

He Waka Huia, He Waka Reo-ā-Iwi

The importance of reo-ā-iwi in identity formation

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Paul and Claire White, for making sure I always had opportunities to learn te reo Māori.

Abstract

Dialect is often described linguistically, but there is a dearth of research being conducted that looks at *reo-ā-iwi* (tribal language variation) from a sociolinguistic point of view and what it means to speakers of the Māori language. This thesis examines the features of *reo-ā-iwi* informed by thirteen participants who have tribal language characteristics in their speech. This research is centred around participants who are active members of their Māori communities, both linguistically and culturally. This research examines *reo-ā-iwi* and its connection to *whakapapa* (genealogy and layers of relationships), *hau kāinga* (home, home people), lexicon, phonology and speed. During the early period of Māori language revitalisation efforts, the homogenisation of the Māori language was necessary in order to build the capacity of Māori language speakers. In doing so, *reo-ā-iwi* was made less prominent. The relevancy of tribal dialects have made a comeback through various revitalisation strategies. This thesis will look at the concept of *reo-ā-iwi* as a marker of identity, its importance to Māori language speakers and different components of *reo-ā-iwi* according to the participants involved in this research.

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Notes

The orthographic conventions used in this thesis follow those set by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, the Māori Language Commission. The spelling of Māori words follow those in Williams' Dictionary of Maori Language. Where applicable, vowel lengths will be marked using macrons, except in the case of quotations which are written as they appear in the original source.

This thesis is written in English. All Māori words have been italicised except proper nouns and those that occur in direct quotes. This is done to reduce ambiguity of words that have been adopted into New Zealand English with a different, changed or restricted meaning. Translations of Māori words will appear once when they first appear and a glossary of all non-English words are attached at the end of the thesis. This thesis uses in-text referencing and footnotes have been used to further explain information without disrupting the flow of discussion.

This thesis addresses contemporary issues such as *reo-ā-iwi* and identity formation, much of the literature and the participants' responses are historic in nature. This is important because a lot of research on the Māori language had been undertaken in the 1970s-1990s to aid the promotion of the state of the Māori language. This thesis uses a combination of primary and secondary sources, with the inclusion of the researchers own personal knowledge where relevant.

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Pepeha

Ko Hikaroroa me Tarahaoa ōhoku¹ mauka.

Ko Waikouaiti me Ōpihi ōhoku awa.

Ko te Tai o Araiteuru me te Tai o Mahaanui ōhoku tai.

Ko Takitimu me Araiteuru ōhoku² waka.

Ko Huirapa me Te Hapa o Niu Tireni ōhoku marae.

Ko Kāti Huirapa tōhoku hapū.

Ko Kāi Tahu tōhoku iwi.

Ko Rakautapu, ko Tauwhare me Pukerangatira ōku maunga.

Ko Tapuwae tōku awa.

Ko Hokianga tōku moana.

Ko Ngātokimatawhāorua tōku waka.

Ko Ngāhuia me Nukutawhiti ōku whare tūpuna.

Ko Ngāi Tūpoto me Waiparera ōku marae.

Ko Ngāi Tūpoto me Tahāwai ōku hapū.

Ko Te Rarawa tōku iwi.

¹ Ōhoku/ōku: my, of mine, belonging to me (more than one thing) (dialect variation).

² Tōhoku/tōku: my, of mine, belonging to me (one thing) (dialect variation).

Chapter 1 - He tīmatanga

Personal Introduction

The geographical features outlined in my *pepeha* (tribal saying) on the previous page locate me within my Te Rarawa and Kāi Tahu environment through *whakapapa*. This in turn links me to my *whānau* (family), *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe). These identity markers provide me with an environment to call my own, not only due to my interaction with these places, but through the sustained occupation of my ancestors over a number of generations in these two areas. The history of my *iwi* is etched within the landscape. The geographical landmarks in my *pepeha* allow people to understand where I come from, gain a glimpse into the history of these areas, and how my affiliations guide, shape and inform my everyday life. As *whakapapa* is an extremely important aspect of this research both in practice and theory, it is important that my Pākehā side is also acknowledged. I am also of English, Scottish, Irish, Dalmatian and Malay descent. Because of my location in New Zealand, I identify primarily as Māori, but I also understand that my other ethnicities also contribute directly to who I am.

Different tribal identities are a foundation of this research. I have long-standing affiliations to Te Tai Tokerau (Northland) and Te Waipounamu (South Island). My tribal identities inform everything I do. It is not my intention to present this thesis from these two tribal perspectives but that of multiple people from different tribal realities and identities. This thesis is a platform from which the thoughts of people with multiple lines of descent and backgrounds are woven together and can respectfully sit beside one another. The recognition of shared experiences and identities is important to foster and this thesis does not require any participant to compromise on the factors that they deem important in contributing to their identity.

My interest in *reo-ā-iwi* began when I was a child, and was further developed at university. Being from two different *iwi*, both in language and in *tikanga* (custom, lore), the differences between the two during my upbringing were obvious. My *whānau* and I always participated with our *marae* (traditional Māori meeting grounds) and *iwi* community, regardless of where we lived. I was fortunate that wherever we lived my *whānau* were close by, so over the years, there was a level of fluidity to our engagement with these people, our community, and our *marae*. At the time I thought that was normal, however, I now understand this to be a very rare privilege in a contemporary Māori reality. With this particular upbringing in mind, I can say that *reo-ā-iwi* has always had a place in my life.

As I was growing up, I was often taught by teachers who affiliated to the area I was from, if not the tribe itself. I attended Te Kōhanga Reo o Raurimu in Whāngārei, and had teachers who were from Te Tai Tokerau which meant that they used *reo-ā-iwi* from this region. This would also be used within my wider community. For me, during this time, *reo-ā-iwi* presented itself mainly as different words, *waiata* (songs) and *pepeha*. *Reo-ā-iwi* automatically made me understand my connections to other people, to our shared *whakapapa*, and to who I am as a person.

After I finished *kōhanga reo* (Māori total immersion pre-school), my family moved to Christchurch to be closer to my mother's *whānau*. My first primary school was a bilingual unit where I learnt from a Ngāti Porou *kaumātua* (elder) and a mixture of different teachers from a variety of *iwi*. This is where I started being more cognisant of the difference between my Tai Tokerau *reo* and that of others. Although Christchurch has a much bigger European population, we were surrounded by friends and family who had the same language goals as us, so I did not experience a lack of Māori language within the community. Most of the Māori speaking members of my community were parents with children or younger. My family was also a part of the Kāi Tahu language programme Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi

Mano Wawata.³ This initiative created opportunities for my *whānau* and me to learn and engage with the Māori language outside of school. It encouraged my parents to use the Māori language in the home and the resources that were produced were all influenced by Kāi Tahu *reo*. Whilst there are differing opinions about what constitutes Kāi Tahu *reo* at a *whānau* and *hapū* level, this initiative gave Kāi Tahu families a choice and gave them avenues to further pursue a language strategy enriched with our own words, songs, and history. This was not an opportunity that was afforded to everyone. When we moved back to Rāwene, the Māori population of the township was only 400 people. There were many people in that community who knew how to speak Māori, but there was not a strong push for it to be spoken in the community.

When I finished primary school we moved back to Te Tai Tokerau where I was again taught by people from there. My life was a constant shift between Te Tai Tokerau and Te Wai Pounamu as we fulfilled our *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* obligations to both. Although there were regional and tribal differences in terms of *tikanga* and *reo* of each place, I never found it difficult to go between both worlds.

It took 21 years for me to realise that my *reo* was a hybrid of all the regional languages of my family and my teachers. This is the reality and complexity of being a Māori language speaker, affiliating to two different *iwi*, and being taught by people not of either of these two *iwi*. This made me think about what makes each *iwi* so unique and what features are found in *reo-ā-iwi* that distinguishes one *iwi* from another. It also made me think about others who have had many different language teachers not only in school but in their communities, home and on the *marae*. Further interest in this field was sparked by teachers and lecturers, and it

³ Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata (One Thousand Homes, One Thousand Aspirations) is the Kāi Tahu strategy that leads the charge to reinvigorate language within Kāi Tahu homes and communities. Its aim is to have at least 1000 Ngāi Tahu households speaking *te reo Māori* by the year 2025. This strategy was launched in 2001.

became a way of attaching my knowledge to a passion that not only made sense to me, but was extremely pragmatic to my environment and my way of life.

The topic of this thesis stemmed from my previous research on the value of Te Rarawa dialect in language maintenance and acquisition. It was clear that there was no consensus on what *reo-ā-iwi* was. Yes, it was valued. Yes, it was understood. But what did Te Rarawa dialect look like and what did it mean, socially? I do not mean just in applied linguistics (which is still equally important) but dialect as it is determined by everyday people, with everyday communication needs. Prior to my university studies, *reo-ā-iwi* was spoken in the home, on the *marae*, and in school. This did not mean that everyone who I was surrounded by was proficient and fluent in the Māori language, but characteristics of *reo-ā-iwi* were obvious, even from a young age. There is little research that has been undertaken on the social features of *reo-ā-iwi* or even, what those features are. This research will contribute to this lack of literature by exploring what *reo-ā-iwi* is and what the key features of *reo-ā-iwi* are.

He waka huia: He waka reo-ā-iwi

A *waka huia* (treasure box) is an ornately carved treasure box within which our ancestors kept their most precious of treasures. It was fitted with a lid and contained items of adornments, such as earrings, *heru* (comb) and *huia* (a type of native bird with black feathers now extinct) feathers for safe keeping (Reed 2002: 24). These items were passed down from generation to generation to enhance the *mana* (prestige) of those who wore them. This particular title was chosen for this thesis upon the realisation that my participants are *waka huia* themselves. They are charged with being the holders of our most precious *taonga* (treasure), *te reo Māori* (the Māori language). They are *waka reo* – vessels through which the

Māori language is transmitted. Each *waka huia*, each *waka reo* is unique, as are the experiences of my participants and their relationship with *reo-ā-iwi*. Many value their *reo-ā-iwi* and consider it as an expression of identity, but sometimes it had to be put away as a fragile, precious item, kept safe to be reopened again when the time is right. In this way my participants are instead *waka reo-ā-iwi*, the keepers of dialect. It is now time for these *waka reo* to be opened and for *reo-ā-iwi* to be worn by all.

Language

Tribally, Māori are a diverse and complex group of people. Their diversity is drawn from the different customs, protocols, *whakapapa*, environment, beliefs and values that underpin the makeup of their knowledge and understanding of their world view. Those who identify as Māori are not born from one common background, therefore there is no single Māori identity or reality (Kukutai 2003: 10). These layers of Māori identities are an important way of dissecting the common assumption that Māori are homogenous and all identify the same when in fact we should be investigating what are the many ways to be Māori? (Penetito 2011: 38). This in turn leads one to question, where does *reo-ā-iwi* fit in?

Language is central to every culture. It reflects a particular worldview, cultural environment, provides access to valued beliefs, knowledge and skills and is unique to cultural identity (Peterson 2000: 225). Tribal dialectical variations in New Zealand are key identity markers as symbols of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* identification. Since the beginning of the Māori renaissance period in the early 1970s, there has been an emphasis on creating a critical mass of Māori language speakers. The Hunn Report produced in 1961 on the Māori language was just one of many signals that showed that the number of Māori language speakers were in decline, which forced many Māori leaders to seek support to ensure its survival. From this, a

more *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific form of the Māori language was incorporated into education resources and programmes in order to teach and provide resources to support the acquisition of the Māori language (O’Regan 2006: 164). O’Regan argued that this potentially could have been the lesser of two evils, shifting from a more localised tribal dialect to a *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific Māori language in order to save it (2006: 164-165). This was thought to be a better process because learners may be confused with tribal variations of a minority language. This shift provided a simplified space for people to acquire the Māori language and address the needs of those who fought for its survival. However, in doing so, dialectical variations were pushed aside in favour of a language that could be taught to everyone, no matter what *iwi* one affiliated to or language background.

Figure 1. Whakapapa o te reo (Māori)

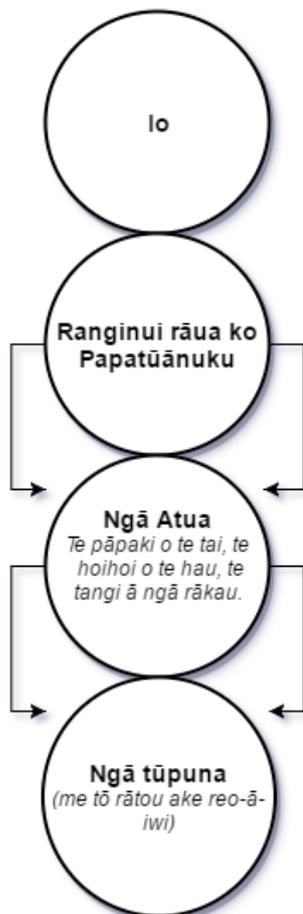
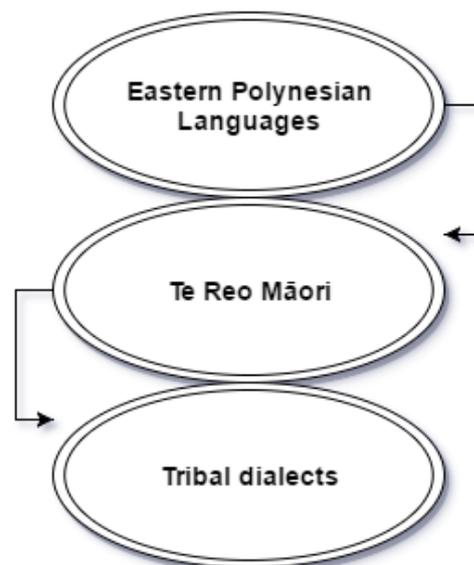


Figure 2. Whakapapa o te reo (Pākehā)



Source: (Ministry of Education 2008)

The two diagrams above demonstrate two world views on how *reo-ā-iwi* and dialect were established. Figure 1 shows that from a Māori world language stems from Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother), the environment and ancestors. It is multi-layered and inter-generational. Figure 2 shows an applied linguistic approach to the creation of *te reo Māori* and shows language change as a result of migration and travel. Both these ideas are complementary in this thesis.

Reo-ā-iwi

Reo-ā-iwi has received very little academic attention. Much of the research that has been written about *te reo Māori* has focused on its grammatical construction, contributors to its decline, revitalisation efforts and statistical reports (Fishman 1997; Biggs 1998; Statistics NZ 2015), but very few have commented on the social features which construct *reo-ā-iwi*. *Reo-ā-iwi* incorporates a number of different ideas. Implicit is the importance of the environment while also stressing that it is a means to communicate with people who live in a particular social environment with a common understanding and identification to place (Smolicz 1980: 8; Tulloch 2010: 271; Amberber, Collins, Cox, Fromkin, Hyams & Rodman 2012: 373). Statistics from the most recent census show that only 21.3% of Māori people speak the Māori language, a decrease from 23.7% in 2006 (Statistics NZ 2014). This figure does not indicate the quality of the language, or what influences the type of language those who speak Māori use. There are some commonalities between many Māori language speakers on the different features that inform *reo-ā-iwi*, as well as differences. This research will highlight what these features are.

The struggle for the survival of the Māori language and culture reached a crisis point in the 1960s. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the majority of Māori lived in rural communities where the language of conversation was predominately, if not exclusively, Māori. By the beginning of the 20th century, many Māori families were bilingual, using the

Māori language in the home, and English at school. From the 1940s onwards, there was a shift from Māori to English in the homes which was enhanced when Māori families moved away from their communities to the city (Te Puni Kōkiri 2006: 2).

The mass scale movement of the Māori population from rural to urban areas was the result of a number of factors, but mainly spurred on by the promise of employment. The effects of a diminished land base, due to earlier land confiscations and acquisitions, combined with a rise in the Māori population meant that there was increased demand on resources. This caused many to move away from Māori communities, where the predominant language of communication was *te reo Māori*. Ultimately, urbanisation led to many Māori families shifting completely to the English language and a European way of life. Parents and children during this time had been a part of the native school structure, therefore, many Māori families had little or no knowledge of the Māori language, and those who did could only maintain basic sentence structures (Benton 1997: 23). Although the Māori population had increased from the 1930s, the language was struggling for survival as fluent speakers of the Māori language were passing away and their language proficiency and fluency was not being replaced by other speakers (Fishman 1991: 231). Eventually, many Māori cried out for Māori language opportunities, resources and programmes that were not tokenistic in their approach and implementation, and pushed for the Māori language to be officially recognised and respected within New Zealand.

The 1971 Benton report suggested that the Māori language was in a critical state of near language death (Smith 2003: 6-7). The 1970s-1990s was seen as a period of renaissance for Māori. Many fought for the language and culture to be respected and honoured during this time. Amongst those leading the cause was Ngā Tamatoa, a group of mainly urban-born and university-educated Māori who aimed to promote Māori rights, fight racial discrimination, confront injustices, and bring to public attention repeated violations of the Treaty of

Waitangi. Alongside the Wellington Māori Language Society, these two groups presented a petition to the Crown in 1972, which was signed by 30,000 people, calling for the Māori language and culture to be taught in schools (Ka'ai et al 2004a: 184; Stephens 2014: 71).⁴

It was this that saw the shift to initiate fundamental strategies to re-establish the Māori language to its former *mana*. This was done in many different ways, however, the most recognised would be the establishment of Māori medium schooling. *Kōhanga reo* (established in 1982), *kura kaupapa* (primary school operating under Māori language and custom) (established in 1985), and *wharekura* (secondary school run on kaupapa Māori principles) aimed to provide an educational environment that supported the Māori language and culture. These initiatives were enhanced when claimants⁵ presented to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 that the Crown had failed to uphold their promise to protect the Māori language which was considered a *taonga* (Waitangi Tribunal 2011). In 1986 this claim report was released and in 1987 the Māori language was made an official language of Aotearoa.

In 2003, five primary goals for a Māori Language Strategy were developed by Te Puni Kōkiri (Higgins & Rewi 2014: 11). These five goals focused on Māori being proficient in the Māori language, the Māori language being increased on *marae*, Māori households, and targeted domains. Other goals focused on high-quality Māori language education being available for all Māori and other New Zealanders and the Māori language being valued by all New Zealanders. Goal four states: “By 2028, iwi, hapū and local communities will be the leading parties in ensuring local-level language revitalisation. Iwi dialects of the Māori language will be supported” (Te Puni Kōkiri & Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 2003: 19-27). This would suggest that *reo-ā-iwi* is important as it is explicitly stated as a goal in the Māori Language Strategy. The recognition of *reo-ā-iwi* would suggest that it is recognised and valued at a

⁴ See Walker (2004) for more information about the Māori renaissance period.

⁵ The claimants were Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo (Inc) and Huirangi Waikerepuru, the Chairman of that society. See Report of The Waitangi Tribunal on The Te Reo Maori Claim (1986:19).

government level. Other tribal based strategies suggest *iwi* believe that uniqueness is paramount in maintaining and promoting *iwi* identity. For example, there are five main goals in the Te Rarawa Language Strategy. One of the goals is named Corpus – E āka:

On this journey Te Rarawa people will gather the resources in order to nourish the voyagers: the vocabulary, the familiar phrases, the grammar, the waiata, the karakia, the whakataukī that are uniquely Te Rarawa. To amass a body of knowledge of Te Rarawa reo is very important to sustaining the voyagers on the journey. All resources for our journey into te reo are here in Te Rarawa. As with our awareness, they are to be found in our living and walking puna of knowledge, that is, our kuia, kaumātua. They hold and speak the reo with its distinct Te Rarawa flavour. Our kuia, kaumātua are key in the ebb and flow of our Te Rarawa reo. (Te Rautaki Reo o Te Rarawa 2008: 11)

Reo-ā-iwi is an expression of identity and it is an important avenue to express intricacies of each *iwi* and their differences. It also shows that people have acknowledged *reo-ā-iwi* and recognised its importance after many years of the Māori language revitalisation initiatives being focused on a *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific form of the Māori language.

Chapter outline

Chapter 2 focuses on the methodological processes used in this research and how these frameworks are based upon a Māori world view foundation through the use of language and *tikanga Māori* which sets the tone for this thesis. The core ideas for this research were paired with Kaupapa Māori Theory and sociolinguistics as a means to communicate how language is influenced by identity. This chapter also introduces the participants and provides biographical information on each of them.

Chapter 3 will review current literature on language, dialect, identity formation and *reo-ā-iwi* in order to provide a strong foundation to the arguments provided by the participants in this thesis. It will discuss what language means, how it is relevant, how language relates to

identity and *reo-ā-iwi* in a Māori context. This will include both international and local (New Zealand) literature of the subject.

Chapter 4 looks at the Māori language acquisition of the participants and provides a language acquisition biography of the participants. This chapter details the participants' language backgrounds, how the participants acquired the language and when *reo-ā-iwi* became a part of that process. The participants hail from many different tribal and language acquisition backgrounds and this informs the way they think about *reo-ā-iwi*.

Chapters 5 and 6 analyse the participants' views on various aspects of *reo-ā-iwi*. Chapter 5 looks at its connection to *whakapapa* and *hau kāinga* and focuses mainly on the relationship between them and how it differs from individual to individual. Chapter 6 will focus on the participants' discussions around linguistic concepts, in particular lexicon, phonology and speed and the development and use of these things within a particular social environment. There is also a discussion on *reo-ā-iwi* switching and what prompts individuals to switch *reo-ā-iwi* and how this is approached by the participants in different situations. This chapter also looks at the idea of *reo-ā-iwi* being broken down even more to *reo-ā-hapū* (sub-tribal dialect) and *reo-ā-whānau* (family dialect).

Conclusion

Reviewing the past can help create an understanding of key historical events that have created barriers for the process of revitalisation and the intergenerational transmission of the Māori language. It is evident that a number of factors contributed to the decline of the Māori language throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The constant marginalisation of the Māori language in legislation and in decisions made by both the Government and Māori served to reinforce the idea that the Māori language had no purpose or value.

