMK)	one thousand homes, one thousand aspirations: a Ngāi Tahu language strategy to encourage language use in the home
kuia	elderly woman, grandmother
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori (KKM)	Māori immersion primary school
kura reo	week-long intensive language schools conducted by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori
mahi rākau	the manipulation of cuisenaire rods – the methodology adapted by Te Ataarangi based on Caleb Gattengo’s Silent Way Method
māku	for me
māmā	mother
mana	a principle denoting status, prestige, dignity, autonomy
manaakitanga	hospitality, kindness, generosity
Māori	indigenous people of New Zealand
Māoritanga	Māori way of life, including language and culture
marae	a traditional meeting centre often comprising a formal courtyard, meeting house(s) and dining hall
māu	for you
māua	us two
Mīharo	Māori language television programme aimed at school-aged children
mihimihi	speech of greeting, tribute
mōteatea	traditional chant
nāku	belonging to me, mine
Ngā Manu Kōrero	secondary school speech competition
Ngā Tamatoa	Māori activist group that promoted Māori rights
Ngāi Tahu	tribe
Pā Harakeke	flax bush – referred to as a whānau comprising a number of generations
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pānui	notice, announcement
pepeha	tribal saying, proverb
Porirua	place
pou	supporter, stalwart
Pouako	senior tutor
Pouārahi	language mentor
Poureo	key driver
pōwhiri	formal welcome
pūkana	stare wildly, dilate the eyes/Māori language television programme
Pūkoro	Māori language television programme
rākau	cuisenaire rods
reo	language
tamariki	children
tangihanga	funeral
taonga	treasure
Taranaki	place

tāua	you and I
Te Ara Reo Māori	Māori language learning programme
Te Ataarangi	a community-based Māori language immersion approach
Te Kotahitanga	Māori Parliament Movement
Te Kura Pūāotanga	Diploma in Māori language (year 1)
Te Kura Rākeitunga	Diploma in Māori language (year 2)
Te Kura Whakangunu Kaiako	Te Ataarangi tutor training programme
Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori	Advanced language programme developing excellence in the Māori language
Te Pīnakitanga ki te Reo Kairangi	Diploma in Māori language delivered by Te Wānanga o Aotearoa – Level 7
Te Pōkaitahi	Māori language certificate programme – Level 4
Te Rangatahi	Māori language learning books written by Hoani Waititi
te reo Māori	Māori language
te reo me ōna tikanga	the language and its customs
Te Reo Rangatira	Māori language certificate programme
Te Tai Tokerau	Northland
Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa	New Zealand Childcare Association
Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori	Māori Language Commission
Te Tohu Māoritanga	Diploma in Māoritanga delivered at Victoria University.
Te Waipounamu	the south island
Te Wānanga o Aotearoa	Māori tertiary provider based in Te Awamutu
Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa	Māori tertiary provider based in Ōtaki
Te Whanake	a set of textbooks, study guides, CDs, teachers' manuals and a dictionary for learning and teaching Māori language
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi	Māori tertiary provider based in Whakatāne
tikanga	Māori process, customs
Tohu Mōhiotanga	Diploma in Māori language delivered through Western Institute of Technology at Taranaki
Tongan	language of Tonga
tuākana-tēina model	part of traditional Māori society where an older sibling (tuākana) helps and guides a younger sibling (tēina)
Tūhoetanga	language and customs particular to the Tūhoe tribe
waiata	song
wairua	spirit
waka ama	outrigger canoe
wānanga	seminar, conference, forum for learning and discussions
wānanga reo	Māori language seminar, forum
whaikōrero	formal speechmaking
whakamā	embarrassed, ashamed, shy
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataū	greeting speech
whakataukī	proverbial saying

whakatipu	nourish and grow
whakatipuranga	generation
Whakatupuranga Rua Mano	Generation 2000, a tribal strategy of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira and Te Ati Awa (ART)
whānau	family
whānau pani	bereaved family
whanaungatanga	interconnectedness
whāngai	fostered or adopted child
whare wānanga	tertiary provider
Wharekāhika	Hicks Bay
wharekura	Māori immersion secondary school

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix One – Participant Information Sheet



#### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

**Researcher:** Maureen Muller (Ngā Puhi)  
School of Māori Studies - Te Kawa ā Māui, Victoria University of Wellington.

**Project Title:** What are the success factors that normalise the use of Māori language within the whānau?

#### **Aim and description of project**

I am a PhD student in Māori Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The aim of this research project is to gain insight and understanding into the strategic elements that assist Māori whānau to use the Māori language in the home and community as an ordinary everyday means of communication.