Fortunately there were strong advocates of the Māori language and there have been many initiatives that have endeavoured to revitalise the Māori language to its former state. It is obvious in a European dominated society that it is harder to achieve this with the predominant culture and language being English. Different milestones in the revitalisation process such as Māori language immersion schooling, Māori broadcasting, and Māori television to name a few, show with their Māori-centred philosophies, that there was a desire to revitalise the Māori language. These initiatives have been extremely successful in increasing the number of Māori language speakers.

Reo-ā-iwi is an important key feature of tribal identity. It is influenced by many different key markers that dictate uniqueness through *whakapapa*, *hau kāinga*, protocols and language. It was seen to be necessary to move to more *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific Māori language programmes in order to build the capacity of Māori language speakers in the 1970s-1990s. Now, it seems many are reaching out to acquire *reo-ā-iwi* that is specific to their identity. This research is important because it does not only ask the participants what key features of *reo-ā-iwi* are, creating scope for this discussion, but it shows how much it is valued as a symbol of identity regardless of proficiency or acquisition. With this in mind, this research also highlights the difficulty in trying to define something that is fluid and constantly changing and the effect it has on identity, which is also not static. Understanding the relationships between the researcher and the participants in order to achieve this aim and the approach of this research will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 2 - Ngā tikanga – Methodology & Method

Introduction

This chapter provides an understanding of the methodological research practices, methods and processes used in this thesis and how they are developed in accordance with a Māori world-view that relates to the Māori language, concepts and practices. These things will be addressed in this chapter in order to create a deeper understanding of how the information was gathered and to establish the concepts that underpinned the research approach for this thesis. This chapter will also describe the methodology used to conduct this research and the rationale behind the research methods used within this research. This thesis is based on qualitative research and uses data collected from participants who incorporate tribal variations of the Māori language into their speech to provide a more robust understanding of *reo-ā-iwi*. These attitudes will be analysed and interpreted to provide an understanding of the participants' views in relation to what *reo-ā-iwi* means and how it is represented.

Kaupapa Māori Framework

A Kaupapa Māori framework is a first choice for many Māori researchers as it is governed by *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (the Māori language and its customs). Leading Māori academics such as Mead (2003), Smith (1999) and Bishop (1996) highlighted the benefit of research for Māori, by Māori. This indigenous methodological approach to research ensures that the integrity of the information gathered is safeguarded, with the participants involved being at the centre of the research and not on the periphery. This also includes no distortion of meaning and ensuring that the information recorded in this thesis is in its truest and most honest form. Kaupapa Māori is described as “a body of knowledge accumulated by the experiences through history, of the Māori” (Nepe 1991: 4). Therefore, this method ensures

integrity is maintained, because it is gaining and obtaining information from people of Māori descent and their personal recounts and lived experiences.

This thesis looks at *reo-ā-iwi*, a phrase used to explain one's Māori language connection to identity. This approach is also paired with sociolinguistic theory in regards to the connection between language and identity, by looking at language within its natural social context. The researcher was brought up in an environment that privileged a Māori worldview, therefore, all applications of sociolinguistics will be applied using a Kaupapa Māori framework as the frame of reference. This thesis is aimed at privileging Māori thought, therefore, it is important that a Kaupapa Māori framework be used to interpret the findings (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs 2006: 331). This research is therefore guided by Māori language, customs, and protocols and informed by Māori knowledge which governs a cultural framework underpinned by Māori people (Pihama 2010: 5). This research and the knowledge obtained was carried out by a Māori researcher and all participants are of Māori descent. It is through the avenues of Māori language, customs and protocols that support and encourage the autonomy (*tino rangatiratanga*) required to determine our own research processes (Walker *et al.*, 2006: 335).

There are six key principles that should be taken into account when using a Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach to research that should be established before, and maintained during and after the research process. They include:

- *aroha ki te tangata* (a respect for people)
- *kanohi kitea* (the seen face)
- *titiro, whakarongo, kōrero* (look, listen, talk)
- *manaaki ki te tangata* (share and host people, be generous)
- *kia tūpato* (be cautious)
- *kaua e takahi te mana o te tangata* (do not flaunt your knowledge) (Smith 1999: 120).

The following sections are based on three main concepts within *te ao Māori* (the Māori world), *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination), *te reo Māori* and *whānau* to ensure that the

research is done in a culturally appropriate manner and the integrity of the research, participants and the knowledge is upheld.

Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino rangatiratanga is concerned with the research not only being owned and maintained by the researcher, but by the collective. This thesis creates a space in which the views of accomplished Māori language speakers from different *iwi* on what *reo-a-iwi* means to them are presented. The views expressed by the participants are their own, influenced by their own upbringing, education, friendships and their Māori identity and language acquisition history. This includes those who contributed to their journey, including family, friends, and work colleagues. While the research topic itself is not of a sensitive nature, the interviewees have experiences and ideas that influence their thinking that not all would agree with. It is therefore important to maintain a level of safety because within a Māori world-view knowledge is specialised and some forms of it regarded as *tapu* (set apart, restricted) (Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith & Smith 1995: 34). This is indeed the case for many of the participants as they discuss historical events, experiences they have encountered on the *marae* or recalling accounts of other people, including those who are deceased. They are asserting their connection with the research by giving these accounts. The participants are also allowing the researcher to use the knowledge gained in a safe and respectful way, and therefore, this knowledge must be protected and not misconstrued. This was done by allowing the participants to choose the setting and language of the interview, their continuing participation and consultation throughout.

Te Reo Māori

This research focuses on *reo-ā-iwi* of the Māori language. Therefore, the researcher was required to have a competency in *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) and a high level of fluency in the Māori language (Nepe 1991: 15-16). Competency in the Māori language has

not been a focus in regards to ethical obligations towards Māori research, but rather the focus has been on the respect towards and promotion of *te reo Māori* (Walker et al., 2006: 334). In this research, participants were given the choice of which language (Māori or English) to use during the interviews. Twelve out of thirteen participants used the Māori language as their main language throughout the interview and some chose to use both. This is an important value within a Kaupapa Māori Framework because it allows full autonomy to be executed.

The researcher needed to have competency in the Māori language for two reasons. Firstly, this subject was on *reo-ā-iwi*, Māori language regional variation which called for a level of understanding of the history and politics of the Māori language, and secondly because competency was needed to understand and transcribe the interviews. The Māori language has the ability to unlock thought, values, beliefs, and history that would be lost to those who do not have competence in Māori language (Walker *et al.*, 2006: 334). Due to the researcher's own proficiency in the Māori language and culture, interpretation of the data was not misunderstood, as can often happen because some aspects of the Māori language and its concepts are not always translatable into English. Where *reo-ā-iwi* differed beyond the researcher's comprehension, advice was sought from the participant. Therefore, the researcher's knowledge and proficiency of the Māori language and history aided the interview and analysis process.

The Māori language was also used as a tool to gain respect from the participants, to ensure that the researcher was not an outsider, but someone who understood what they were discussing, and someone who could respect that and reciprocate by using their language of choice. To ensure a full and effective participation in this research for both participants and researcher, participants were recruited for two main reasons; their ability and proficiency to converse in the Māori language, and secondly, the presence of characteristics of *reo-ā-iwi* in their speech. This thesis is written in English. Some could say that it is counterproductive

when the nature of this research rests so heavily on the idea that the Māori language and *reo-ā-iwi* are important. This decision was made based on the fact that there is a dearth of academic literature on the subject of *reo-ā-iwi*. Writing this thesis in English would reach a far greater audience and have more of an impact on the wider academic field of sociolinguistics from an indigenous point of view.

Table 1. Participants – Ages, *iwi*, gender and acquisition of language

Participant	Age group	Iwi (predominately)	Gender	Acquisition of Māori Language
Merirangitiria Rewi	20-30	Tūhoe, Waikato, Te Arawa	Wahine	First language
Victoria Campbell	30-40	Kāi Tahu	Wahine	Second language
Keanu Ager	20-30	Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine	Tāne	Second language
Poia Rewi	45-55	Tūhoe, Te Arawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Whare	Tāne	Second language
Hine Parata-Walker	20-30	Ngāti Porou, Kāi Tahu	Wahine	Second language
Hinerangi Puru	70-80	Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahungunu	Wahine	First language
Wayne Te Tai	35-45	Te Rarawa, Ngāti Porou	Tāne	Second language
Haami Piripi	50-60	Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kurī, Ngāpuhi	Tāne	Second language
Tame Murray	70-80	Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kurī	Tāne	First language
Huriwaka Harris	75-85	Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Wai, Taranaki	Tāne	First language
Hana O'Regan	35-45	Kāi Tahu	Wahine	Second language
Patu Hohepa	80-85	Ngāpuhi, Te Ati Awa	Tāne	First language
Hone Taimona	45-55	Ngāpuhi	Tāne	Second language

There was an even number of men and women involved with this research, with different age groups represented to cover a wide range of ideas, influenced by different time periods, education and acquisition of the Māori language. The participants also had a wide range of tribal affiliations, which enabled a range of insights of *reo-ā-iwi* on a regional basis.

Whānau

I would regard all of the participants as more than mere acquaintances recruited only for the purpose of this research; they are *whānau*. They were selected to take part in this research based on my connections with them prior to the commencement of this research; some were friends and colleagues, whilst others were asked to participate as they knew members of my immediate *whānau*. At first, this could be seen as a potential bias, however, it meant that the participants felt safe as they knew I would treat the information they were to provide me with the greatest respect. There was an inherent sense of trust. For Kaupapa Māori research, external objectivity is not ideal as it is seen as an abstraction of knowledge rather than a relationship with it and lacks a “taste of reality” (Marsden 2003: 2). One can only interpret culture from the position of personal experience, and ask whether this experience is held by Māori generally (Marsden 2003: 2), which would be the case as the researcher has different *iwi* affiliations. However, this research welcomes diversity and expects responses to differ from the norm and from that presented in the literature. The participants were comfortable, therefore, the ability to be entirely truthful resulted in a more accurate piece of research.

Participants were interviewed once over a period of six months and were recruited through my own personal networks. Interviews were held in Rāwene, Waima, Panguuru (Hokianga⁶ region), Kaitaia and Dunedin. This was largely influenced by my own connections to these regions and where people lived. *Manaakitanga* (hospitality, kindness) and *whanaungatanga* (family bonds, relationships) were the two key concepts that underpinned these interviews. I see these participants on a regular basis outside of this research. My relationship with them began before this research and will continue long after this research has finished. These connections meant that the participants were relaxed and comfortable during the interviews.

⁶ Hokianga is a region on the West Coast of Northland. The region is determined by the harbour with it being on the Ngāpuhi and Te Rarawa natural boundary.

If at any time the participants felt uncomfortable, they would not hesitate to let me know; such was the nature of our relationship.

Qualitative Research

This thesis offers findings from participants about *reo-ā-iwi*. A qualitative research method was used to effectively conduct research with the participants and the knowledge they would be sharing. Qualitative research is a process of inquiry that establishes a holistic outlook of a particular phenomenon or interest (Jencik 2011: 506, Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 3-4) which was pivotal in this thesis as this research identifies the holistic nature of language and its connection with identity.

Qualitative research also involves the use and collection of a variety of empirical materials using methods such as case studies, life stories, personal experiences observational, historical, interactional and visual texts that describe moments and meaning in an individual's life (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 3-4). This research focuses on looking at the language experiences of an individual, which includes personal accounts of history, practices, and everyday living. The questions asked were focussed on topics about the Māori language in work, education and home life. It could be argued that with this approach validity is lost because personal ideas and experiences are expressed and it is difficult to verify these ideas (Hokowhitu 2001: 21). In this case, having unique and differing opinions in this study is encouraged. People connect to language in a number of different ways and represent views that may or may not differ from that expected, therefore, this particular method of analysing the data collected is appropriate for this study. Qualitative research was chosen to reveal the deeper contextual understanding of the information and combined with theory and literature,

where relevant, provide a fuller understanding of this topic and the gaps in the current research available.

Thirteen people were interviewed for this research. Due to the constraints of this thesis the researcher was unable to interview more. This may seem like a limitation to the research in that a wider cross-section of the Māori speaking population was not able to be included. The views expressed in this thesis are not meant to be a representation of the greater Māori population, however, they still offer a variety of views and ideas to show our different realities and identities. Only one of the interviews was unable to be conducted in person (*kanohi kitea*). This participant was sent a series of questions to provide written answers to. Such was our pre-existing relationship that we were able to correspond back and forth until we were both happy that the information was not going to be misunderstood in my subsequent analysis of it.

Methods

This thesis was developed on the realisation that there is a dearth of research on *reo-ā-iwi*. Therefore, it was pivotal to take a people-driven approach to this study. This study required and was granted ethical approval by the University of Otago Ethics Committee (See Appendix A). Because of the nature of the research, in that it is of interest to Māori communities and in accordance with standard University of Otago policy, an application was also made to the Ngāi Tahu Research Committee (See Appendix B). These processes ensured that all ethical approaches were considered before undertaking this research and that the physical and psychological wellbeing of those participating was maintained throughout the course of this research (University of Otago 2015). Every participant was given an explanation of the research, and their rights prior to the interviews and research being

undertaken. This allowed for the participants to ask questions to more fully understand the research topic and the processes involved.

The participants were asked to sign consent forms which outlined that they had the right to withdraw from the project at any time. The researcher also added a clause to this form that would allow the interview recordings to be kept indefinitely (standard University policy is for five years, see Appendix C) so it could be obtained by the participants' *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* if they wished to access it in the future.

Each participant was given the option to remain anonymous in this research, although all consented to being named. Their names are included in this project because the participants are bastions of the Māori language, and their background, education and ideas are interesting and diverse, which serves to enhance the quality of this thesis. This also allowed the *mana* of the participants to be enhanced, and acknowledges their contribution to both this research, and to *te ao Māori*. This links back to one of the guiding principles of Kaupapa Māori research of *kaua e takahi i te mana* (Smith 1999: 119-120), because they are being represented by their ideas, in context with their background and upbringing, and were not coded generically. It could also prove valuable to see how different language journeys influence people's thoughts and ideas. As all participants agreed to be named, their information and ideas have been treated with care and sensitivity to ensure that the integrity of their information is maintained (Simmons 1989: 109). This was done by not including any information that would be detrimental to their character if taken out of context. Their transcripts were returned to them to check for accuracy.

Interviews were semi-structured with a set of initial open-ended questions written to ensure the direction of the interviews flowed in a natural order and were effective for all concerned. The nature of the questions and interviews changed depending on the answers, circumstances

and situation. Additional questions were added at times to ensure a fuller understanding of the topic being discussed was achieved. The interviews were conducted in a place that was determined by the participants in order for them to feel comfortable and safe. This included the participants' homes, at university, at a Rūnanga office, on the *marae* or at work. A digital recorder was used to record the interviews. In accordance with Māori approaches to conducting research, it was extremely important for the researcher to give a *koha* (gift) to the participants in recognition of their time and commitment to this research.

The interviews were transcribed straight after the individual's interview. Some of the participants were difficult to understand, mostly due to the fact that I am a second language learner. I consider myself to be highly proficient but at times it was difficult to understand and interpret the information, particularly where there were aspects of speech that were *reo-ā-iwi* in nature and not from my own *iwi*. Words often ran together and this challenged my own accuracy in recording the responses. Clarification was sought where necessary. The data from the interviews was then collated and analysed in a thematic style.

Participant biographies - *Kei ōku mōtoi kahotea*

The following section will introduce the participants involved in this research. A detailed biography of each person will be provided in order to locate their Māori language acquisition within a specific social context.

Merirangitiria Rewi

Rewi (M) was born in 1992 and raised in Hamilton until the age of ten before she moved with her family to Dunedin. She affiliates to a number of *iwi*, however, her primary *iwi* connections are Waikato on her mother's side, and Ngāi Tūhoe and Ngāti Manawa, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, through her father. These *iwi* have very different political, religious and historical backgrounds with easily identifiable distinctive dialects. Rewi (M) is a first language learner of the Māori language. She noted that her family regularly visited Murupara which meant she had continual access to both her Ngāi Tūhoe and Waikato *whānau*, her *marae*, her *kaumātua* and their *reo-ā-iwi*. Rewi (M) has characteristics of *reo-ā-Tūhoe* (Tūhoe dialect) in her speech. Rewi (M) has one son and they reside in Dunedin. She is committed to raising her son within a Māori language speaking environment. She tries to find new ways of incorporating it into her life, and also maintains her own levels of proficiency by talking to her son, friends and colleagues in the Māori language. She is currently teaching *te reo Māori* at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

Victoria Campbell

Campbell was born in 1976 and raised in Dunedin. She affiliates to the *hapū* of Kāti Irakehu, one of the five primary *hapū* of Kāi Tahu. Her main affiliations are to Te Horomaka⁷ and Ōtākou. Campbell is a second language learner. Currently, she works for Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata (KMK) as the KMK Advisor which oversees and organises all events for the KMK strategy. Prior to that, she taught *te reo Māori* at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and the University of Otago. Campbell is committed to raising her two sons with Māori as their first language and speaks mainly in *te reo Māori* at home and in other domains as often as she can. They both attend Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ōtepoti. She consciously uses a common Kāi Tahu dialect and made that decision after becoming proficient in a more standardised form of the Māori.

Keanu Ager

Ager was born in 1995 and raised in Dunedin. He affiliates to Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Hine, in Te Taitokerau. Ager is a second language learner of the Māori language. The Māori language was not spoken in Ager's home, nor does he remember it commonly spoken in his community during his upbringing. Being so far away from his tribal region, Ager did not have much direct contact with speakers of *reo-ā-Ngāpuhi* (Ngāpuhi dialect). However, when he was older, he sought the guidance of Māori language speakers of Ngāpuhi descent within the community around him as his mentors and these northern examples have been pivotal in

⁷ Wairewa marae is situated in the Ōkana valley on the eastern side of Te Roto o Wairewa (Lake Wairewa), past Little River on the road from Christchurch to Akaroa. Hau kāinga *hapū* of Wairewa are Ngāti Irakehu and Ngāti Makō (Māori maps 2016).

his acquisition of the Māori language. Ager currently works at Moana House⁸ in Dunedin as a *kaiārahi i te reo me ōnā tikanga* (guide of the Māori language and its customs).

Poia Rewi

Rewi was born in 1967 in Rotorua and raised in Murupara. His main tribal affiliations are Ngāti Manawa, Tūhoe and Te Arawa and acknowledges these *iwi* that have influenced his Māori language skills the most. When he was a child, Rewi remembers the Māori language as the main language of communication within the communities he lived in. His elders, his grandfather, uncles and aunts spoke Māori. Rewi remembers his grandparents taking him to a number of different *hui* (meeting or gathering) within the Tūhoe region, where *te reo Māori* was the main language spoken. Rewi also belongs to the Ringatū⁹ faith which he attributes to his grandfather's conviction to the faith, and possibly the expectations of elders. He learnt many aspects of *te reo Māori* which was specific to his region. It is from growing up and living in Murupara, learning at school and at university that he enhanced his Māori language skills. Rewi lives in Dunedin with his family and is currently the Dean of Te Tumu – School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the University of Otago. Prior to this he was a lecturer at Waikato University.

Hine Parata-Walker

Parata-Walker was born in 1993 and raised in Uawa, Tolaga Bay, on the East Coast of the North Island. She affiliates to Ngāti Porou and Kāi Tahu. She is a second language learner of the Māori language. Parata-Walker remembers always having Māori language speakers to

⁸ Moana House is a residential assistance programme for adult male offenders who want to change their lives and behaviour for the betterment of themselves, their *whānau* and their communities.

⁹ In the mid-1860s, a religious group known as the Ringatū faith was founded by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki on the Chatham Islands during his captivity there between the years 1866 and 1868.

draw from in her community, however, it was spoken mainly on the *marae*, or at special occasions and in her bilingual classroom at her mainstream school. After school, Parata-Walker attended Victoria University of Wellington studying Māori Studies, Media Studies and Politics, before going to the University of Otago to complete her Masters in Indigenous Studies.

Hinerangi Puru

Puru affiliates to Te Rarawa (Northland) and Ngāti Kahungunu (East Coast). These two *iwi* are located in two different parts of the country and as a result there are many differences in language, history and protocol. She was raised in Panguru, in the Hokianga, and Ōtiria, near Moerewa, in Te Taitokerau. Puru's first language is the Māori language and was the only language spoken in Panguru during her upbringing. It was the language of communication in all domains, including the shops, school, and on the *marae*. It was a normal and living language. Puru and her *whānau* are of the Catholic faith and this plays a large part in her life. This aided Puru's proficiency in the Māori language as religious rituals, protocols and practices were all translated into Māori. After school, Puru worked as a teacher for many years, closely associated with the Te Ataarangi¹⁰ movement and teaching people the Māori language. Puru currently lives in Panguru with her husband and still continues to be very involved in her Panguru community.

¹⁰ Te Ataarangi was developed by Dr Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira and Ngoingoi Pēwhairangi in the late 1970's. It was developed from a model by Caleb Gattegno, which uses cuisenaire rods and spoken language as a medium of language acquisition.

Tame Murray

Murray was born in 1938 and raised in Muriwhenua. His *iwi* affiliations are Te Rarawa, Ngāi Takoto and Ngāti Mutunga. He grew up in Ahipara, on the west coast near Kaitaia, but he also has *whakapapa* connections to Whāngāpē, a small harbour community south of Ahipara. Murray is a first language speaker of the Māori language. During his upbringing Māori was the language of communication in Ahipara used for work, at the *marae*, or for basic interaction within the community. Murray is a *kaumātua* and is heavily involved at an *Iwi* level with Te Rarawa and is a *rūnanga* representative for his *marae* in Ahipara. He does *whaikōrero* (oration) on the *marae*, and speaks the Māori language to those who he knows have Māori language proficiency.

Wayne Te Tai

Te Tai grew up in Tauranga Moana. He affiliates to Te Rarawa on his father's side, and Ngāti Porou through his mother. He was raised in Tauranga until he was ten years old when his *whānau* relocated to Panguru in North Hokianga (see Figure 4). Te Tai grew up hearing his mother instruct him in the Māori language but he did not learn it formally from an early age and therefore he is categorised as a second language learner of the Māori language. Te Tai has a background spanning over 20 years in education. He is a teacher at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and helps at the local *kura kaupapa*. He is heavily involved with the *Te Rautaki Reo o Te Rarawa*,¹¹ a *te reo restoration strategy*, and now lives in Waihou, Hokianga.

¹¹ Te Rautaki Reo o Te Rarawa was formulated in response to declining numbers of Māori language speakers in Te Rarawa and aims to lead the growth and extension of the level of Te Rarawa *reo* spoken on *marae* and in Te Rarawa domains (Te Rautaki Reo o Te Rarawa 2013: 8).

Patu Hohepa

Hohepa was born in 1936 and has tribal affiliations to Te Mahurehure, Ngāpuhi, and Te Atiawa. Hohepa is a first language learner of the Māori language. His second language was not English but Catholic Latin. He remembers that his *whānau* would only speak the Māori language, and also the Waima (see Figure 4) community used it as a main language of communication during his upbringing. After school, Hohepa established a career in linguistics, specialising in Māori and Pacific Island languages. He is a former Professor of Māori language at the University of Auckland. He has held many high profile positions, most notable being Chairman of Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission) from 1999-2006. Currently, Hohepa teaches *te reo Māori* courses at Anamata, also known as Te Wānanga o Ngāi Tūhoe. He is a Ngāpuhi orator, genealogist, spokesperson, and writer, and retains an enduring interest in education opportunities for the people of Te Taitokerau. He currently resides in Waima.

Haami Piripi

Piripi was born in 1957. He was born and raised in Ahipara amongst his elders and *marae* community. He affiliates to Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Kurī. Piripi is a second language learner of the Māori language, however, the elders who raised him were first language speakers of *te reo Māori* but they did not speak to him in anything other than English. He remembers his community being quite spilt in terms of the decision to maintain the Māori language within the home. He acknowledged that the people who know how to speak Māori now hail from households that were staunch in maintaining the Māori language and those who do not switched in order to make life easier at the time. Piripi has held many portfolios, including the position of Chief Executive Officer at Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori from 2000-2007. He returned to Ahipara in 2007 to take up the elected position of chairperson of

Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa that he still currently holds. Within all his work, the Māori language has played a pivotal role. It is through his work that the majority of his language was learnt and maintained.

Huriwaka Harris

Harris was born in 1941. He was born and raised in the Hokianga (See Figure 4). He affiliates to Te Rarawa, Ngāti Wai and Taranaki. These *iwi* each have different political, religious and social histories quite distinct from one another. Each *iwi* also has different distinct *reo-ā-iwi* and cultural customs, however, Harris grew up knowing more of his northern *iwi* and it is the language and culture of these *iwi* that take precedent over his Taranaki side. Harris was brought up in Te Huahua on the north side of the Hokianga Harbour. The Māori language was acquired through his family and Hokianga community. He attended school in Hokianga and said the community was extremely supportive of the Māori language when he was growing up, both Pākehā and Māori alike. As a first language learner of the Māori language he actively participates on the *taumata* (orators' bench) at Ngāi Tūpoto *marae* due to his language skills. He lives in Rāwene with his wife.

Hone Taimona

Taimona is around 50 years of age. Taimona was born and raised in Auckland. He affiliates to Ngāpuhi. He returned to the Hokianga after high school with the key purpose of acquiring the Māori language on his *marae* in Pakanae. He currently is the Kaimahi Whakapakari Hāpori for Hauora Hokianga. He actively participates on the *taumata* at many Ngāpuhi *marae*. He lives in Pakanae on the south side of the Hokianga Harbour (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Hokianga Harbour and surrounding areas.



Source: (Google Maps)

This map shows different place names within the Hokianga region. It was added to show the small community of Pakanae which is not on this map.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at the methodological research practices, processes and models within a Kaupapa Māori Framework that were utilised as a foundation to the approach of this research. This research is informed by *tikanga Māori* with concepts such as *tino rangatiratanga*, *te reo Māori* and *whānau* and six key principles of the Kaupapa Māori Framework in order to maintain the *mana* and integrity of the participants and their thoughts on *reo-ā-iwi* throughout the duration of this research. This chapter also included details on the participants and recruitment, how interviews were conducted and how the interviews were analysed. A qualitative research method was adopted to combine the narratives provided by the participants with the theoretical literature in order to interpret and analyse the

information gathered. Ethical approval was sought and accepted by both the University of Otago Ethics Committee and the Ngāi Tahu Consultation Research Committee.

The second section of this chapter included the participant biographies. Information on their place of birth, *iwi* affiliation/s, occupation and place of residence was provided in order to give context to the participants' responses throughout the thesis. This chapter provided clarification on the research methods and research models, theories and frameworks used to create a safe space for this research. These methodological theories have been selected to ensure that all techniques, methods and processes were founded on Māori concepts and practices. In order to see how the information obtained from the participants fits in this space an overview of the literature pertaining to this topic is necessary. This will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 - Literature review

Introduction

Language and its regional variations are important to identity because it is an opportunity to identify key differences of each *iwi*, historically, environmentally, politically and linguistically. In order to create an understanding on the features of *reo-ā-iwi* in a contemporary Māori world view, a review of the literature on this topic is pivotal in understanding how *reo-ā-iwi* developed, the mechanisms that created the opportunities for it to evolve, features that make *reo-ā-iwi* distinct from others and its importance. This chapter will look into the importance of language and *reo-ā-iwi* in identity formation and language acquisition and what effects this may have on *reo-ā-iwi* use.

Language

Language is what makes us all unique. There are over 6000 languages in the world with the majority of that cohort being minority languages (Tsunoda 2005: 1). A minority language is defined as a language spoken by a group of people who are a minority culture within a particular area (Tsunoda 2005: 1). It is an essential part of human communities because it is the medium in which the thoughts, histories, hopes, wishes, dreams and ideas of a person are communicated with one another (Preece 2005: 100). Within the myths and religions of many peoples, language is found to be the source of human life and power (Amberber, Collins, Cox, Fromkin, Hyams & Rodman 2012: 2). Sounds of language are associated with meaning and these sounds can be interpreted by others. However, language also identifies a common understanding of culture and outlines protocols of a way of life for groups of people within society (Amberber *et al*: 2012: 2).

In general, linguistic studies have tended to focus more on the analysis of the structure of language, neglecting diversity, use, meaning and context (Hymes 2003: 32). Sociolinguistics is the study of the nature and operation of a human language by studying it in its social context. This particular discipline has provided a linguistic space to link language and society and their inter-connected existence by highlighting features and aspects of identity that feed languages and their relevancy within a social context. This branch of linguistics is concerned with language within human societies (Mesthrie; Swann; Deumert, and Leap, 2009: 5). Sociolinguistics is interested in why people speak differently within different contexts and how people convey social meaning through these social functions of language. This foundation determines how people use language, and how one constructs their own social identity through the use of language (Holmes 2013: 1).

Sociolinguistics is compatible with this research because it considers other aspects of language, other than just applied linguistics. This particular methodological approach also looks at social, historical, and economic factors about languages that connect people to place. *Reo-ā-iwi* is multi-faceted and multi-layered and incorporates many different ideas through which the connection of language to identity can be explained. These choices afford the speaker an expression through language by using what is relevant to their reality, and not prescribed determiners placed upon them out of context. Access and application of different regional languages are granted to those who have made these choices. Sociolinguistic attempts to rethink the categories in which language has been commonly placed in the past, separated from key aspects that are essential to a language's connection and place (Hymes 2003: vii). Ultimately it is the study of the speaker's choices and what influences speech. Sociolinguistics therefore serves as one of the central considerations in the analysis of the information in this research.

Dialect

Language is the vehicle by which history, thoughts, stories and knowledge are communicated from one person to another (Barlow 2004: 114). Dialect is born out of people who are regionally and socially isolated, who use words, phrases, tonal sounds and accents to suit their needs and environment (Amberber, *et al* 2012: 373). Geography often plays a significant role in shaping a language and cultural community.

These circumstances imply that geographical conditions have effects on countries' history and culture. Not only for countries but also for individuals, geography determines many aspects of people's sense of self; for instance, depending on the place where a person is born or grows up, he or she will have a different cultural identity, different nationality, and different institutional services for his or her lifetime (Chang 2010: 1).

Regional isolation of language or a regional dialect can be used to express the unique language characteristics relevant to a particular area through varying linguistic features (Mesthrie 2009: 43).

Almost every language today has dialects – forms of the language where different pronunciations, grammatical constructions, meanings, words and so on mark the boundaries of distinct speech communities (Everett 2013: 228).

Such communities may have other commonalities too, through shared genealogy or by living in a certain geographical area over a period of time which is a key aspect of the development of regional language. Mel'cuk (1981: 570) writes, 'Not only every language but every lexeme of a language is an entire world in itself.' However, it can be argued that it is no longer acceptable to only place such an importance of dialect within its natural environmental boundaries because dialect can also be seen as a development of the community in which a person lives, no matter if they have *whakapapa* to that area or not.

Dialect is made up of four linguistic features: vocabulary, grammar, pragmatics and pronunciation (Siegel 2010: 7). The grammar is concerned with the principles that govern

meaning of words, phrases, clauses and sentences. Grammar interacts with other components such as phonology (covering the sound system) and lexicon which builds the relationship between pronunciation, spelling, meaning and their grammatical properties (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 4) (see Chapter Six). There are many different rules one must know when using a language. Some of these rules include:

- rules for combining sounds into words (phonology)
- rules for combining words into phrases and phrases sentences (syntax)
- rules for assigning meaning (semantics)
- rules of grammar (Amberber, Collins, Cox, Fromkin, Hyams & Rodman 2012: 10)

In order to understand the nature of language, one must first understand the nature of grammar and the unconscious set of rules that is part of every language (Amberber *et al*, 2012: 10). Typically, most descriptions do not expand beyond saying that language is a communicative tool where comfortable and effective communication is seen to take place amongst those with common speech forms within the same region (Tulloch 2006: 271). However, the connections between the core values and the social systems of the ethnic group that upholds them are also important. These connections contribute to one's identity as well as describe the principles that underpin that identification (Smolicz 1980: 7). These values are articulated through actions and words.

Identity formation

Identity is used by individuals as a way to describe where they come from, who they are and how they fit within society (Paringatai 2013: 157). One's identity is never fixed, and fluidity of the concept presents itself when experiences and people change. Grotevant writes:

Identity formation is viewed as a life-long task that has its roots in the development of the self in infancy. Later, a person's identity becomes reformulated in adolescence as a function of mature cognitive abilities, a facilitative environment,

and being potentially open to modification throughout adulthood. (Grotevant, 1987:203)

Identity and its relationship to language is central to the discussion of this thesis. Fishman outlines the relationship between the two as part of the connective thread that weaves together kinship, home, childhood socialisation and the people who speak that language (Fishman 1997: 31). The relationship between language and identity is an avenue to express the shared history, values, and belief systems of an ethnic community (Fishman 1999: 44; Kuter 1989: 87; Marsden 2003: 132). Membership within various Māori kinship structures such as *waka*, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* is through *whakapapa* (Durie 1994: 52). Within these structures, there are certain responsibilities and obligations that are developed and maintained through the generations.

Language is more than a means to communicate, it is a form in which identity is presented in a number of diverse ways (Ngaha 2014: 71). Language, customs, kinship obligations and traditions were cultural practices that formed the foundation of Māori identities and these pathways allowed Māori identities to be established and subsequently developed, altered and changed when needed (Moeke-Pickering 1996:3). It is therefore assumed that identity is forever changing which would also suggest that it can be determined by different contributing factors.

Leading researchers in the area of Māori identity, such as Houkamau & Sibley (2010), Kukutai (2003), and Metge (1967), all agree that there is a foundation one must have in order to identify as a Māori person: *whakapapa*. Some argue (see Durie 1994; Stevenson 2004; Ngata in Ritchie 1967) that the Māori language is also one of those core concepts that inform a Māori identity, which would suggest that the Māori language would be a key identity marker for someone of Māori descent. According to Fishman (1991: 40), uniqueness is symbolised through the use of language which determines identity. Although this would seem

to argue that language is a fixed component of one's ethnic identity, in contemporary Māori society this is no longer true.

Language is but one marker of identity. Groups and communities adapt with changes in society. This forces languages to be fluid, adapt, change and even be usurped by a more dominant language to the point where it can no longer be a key component of identity (Nash 1987: 124; Kuter 1989: 87). When language is no longer a key characteristic, identity is then considered to be developed by the layering of relationships and common history rather than through language (Jenkins 2004: 11; Song 2003: 10). However, Omoniyi (2006: 13) and Tabouret-Keller (1997: 315) challenge this and claim that language is an image of identity. Identity formation is a multi-layered process (Omoniyi 2006: 14) as it endeavours to explain relationships of concepts, people and history. Māori identity is not fixed, but is flexible and fluid (McIntosh 2005: 44) as is language and its relevancy to one's identity.

Identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic, it gives you a personal location, the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your social relationships, your complex involvements with others (Weeks 1990: 88, cited in Song 2003: 1).

Whakapapa is a core factor of Māori ethnicity, which in turn allows someone to identify as Māori, and this determines where someone is from, the relationships they have with others, and what differentiates them from others. Language is a key expression of identity, and this is fluid and ever changing. A common experience many indigenous communities are facing is the maintenance of their language. However, language, regardless of the number of speakers, is still considered to be the primary medium to express ways of understanding the world

through values and beliefs and how this is passed on through intergenerational transmission (Fishman 1991: 230; Marsden 2003: 132; Mead 2003: 2; Walker 1990: 268).¹²

Reo-ā-iwi

Many linguists describe regional isolation of language as a dialect which, in turn, is often used to express the unique language characteristics relevant to a particular region (Mesthrie 2009: 43). Māori have many differences in the style of language that they use (Morrison 2011: 21). Pre-colonial Māori society was an oral society; there was no written form of our language. *Reo-ā-iwi* is the way tribal histories, connections and identity have been preserved and passed on from one generation to the next. Acquisition of language and this knowledge used a number of different mediums (Karetu 1992: 28). These included: *haka*, *waiata*, *tauparapara*, *karanga* (ceremonial call), *poroporoākī* (farewell), *pakiwaitara* (story, legend), *whakapapa*, *whakataukī* (proverbs) and *pepeha*. This was a way in which the Māori language, and *reo-ā-iwi* were maintained. For every *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*, the details of these forms of oral literature would change slightly in direct relation to the environment. Within these environments, language diversity is most commonly achieved from a uniqueness informed by one's surroundings (Ngaha 2011: 13). This means that features of the environment such as *maunga* (mountain) and *awa* (river), and the stories around their naming and history influence a *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi* through the language used. The unique qualities and features of one's environment supports diversity and the different features that form a dialect and its connection to its people who use *reo-ā-iwi* daily.

I [Wharehuia Milroy] am from Ruātoki, Tīmoti [Karetū] is from Waikaremoana, located about 100 kilometres apart, but we can go to Waikaremoana and use the same expressions and know that we would understand the nuances of the colloquial language we are using. But if we stepped just a few kilometres down the road into

¹² For more insight into Māori identity, please see research completed by Tapsell, I, Kawharu, H, Durie, M, Kawharu, M, Houkamau, C and Webber, M.

the Ngāti Kahungunu tribal area, we may find a different sense being applied to the same expressions. Language becomes a very important tribal identifier (Milroy 2008: 189).

In some regions in New Zealand there are multiple *hapū* residing in the one area. Each of those *hapū* may have both similarities and differences in their dialect as a result of a number of political, historical and cultural factors. Regional dialect is present in people who have links to a region, however, the regional variations in the Māori language are not only associated with the location of the tribe but with the tribe itself (Harlow 2007: 44). Those who live within their tribal area are those who speak the dialect the most and it is more likely to be spoken regularly with common understandings within that language speaking community (Amberber *et al* 2012: 386). One can argue, however, that only using regional boundaries to indicate dialectical variation does not cover the full extent of residential possibilities.

Reo-ā-iwi can be used as an assertion of connection to land, regardless of where one lives. Irrespective of one's current place of residence, if that person has had some aspect of *reo-ā-iwi* in their upbringing or language acquisition then it will be used in their speech no matter where they live (Harlow 2007: 44). This is also the case for those who have moved away from their tribal areas and networks. The difficulty of living in tribal lands that a person has no connection to is that it becomes harder to retain the *reo-ā-iwi* associated with one's own tribe. Difficult, but not impossible. In these situations dialectical retention is often due to a deliberate decision on the part of the person to use the dialect from the region they grew up in, rather than the dialect of the place where they are currently living (Harlow 2007: 44). The use of one's own *reo-ā-iwi* in a region that uses a different dialect is ultimately an assertion of one's identity. This is the reality in contemporary Māori society due to the fact that many Māori currently live outside of their tribal area/s.

The complexities in Māori identities is a phenomenon for Māori populations that has been discussed by a number of historians in recent years, and it deserves reiteration here: home places for Māori were and are not just the location where you presently live, which is one kind of ‘home’; they are also the descent-places of your parents, grandparents and ancestors (Keenan 2014: 32).

People who use their *reo-ā-iwi* within a different tribal region often choose to do so to retain some connection to their *whakapapa* and *tūrangawaewae* (a place to stand) and it is often a sign of autonomy (Biggs 1989 in Harlow 2007: 44). However, Hinton (2013: 9) challenges this by stating that although this is the case for people who have grown up with some introduction of dialect in their vocabulary, for second language learners, the culture and values of the dialect cannot be taught outside of its natural and relevant environment. This stems from the idea that language learnt outside of its traditional context will have less of an ability to reflect traditional culture and values from where the *reo-ā-iwi* originates from. This is due to the holistic nature of language being influenced by environment, practices and customs that may only appear in one region and that you may only achieve the acquisition of dialect through connections and understanding of the place (Hinton 2013: 9).

Reo-ā-iwi use outside of its tribal boundaries could be considered an example of an enclave language, which are described as minority languages that exist in an environment dominated by another linguistically different language (Tsunoda 2005: 5). The term describes a language speaking community that is distanced from its original country still being spoken within another country that may have a completely different language genealogy. Some examples of enclave speech communities are shown through the Arabian language spoken in Greece, the Hungarian language spoken in Austria, Cimbrish (a Germanic language) spoken in northern Italy and Korean spoken in Japan (Tsunoda 2005: 5). This would show that languages can in fact live outside of their natural environment, but also, their original country, as the languages and the people who use them adapted their dialect to their environment.

In terms of the Māori language, it has not been distanced from its original country, but it has in terms of *reo-ā-iwi* being spoken outside of its original tribal area. The fact that *reo-ā-iwi* can be found being spoken by people who reside outside of their tribal region proves that it can survive outside of regional boundaries. Not all of the characteristics associated with enclave languages as they appear in an international context apply to the Māori language, however, this does show that environment sometimes is not a factor for dialect and language, and that the environmental change would probably alter their own language as another form of dialect. This would indeed support the idea that languages can survive outside of their natural environment, for a long period of time.

As Māori are of eastern Polynesian origin and descent, and although regional dialectal differences are both subtly and substantially different, those who are fluent in the Māori language can generally understand other people from other tribes regardless of what tribe they are affiliated too (Ballara 1998: 28; Morrison 2011: 22). This is because even though concepts, customs, traditions and *kawa* (marae protocol) differ slightly from region to region, Māori still draw upon a common and holistic understanding of similar customary practices that are underpinned by the same principles (Ballara 1998: 28). The same, however, cannot be said for many European languages, despite the close proximity within which they are spoken. For example within Germany there are many dialectal variations, so much so that language used in one part of the country is completely different to that in another part, despite belonging to the same language family (Ballara 1998: 28).

Regional autonomy strongly suggests that dialect works as a powerful symbol of cultural and spiritual identity (O'Regan 2001:59; Rewi 2010: 55). This is important as it is often seen as a symbolic link to the past while maintaining cultural practices such as the *pōhiri* (Māori welcome ceremony) and *tangihanga* (funeral process).

I think that our culture and our dialects and all the things that make us unique and different as tribal entities are at severe risk. I'm having my own backlash against the label 'Maori.' If you generalise too much about a problem the solution will be too general and it's liable to miss the target. For me the problem is about how we save our tribes. If we save them, we save Maoridom. There is no Maoridom without the tribes (Parata in Melbourne, 1995: 38).

The autonomy of *iwi* and their uniqueness are potentially under threat from a homogenised view of Māori people, as well as efforts to retain the Māori language in general and not *reo-ā-iwi*. It is also important to acknowledge that culture and language is always changing.

Culture is not a static thing. Because it has no existence apart from the individuals who are its carriers, it lives, grows and changes in the process whereby it is handed on from one generation to the next; and in the process again whereby it helps each generation to adapt itself to changing social and environmental conditions (Beaglehole 1940: 40).

The loss of dialect internationally is influenced by the popularity of majority languages, such as English and Spanish (Tsunoda 2005: 1). Fishman (1997: 60) argues that very few people care about the demise of small, minority languages. Language is the articulation of culture and an expression of its core values. If the language is lost some part of that culture and its values are inherently lost (Fishman 1996: 73).

Language Acquisition: First and Second language acquisition

The acquisition of language is how humans use words, sounds and sentences in order to communicate (Friederici 2011: 1357). First language acquisition begins during infancy and according to Gleitman and Reisburg (2007: 315), infants are born with an inbuilt capacity to rapidly learn languages. This includes their gradual understanding of the rules of syntax, and the role of semantics (Bracken 1983: 128). There are three main stages to first language acquisition. The first state begins when one picks up early language such as vocabulary and simple phrases. The second state focuses on the higher language structures, and the third is

usually seen in advanced and adult language users which are exemplified through the advanced level of fluency (Saville-Troike 2006: 16:18).

Second language acquisition is different because the learner starts to acquire the language at a later stage in life, which is often when the ability to 'pick up' phrases and vocabulary is not as easy and natural as it was for their first language. Second language learners also often have to seek their second language for themselves. Literature on second language acquisition is more concerned with the obstacles that hinder the learning of a second language (Saville-Troike 2006:2). These include factors such as not being in a prime age bracket to pick another language up easily, as it would be for a first language learner. First and second language acquisition still requires the individual to have knowledge of appropriate vocabulary, with construction of words and phrases present in comprehensive sentences (Liddicoat & Curnow 2004: 41).