This project will involve interviews with parents/caregivers of whānau who use Māori language as their normal form of communication. This will also include interviews with strategic people who have expertise in the area of language revitalisation, particularly intergenerational language transmission. Interviews will be between 1-2 hours in duration and will be videotaped if there is more than one participant. Victoria University of Wellington has granted ethics approval for this research project.

Should you require any further information about this research project or possible findings, please make contact with the researcher or supervisor at:

All data collected will be kept in a confidential manner to be accessed only by the researcher and or supervisor. This thesis will be deposited in the University Library upon completion.

Researcher: Maureen Muller  
maureen.muller@vuw.ac.nz

Supervisor: Dr Rawinia Higgins  
Te Kawa-ā-Māui  
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## Appendix Two – Participant Information Sheet

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI



### CONSENT TO PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH PROJECT

**Project Title:** What are the success factors that normalise the use of Māori language within the whānau?

	Yes	No
I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project by the end of January 2014 without having to give reasons or without penalty of any sort.		
I consent to information or opinions which I have given being attributed to me in any reports on this research.		
I would like the tape recordings of my interview returned to me / electronically wiped at the conclusion of the project.		
I would like the film recordings of my whānau returned to me / electronically wiped at the conclusion of the project.		
I understand that I will have an opportunity to check the transcripts of the interview (and if necessary videos) before publication.		
I understand that the data I provide will not be used for any other purpose or released to others without my written consent.		
I would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed and may request a copy of the completed thesis.		
I agree to take part in this research.		

Signed:

Date:

Name of participant:

Contact details:

## Appendix Three – Case Study Questions



### RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Questions for whānau in interviews will include but not be limited to the following.

#### Demographics/General

1. Name, age, gender, household structure, iwi, hapu, rohe
2. Is Māori your first language?
3. If not how, when and why did you learn?
4. What is the level of proficiency of whānau members?
5. When did Māori become the preferred language of your household?

#### Language use

1. How long did it take to establish your home as a Māori language speaker domain?
2. Is the use of Māori language automatic with members of your whānau?
3. How do the levels of proficiency affect the use of reo?
4. Who was the key motivator in this process?
5. What percentage of the time do you all speak Māori/English?
6. What are the reasons for using English?
7. When and where would you use the most reo?
8. What types of language are commonly used by whānau members?  
Formal/informal/code switching.
9. What affect do other mediums of English have on language use with your whānau? e.g. TV, radio, internet, music, papers, magazines
10. How do the whānau respond to visitors, friends and whānau who do not speak Māori?
11. What other groups/activities are you involved with outside the home that maintain Māori language use?

#### Challenges/struggles

1. What are the difficulties you have had in maintaining your home as a Māori language domain?
2. Who are your biggest critics?

**Successes/achievements**

1. What are the successes you have been aware of for your whānau?
2. Has using te reo in the home made a difference to how you relate to each other?
3. How have outside forces influenced your decision to maintain your home as a Māori language domain?
4. Who are the most supportive people to keep your home a Māori language domain?
5. Who are your biggest supporters?
6. What are your short and long term language goals for your whānau? Do you have a language plan?

**Children/mokopuna**

1. How do your children respond to outside criticism?
2. Do you want your children to be predominantly first language speakers or bilingual?
3. What language do children, mokopuna speak amongst themselves or with other children?
4. Is there a lead person in conversations?

**General discussions**

An opportunity to facilitate open discussions around the effects of having a Māori speaking whānau.

## Appendix Four – Ethics Approval



Phone 0-4-463 5676  
Fax 0-4-463 5209  
Email Allison.kirkman@vuw.ac.nz

### MEMORANDUM

TO	Maureen Muller
COPY TO	Rawinia Higgins Arama Rata
FROM	Dr Allison Kirkman, Convener, Human Ethics Committee
DATE	19 June 2013
PAGES	1
SUBJECT	<b>Ethics Approval: 19875</b> What are the success factors that normalise the use of Māori language within the whānau?

Thank you for your application for ethical approval, which has now been considered by the Standing Committee of the Human Ethics Committee.

Your application has been approved from the above date and this approval continues until 28 February 2015. If your data collection is not completed by this date you should apply to the Human Ethics Committee for an extension to this approval.

Best wishes with the research.

Allison Kirkman  
Human Ethics Committee