One key difference between a first and second language learner is that second language learners are at an age where understanding how to analyse language is present, whilst infants often do not have this understanding (Saville-Troike 2006: 18). People can acquire language in many different ways. In terms of the Māori language, people can learn it through formal classes in school, university, *whare wānanga* (place of higher learning), courses such as Te Ataarangi, and total immersion *wānanga*. This would suggest that there are many stages of acquiring language and that first language learners may have more or constant exposure from a younger age, whereas second language learners may have a greater awareness of what is being taught.

Conclusion

This literature review has shown that there are many different opinions regarding the use of language, what it represents and the rules that dictate its use. This chapter firstly discussed language as a whole, highlighting that the overall aim of language is to have the ability to communicate with others. This focused on the essential role of language to describe thoughts, relationships, histories, ideas, myths, and religion. It also discussed language outlining protocol for different groups of people and the use of sociolinguists as a platform in which to understand language in the context that it would naturally occur in.

Dialect describes language as the vehicle by which history, thoughts, stories and knowledge are communicated from one person to another that was developed within regional boundaries and physical environment. Key linguistic features that help people understand language such as syntax, semantics, lexicon and phonology are important in distinguishing dialects at a micro and macro level. Language is a core concept of identity, however, others disagreed and explained that if language is fluid in nature it cannot be a core concept in identity formation. Whether this is true of the participants involved in this study is yet to be seen.

Following on from identity formation, literature on *reo-ā-iwi* was examined to create a foundation to the research. Some of the international literature did not fit directly with the Māori language situation, but it did offer examples from which comparisons could be made.

Overall, it was clear to see that language, dialect, identity formation and *reo-ā-iwi* are intrinsically connected. Through the use of history, stories, *hau kāinga*, and *whakapapa reo-ā-iwi* seems to be a statement of identity, as well as a means to communicate. The participants are a mixture of first and second language speakers each with a different background and experience in their acquisition of the Māori language. The following chapter

will detail the participants acquisition backgrounds, with relevant literature included for analysis and context.

Chapter 4 - The Participants' Language Acquisition

Introduction

People acquire language in many different ways. For those whom *te reo Māori* is their first language, acquisition is likely to occur through various mediums, primarily in the home, but also with interactions with others in the community and in school. For second language learners their acquisition is likely to occur through more formal educative practices. All participants hail from different language backgrounds, family situations, communities, formal education, upbringings and religious backgrounds. This chapter focuses on the individual language acquisition of each participant. The purpose of this is to create a space that highlights these differences, and acknowledges their varying experiences of language acquisition.

Māori Language Acquisition

In 2006, it was recorded that 55 percent of Māori language speakers gained proficiency and fluency in the Māori language through their schooling. Thirty one percent gained proficiency at secondary school, and 16 percent gained proficiency with *te reo Māori* at University or Polytechnic (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007: 100).

Despite English being the language of instruction and the only language allowed to be spoken within the school grounds of Native Schools, it was estimated that 96.6% of children attending these schools in the 1930s were still only using the Māori language in their home (May 2005: 367). Only thirty years later it was estimated that only 26% were speaking the Māori language in the home. After this, the Māori language showed clear signs of language decline (Benton 1979, 1983). It was this proclamation that aided the advocacy, establishment and development of Māori medium education from the 1980s onwards (May 2005: 367). This

saw the Māori language being taught formally, rather than relying on *whānau* and community groups to teach it.

Currently, 21.3% of the Māori population can speak the Māori language (Statistics 2015). This is a drop from 23.7% in 2006. These figures do not show the reasons for this drop, however, the language did not die as it was predicted in the 1960s. There are many who seek avenues to acquire the Māori language, and do so through many different pathways. These include:

- Māori medium schooling such as *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori* and *wharekura*.
- Tertiary Education
- Te Ataarangi
- Community engagement

There are also avenues that support acquisition like print, blogs, radio, television programmes, and participation in kapa haka (haka group) that passively teach the Māori language. These have all supported Māori language acquisition, potentially because they create a level of normality and language usage is promoted in different ways for the variety of different learning styles. Songs especially have created a valuable place for Māori language acquisition through performance and repetition and knowledge of *whakataukī*, *kīwaha* (idioms, sayings), and history (Hemara 2000: 29-31).

In terms of the first language learners in this research, all have acquired the Māori language from infancy, from the Māori language being spoken in the home, therefore infants are able to grasp basic rules of language by a young age (Bracken 1983: 128). This array of opportunities to enhance their Māori language skills has aided many of the participants in this research.

Rewi (M)

The Māori language is Rewi's (M) first language. Her Māori language acquisition began from birth, within her home. It was the dominant language spoken between herself and her parents. Over time her home became more bilingual but the Māori language was still very much the main language of communication. It was not only in her own home, but both sets of grandparents also spoke Māori, and this aided in the normalisation of the Māori language beyond her home.

Rewi (M) attended *kōhanga reo* and Tōku Māpihi Maurea Kura Kaupapa Māori in Hamilton before her *whānau* moved to Dunedin when she was 10 years old. There, she attended Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ōtepoti before attending St Joseph's Māori Girls' College in Napier for her secondary school education. Rewi (M) stated that each school had different expectations regarding the use of Māori language. At Tōku Māpihi Maurea the expectation was that the Māori language was the only language permitted, whilst speaking English at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ōtepoti was permitted. During Rewi's (M) time in Māori language immersion schools in Hamilton she was in a learning environment that supported and taught Waikato language, history, politics and experiences which developed her *reo-ā-Waikato* (Waikato dialect).

When she moved to Dunedin the learning environment changed. Although she went from one *kura kaupapa* to another, Rewi (M) did not affiliate to Kāi Tahu, therefore, she was out of a tribally relevant learning environment. This school would have been cognisant of the fact that many of the teachers and children who attend this school are not of Kāi Tahu descent, so there would have been a pan-tribal approach to teaching the children, even with Kāi Tahu history and culture taught through school *pepeha* and *waiata*. Even though the school itself is within Kāi Tahu tribal boundaries, the teachers had their own set of skills and *reo-ā-iwi*.

When she attended St Joseph's Māori Girls College¹³ she lived in the tribal territory of Ngāti Kahungunu and, even though it is a school underpinned by *tikanga Māori*, it is still a mainstream Catholic school. This would have meant that school used Catholic hymns and *karakia* (incantations). Rewi (M) is not Catholic but is of the Ringatū faith. Therefore, the Māori language Rewi (M) was being exposed to was becoming less relevant to her as she went through school. This was also highlighted by the fact that the school was English medium, which would have been a complete shift in comparison to Rewi's (M) *kura kaupapa* experiences. The school's main focus is to provide Māori girls with an education underpinned by a Catholic teachings. At St Joseph's Māori Girls College, Rewi (M) remembers the Māori language being strongly used during performances and church, but not the language of instruction in the classroom. After school, she attended the University of Otago, where she completed a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Māori Studies where she also learnt the Māori language in a formal capacity.

Campbell

Campbell is a second language learner of the Māori language. She recalls the English language being the dominant language during her upbringing, both within school and the community. She went to school before *kura kaupapa* and *kōhanga reo* had been established but believes that had they been available her mother would have enrolled her at Māori medium schools. This shows that even though the language was not spoken within her home, it was still valued. Campbell went to mainstream schools in Dunedin where the English language was used both in the classroom and amongst her friends.

¹³ St Joseph's Māori Girls College was founded in 1867 by the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions. The Sisters, and the Māori Missioner, Fr Reigner, SM saw the need for education for Māori in that rapidly changing world, and so they started a boarding school for Māori girls on the convent property. St Joseph's Māori Girls' College is a state integrated Catholic school located in Greenmeadows, Napier. (St Joseph's Māori Girls' College, 2015).

Campbell remembers only hearing the Māori language spoken in formal occasions on the pan-tribal *marae*, Arai Te Uru, based in Kaikorai Valley (a suburb in Dunedin). Although this is not the *marae* she has *whakapapa* to she lived next door to it and often attended events there. The Māori language was heard by Campbell during ceremonial processes, such as in *karanga*, *whaikōrero* and *waiata* during the pōwhiri. Other than on these occasions, it was not a language of communication in normal conversations.

Campbell started formally learning the Māori language at the University of Otago where she completed a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Māori Studies. She also credits her Kāi Tahu language acquisition to the many Kāi Tahu women who have taught both in both informal and formal environments as well. As Kāi Tahu have no *kaumātua* still alive whose first language is the Māori language, she was heavily supported by mentors such as Alva Kapa, Khyla Russell, Paulette Tamati-Elliffe, Charisma Rangipunga and Hana O'Regan. All of these women have proficiency in the Māori language and a commitment to Kāi Tahu *reo-ā-iwi*. These women gave Campbell people she could seek to help her acquisition of the Māori and Kāi Tahu language.

Ager

Ager is a second language learner of the Māori language. He does not recall the Māori language being widely spoken in the Dunedin community, therefore, it was difficult for Ager to find avenues through which to be exposed to and acquire the Māori language. He also stated that no one in his immediate family spoke the Māori language. Ager grew up outside of his tribal boundaries. He recalls there being no focus on the Māori language when he attended Abbotsford Primary School, and his acquisition of the Māori language began when

he started at Kings High School when the Māori language teacher there encouraged him to learn *te reo Māori*.

Ager is a natural linguist. Outside of school he sought other avenues to advance his Māori language skills and used television programmes such as *Ako*,¹⁴ and *Kōwhao Rau*¹⁵ to further his knowledge of the language. There is some contention that youth cannot learn another language from watching television shows or listening to radio shows (Clark & Clark 1977: 330). However, studies have shown that these two language acquisition mechanisms, as well as singing songs in the Māori language, are effective language learning tools (Te Puni Kōkiri 2007:7). Others dismiss this view because there is evidence that shows youth are able to learn word meanings when watching television (Ball & Bogatz 1972: 214).

Ager's proficiency level would also suggest that educational television programmes do aid acquisition of the Māori language in his case because he had a basic foundation of the language. As his proficiency level increased, he attended Kura Reo¹⁶ to expand his exposure to the Māori language. Ager was particularly drawn to watch *Kōwhao Rau* because it used Ngāpuhi *reo-ā-iwi* from Ngāpuhi *kaumātua* and contributed to his desire to learn aspects of the language that was from his own *iwi*. In this case, it has been these programmes that have acted as a substitute teacher to Ager, alongside his fellow Ngāpuhi teachers and his *kuiā* when he saw them. When listening to Ager speak, it is evident that he has incorporated many characteristics of *reo-ā-iwi* into his use of the Māori language. Ager is currently enrolled at the University of Otago completing a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Linguistics and Māori Studies.

¹⁴ A Māori language acquisition programme on Māori Television for intermediate-level learners, hosted by Pānia Papa. The first show aired on 29th March 2010.

¹⁵ A programme on Māori Television hosted by Quinton Hita showcasing *kaumātua* as he visits their homes within the Ngāpuhi region to have conversations about their lives. *Kōwhao Rau* is presented in the Māori language.

¹⁶ A Māori language immersion *wānanga* (about a week in length) that aims to strengthen speakers' proficiency in the Māori language. Students are taught by highly proficient and fluent language speakers.

Rewi (P)

The Māori language is Rewi's (P) second language; he thinks. He remembers hearing Māori spoken by his grandfather, and although his parents and grandmother knew Māori they did not use it with him while he was growing up. In this instance one would think that as Rewi (P) stated he was a second language learner his initial foray into learning *te reo Māori* would have been through formal education mechanisms in school, however, this was not the case. He stated that it was his attendance at many Tūhoe *hui* where *te reo motuhake o Tūhoe me ōna tikanga* (the Tūhoe language and its customs) was modelled by many *kuia* and *kaumātua* that helped him learn certain intricacies of the Māori language that would be difficult to be taught through the education system. Through attending a variety of *hui* around the region with his grandparents when he was young, Rewi (P) learnt and acquired the tone and speed of *reo-ā-Tūhoe*. Being of the Ringatū faith, the Māori language is the language of communication and the scriptures within this church. Attending these religious services would have also aided in his Māori language skills during his formative years.

Rewi (P) attended Tawhiuau School in Murupara until he attended Te Aute College, an Anglican Māori boys' boarding school located in the Hawke's Bay. Similar to many of the other participants, his language acquisition at primary school was a mixture of formal and non-formal methods. It was common to hear the Māori language spoken around the community, at *hui*, on the *marae*, and in the home where his grandfather hosted many *hui* with Tūhoe elders. Tawhiuau School is a mainstream school, but Rewi (P) remembers that there were some teachers and administrators who would use the Māori language. During this time he participated in Māori performing arts where instructional Māori language was used.

When commenting on the use of the Māori language at Te Aute College, Rewi remembers *te reo me ōna tikanga* (the language and its customs) playing a huge role during his high school years. Even though Te Aute is a mainstream school, Rewi (P) stated that it had a focus on the

Māori language, sport, *tikanga Māori* and *kapa haka*. Similarly to Rewi (M), Rewi (P) attended a high school outside of his tribal region, which would have meant that the community and school would have been different linguistically and culturally. After Te Aute College, Rewi (P) attended the University of Waikato where he was taught by leading practitioners of *te reo Māori* from Tūhoe such as Te Wharehuia Milroy, Tīmoti Kāretu, Te Haumihiata Mason and Hirini Melbourne as well as other fluent speakers; Aroha Yates-Smith, John Moorfield, Ngahua Dixon, Haupai Puke, Te Rita Papesch and Mike Hollings.

Rewi (P) (2015) stated that he is still learning the Māori language, and that he is continually acquiring it in different forms and from a variety of sources (Rewi (P), 2015). Rewi attended the University of Waikato where he completed a Bachelor of Social Sciences and a Master of Arts majoring in Māori Studies while he was employed as a lecturer. He was then employed at the University of Otago where he completed his PhD on the topic of *whaikōrero*, which he wrote in Māori.

Parata-Walker

Parata-Walker is a second language learner of the Māori language. Parata-Walker grew up in Uawa (Tolaga Bay) on the East Coast of the North Island. She does not recall the Māori language being spoken in her home, although her parents knew how to speak Māori. Parata-Walker attended *kōhanga reo* before going to Te Kura a Rohe o Uawa, which is a mainstream school, however, she was in a bilingual speaking classroom within the school. The teachers were also mostly from Ngāti Porou, therefore, being within the region and having Ngāti Porou teachers helped her acquisition of *reo-ā-Porou* (Ngāti Porou dialect). She believes that many people knew the Māori language, but there were certain times that it was used more often such as during formal occasions most commonly seen on the *marae*. She

remembers the language being spoken mainly at school, on the *marae*, and even those who could not speak it still had some level of comprehension, so there was a level of normality.

After school, Parata-Walker moved to Wellington to attend Victoria University of Wellington where she completed a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Māori Studies, Politics and Media Studies. She credits her university education with helping refine her grammar and learning the finer points of the Māori language. She mentioned that grammar was something that her school did not teach her, therefore, learning in a more formal capacity was an efficient way to understand aspects of the language that are missed in schools.

Puru

Puru's first language is Māori, which was the language of her home and the community. Puru remembers going to the local shops and conversing in Māori with the shop owners as she was growing up. She attended Panguru School, and then went to St Joseph's Māori Girl's College for a year, before attending St Mary's College in Auckland for the remainder of her high school years. When asked about the language of her schools and the attitudes towards the Māori language, she recalled the Māori language being underpinned by Catholicism which had an impact on all ceremonies, songs, prayer, and classes that were conducted in Māori.

After growing up in the small community of Panguru, Puru recalls the culture shock she encountered when she attended St Joseph's Māori Girls' College. Even though she affiliates to Ngāti Kahungunu through her father she immediately recognised how different the Māori language was to her. She did not say how it differed grammatically, but she immediately realised that the sound and lexicon was different. She grew up in Northland, therefore, living within the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Kahungunu would have been new for her. She remembered vividly telling the Nuns of the school that they "were not speaking Māori" (Puru

2015) in comparison to the type of Māori she had learnt and grown up with in Panguru. This highlights that Panguru's *reo-ā-iwi* was very distinguishable to her and differences with outside *reo-ā-iwi* was noticeable. After school, Puru remained in Auckland as a teacher.

Puru did not teach the Māori language to her children. It was not spoken in the home because that was not the language of the Auckland community in which her children grew up. Her children did not have the same Māori language community that she did, making it difficult to speak the Māori language inside and outside of the home. Although both Puru and her husband were proficient and fluent in the Māori language, they felt that it would disadvantage their children in the environment they lived in.

Murray

The Māori language is Murray's first language. He mentioned that members of the community he lived in knew how to speak the Māori language and that this aided in his proficiency. He stated that the focus of acquisition was through learning the history of his *hau kāinga*, as well as teaching others the history of Muriwhenua. His knowledge would see him on many *taumata* around Muriwhenua. Murray attended mainstream primary schools situated in predominantly Māori communities of Awanui, Ahipara and Pāparore. It is clear when one is speaking with him that he is an extremely proficient and fluent speaker of the Māori language, with attributes of his speech aligned with *reo-ā-Muriwhenua* (Muriwhenua dialect).

Murray was born in 1938 and he attended school during a time where children were punished for speaking the Māori language. He detailed the many times he was strapped for speaking Māori at school. He did jokingly state that he used to be punished at school and at home, because, the expectation from his teachers was that he would speak English, but at home his parents only knew Māori and he would be punished by them for using English (Selby 1999:

3). Unlike many others who were in a similar situation as him, this did not deter him from speaking Māori. After primary school Murray attended Kaitaia College in Kaitaia where English was the main language of instruction.

Te Tai

Te Tai is a second language speaker of the Māori language. He grew up in Tauranga Moana, but does not remember the Māori language being taught to him through formal teaching in school until he was at high school where he took Māori as a subject. Outside of school, he remembers his mother using the Māori language in the form of commands in the home. Once he finished at high school, he attended Te Wānanga Takiura o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa¹⁷ in Auckland which is a full-time, year-long Māori language course. It was in this environment that he was able to increase his Māori language proficiency to be able to engage in conversation with other Māori language speakers.

Although Te Wānanga Takiura taught him the Māori language, it was a *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific type of Māori language and upon his return to Te Taitokerau after his year in Auckland he found he had to change the lexicon he used to incorporate words more affiliated to Te Rarawa. This was mainly due to his *kaumātua* not being able to understand him when he spoke because the words were not from Waihou, or Te Rarawa. Currently, Te Tai heads the Te Reo o Te Rarawa Strategy to support the revitalisation of the Māori language within the Te Rarawa region. Te Tai is an example of someone who has adapted his language skills to include that of his Te Rarawa *hau kāinga*, to actively switching what he had learnt in order to use lexicon that is more relevant to his tribal affiliations.

¹⁷ Te Wānanga Takiura o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa is a Māori medium, tertiary education grounded in Te Ao Māori, mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori, wairua (spirit) Māori, and Māori approaches to learning.

Piripi

Piripi is a second language learner of the Māori language. Piripi was a *whāngai* (Māori form of childcare) to his grandfather's brother and grew up with that older generation of his *whānau*. He fondly remembers them always speaking Māori to each other. He did not acquire communicative language from them because they chose not to speak to him in Māori. His caregivers felt that the English language was becoming a necessity and it would be more beneficial for Piripi to only speak English. This could have been influenced by Piripi's *whāngai* father being born in the 1880s. His father would have been schooled during a time period where many Pākehā believed that the English language would be easier to grasp if the use of the first language was stopped (Simon 1998:16-17). This was justified by the idea that Māori could not learn other aspects of the English curriculum if they were using the Māori language as the language in the school (Butchers 1932: 87). This could have been the motivation to speak to Piripi only in English rather than use the Māori language. Piripi grew up on the *marae* hearing Māori being spoken around him so he knew what the tone of Te Rarawa *reo-ā-iwi* sounded like. This created an example for Piripi to model his own tone when he learnt the Māori language later on.

Piripi stated that when he was growing up, he rarely heard the Māori language being spoken outside of his family. He attended Ahipara School in Ahipara, before moving on to Kaitaia College. He remembers the schools he attended only using English as the language of instruction. Piripi attended the University of Auckland where he enrolled in a Māori language paper, however, it was not until he moved back to Ahipara after completing his Bachelor of Arts in Social Work and Sociology at Massey University that he became more focused on acquiring the Māori language, in its many forms. He did so by attending all the *hui* he could within the region. This would have been beneficial because he was learning relevant language that he would use on common occasions, on his *marae*, and in conversation with his relatives.

Piripi is now a competent speaker of the Māori language, despite not having learnt through any formal courses.

Harris

The Māori language is Harris' first language. He attended both primary and high school in Hokianga. He was brought up in Te Huahua on the northern side of the Hokianga Harbour. Harris did not discuss his formal education in much detail, but he did explain that his family and community all spoke the Māori language and it was the predominant language outside of the mainstream school he attended. Due to his family being in close proximity to his *marae*, and the community choosing to use Māori as their language of communication, he was able to develop his Māori language skills and maintain his level of proficiency.

Harris recalls that as he was growing up the Māori language was everywhere. People used it in the workplace, in the home, between friends and in the community and it was spoken by both Māori and non-Māori. He claims that Māori was the main language because Pākehā had also learnt to speak it. It is highly likely that this is the case because Te Huahua's population would have been largely Māori and their first language, therefore, non-Māori living in the area had to adapt in order to communicate with others (Thompson-Teepa: 2008: 20). This is interesting as no other participants commented on the use of the Māori language by non-Māori in the 1940s to the 1960s. This is why he believes everyone around him was able to maintain the Māori language. He discussed that Pākehā would always be at *hui* on the *marae*, and joked that you could not talk about anyone at work in the Māori language because they would know what you were saying. Harris is often called on to actively participate on the *taumata* at Ngāi Tūpoto *marae*.

Hohepa

The Māori language is Hohepa's first language. He attended Te Kura o Waima in Waima and Northland College in Kaikohe during his high school years. He mentioned that during his time at primary school, he remembers his elders speaking the Māori language and it was heard throughout the community, mainly on the *marae*. His school was located next to the *marae* and they would often be involved in activities held there. The Māori language was used between *whānau* as well and it was often spoken between neighbours, family and friends. Waima is a close knit community, so it would have been easy for Hohepa to gauge the level and frequency of the Māori language that was being used.

Many of Hohepa's teachers at Northland College were Māori, but Hohepa was not taught the Māori language there as Hohepa recalls there were some racist attitudes towards the Māori language from a particular teacher (Hohepa, 2016). Once he completed high school, Hohepa went to the University of Auckland where he completed his Bachelor of Science and Masters in Social Anthropology and continued working in the field of linguistics to complete his PhD at the University of Indiana. During his time at Auckland University, he was strongly influenced by many well-known Māori scholars who either supervised him, or studied with him such as people like Hoani Waititi, Hirini Moko Mead, Dame Anne Salmond and Merimeri Penfold to name a few. This shows that Hohepa was surrounded by people who have a strong commitment to the *reo*. Hohepa has a strong background in Māori and Pacific linguistics, and is a renowned Ngāpuhi orator.

O'Regan

O'Regan is a second language learner of the Māori language. There was no Māori spoken in her home growing up, nor was it heard within the Wellington community. She remembers always being interested in the Māori language and always being proud of her Māori/Kāi Tahu identity. Her father, Sir Tipene O'Regan, is a key political figure within Māori politics, so she remembers hearing discussions about what was happening in Māori society in the home, but not the language itself. She lived in Wellington with her family until she moved away to attend Queen Victoria School (a Māori girls boarding school that was based in Auckland) for her high school education. The English language was the dominant language during her primary school years, and even though she attended a Māori boarding school that supported the use of the Māori in the school, she still thought it was not as important to her as English.

O'Regan was mentored by renown master weaver and proficient Māori speaker from Waikato, Te Aue Davis. She credits her language acquisition to Te Aue's mentorship and being taken around the country to attend *hui* with her meant that O'Regan was exposed to the Māori language being spoken in different contexts. Many Māori language speakers have mentors who influence their language acquisition, but few reflect that of O'Regan's relationship and acquisition of language with Davis. As also stated by Campbell, Kāi Tahu did not have many speakers to draw example from and therefore, O'Regan, with the help of her father, looked elsewhere. O'Regan is also one of the first graduates of Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori¹⁸.

¹⁸ Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori, the Institute of Language Excellence in the Māori Language is a language course under the umbrella of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, to achieve excellency and competency in the Māori language run by Dr Tīmoti Karetu, Dr Pou Temara and Dr Wharehuia Milroy.

Taimona

Taimona is a second language learner of the Māori language. He grew up in Auckland with little knowledge of the *reo*. He did not provide much information about his education, but he did make it clear that he moved back to Hokianga to learn the Māori language from his elders at the *marae*. Again, he learnt Māori by attending *hui* and listening to elders speak. He is called upon regularly to speak on the *taumata* at his many Ngāpuhi *marae*.

Conclusion

The participants involved in this research all come from very different backgrounds, each with a variety of language acquisition pathways that have influenced their Māori language proficiency and fluency. Some of the participants were fortunate to be surrounded by their tribal language, while others found other avenues through school, tertiary education and mentors. Regardless of their upbringing and level of contact with the language, all participants have a passion for the Māori language and their *reo-ā-iwi*.

A reoccurring theme woven through all of the interviews is a sense of commitment to their Māori identity through their dedication to language revitalisation. Those who are second language learners of the language are often open to any *reo-ā-iwi* during their acquisition, and choose to focus on tribal differences in language once they have established a solid Māori language foundation. Many of those in the research who are first language learners are fortunate that their teachers, experiences and language background have afforded them the knowledge of their *reo-ā-iwi* from the beginning, and they have not had to actively switch languages during the acquisition process. Another key component of Māori identity is *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* is the foundation of *reo-ā-iwi* and it is a concept that the participants

engage with in understanding the connection between language and identity. It is this relationship that will be explored further in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 - Whakapapa & Hau kāinga

Introduction

A Māori worldview is a holistic relationship where all things are intrinsically connected. This stems from the creation of the earth through Ranginui and Papatūānuku and the multitude of offspring each responsible for the creation of features of the natural world. Each child resided within a certain realm as an *atua*.

Through the telling and interpretation of the Māori pantheon, younger generations of Māori, have, from the earliest times, been able to situate themselves within the webs of relationships set out in the cosmological narratives. As whakapapa is told and retold, the interconnections between the living and the ancestors, the deities and the land becomes clear. From the personification of the pantheon down through eponymous ancestors, the shaping of individual and collective Māori identity is set within the context of the personal, the collective and the total environment (Durie 1997: 147).

Therefore, *whakapapa* acts as an epistemological framework in which key features of Māori knowledge is formed (Whitt, Roberts, Norman, & Grieves 2001: 5). This chapter will look at *whakapapa* as a foundation to *reo-ā-iwi*. This will be followed by discussion on *hau kāinga* and how the participants identify with this concept and the value of it in their use of *reo-ā-iwi*.

Whakapapa and Hau Kāinga

Whakapapa is fundamentally the most important concept of being Māori. The term *whakapapa* can be defined in many different ways, but acknowledged most commonly as genealogy and history (Rameka 2012: 35) *Whakapapa* is founded on the idea of layering things one upon another and is not always a recitation of names from a particular ancestor or ancestors. It includes genealogical narratives and is a foundation of cultural knowledge strengthened by generation upon generation and provides Māori identity within a tribal

structure (Mead 2003: 42). It is through this tribal structure, that we belong to *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*.

Whakapapa is an explanation of system and relationships. Rewi (2013: 83) states that *whakapapa* “inform and reaffirm familial relationships, from the cosmological gods, to Māori pre-existence in the Pacific, to migration to New Zealand”. This shows that *whakapapa* is not only concerned with genealogy, but the history in which relationships fit together. It is the foundation between people and place. The way these relationships work is understanding the world through the past interactions of ancestors who seek to explain and transfer cultural knowledge and understanding to the next generations (Kymlicka 1995:90; Ka’ai & Higgins 2004: 23). Restricting *whakapapa* to just genealogy is limiting, but the inclusion of customs, behaviours, and opinions creates a more holistic understanding of Māori identity. Most importantly *whakapapa* helps provide the foundation of negotiated identity. It then could be said that identity serves as a point of reference, a point of departure from whence Māori can negotiate who they are (McIntosh 2005: 46, Omoniyi 2006: 12).

One of the most important relationships that *whakapapa* fosters is the connection to one’s *hau kāinga*. This particular term describes the connections of Māori to their place of origin which relates to *whakapapa* because the ancestry of a Māori person connects them to the land (Rewi 2010: 38).

The pre-European Maori of New Zealand would have thought of himself as a person in a group and this group identity as being associated with an area of land, a fixed and permanent locality relationship. Thus ‘identity’ to the Maori was not a matter of name, appearance, personality or wealth, but a matter of land (Keen 1969: 48).

Māori interaction with the land was integral to the Māori way of life and a key symbol of identity. Native land court records show that in order for one to ‘prove ownership’, or connection to an area of land, it was often concluded that those with the most knowledge on *whakapapa* (genealogy), stories, history and *mahinga kai* (food gathering practice) activities

in a certain area would be more successful in obtaining ownership through the court (Hemara 2000: 31). This proves that even though the values and principles of Māori had shifted from the heavy weight of a European-centric worldview, the importance of land to Māori did not change, but the way that people integrated and interacted with it did.

Regardless of one's upbringing or contact with the land, the environment in which their ancestors lived will always connect someone to who they are, and where they come from and thus validates their connection as an individual through *whakapapa*. Pre-European Māori society was influenced by the notion that one lived harmoniously with the environment which nourished Māori but also represented a place of belonging. As a holistic concept *whakapapa* connects Māori to their physical environment (Ka'ai & Higgins 2004: 14).

One's *hau kāinga* is an important aspect of identity, however, not everyone is afforded the opportunity to physically feel this connection from birth. This relationship has changed for a number of reasons, however, *hau kāinga* still plays an important role in Māori society. The urbanisation of Māori post-World War Two has led to a significant number of Māori being disconnected from their place of ancestral origin (Walker 2004: 55). Urbanisation forced many Māori from rural areas and as a result the connection with and the value of land was diminished the longer these migrants and their families remained distanced from their *hau kāinga*.

Urbanisation encouraged the development of social support networks whose affiliation was based on a pan-tribal approach rather than *whakapapa* and *hau kāinga*. Connections to *tūrangawaewae* were initially maintained, however, as generations passed and less *whānau* returned, this weakened the relationship to the *hau kāinga* and promoted the growth of a homogenised urban Māori identity (Durie 2003: 91). However, there are a number of Māori who have not made a connection to their *hau kāinga* in person but still feel a spiritual and

emotional connection to it. Where some people base their Māori identity on *iwi* affiliation through their *whakapapa*, others who have been part of, or a product of, the urbanisation movement seem to have a more holistic approach to a shared Māori identity (White 2015: 11).

Interview analysis of *whakapapa*

The term *reo-ā-iwi* itself can be an indication of its association to *whakapapa*. Taimona stated the formation of *reo-ā-iwi* hails from an eponymous ancestor because *reo-ā-iwi* literally means “language of bones [of your ancestors]” (Taimona, 2016). *Reo-ā-iwi* is informed by *whakapapa*, was developed within a particular social context with a connection to the land, landscape and cultural practices that took place within an area. Taimona (2016) believes it is a key to unlock things that may be hidden if not understood. As a result many second language learners who live outside of their *hau kāinga* endeavour to incorporate aspects of the language that is used from the *hau kāinga*, including words, phrases and tone of speech that are commonly used by those who reside there. As a second language learner, Taimona uses his tribal connection to identify with his ancestors.

Whakapapa is not only concerned with genealogy, but layers of relationships, events, histories and language. Piripi spoke about the *whakapapa* of his language acquisition and remembering the *kaumātua* who taught him the Māori language as a constant symbol of language and maintenance, “I can remember the lines in the faces of the people who spoke Māori to me” (Piripi, 2015) which would indicate that those who taught Piripi the Māori language, are always etched in his mind. This would show that his Māori language was valued not only because Piripi is Māori, but because he valued those whom he acquired the

language from. This relationship was strengthened by language. This is but one of the many layers of *whakapapa* that are important to the concept of language and identity.

O'Regan (2016) agreed with this sentiment and explained language and *whakapapa* in relation to her identity. There is a connection between tribal identity and language that has an ability to unlock the full potential of Māori identity through *whakapapa*.

You can still be Māori and have a Māori identity without speaking the language, but you won't have full access to what lies beyond the window. Our Kāi Tahu dialect performs the same function on a tribal scale: It is the window to the Kāi Tahu world view. You can still be Kāi Tahu and have a Kāi Tahu identity without speaking or knowing the *mita* [dialect], but you won't have full access to what lies beyond the window (O'Regan 2016).

Without knowledge of *reo-ā-iwi*, key features and aspects of a Kāi Tahu world view are not fully understood; things that contribute to a more robust Kāi Tahu identity. O'Regan (2016) alludes to the idea that without *reo-ā-Tahu* (Kāi Tahu dialect), Kāi Tahu would lose an understanding of the intricacies that make Kāi Tahu unique, and that within this particular *reo-ā-iwi* there is an opportunity to understand Kāi Tahutaka from a uniquely Kāi Tahu world-view. As O'Regan goes on to say, 'In this way I see it as a crucial part of my identity as Kāi Tahu, and as Māori. It is a *taoka* that my ancestors used and a way in which I can connect to them. I am protective of it because it needs protection – it is endangered, and if lost will be a loss to our Kāi Tahu world' (O'Regan 2016). *Reo-ā-iwi* is a key to *iwi* identity that becomes hard to obtain without knowledge of the language. As one of the few active *reo-ā-Tahu* speakers, it is clear to see that this branch of identity is important to O'Regan as a way of expressing pride in her *whakapapa*, but also, a way to reach out to her *tīpuna* (ancestors), and to access knowledge of the past.

Hohepa agreed with *reo-ā-iwi* working as a representation of the past and that it is one way of informing a Māori way of life through one's genealogical ties "E titiro mai ana te reo ki a

koe, i te wā o ngā tūpuna, ngā tūpuna, me te ao o rātou hei huarahi i mua i a tātou ki te ao hurihuri” (Hohepa, 2016). These comments would suggest that *reo-ā-iwi* is extremely meaningful to O’Regan and Hohepa because they both understand that it encapsulates tribal histories and provides an insight into how our ancestors conducted themselves and behaved. Templates for us to be guided by today.

It is clear to see that *whakapapa* is the foundation of *reo-ā-iwi*, and it is so because it incorporates all the layers that are the foundation of a Māori person. The comments above have indicated that *whakapapa* is an important feature of *reo-ā-iwi*. The participants all agreed that *reo-ā-iwi* solidified relationships with the past and with tūpuna and that is why it is valuable in understanding *reo-ā-iwi*. The following section discusses the connection between *reo-ā-iwi* and *hau kāinga*, with *whakapapa*, again, acting as the foundation to the discussion.

Interview analysis of *hau kāinga*

Hau kāinga is the term used to refer to the physical environment of which the participants *whakapapa* to, and place refers to other areas in which the Māori language is used. When introducing oneself to a stranger it is common to locate oneself geographically first within their tribal area by naming mountains, rivers, lakes, or other significant geographical features of the landscape before saying one’s name. This is commonly referred to as a *pepeha*. The *pepeha* is a significant carrier of cultural histories that validate cultural symbols of identity (Ngaha 2014: 88). The ‘physical world’ has intrinsic ties with language and the relationship between world and word are deep and numerous (Van Lier 2004: 46). This suggests that language and the physical environment cannot be separated and holds value to the culture within the boundaries of the region and is fundamental to language development. During the

interviews, the participants were asked about their connection to their *hau kāinga* and how this influenced the Māori language they spoke. Whilst some were active participants within their tribal area, others were unable to because they did not live there.

The participants agreed that the *hau kāinga* is a clear geographical identity marker, but many of the participants also discussed that *reo-ā-iwi* does not represent the connection that each individual has with their own *hapū*, their *hau kāinga*, the people and the place. Puru, for example, stated that *reo-ā-iwi* might include words common across places located within a reasonably close distance from one another, but argued that *reo-ā-iwi*, including songs, *whakataukī*, and *kīwaha* can differ greatly within these same areas and even between *whānau*. As an example, Puru explained that those *hapū* situated on the Hokianga harbour would be completely different to a *hapū* of Ahipara, despite there only being 50 kilometres distance (1 hour drive) between the two places. Puru explained that her *pepeha* and usage of *kīwaha* and *waiata* are ultimately intrinsically bound to the harbour, because it is relevant and known to her. For other Te Rarawa *hapū* outside of the Hokianga harbour, acknowledging and reciting songs, stories, history and *pepeha* about Hokianga will most likely have no relevance to them at all.

...ngā whakatauki o Hokianga. Mōhio ana ahau ki ērā whakataukī nē, engari ko ngā whakataukī o Te Rarawa. ...mihi ana mātou ki ngā maunga o Panguru o Papata nē, engari koutou, kōrero ana mō Ahipara engari ko mātou nō konei e hiahia ana e mea atu ko Hokianga Whakapau Karakia nē? Koina ēnā whakataukī ki a mātou. Ko Panguru. To mātou maunga nō mātou (Puru, 2015).

Puru indicated that the physical environment of Panguru locates her within her *hapū* and *hau kāinga* and that *whakataukī* are used frequently to establish a sense of identity to that particular place. The same *whakataukī* could not be used in Ahipara, because those who descend from Ahipara *hapū* do not affiliate to the mountains of Panguru or Papata. Therefore,

one's *whakapapa* to a specific region connects one to the *reo-ā-iwi* of that place (Moeke-Pickering 1996: 3).

Hapū pride is a concept that Puru discussed in response to the concept of '*reo-ā-iwi*'. She commented on the lack of acknowledgement of *reo-ā-hapū* in regards to the perceived idea that an *iwi* has only one *reo*. Puru wholeheartedly disagreed with this statement. This is because Puru grew up in her *hau kāinga* of Panguru, and this constantly feeds her *hapū* identity through the use of language relevant to Panguru. Although Puru lived in Auckland for a period of time, her use of *reo-ā-hapū* is how she maintained her links to her *hapū*, rather than her *iwi*. This remained important to her and was developed within her because her *hapū* identity was developed from her childhood.

Rewi (M), discussed her connection with her Tūhoe *hau kāinga*, more specifically Murupara, and expressed that *hau kāinga* was indeed a key feature of her identity which connected her with the *whakapapa*, history and the narratives of her *hapū* and *iwi*.

I reira te awa, te eke hoiho, aua momo. Me te puihi hoki, ki au pea ko tērā, ko te ngahere. I ngā wā katoa i hari i a Pāpā, ōku matua kēkē, ko wai rānei i a mātou ki te ngahere, ki ngā hills... engari he rawe tērā ki a au. Te kōrero mō ngā hītori o te wāhi rā. Kātahi ka puta mai e ngā kapa pērā i a Ruatāhuna. I hāngai au ki wā rātou waiata nā te mea, "Oh āe, kua ako au i tērā (Rewi, M 2015).

Rewi (M) discussed how the presence of geographical identity markers such as her river and the Urewera forest, strengthen her connection to these places because the stories and the history of her *hau kāinga* she was taught while growing up there are connected to these markers. She recalls being taken to these places and learning the *whakapapa* of them during her upbringing. Similarly to Puru, Rewi's (M) *hau kāinga* provides her with a constant sense of pride. This pride is often expressed when she watches Māori performing arts groups performing *haka* and *waiata* that include place names, stories and the history of her region.

Rewi's (M) sense of pride may stem from two ideas. On one level it may be because Rewi (M) spent a lot of time in Murupara growing up, and because she did not live there, there may have been a push to teach her as much as her family could while she was present. Another reason could be that these stories and histories were taught within her *hau kāinga*, within the natural environment, with her and her *whānau* physically involved, therefore, she has a visual frame of reference to connect these stories and histories too. Perhaps it would not be the same for someone who did not return regularly to their *hau kāinga* as they may not have any knowledge of geographical markers to connect to.

This connection highlights a decision made by Rewi (M) to use *reo-ā-Tūhoe* in order to feel closer to her Tūhoe side. Through her use of language and her knowledge of stories and history she is able to maintain this connection through her *reo-ā-Tūhoe* as she lived in Dunedin. As mentioned previously in Chapter Two, regional variation in language is present in people who have affiliations to a region, but that the representations are not only associated with the physical boundaries of the tribe, but the tribe itself (Harlow 2007: 44). This supports Rewi's (M) use of *reo-ā-Tūhoe* as a fluid symbol of identity and connection to *hau kāinga* because she is Tūhoe. This would show that one with language proficiency would be able to use *reo-ā-iwi* with them wherever they went as a constant symbol of identity. She uses it not only through sound and word, but through stories and history and connections to geographical markers as a representation of where she is from.

Hohepa supported the idea of the fluidity of language, or *reo-ā-iwi*, more specifically living beyond its tribal boundaries.

He reo e taea ahakoa kei hea, i roto i te takiwā...Ko taua reo, ka mahi tonu, kāore ki te Tai Tokerau anake. E taea ana te mau atu te reo o Ngāpuhi puta noa i te Taitokerau, ki Tainui hoki. Ka mōhio rātou ki ngā kupu katoa, engari, ka mōhio

koe kua rawa koe e kī atu ‘Kia ora e mara!’ nā te mea he mara ki a rātou, he pirau (Hohepa, 2016).

The use of *reo-ā-iwi* outside of its tribal boundaries has long been a subject of contention. Hohepa agreed with Rewi (M) in that using it outside of its tribal boundary is a statement of one’s identity. For the majority of the time, *reo-ā-iwi* does not hinder one’s understanding of other tribes, particularly if the speakers are proficient in the Māori language or, at the very least, aware of tribal differences. It is a statement of who you are and where you come from. Hohepa warned that when doing this, one should be aware of *reo-ā-iwi* differences. For example the word used to greet a friend in *reo-ā-Ngāpuhi*, “*mara*”, actually means “rotten” or “scrap” in Waikato. To use this word in the wrong context in each of these regions could prove disastrous and insulting. Parata-Walker provides another common example of this happening in Ngāti Porou with the questions “*Kai[/kei] te aha?*” For most other *iwi* this phrase means “What are you doing?”, but according to *reo-ā-Porou* it translates to “How are you?” This shows that different meanings are not only limited to words, but phrases as well. In this case misunderstanding in the answer would not be insulting but confusing as to the true intention of the question.

This is also supported by the level of mobility that many Māori have in contemporary times compared to pre-European times where interactions was mainly with neighbouring *iwi*. This may have meant that people found themselves to be in tribal regions that were not similar to theirs linguistically or culturally. Some major readjustments of *iwi* from one place to another did occur but once *iwi* settled in an area for a long period of time any movement from this place would have been unnecessary. Therefore, interactions outside of *iwi* boundaries would have been limited to neighbouring *hapū* and *iwi*. In contemporary Māori society these

restrictions have been removed. This shows the importance of relevancy to environment but also proficiency when using a *reo-ā-iwi* outside the *hau kāinga*.

Campbell agreed that *hau kāinga* is valuable to *reo-ā-iwi* and explained her interaction with different geographical markers and how she chooses not to use them in the recitation of her *pepeha* (Campbell, 2015). Campbell resides within her tribal boundaries of Kāi Tahu, but due to Kāi Tahu's vast geographical boundaries (which starts above Kaikoura and ends at Stewart Island), she does not live in close proximity to one of her *hapū* (Kāti Irakehu). For many Māori who did not grow up near, or cannot regularly go back to, their *marae*, it is common to still use *pepeha* to highlight one's *whakapapa* connection to that place. By using the geographical identity markers, it allows a person to still feel connected. However, Campbell refutes this idea by discussing her choice to not use the *pepeha* that connects her to Te Horomaka.

Rawe tau pātai nā te mea [i te wā i] whāki au i taku pepeha, [kāore au i] whāki atu nō Te Horomaka...I kī au nō Te Horomaka cause i whakaaro au kāore au i tiaki i te whenua, kāore au i tiaki i te marae, ehara nōku te whiwhi kia tū he wahine o te marae o Wairewa nō reira, yeah, ka aukati au i aua momo (Campbell, 2015).

Campbell explained that even though she is from Te Horomaka, she does not recite her *pepeha* from Te Horomaka. Although she always acknowledges her *whakapapa* connections to this place, she does not use the identity markers normally found in *pepeha* to identify herself. She attributes the privilege of using these geographical features in *pepeha* to belong to those living within that region, those who are maintaining the *ahi kā* (burning fires of occupation) and looking after the *marae*, the *whenua*, and the *hau kāinga*, which she does not do. Campbell lives in Dunedin, therefore, it is difficult for her to be involved with this side of her *whakapapa* on a regular basis. Campbell also does not have any immediate family

residing in Te Horomaka, therefore, it would make it more difficult for her to feel a close connection, having not grown up there. This is in direct contrast to Rewi (M) who also lives in Dunedin, outside of both her tribal areas, but she still continues to use geographical identity markers in her *pepeha*. This is because she still has immediate family members living in both these places and she maintains an active relationship with both.

Campbell does not feel that she has earned the right to use the *pepeha* from Te Horomaka, but is open to the idea of re-establishing her connections there, “Ā tōna wā mēnā ka hoki au ki Te Horomaka... ka mahi au i te mahi...ka taea e au te kī nō tēnei mauka, nō tēnei awa, te mea, te mea. Nō reira, ka kī au, ko Aoraki te mauka, ko Waitaki te awa” (Campbell, 2015). Unlike other participants who choose to use *hapū* derived *pepeha*, Campbell uses a common *iwi* recitation of ‘Ko Aoraki te mauka, ko Waitaki te awa.’ The use of less localised geographical markers in *pepeha* is uncommon amongst the other participants.

There are many different reasons why people choose to use less localised *pepeha* when introducing themselves. This could be because when people introduce themselves the audience may not be from the same tribe as you or do not necessarily have the geographical knowledge of New Zealand, therefore, they do not know the geographical markers. Campbell acknowledged that by exercising her own connection by working for and within her *iwi* boundary, she may be more inclined to start using her *pepeha* from Te Horomaka in the future. However, she connects more to her Ōtākou side having grown up in Dunedin, and she is frequently exercising her *ahi kā* through her occupation and work within this *hapū*. Even though Campbell does use her *pepeha* as an expression of *hau kāinga*, she believes that it is connected through *ahi kā* status, and being present as *mana whenua* which means she would use the localised *pepeha* if these circumstances ever changed. Other participants agreed that once someone returns to their *hapū*, *reo-ā-iwi* will make more sense as the language will be more relevant and learnt within their natural, authentic environment (Hinton 2013: 9).

Te Tai agreed with Campbell in that the connection to one's language is intrinsically tied to the physical environment within which it developed and the experiences in which living within your *hau kāinga* provides in understanding one's *whakapapa* to place. Te Tai stated that you can learn *reo-ā-iwi* outside of your tribal area, however, the experiences of learning from *kaumātua*, living in your *hau kāinga*, and contributing to the community goes hand in hand with learning the language of the home, and enhancing your understanding of *reo-ā-iwi*.

...taku nei whakaaro ko te reo te ara tika kia tae atu koe ki tō Te Rarawatanga. Nō reira, ka pēhea au kia whai taua ara tika, noho au i te hau kāinga. Haere au ki ngā marae. Haere au ki nga tangihanga. Noho tata ki ngā kui mā, koro mā. Ā, ko tērā te mea kaha kia whai koe i tō Te Rarawatanga. Ehara noa i te Te Rarawatanga i te pukapuka. Ko tō ngākau ki tō iwi (Te Tai, 2015).

This comment suggests that *reo-ā-iwi* is not exclusive in nature and not restricted to language. One must understand that *reo-ā-iwi* includes concepts, customs, *hau kāinga*, *whakapapa* and people. Te Tai acquired the Māori language through Te Wānanga Takiura which meant he had a solid foundation of the Māori language, however, he learnt *reo-ā-iwi* by returning to his *hau kāinga* and learning it from *kaumātua*. He acknowledged that during his upbringing he did not have a strong understanding of how different *reo-ā-iwi* would be in his *hau kāinga* and learning within a *marae* based environment was his way of gaining an understanding. He made the decision to return to his *hau kāinga* and learn, which shows that he already valued the language. There is something special and unique about learning within a language-relevant environment, from people who use *hau kāinga reo-ā-iwi* on a daily basis. He valued what his *kaumātua* had to teach based on the *whakapapa* they shared and the place they lived in. Te Tai concluded that this method was located in the value and love one has for their people and their *hau kāinga*. *Hau kāinga* is important in understanding the intricacies of one's language and its holistic connection to people and place.

Te Tai (2015) stated that language is never more relevant than when it is spoken in its *hau kāinga*, and that language is one thing, but the experience of moving back and living in his *hau kāinga* is another experience of *reo-ā-iwi* because it places language into a relevant context. Although Te Tai had a solid foundation of the Māori language prior to returning to Waihou, Hokianga, he felt more satisfied learning off *kaumātua* from his *hau kāinga*, and being able to work within his tribal area to revitalise the Māori language.

Conclusion

This chapter looked at examples of the connection *whakapapa* and *hau kāinga* has to *reo-ā-iwi*. The concepts of *whakapapa* and *hau kāinga* are intrinsically entwined, and this was obvious throughout the responses from the participants. *Whakapapa* was an implicit concept that was present through all responses and underpins the foundation of these research. Those who did explicitly mention it agreed wholeheartedly that *reo-ā-iwi* is connected to *whakapapa*. It is through *whakapapa* that one is able to connect to a Māori identity and a tribal identity which in turn provides access to an understanding of the Māori world. The participants agreed, in terms of *whakapapa*, that *reo-ā-iwi* was an avenue to gain an understanding of the past, a screenshot into the world of ancestors and also, a way in establishing understanding of how one *iwi* works in order to move forward in the future.

Hau kāinga connects the participants to their physical environment through language. It is also used to describe the experiences within the *hau kāinga* that we do not see but are connected to through *whakapapa*. It is not only alluding to the land, but the space above, below and between. The importance of *hau kāinga* in the participants' development of their *reo-ā-iwi* was a point of discussion in all the interviews. Some participants who had very little exposure to the physical environment of their *hau kāinga* chose to use *reo-ā-iwi* to provide a

connection to place. Others had a much more frequent and familiar relationship to their *hau kāinga*, and used these characteristics in their language wherever they went as a source of identity.

Intrinsically connected, many of the participants agreed that *hau kāinga* also played an important role in *reo-ā-iwi*. Some participants found that their *reo-ā-iwi* through geographical markers, history and stories within their *hau kāinga* symbolised an expression of identity and regardless of where one lived, that this *reo-ā-iwi* was maintained in order to connect to the *iwi* of affiliation. However, one must also be comfortable with locating oneself within this particular environment by being an active participant in the community in order to use localised markers as a symbol of identity, including *reo-ā-iwi*. Sometimes, *hau kāinga* influences lexicon, phonology and speed due to isolating physical features of *hau kāinga*. The following chapter will discuss these particular features of *reo-ā-iwi*.

Chapter 6 - Te Āhua o te Reo

Introduction

Syntax, grammar, lexicon, phonology and speed are all important concepts when discussing language. They provide understanding through communication and they provide connection through mutual understanding. Lexicon is essentially a catalogue of words, which works hand and hand with grammar as a system of rules that combines words into meaningful sentences. Phonology covers how sounds alternate through syllable structure, stress, accent and intonation. This chapter looks at the explanations and definitions of *reo-ā-iwi* that the participants have discussed during the interviews regarding lexicon, phonology and speed. These explanations will be demonstrated by alluding to personal examples of sound and tone, dialect switching, lexicon and body language within these themes.

Phonology & speed

Phonology and speed is a common trait of *reo-ā-iwi*. To the trained ear, and depending on the language proficiency of the listener, one can hear regional differences. In recent times, some speakers may have difficulty establishing where the person is from based solely on *reo-ā-iwi* because many of the Māori language speakers today are a product of acquisition of a homogenised version of the Māori language, and this was favoured in order to increase the number of *te reo Māori* speakers (O'Regan 2006: 164). Therefore, when acquiring the Māori language, many acquire it from a teacher that may not have the same tribal links as themselves. Second-language speakers who acquire their language skills this way may also sound completely different to those who grew up with Māori as their first language and/or live within their tribal boundaries. Traditionally, the sound, tone and speed of your language was a representation of who you were from.

Rewi (M) is of Tūhoe and Waikato descent and was raised amongst speakers from both *iwi*. However, she has chosen to use *reo-ā-Tūhoe* when using the Māori language. When asked why she chose that particular *reo-ā-iwi*, she could not definitively say why she chooses to do so, especially given that she grew up within the Waikato region.

It's interesting because I spent most of my time growing up, the most exposure to te reo [the language] in Hamilton, in Waikato and I remember writing things like double vowels¹⁹. I don't think I knew what macrons were. A lot of the waiata [songs] we learnt had their /wh/ and the /ng/ coming through with that. So, it interests me even till this day why I don't continue using that. I don't know what it is. I grew up there, I affiliate with my other side more. Pāpā, I carry some of his and it's not even dropping /g/ or whatever. He talks really fast in Māori and I notice I do the same thing as well (Rewi (M), 2015).

As stated in Chapter Four, Rewi (M) attended *kura kaupapa*, and the Māori language was also present in her home as her parents were both involved in teaching the Māori language. Rewi (M) went back to Murupara with her *whānau* on a regular basis. When she was there, her language exposure continued because her grandparents spoke Māori as well. When she was growing up Rewi (M) does not remember English in either of her grandparent's home, so having two sets of grandparents who actively spoke *reo-ā-Tūhoe* and *reo-ā-Waikato* would have meant that the language shift was in the *reo-ā-iwi*, not the Māori language itself.

It is interesting that Rewi (M) has characteristics of *reo-ā-Tūhoe* especially because she lived and went to school in Hamilton and is of Waikato descent. It would therefore be expected that she would use *reo-ā-Waikato*, but this is not the case. She explained that it was not because she identifies with one *iwi* more than the other, but rather the fact that she had cousins her own age from Murupara that she conversed with in Māori, whereas her Waikato/Tainui cousins are much younger and she is the oldest by 12 years. This would have seen Rewi (M)

¹⁹ Macrons above vowels indicate a lengthened vowel sound. Waikato tend to signal the lengthened vowel by writing double vowels rather than using macrons.

use *reo-ā-Tūhoe* because she had cousins who she could use the language with outside of the parent, grandparent and school structures. Rewi (M) spent a lot of time with her Tūhoe cousins and they interacted with each other using *reo-ā-Tūhoe*. According to Ohta (2001: 125), using languages among peers supports second language learners by using conversation as ‘bridges to proficiency’. This suggests that even though Rewi (M) spent less time within her Tūhoe boundaries, these trips would have been effective for her *reo-ā-Tūhoe* acquisition due to her interaction with her cousins. Much of the literature surrounding language use with peers are between two to three different languages, however, it could fit within *reo-ā-iwi* as well.

Rewi (M) tried to explain what she thought *reo-ā-Tūhoe* technically looked like.

... te whakamahi o wētahi o nā kupu. He māmā noa te rongo i te reo o tētahi nō Tūhoe, “Āe, nō Tūhoe koe.” Ehara i te mea me whakataka i ngā /g/. I don’t know how to explain it but we have a way of talking and it is so weird to me, “Oh that person sounds like they are from Tūhoe” not being Tūhoeist or anything (Rewi (M), 2015).

Rewi (M) explained that knowing if someone is from Tūhoe or not is not solely down to the dropping of the /g/, which is one of the most noticeable characteristics of *reo-ā-Tūhoe*, but that she can tell from the speed of one’s speech, “My nan, one thing I can pick up is that they extend all of the vowels, so they will say like ‘Meeeri’ instead of ‘Meri’. There is no tohutō on my name. You know, they will be like ‘Pooia’ [instead of ‘Poia’]” (Rewi (M), 2015). However, Rewi (M) explained that it is much more than that and highlights phonology as another distinguishing feature. There is a noticeable dragged vowel sound regardless of the presence of macrons or double vowels. This is a characteristic of her grandmother’s language that Rewi (M) has picked up over time.

Te Tai (2015) also commented on the idea of *reo-ā-iwi* being determined by the tone of your voice, the way you spoke, the sound of the words, and *reo-ā-iwi* not just being limited to the words you used. It was a mix of all these features that make *reo-ā-iwi*.

Ahakoā ka noho tata rātou ngā whānau, he reo tōna, he reo tōna. Ā, i te wā ka puta mai te reo ka mōhio rātou te tangi o te reo, tēnā pea he rerekē ngā kupu engari mōhio rātou ki te tangi. Ko tērā te reo o tō whānau. Ko tērā te reo o tō hapū. . . . Nō reira he tangi āhua rerekē o Te Uri o Tai nā tā rātou taiao me te taiao o Panguru kei a rātou tō rātou ake reo (Te Tai, 2015).

Te Tai explained that within an *iwi*, distinct differences can also be heard between *hapū*. He explained that even *whānau* who reside in a close proximity to one another have differences in the way they sound because of their *hau kāinga*. Te Tai gives Te Uri o Tai as an example of how this is so. Te Uri o Tai is a *hapū* situated within Pawarenga on the West Coast of Northland. Panguru, which has three primary *hapū* (Ngāti Manawa, Waiariki and Te Kaitūtae) is located half an hour away on the north side of the Hokianga Harbour. Pawarenga and Panguru both have a strong Catholic influence, similar convent schools and use the Warawara Forest as a key food source. Although these four *hapū* are closely located geographically there are distinct differences in *reo-ā-hapū* that may be unrecognisable to someone not from the area (see Puru analysis in lexicon section: page 96). The differences may be only slight but noticeable to people who are from the two communities. Te Tai believes that each of these *hapū* have their own *reo-ā-hapū*, and *reo-ā-whānau* based on their respective harbours. Historically, the Hokianga (Panguru) and Whāngāpē (Pawarenga) harbours were the main highways for trade, food and daily living, therefore, these two places would have more in common with others who share their respective harbours than with each other. Te Tai did not acquire his language from these *hapū*, so it shows that he has learned from his *kaumātua* how to distinguish *reo-ā-hapū*. As Te Tai grew up outside of his tribal area it could be assumed that he would not hear this difference, however, this is not the case.

Murray (2015) agreed that *reo-ā-iwi* stemmed from the way you speak, your tone, your *whānau*, and who you are. He believes that knowing who you are and where you are from is the key to understanding and developing *reo-ā-iwi* because when you speak, the sound and tone represent where you come from.

Te hua o te mita ki a mātou, ki a au, kia mōhiohia te tangata e hakarongo ana ki a koe, i ahu mai koe i hea. Koia tēnā te nui o te mita o te reo. Ahau nei nā, e mōhio ana ahau, haere ana ahau ki Pōneke, ka kōrero au, kua mōhio rātou, i ahu mai tēnei tangata i roto o Te Rarawa, o te Hiku o te Ika nā te mea ko au tērā. ...Koirā taku hakaaro, ina kore mātou e ū ki te mita i whānau mai a tātou o roto o Te Hiku o te Ika, ehara i mea kua ngaro te reo, kāhore. Kua ngaro te mana o te reo (Murray, 2015).

For Murray, the key aspect of *reo-ā-iwi* is sound and tone representing affiliation to *hau kāinga* and region. Murray grew up in Muriwhenua during the 1940s-1950s and it is highly likely that he would have had very little interaction with *iwi* outside of Northland. It is most likely that the majority of the people he interacted with on a daily basis were from Muriwhenua, especially because his family spoke the Māori language. With little outside interference on his *reo-ā-iwi*, his *reo* is distinctively that of Muriwhenua. He acknowledged that *reo-ā-iwi* is more than sound and tone, but the way in which people connect with their *hau kāinga* and that it is how others know where someone affiliates to. *Reo-ā-iwi* provides Murray with a sense of pride in who is and where he is from.

Murray also touched on the implications of losing unique sounds and tones and how that could be detrimental to the uniqueness of *reo-ā-iwi* and identity as a whole. Language is considered imperative to express shared history, values and beliefs of a community (see Fishman 1991; 1999; Kuter 1989; Marsden 2003). When individuals use language, they are representing social histories which are defined by our membership to different social groups. These are influenced by factors such as gender, religion and race (Hall 2012:31). Ultimately, these are influences that establish one's identity, and if the language of a group of people is

lost, then often, key features of the identity are lost too. This proves that losing histories is a consequence of losing language and that *reo-ā-iwi* has a relationship with many different features that are greatly affected when it is lost.

Piripi grew up among first language speakers, who were of his grandparents' generation, that chose not to speak to him in the Māori language. His grandfather spoke amongst his own friends, but thought that Piripi would benefit more from only knowing English. Regardless of this choice, he fondly remembers the sound of the language that was spoken around him.

Even though my *kaumātua* [elders] didn't speak to me, I did hear them and so I know what it is supposed to sound like, and what it is supposed to look like. It's unfortunate to have that and I've tried to fill up my *kete* [bag] to something that resembles the standard they had which was way superior to anything I have seen in recent years (Piripi, 2016).

Phonology has embedded itself in Piripi's memory and he finds himself comparing speakers of today to a standard of language that is not commonly seen and heard due to the lasting effects of government education policies, urbanisation, and overall language loss, and the lack of focus on regional based acquisition and revitalisation of *reo-ā-iwi*. He mentioned that it was unfortunate to have an understanding and knowledge of what the language at that particular time sounded like because Piripi constantly compares what he grew up with to what he hears today. He is disappointed that speakers today no longer resemble that of his grandparents and their contemporaries. Piripi is similar to Murray in that he has not heard anyone use the same phonology of language as that of his grandparents' generation for a long time due in part to the decline in the number of first language speakers proficient in their own *reo-ā-iwi* compared to that of sixty years ago. This again highlights the importance of tone and speed to express the uniqueness of a tribe.

Similarly to Rewi (M), Murray also commented that it is not just phonology that identifies one's tribal affiliations, but also how proficient they are by the speed in which they speak. "Horo te kōrero, horekau i āta haere. Me kōrero mārika koe, kia horo te kōrero. Pākehā tō māngai mēnā kāore i horo te kōrero" (Murray, 2015). Murray claims that it is not just sound and speed that identify one's tribal affiliations, but that it also shows how proficient one is in the Māori language. As Rewi (M) (2015) stated, her Tūhoe nan drags vowel sounds even when double vowels or macrons are not present. Murray, however, claims that a key attribute of Northern *reo-ā-iwi* is that speech is quick and double vowels and macrons are not held for long.

Rewi (P) commented the phonology and speed may be unique to certain people, rather than *iwi*.

TW: I a koe e kōrero ana, e mārama ana te tokomaha ki āu e kōrero nei?

PR: Karekau i ngā wā katoa engari i ētahi wā nā te whīwhiwhi pea o taku momo kōrero. Nā te kore huaki pea i tōku waha kia rangona, mārama te rangona o ngā kupu. Nā te taha o te reo tēnā, nā te mea, kei te horomia ētahi o ngā kupu engari koirā ngā tauira o ngā mea i pakeke mai ki roto i te reo i te kāinga i noho mai hei tauira mōku. Kāore au i mōhio he aha au i kore ai e whakahua i te reo kia mārama pēnā i ētahi o ngā tāngata. Nā, Wharehuia [Te Wharehuia Milroy] tētahi, mārama katoa tana reo. Engari, te tungāne o tōku māmā he pērā anō [to Rewi (P)]. Me āhua waea koe ki tana reo. E hia kē nei te roa ka āhua mārama ake ki wā rātou kōrero. Kāore i rerekē, kia noho au ki te taha o Hana [O'Regan] e hia nei te roa, kātahi, māmā noa taku whakamāori i ana kōrero nā te mea kua waea te taringa ki ngā kōrero i whakahuatia e ia (Rewi (P), 2015).

This highlights an interesting observation made by Rewi (P) because he has certain characteristics in his speech that aligns with his family rather than being representative of *reo-ā-Tūhoe*. The other participants have discussed that certain *iwi* have a distinctive phonology to their speech, which is an expression of *reo-ā-iwi*. However, Rewi (P) stated that he acquired his phonology from his family and knows that he is not clear at times when

speaking. On the other hand other prominent Tūhoe speakers, such as Te Wharehuia Milroy, who is closely related to him, are easy to understand when speaking which would suggest that phonology cannot be a representation of *reo-ā-Tūhoe* on an *iwi* scale.

Both Rewi (P) and Milroy have grown up with the Māori language around them, and they have both spent many years teaching at university, therefore, even with these similarities, their *reo-ā-Tūhoe* is distinctively different. Another reason for the difference could be influenced by Te Wharehuia's father being of Pākehā descent (Milroy 2008: 183), therefore, this may have had an effect on the way he speaks. Overall, this would support the idea that phonology is influenced by family.

Reo-ā-iwi switching

For the participants involved in this research the connection to *iwi* through language use underpins their tribal identity, however, many of the participants have had to switch *reo-ā-iwi* at some point in their lives. Amongst the participants, *reo-ā-iwi* switching occurred in a number of environments: both within and outside of their tribal boundaries, at work, and when conversing with family and friends. School also plays a part in promoting dialect switching as language speakers can often be taught by teachers whose tribal affiliations lies outside the area within which they are working (see Chapter Four). All participants who have switched their dialects are very strong in their own tribal *reo-ā-iwi*, however, the reasons why they did switch and their experiences of this are different.

Rewi (M) acknowledged that *reo-ā-iwi* switching was a normal occurrence to her language because her mother and father are both highly proficient and fluent speakers of the Māori language and are of different *iwi*. She also had contact with both of her *iwi* “Just having my

Mum’s [mum], my nan over the weekend you know she was hard out using her /ngo/ and her /who/ so I’m sure hearing that I would have done the same and then going back to Tūhoe, doing the opposite” (Rewi (M), 2015). Rewi (M) is referring to a commonly used Waikato feature of *reo-ā-iwi*. An example of the /ngo/ being used in place of standardised Māori can be seen in the following table.

Table 2. Language variations

Non-Waikato Māori	<i>Reo-ā-Waikato</i> ²⁰	Example M= Māori E=English
<i>ōku</i> (my, plural)	<i>Ngooku</i>	M: <i>Ko Taupiri me Pirongia <u>ngooku</u> maunga.</i> E: Taupiri and Pirongia are my mountains.
<i>ō</i> (your, plural)	<i>Whoo</i>	M: <i>Kei whea <u>whoo</u> hū?</i> E: Where are your shoes?
<i>hea</i> (where, interrogative)	<i>Whea</i>	M: <i>Kei <u>whea</u> ngā tamariki?</i> E: Where are the children?

Taimona (2016) stated that if the question of which *reo-ā-iwi* one should speak, due to reasons such as numerous *iwi* affiliations, one should always use *reo-ā-iwi* of the region one is in. Rewi (M) illustrated this in her comments about growing up in Hamilton with the /ngo/ and /who/ additions to her language, however, dropping them when she was in Murupara where she would change to *reo-ā-Tūhoe*. Rewi’s (M) experience as she was growing up was exactly this, *reo-ā-iwi* switching. She is of Waikato descent and was living in Waikato, but also has strong affiliations to Tūhoe. This is different to other participants based on the fact that both sides of her family had key people (grandparents, cousins) who could speak the Māori language. Therefore, it could be argued that a choice was afforded to Rewi (M) rather than changing from a variation of Māori language that she had learnt not being relevant to her.

²⁰ In *Nga Iwi o Tainui* it is suggested that double vowels are used in order to promote correct pronunciation as some Māori words that are written are not pronounced correctly due to the word being written in short form. This is particularly prominent when technology to create the macron in printed form was unavailable. Biggs suggests that this is not all that is needed to ensure correct pronunciation, however, seeing the double vowels encourages correct use of words (Biggs 1995: 2).

Rewi (M) is a teacher at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in Dunedin. The importance of teaching resources used in her classroom surfaced during her interview, and with other participants.

Ka piri ki te tūāpapa reo me kī. Kāore au mō te whakarangirua i aku tauira. Nō reira, i ngā karaehe, kāore au e huri ki te tango i ngā ‘g’, te tāpiri ‘w’. Ehara i te mea ko te tāpiri kupu, te tango kupu anake, he rerekē hoki te rere, te whakahua, he kupu anō hoki. He kupu rerekē wā ētahi atu iwi. Kia ako rātou, ako pai rātou i te tūāpapa o te reo (Rewi (M), 2015).

Rewi (M) switches *reo-ā-iwi* when she is in front of the classroom teaching because the course and curriculum is written in a more standardised version of the Māori language. Therefore, she does not want her students to be confused, and she endeavours to use the language of the resources so her students understand (Rewi (M), 2015). Her aim is to ensure that her students attain a good command of the grammar and not to be confused by her own use of *reo-ā-iwi*.

Te Tai is also a teacher at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in Kaitaia. Where Rewi (M) switches dialect to encourage learning and to avoid confusion, Te Tai does the opposite. Because the class is based in Te Taitokerau, and his students are mainly from Te Taitokerau, he made a decision to switch the dialect of the resources to that of his knowledge of a Te Rarawa based *reo-ā-iwi*.

I te wā i tīmata mātou te kaupapa Te Ara Reo, kei a rātou ngā rauemi. Kei a rātou ngā pukapuka, ngā kōpae, wērā ngā momo rauemi. Ki te whakarongo mai ngā akonga ki aua tauira, ko ngā rauemi nō Tainui, nō Waikato...he mea rangirua tērā māku nei nō te mea hiahia ana ahau ki te whakaako i te reo o te hau kāinga (Te Tai, 2015).

The educational resources provided for Te Tai’s Māori language course, such as books and CDs, were of Waikato influence in its language content and this influenced Te Tai to change

them. “Nō reira ko tērā te mahi a te kaiako. Ko wētahi he hōhā pea, māngere ki te huri wēnei ngā kupu. Noho pū rātou ki ngā whakaari me te reo o Waikato. Ko tāku nei he tino wero tēnā. Me huri, ā, kia whakarapa ki te reo o te hau kāinga. Koinei taku mahi i taua wā” (Te Tai, 2015). Within this course, there is an expectation that the teachers are teaching students to meet a certain standard, however, there is flexibility in how this is done. Te Tai explained above that as a teacher, he found this to be a challenge with the Waikato resources he was provided with. Not all teachers are receptive to changing resources to suit the *reo-ā-iwi* demographics of the students (Rewi, Paringatai & Hokowhitu 2012: 22). However, Te Tai did not want his students to have to learn a form of Māori language that they would not hear in the community. His is a unique situation because not many open Te Ara Reo courses would have such a high number of *iwi* affiliated students. This is similar to a concept of identifying the importance of using local language within educational settings:

In one form or another, the local language is usually incorporated in to the fabric of the institution. This idea is jealously guarded among Maori. Even though dialectic difference is relatively minimal within the Maori language, from the Maori point of view it is the small differences that make a difference, whether of dialect, of tikanga, or of anything else (Penetito 1996: 5).

This statement would support Te Tai’s endeavour to include *reo-ā-Muriwhenua* because the slight differences are important in informing a Muriwhenua identity. This is also supported by the view that words are “filled with value because they derive from full semantic content and texture from the social contexts in which they are used” (Gardner 2001: 68). Te Tai acquired his Māori language abilities in Auckland before returning to Muriwhenua to learn off *kaumātua*. He does not hear many younger speakers using *reo-ā-iwi*, so he chooses to teach it where he can and this influenced him to switch *reo-ā-iwi* in class. It is clear that *reo-ā-iwi* is highly valued by Te Tai and he is prepared to put in extra work to alter his teaching resources to encourage *reo-ā-iwi* acquisition amongst his students.

These two approaches by Te Tai and Rewi (M) outline the importance of resources when discussing *reo-a-iwi* switching. These are two approaches and the reasoning behind this choice can be quite clearly seen. Most of Te Tai's students affiliate to Te Taitokerau, so it is much easier for him to use Te Taitokerau lexicon, phonology, *kīwaha*, *whakataukī*, and *waiata* because, on an *iwi* level at least, it would all be relevant to the students of his class. He is also of Te Rarawa descent, and teaching within his tribal boundaries, therefore, it becomes a lot easier for Te Tai to make that decision. In Rewi's (M) case, the demographics of her students are vastly different, they are of both Māori and non-Māori descent. Those who are Māori affiliate to many different *iwi* from around Aotearoa. Rewi (M) chooses to switch her spoken *reo-ā-iwi* in order for her students to understand the educational resources.

Hohepa also teaches at a *whare wānanga* and replicates Rewi's (M) idea about changing her *reo-ā-iwi* in order for the students to learn more effectively. He teaches at Anamata a Tūhoe tertiary education provider. Being Ngāpuhi and Te Ati Awa, it would seem that Hohepa would *reo-ā-iwi* switch because the course is underpinned by Tūhoetanga. However, Hohepa is proficient to do this well, and has been working at Anamata for over 10 years. It is clear to see that proficiency is the key to switching, and not necessarily tribal affiliation.

Campbell, of Kāi Tahu, highlighted the importance of teaching and how teachers often unknowingly encourage their own *reo-ā-iwi* use in their students. This often results in *reo-ā-iwi* switching and consequently developing learners who can understand many different *reo-ā-iwi*, including phonology and lexicon and use many at the same time.

Āe rā! Kaha rawa aku tama ki te kōrero i te /ng/. I te tuatahi i whakapākehā ai ō rāua reo ki te Kōhanga Reo. I reira a Pāpā Rangī²¹. Nō reira, kaha ō rātou /n/ ehara i te /ng/, /n/ noa. Ānei ētahi tauira “Māmā, māmā hōmai he honi.” “He aha?!” Āe. Ināianei nō Waikato, nō Ngāti Porou hoki ō rāua kaiako, nō reira, kaha rāua ki te kōrero te /ng/ ahakoa ka mōhio rāua nō Kāi Tahu. (Campbell, 2015)

The use of the /k/ in Ngāi Tahu *reo-ā-iwi* instead of the /ng/ is one of the most distinctive features of *reo-ā-Tahu* and Campbell is an active user of this *reo-ā-iwi* with her two sons. However, when they were at *kōhanga reo* they would use /n/ instead of /k/ because their teacher was from Ngāi Tūhoe. Her children now go to *kura kaupapa* where their teachers affiliate to Ngāti Porou and Waikato and she can already see traits of their *reo-ā-iwi* in her children’s speech where they now use /ng/ rather than the /k/ or continuing with the /n/. “Ka kōrero rāua i ētahi kupu Kāi Tahu. Kāore he raru ki a au. Ko te reo Māori te reo matua. Heoi, ka mōhio rātou katoa ka kōrero a Māmā i te mita o Kāi Tahu, ki a au nei, mēnā ka roko, ka mōhio” (Campbell, 2015).

This reinforces the idea that learning any variation of Māori language in order to have a strong foundation in the language seems to be a trait common amongst many second language learners. This helps to prevent confusion amongst second language learners (O’Regan 2006: 165). In addition to this many learners are developing characteristics of using features of more than one *reo-ā-iwi*, regardless of their own *iwi* affiliation. Eighty four percent of the Māori population live in urban centres with the majority of these people living outside of their tribal area (Statistics NZ 2016), the number of Māori language teachers is small and their tribal affiliation diverse. It is clear that Campbell does not mind which *reo-ā-iwi* her children speak because she adopted *reo-ā-Tahu* later in her language acquisition, therefore, if they are exposed to it through her at this early stage, they will already be aware

²¹ Pāpā Rangī Wilson affiliates to the *iwi* of Ngāi Tūhoe and actively drops the /g/.

of it, regardless if they use it themselves. They will more than likely use it at a later stage in their life once their Kāi Tahu identity becomes a more salient feature of their identity. All participants commented that having the Māori language, no matter what *reo-ā-iwi* is spoken, is the first and main priority. This supports some of the comments discussed in Chapter Three regarding identity being a fundamental concept in expressing identity formation as language is fluid and forever changing (see page 36), but it does show the growing number of people who have a hybridised style of their Māori language.

Ager, who grew up in Dunedin, agreed that it is a personal choice to switch *reo-ā-iwi* depending on the situation or using aspects of different tribes' *reo-ā-iwi* at the same time. Ager acquired the Māori language at high school, by watching Māori language programmes and by attending Māori language *wānanga*. “Ko te nuinga o aku kaiako, ehara nō Ngāpuhi anake. Ko te nuinga nō iwi kē atu. Nō Ngāi Tūhoe, nō Te Arawa, nō Waikato/Tainui, nō Ngāi Tahu ētahi, āe. Nō reira, ehara i te mea i ū taku arero ki te reo o te kāinga i ngā wā katoa” (Ager, 2015). Ager does not switch *reo-ā-iwi* to link himself to his tribal affiliations but does so because he may simply like the sound of the lexicon, therefore, he will use that particular word over other words. When listening to Ager, it becomes clear that he has adopted a Northern variant to the sound of his speech. He maintains a common feature of a Ngāpuhi sound (*hakarongo*, *hakaaro* as examples), however, he also uses lexicon more common with other *iwi*.

Parata-Walker takes a different approach to Ager and discusses the importance of retaining *reo-ā-iwi*.

There will be those who will always, no matter where they come from, learn other words from other *iwi* and that is completely fine. But I would really think that the

whole of Māoridom would be at a loss if we were to all do that. I'm not saying it's a bad method, I think that it's great [for maintenance and retention] but it would be a huge loss to the whole of Māoridom if we lost the depths of our Māori individuality (Parata-Walker, 2015).

Interestingly, Parata-Walker could think this way for two reasons. Firstly, because she grew up in her *hau kāinga*, and secondly because she acquired syntax of the Māori language at university, therefore she has experienced two forms of language acquisition. Ager may choose to substitute words for other *iwi* words because he has lived outside of his tribal region his whole life, therefore, certain words may not represent anything to him. Parata-Walker on the other hand grew up in Uawa, where she has whakapapa links, therefore, the uniqueness of her *iwi* holistically connects with her sense of identity as a person of Ngāti Porou descent.

Te Tai described the moment when he realised that *reo-ā-iwi* were different enough to distinguish when listening to someone speak. The early exposure he had to *reo-ā-iwi* was that of his mother's *iwi*, Ngāti Porou, largely through commands. However, his formal language acquisition took place at Te Wānanga Takiura in Auckland. Te Tai, who has affiliations to two linguistically and culturally different *iwi*, explains when the Māori language he had acquired in Auckland was challenged, in terms of *reo-ā-iwi*.

...i te wā i rūmaki au i te reo ko te reo o Ngāti Porou tērā, ā, kātahi ka hoki mai ahau ki te kāinga, ā, te mamae o ngā taringa o kui mā, koro mā te rongohia wēnei, tēnei reo tauhou mō rātou. Kātahi, ka noho pūmau ahau e rongohia i te reo o te hau kāinga. I reira ka tīnīhia, ka whakarerekē te tangi me te mita o taku nei reo (Te Tai, 2015).

When Te Tai acquired the Māori language he was taught by a teacher from Ngāti Porou, however, his language was not appreciated when he returned to his father's side in North Hokianga. His *kaumātua* were unable to understand the vocabulary and they were confused with new words and sounds they did not recognise. As Te Tai reached higher levels of

proficiency he adjusted his speech to that of *reo-ā-Hokianga*. Te Tai would listen to words being spoken, identify the word he already knew, and would change it to learn and incorporate the sound and pronunciation of the *reo-ā-iwi* of his northern connections.

Campbell discussed the difficulty of dialect switching once a foundation had already been laid in terms of words and the use of the /k/. Her dialect switching was influenced by having initially learnt the *reo-ā-iwi* of her teachers before she made the conscious decision to switch to her own *reo-ā-iwi* to connect to her Kāi Tahu identity. Although this has not been without its difficulties.

I te nuika o te wā, ka ū au ki te mita Kāi Tahu. Kei te whaka'k' au tonu i aku kupu. He uaua. I tipu au i te /ng/ nō reira koirā te default o tōku reo, o tōhoku reo. Kāore au i tino ū ki te /h/ hoki, 'tōku', 'tōhoku'. He uaua hoki nā te mea inā ako ai au, ko te nuika o aku kaiako nō iwi kē, nō reira, ka roko au i te /ng/. Ka huri ōku kupu ki ā rātou kupu. Nō reira, he uaua, heoi ka kōrero ia rā, ia rā i te reo Kāi Tahu, i te mita Kāi Tahu ME te mita o iwi kē (Campbell, 2015).

Campbell focused mostly on the switching of the /ng/ to the /k/ and she sometimes reverts back without even realising. This is one of the outcomes of learning a *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific form of the Māori language before learning one's own *reo-ā-iwi*; it takes a while for those initial language habits to be broken with that of *reo-ā-iwi* and relapse will often occur. Those who learn the Māori language within their own community, by teachers from the same community are seldom seen in today's society. It also shows that often second language learners learn a standardised language first, and then make the shift to acquire features of their own *reo-ā-iwi* (Rewi & White 2014: 229).

Rather than *reo-ā-iwi* being an expression of identity, it is sometimes used as an expression of knowledge and proficiency. Piripi provides an example of dialect switching to show how using another tribe's *reo-ā-iwi* can honour the *iwi* of the area in which you are in:

George Marsden use to be an educationalist and he was on the Māori Education Trust so he used to travel around the country giving scholarships...he could speak several dialects. So, when he went to Taranaki he would get up and *mihi* [speak] in Taranaki dialect. When he went to the East Coast, everywhere, they use to freak out, he would *mihi* [acknowledge] to them in their own dialect and sing their *waiata* [songs] along with them. He was fantastic. So, you can see how clever people can do that sort of thing. I've seen scholars draw something from another *mita* [dialect] to make a particularly poignant point (Piripi, 2016).

Expert Māori language speakers can often switch between different *reo-ā-iwi* to make a point, to cleverly address those listening, or to respect the other side of speakers and their protocols and customs. This example shows that there are other factors of using *reo-ā-iwi* that does not represent an assertion of one's identity, but proficiency instead, and acknowledgement of the *hau kāinga* one is in.

Lexicon

When Rewi (M) was asked what signified a *reo-ā-iwi*, she responded with; the use of lexicon, how words were used, said, and pronounced. Lexicon is essentially a word bank that people draw from in order to create sentences. Lexicon builds the relationship between pronunciation, spelling, meaning and their grammatical properties (Pullum & Huddleston 2002: 4) and this is how we communicate. One of the most obvious levels of dialectal differences is lexicon (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, 2008:64). Rewi (M) highlights the relationship of lexicon to place and identity.

I remember asking my [Tūhoe] nan, *wenoweno* that is the *kupu* [word] for the leaf of a *kamokamo* plant and I'm not sure if it's the Tūhoe *kupu* or the Waikato *kupu* so I told whoever, "Oh yeah this is a *wenoweno* ae?" and she was like "NO! That's what the other *iwi* call it" and I was like "Oh, okay, sorry" (Rewi (M), 2015).

This showed that a difference of words are pivotal and these are a key feature *reo-ā-iwi*. During Rewi's (M) upbringing, she spent equal time with both of her *iwi*. Whilst there are advantages to being exposed to both there was also misunderstandings on which word belonged to which *iwi* and she was swiftly reprimanded for her confusion.

Parata-Walker experienced a similar rebuke from her *kuia* when addressing her using a non-Ngāti Porou phrase:

Ko tētahi o ōku *kuia*, ahakoa kāore ia e kōrero Māori mai ki a au, ko tērā hoki tōna reo tuatahi, ko te kōka o tōku kōka. Engari ka mahara ake au i te wā i a au e pakupaku noa ana ka kī atu ahau ki a ia “Kia ora Nan, kei te pēhea koe?” me tana kōhete mai ki a au “Kāo! Ehara ko ‘kei te pēhea’, ko ‘kai te aha?’ kē!” (Parata-Walker, 2015).

Parata-Walker explained that even though this *kuia* did not normally speak to her in the Māori language she was not impressed when Parata-Walker asked her “*Kei te pēhea koe?*”, instead of the widely used Ngāti Porou specific phrase of “*Kai te aha?*”. The response of her *kuia* suggested a sense of value in the different words and phrases present in *reo-ā-iwi* and Parata-Walker's use of a similar saying was not acceptable to her *kōkā* (auntie).

Te Tai also gave an example of the *reo-ā-iwi* he changed as a response to understanding which words were more commonly used in Te Taitokerau.

He rerekē ngā kupu, tētahi kupu pea ko te ‘pīrangī’, nō Ngāti Porou. Mahi au i tērā kupu ia wā otirā ko te kupu konei ko te ‘hiahia’. Nō reira, he tauira tērā mō te tīnīhia o ngā kupu, kia hāngai pū ki te reo o te hau kāinga (Te Tai, 2015).

Pīrangī is a word most commonly used in Ngāti Porou for ‘want’, whereas the same use of ‘want’ would be *hiahia* to many northern counterparts. A dictionary definition of these words

would indicate that they mean the same thing, however, there is a distinct tribal preference for one word over the other. This highlights an important feature of affiliating to more than one *iwi*, or more than one *hapū*, in deciding which *reo-ā-iwi* to use. Te Tai explained it as though he was not choosing to replace one but rather learn as much as he could about the language that connected within the relevant region that he was in at the time. Parata-Walker, Rewi (M) and Te Tai were all corrected by members of their family when using lexicon and phrases from other *iwi*. This shows a sense of value, but also sees second language learners adopting other *reo-ā-iwi* during their language acquisition, and being open to regional variants.

Puru, (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahungunu) and from an older generations perspective, identified examples of *reo-ā-hapū* and *reo-ā-iwi* that echo Rewi's (M) and Parata-Walker's experiences, "Pēnei me te kuaha nē. He rerekē te kūaha me te tatau, wērā kupu nē, nō tātou o konei o Hokianga, he kūaha. Engari tae atu koe ki tētahi atu kāinga, he tatau kē" (Puru, 2015). Puru explained that *kuaha* (door) is an example of a word that many Hokianga *hapū* use. She continued by commenting that other people and *hapū* use *tatau* (door) instead.

Puru provided examples of other words that some see as *reo-ā-iwi* that also have more significant levels of meaning and importance that are associated with *tapu* and *noa* (unrestricted), and religion. "Te mahunga, ki a matou nei nā te mea he Katorika katoa o konei nē, te ūpoko he tapu tērā ingoa, he ūpoko. Ehara i te mātenga, he mātenga ika, poaka. He rerekē. Kei reira anō ngā teiteitanga o ētahi o ngā kupu nei" (Puru, 2015). The Catholic Church is a major religious influence in Northland and it is obvious that religion has changed the depth and meaning of certain words. This highlights the fact that sometimes it is not *reo-ā-iwi* specific, but that the level of importance of words may change because of external

influences, such as religion. Where Puru uses *ūpoko* for the head in a sacred state, other *iwi* may use it just as she uses *mātenga* and this is where misunderstandings occur that could cause cultural conflict and tension. It also shows that *reo-ā-iwi* is more than the words but one must look into the social context in order to understand the motivations behind *reo-ā-iwi* variations.

Tētahi kupu, ‘tāpū’, me kī, ko te ‘stop’. Ki Panguru e mahi ana rātou te kupu ‘tāpū’. Otirā atu i a Panguru, Papata maunga ki te Uri o Tai ko te kupu rā ko te ‘whakatū’. Ko tērā tā rātou kupu. Ahakoa pātata ngā hapū he rerekē ngā hapū nē? Kotahi noa iho te kupu (Puru, 2015).

This shows that regardless of a small difference, there are variations of lexicon at a *reo-ā-whānau/hapū* level.

Hohepa agreed with Puru and Te Tai that language is not only different on an *iwi* scale, but language changes to be appropriate in certain aspects of society as well. “Ko te reo o te kāinga, ko te reo o te kāuta, ko te reo o te papara kāuta, tēnā, te reo Māori e taea te whakawhiti ahakoa kei hea. Ko te reo tohunga, ko te reo marae, ko te reo karakia, ērā katoa, he rerekē” (Hohepa, 2016). This would support Puru and Te Tai’s theory that *hapū* that are situated in close proximity with each other do have differences because it suggests that different parts of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* have appropriate terms for different occasions which would be different from *hau kāinga* to *hau kāinga*.

Piripi discussed the idea of different words being fundamental to *reo-ā-iwi* because those words would be used with an understanding of the geography, the demography and the history of the *iwi*. He also discussed the simplicity in what might drive a *reo-ā-iwi*, “Like

here [Te Hiku o te Ika] for example we call a fish a *ngohi* probably because we had too many tūpuna called Ikanui²². Simple as that might drive a *mita* [dialect]” (Piripi, 2015).

Rewi (M) agrees that regional and tribal differences are fuelled by simple interactions and communication.

Maybe they picked it up from someone’s way of speaking and everyone kind of caught on. It became a trend. Obviously that is still something that is still happening today so I don’t know if it happens so much with language, but with slang, you know, someone comes up with a random *kupu* [words], everyone jumps on board. Maybe a *koro* [elder] had no teeth, the way he spoke and everyone was like “Oh yup you say it like that” (Rewi (M), 2015).

Rewi (M) identified a key point in the literature that language is used purely for communication and that is its sole purpose. Preece (2005:100) identifies that language would be used to communicate norms within a relevant community. This means that the *reo-ā-iwi* used ensured understanding is reached within the language community and they are able to comprehend *reo-ā-iwi*. Of course, this has changed over time from the impacts of language loss and the number of Māori language speakers declining. Harris agreed with this notion of using language to communicate between his *whānau*, his community (at the *marae* and in the town he lived in) and the language used to communicate during work hours with his work colleagues (Harris, 2016). He stated that the focus was not on individuality and uniqueness; simply being able to communicate with people was the main purpose. This shows that the language that Harris used was influenced by the need to communicate. Harris has lived in the Hokianga most of his life, therefore interaction with other *reo-ā-iwi* is limited. His *reo-ā-iwi* is his norm and not something he actively thinks of as being different to others.

²² ‘Ika’ meaning ‘fish’, ‘nui’ meaning ‘big’. This would translate to big fish if taken from a common translation of *ika*, hence the use of *ngohi*, a Te Rarawa word for fish. If people were named after an animal, it may be seen as a *whakaiti*, because people are seen as *tapu*, and animals *mundane*, therefore, other words are used.

As mentioned previously, Ager sees the *reo* as a means of communication as a key theme for his language proficiency, based on the fact that he chooses to use different words from many *iwi* on the basis that he prefers some words over another.

Ko ētahi o ngā kupu i puta i taku waha he reo o ngā iwi kē. He kupu nō iwi kē, he reo nō iwi kē. He pai ki ahau ētahi kupu nō Tūhoe, ko ētahi o ngā kupu i puta i taku waha, he mea nō Taranaki, nō konei, nō Te Waipounamu, engari, ko te mea rerekē, ko te whiu i te kupu (Ager, 2015).

Ager has had many different influences to his acquisition of the Māori language. This would explain why his lexicon is representative of many *iwi*, rather than just *reo-ā-Ngāpuhi*. He is unapologetic with his use of phonology, but his words are not limited to his own *iwi*. Due to his style of acquisition, Ager has been taught by many different teachers, in the classroom and on screen. This is why he has a preference for words from other *iwi*, while maintaining his Northern sound.

According to Piripi, *reo-ā-iwi* incorporates not just words, speed and tone but insists that linguistic features, such as syntax, should also feature in discussion on *reo-ā-iwi*.

All *mita* [dialect] comes off the *tuara* [back] of the orthography so object always goes before action. Some key rules in *reo* Māori [the Māori language] that must be followed, it doesn't matter what *mita* [dialect] you are speaking. The *maunga* [mountain] is not a *whare* [house] no matter how much your *mita* [dialect] says it's a *whare* [house], it's not...So I am a great believer in sticking to the rigour of linguistic excellence. All the great scholars I've worked with have always said don't compromise, don't compromise on the quality, on the excellence even if we are a bit short on one end, stay short, and don't compromise! (Piripi, 2015)

Piripi described the rules that are always followed, how there are words that will always be used to describe one thing most of the time, such as *maunga* always being a mountain and *whare* always being a house. His point is that no matter what *iwi* one affiliates to, there is syntax that must be followed in order for the language being spoken to be the Māori language. Grammar should always be maintained states Piripi (2015), however, the key differences lies in

lexicon and phonology and not in changes to syntax. No other participants mentioned syntax or grammar in their interviews. This was surprising as some sentence structures are unique to particular *iwi* and form part of their *reo-ā-iwi*. One particular example of this is seen in *Me he mea...* (If...). North of Auckland, people may be more inclined to use *Me he...*, on the East Coast *Me he mea...*, and in other areas *Me mea...* (Biggs 1998: 158).

Conclusion

The first section of this chapter focused on phonology and speed and the participants engaged with the idea that *reo-ā-iwi* is broader than just different words and dropping or inclusion of letters. It was often stated that *kaumātua* have a difficult time adjusting to the phonetics of second language learners or people who do not affiliate to the same tribe, and the responses from the participants prove that phonology and speed is a vital indication of *reo-ā-iwi*, tribal affiliations and identity. Most participants agreed that you could pinpoint which *reo-ā-iwi* most proficient language speakers were speaking, regardless of their own proficiency. The discussion also symbolised a potential shift from speakers of whom the Māori language was their first language, and of second language learners and their comprehension of each other.

The second section discussed the commonality of *reo-ā-iwi* switching, language acquisition and language proficiency. At times participants have had to shift away from their *reo-ā-iwi* and use a more standardised language. Rewi (M), Te Tai and Hohepa showed how their particular teaching practises influenced their choice to either switch *reo-ā-iwi*, or change the teaching resources. Second language learners also experience difficulties when they have acquired the Māori language from teachers with different language affiliations, and the choice to learn *reo-ā-iwi* is often the next step for those in this situation. This is especially so for people who have a strong *iwi* identity.

The third section discussed the varying lexicon that the participants identified as *reo-ā-iwi*. Some of the participants chose to use any words they liked, or had been taught, while others were fiercely loyal to the lexicon they knew, which they would say was more *reo-ā-hapū* than *reo-ā-iwi*. Most of the second language learners made a choice to use certain lexicon over others, influenced by education, acquisition and community.

Conclusion

Language is an important aspect of one's identity, for those who choose to make it so. The participants in this research have all made a decision for *te reo Māori* to play an important part in defining who they are. Language contains many different features, and is manifest in a number of ways. The primary objective of this thesis was to investigate the role of *reo-ā-iwi* in the lives of proficient Māori language speakers and to investigate the connection between *reo-ā-iwi* and identity.

All of the participants for whom *te reo Māori* was their first language grew up with the Māori language as the language of communication in their home and their community. The second language learners in this research hailed from many different acquisition backgrounds and many were not afforded the opportunity to grow up in an environment that actively fostered their acquisition of the Māori language. Some of the second language learners had no exposure to the Māori language growing up other than on formal occasions on the *marae* (not necessarily their own). Others had been exposed to *reo-ā-iwi* through their community or had made a decision to learn the Māori language in formal classes and furthered their knowledge of the Māori language at university or other Māori adult learning programmes of their own accord. It seemed that once they became proficient in a *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific form of the language they then began to incorporate aspects of their own *reo-ā-iwi* into their speech.

Reo-ā-iwi is a fluid entity born out of a need to communicate within a specific context. *Reo-ā-iwi* is a personal affair for many participants because most are reminded of people who taught them the Māori language and of their tribal histories. It is symbolic of relationships, rather than just differences in lexicon. All of the participants have been pivotal in *reo-ā-iwi*

revitalisation efforts and in refocusing the energies back in to *reo-ā-iwi*. *Reo-ā-iwi* is an identity marker for the participants and rather than focusing on the subtle changes in words and meanings, they chose to focus on how *reo-ā-iwi* affords them the power to describe who they are and where they come from. Establishing what *reo-ā-iwi* is a difficult task, but the participants simplified this by explaining that dialect is how we describe the environment and its connection to the families it nurtures. It may not be strongly implemented in acquisition or maintenance at this present time, but research shows that *reo-ā-iwi* are becoming stronger and they are one form of expressing identity.

Figure 5. *Reo-ā-iwi* in accordance with participant responses

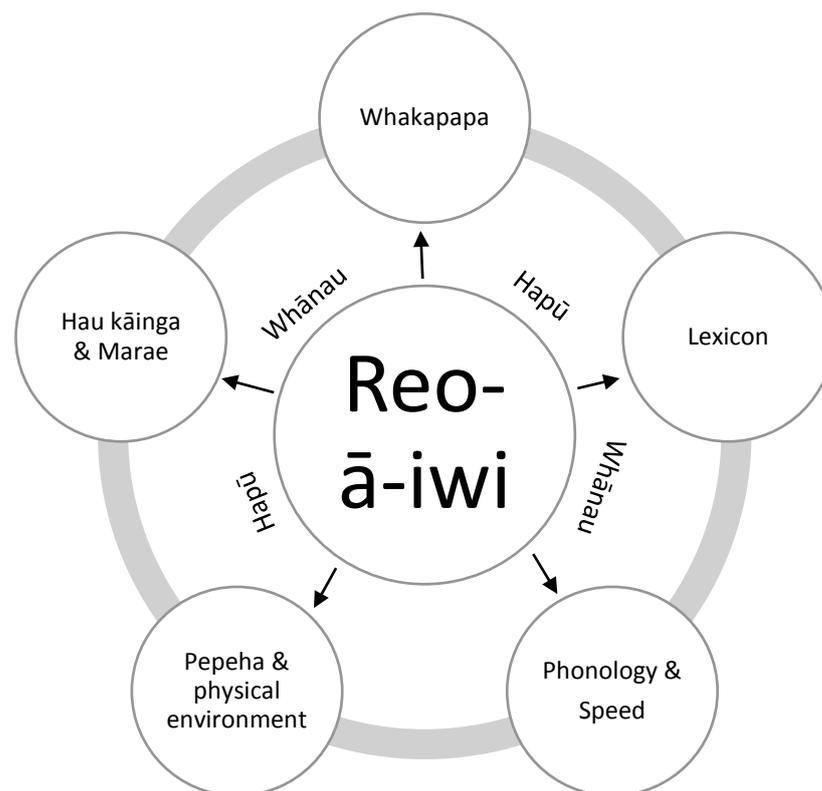


Figure 5 demonstrates the responses of the participants and what they think constitutes *reo-ā-iwi*. Within this diagram, *whakapapa* is placed strategically on top because *iwi* membership is

reliant on descent from a Māori ancestor. Once the foundation of *whakapapa* is established, other concepts present themselves, all whilst interacting with each other in a holistic way. This figure represents the participants' views about *reo-a-iwi* and how they believe it is more localised through *hapū* and *whānau*.

The diagram expresses the foundation of *reo-ā-iwi* through *whakapapa* and *hau kāinga*. This was expressed in varying ways. Some participants chose *pepeha* as a discussion point in explaining how they physically connect with their *hau kāinga*. Others discussed engagement and interaction with *kaumātua* and participation in *hui* underpinning *reo-ā-iwi* and using it in a relevant setting. *Iwi* identity was seen as a contributing factor in the use of *reo-ā-iwi*. Those who did not live within their tribal boundaries understood that their choice to use *reo-ā-iwi* was an affirmation of affiliation and connection to place. Others used *reo-ā-iwi* because that is all they knew.

Lexicon, phonology and speed are also key components to the characteristics of *reo-ā-iwi* and they represented key differences for the participants. Many developed their *reo-ā-iwi* through their interactions with *kaumātua* and proved that phonetics and speed is a vital indication of *reo-ā-iwi*, tribal affiliations and identity. The second language learners had a level of hybridity to their Māori language, incorporating language that they had been taught over time. This did not deter them from valuing *reo-ā-iwi*.

This research differed from the literature in a number of ways. Firstly, most of the participants were strong advocates of *reo-ā-hapū* and *reo-ā-whānau* rather than *reo-ā-iwi*. Their *whakapapa*, their *hau kāinga*, the phonology, the lexicon were all based upon examples

of *reo-ā-hapū* and *reo-ā-whānau*. More research needs to be done in order to identify what *reo-ā-hapū* is and creating an avenue where *reo-ā-hapū* is not subsumed into *reo-ā-iwi*.

Another interesting observation from this research and not found specifically in literature is the idea of *reo-ā-iwi* switching. This was a valuable point because many Māori language speakers are second language learners and this means that many would have to switch *reo-ā-iwi* at some point. This idea was inclusive of both first and second language learners and was based upon being able to communicate with whomever the participant was talking to. It also proves that using a *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific form of the language is beneficial for those who may be confused when learning another language, which aligns with the literature on shifting to *reo-ā-iwi* non-specific Māori language in order to recruit more speakers rather than confuse them. Therefore, maintenance of *reo-ā-iwi* was sometimes difficult to achieve for those who had learnt from teachers with a different *reo-ā-iwi* to their own. More research is required in terms of *reo-ā-iwi* acquisition of second language learners and how to maintain *reo-ā-iwi* once learnt.

This thesis did not aim to define *reo-ā-iwi*, because as one can see from the participants' responses, no one person is exactly the same. This thesis aimed to provide a space where a discussion on these features could take place with one's language and education backgrounds providing context to the responses. They are *waka reo* – vessels through which the Māori language is transmitted. More specifically, they are *waka reo-ā-iwi*. Many value their *reo-ā-iwi* and consider it as an expression of identity, but sometimes it has to be put away as a fragile, precious item, kept safe to be reopened again when the time is right. It is now time for

these *waka reo* to be opened and for *reo-ā-iwi* to be worn by all. *Akona te reo Māori, ka pūtikitia ki te māhunga, ka whakarākeitia ki ngā raukura huia o te reo-ā-iwi*²³.

²³ Learn the Māori language and wear it as a topknot adorned with the prized huia feathers of *reo-ā-iwi*.

Glossary

<i>ahi kā</i>	burning fires of occupation
<i>aroha ki te tangata</i>	a respect for people
<i>atua Māori</i>	Māori deities, ancestor of on-going influence
<i>hapū</i>	kinship group, clan, sub-tribe
<i>hau kāinga</i>	home, home people
<i>heru</i>	comb
<i>hui</i>	meeting or gathering
<i>huia</i>	a type of native bird with black feathers now extinct
<i>iwi</i>	extended kinship group, tribe
<i>kai</i>	food
<i>kai[kei] te aha?</i>	how are you?
<i>kaiako</i>	teacher, instructor
<i>kaiārahi i te reo me ōnā tikanga</i>	guide of the Māori language and its customs
<i>kanohi kitea</i>	seen face, physical presence
<i>kapa haka</i>	Māori performing arts group
<i>karakia</i>	incantation
<i>karanga</i>	ceremonial call
<i>kaumātua</i>	elder
<i>kawa</i>	marae protocol
<i>kia tūpato</i>	be cautious
<i>kīwaha</i>	idiom
<i>koha</i>	gift
<i>kōhanga reo</i>	Māori language immersion pre-school
<i>kōkā</i>	auntie (<i>reo-ā-Porou</i>)
<i>kōrero</i>	to speak, speech
<i>kūaha</i>	door
<i>kura kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori language immersion primary school
<i>mahinga kai</i>	food gathering practices/sites
<i>māhunga</i>	head
<i>maunga</i>	mountain
<i>mana</i>	prestige, authority
<i>manaaki</i>	caring for others
<i>manaakitanga</i>	hospitality, kindness
<i>manaaki ki te tangata</i>	share and host people, be generous
<i>mara</i>	friend (<i>reo-ā-Ngāpuhi</i>), scrap (<i>reo-ā-Waikato</i>)
<i>marae</i>	traditional Māori meeting grounds
<i>mātauranga</i>	knowledge
<i>mātauranga Māori</i>	Māori knowledge
<i>mātenga</i>	animal head (<i>reo-ā-Panguru</i>)
<i>mihi</i>	speech of greetings
<i>moana</i>	sea
<i>noa</i>	unrestricted
<i>pakiwaitara</i>	story, legend
<i>Papatūānuku</i>	Earth Mother
<i>pepeha</i>	tribal saying
<i>pōhiri</i>	welcome ceremony
<i>poroporoākī</i>	farewell

<i>Ranginui</i>	Sky Father
<i>reo-ā-hapū</i>	dialect, sub-tribal dialect
<i>reo-ā-iwi</i>	dialect, tribal dialect
<i>reo-ā-Muriwhenua</i>	Muriwhenua tribal dialect
<i>reo-ā-Ngāpuhi</i>	Ngāpuhi tribal dialect
<i>reo-ā-Porou</i>	Ngāti Porou tribal dialect
<i>reo-ā-Tahu</i>	Kāi Tahu tribal dialect
<i>reo-ā-Tūhoe</i>	Ngāi Tūhoe tribal dialect
<i>reo-ā-Waikato</i>	Waikato tribal dialect
<i>reo-ā-whānau</i>	dialect, family dialect
<i>rohe</i>	boundary, district, region, territory, area (of land).
<i>taonga</i>	treasures (tangible or intangible)
<i>tapu</i>	sacred, set apart, restricted
<i>tatau</i>	door
<i>taumata</i>	orator's bench
<i>tautoko</i>	support
<i>tikanga</i>	custom, lore
<i>te ao Māori</i>	the Māori world
<i>te reo</i>	the language (the Māori language)
<i>te reo me ōna tikanga</i>	the language and its customs
<i>te reo motuhake o Tūhoe me ōna tikanga</i>	the Tūhoe language and its customs
<i>tino rangatiratanga</i>	self-determination
<i>titiro</i>	to look at, observe
<i>tūpuna/tīpuna</i>	ancestors/grandparents
<i>tūrangawaewae</i>	a place to stand
<i>upoko</i>	sacred head (<i>reo-ā-Panguru</i>)
<i>waiata</i>	song
<i>waka huia</i>	treasure box
<i>waka reo-ā-iwi</i>	vessels of <i>reo-ā-iwi</i>
<i>whaikōrero</i>	oration
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy, lineage, relationships, layers
<i>whakarongo</i>	to listen, hear
<i>whakataukī</i>	proverb
<i>whakawhanaungatanga</i>	establishing relationships
<i>whānau</i>	extended family, family group
<i>whanaungatanga</i>	family bonds, relationships
<i>whāngai</i>	Māori form of childcare
<i>whare</i>	house
<i>whare wānanga</i>	place of higher learning
<i>wharekura</i>	Māori language immersion high school

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Information sheet

Appendix B: Consent form

Appendix A – Information Sheet

[15/085]



Reo ā-iwi: An analysis of the term ‘reo ā-iwi’ from a Māori perspective.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

This thesis will look at how *reo ā-iwi* is constructed from a Māori perspective. The aim of this thesis is to interview participants who have a sound knowledge of the Māori language and who also show evidence of a specific regional language in their speech. The participants will be from different backgrounds with different language learning experiences that influence a wide variety of ideas and thoughts regarding this topic. Some of the participants have grown up within their own tribal language speaking community and others will show evidence of other regions influencing their language. This thesis aims to analyse the participants’ views on what *reo ā-iwi* is. It will examine their Māori language learning experiences. A comparative analysis will be made between different *iwi* according to who the participants are and where they come from.

The main themes of the research will include the following:

- How do you define *reo ā-iwi*?
- What constitutes *reo ā-iwi*?
- How has the loss of the Māori language affected *reo ā-iwi*?
- How has this affected *iwi* (tribe) and *hapū* (sub-tribe) identity?

The sociolinguistic term ‘dialect’ does not incorporate many key themes that are considered within a Māori approach to ‘dialect’. This research will determine linguistic features of different dialects but it will also include the influence of the environment, phrases, people, genealogy and history and show that *reo ā-iwi* is a more culturally appropriate way to describe all aspects of a tribal language.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

Participants must:

- be of Māori descent
- have an adequate knowledge of the Māori language and some knowledge of their *reo ā iwi*.
- be over the age of 18

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to provide some personal experiences and personal opinions in relation to the aim of the project. You will be interviewed informally one on one for approximately one hour. You will then be asked to read the interview transcript to ensure the information is correct and is as you would like it to be presented.

What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?

The information that will be collected will be in relation to the aims provided above. Your personal experiences and opinions will shape much of the MA thesis. Your experiences of *reo ā-iwi* and what this incorporates and means to you personally will be analysed. A copy of your interview transcript will be returned to you for you to make corrections, additions and omissions where you think necessary.

This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes investigation into *reo ā-iwi*. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. This project will involve a one-on-one interview no longer than one hour and a half long.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Only the researcher, her supervisor and those involved with the examination process of the thesis will have access to the data. The data collected will be securely stored so that only those mentioned above will be able to access it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project is needed, will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed unless requested by the participants.

A copy of the completed thesis and any academic articles that use the information from your case study will be sent to you if you desire. On the Consent Form you will be given options regarding your anonymity. Please be aware that should you wish every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity.

Reasonable precautions will be taken to protect and destroy data gathered by email. However, the security of electronically transmitted information cannot be guaranteed. Caution is advised in the electronic transmission of sensitive material.

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity.

Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What if Participants have any Questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Ms Tawini White

OR

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This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph +643 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix B – Consent form

[15/085]

Reo ā-iwi: An analysis of the term ‘reo ā-iwi’ from a Māori perspective.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary.
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage.
3. Personal identifying information (e.g. recordings) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years.

*I, as the participant, **agree** to the researcher retaining this information beyond this research project.

4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning will pertain to discussion of *reo ā-iwi*. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.
5. If at any time I feel uncomfortable or feel that information I have provided puts me at risk, I understand I can ask for it to be reworded or omitted from the final publication.
6. I understand that no formal payment will be made for my participation in this project; however, I understand I may be offered a *koha* in line with Māori practice and the concept of *manaakitanga*.
7. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand)
8. I, as the participant: a) agree to being named in the research, OR;
 b) would rather remain anonymous

I agree to take part in this project.

.....
(Signature of participant)

.....
(Date)

.....
(Printed Name)

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