Kia Māori te reo Māori?

An investigation of adult learner attitudes towards the impact of English on *te reo Māori.*

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Abstract

This study sought to answer the following questions: What impact does the English language have on *te reo Māori* (the Māori language)? What attitudes do adult language learners have towards the impact of English on *te reo*? And what implications do these attitudes have for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori?* Engaging in in-depth semi-structured interviews with eight former University of Otago Māori language students from Te Tumu School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous studies[1] (Te Tumu) forms a necessary part of this research project. Following Braun and Clarke (2008), the data gathered from the interviews was examined using Thematic Data Analysis.

The fundamental aim of this thesis is to explore and describe adult learner attitudes towards the impact of English on *te reo Māori*, so as to gain insight into how active language learners within Te Tumu perceive the influence of the English language. The thesis has two key foci, the first is parts of language, such as transliteration, code switching, pronunciation, grammar and idiom. The second is the impact of English within the context of teaching and learning.

On the one hand, this study shows that the participants view the impact of English as a form of contamination that is having a negative effect on Māori cultural concepts because there is less use of authentic Māori words and phrases, which in turn dilutes and minimises the representation and understanding of a Māori epistemological world view. On the other hand, some participants identified specific times when English language usage could be helpful to their developing proficiency in *te reo Māori*. The findings yield that there are certain exceptions such as the use of transliterations and code switching as being a necessary tool for scaffolding learning of *te reo Māori* particularly during the early stages of learning. The use of transliteration as a form of humour was also seen as acceptable. However, the main concern among the cohort was the maintenance of the authentic use of *te reo Māori*, more specifically, Māori lexicon, grammar, pronunciation, and idiom. Furthermore, the participants felt strongly about certain aspects of teaching and learning within Te Tumu that privilege Pākehā teaching methods[2] such as the grammar translation method and a lack of attention to *tikanga Māori* (Māori culture) and Māori centred pedagogies. The findings from this study

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[1] See http://www.otago.ac.nz/tetumu/ for further information about the University of Otago department of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous studies.

[2] By Pākehā methods of teaching I am referring to the pedagogical teaching practices that favour the use of the English language.

show definitively that the participants feel that the language is in a state of contamination, on the other hand they are also concerned that there are times where transliteration and code switching can be necessary, even useful.

Pepeha

Ko Mātaatua te waka

Ko Maungapōhatu te maunga tipua

Ko Ohinemataroa te awa kaukau o ōku tīpuna

Ko Te Waiti me Uwhiārae ngā marae

Ko Ngāti Kuri Kino me Ngai Te Paena ngā hapū

Ko Tānenuiārangi te tangata

Ko Te Mapou te marae

Ko Tamakaimoana te hapū

Ko Ngāi Tūhoe te iwi

I te taha o tōku whaea

Ko Jura te maunga

Ko Regnitz te awa

Ko Bayern te rohe

Ko Franken te hapū

Ko Tiamana te iwi

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This thesis is dedicated to my late father, Kaili Tawhara who instilled within me the true value of engaging in *te ao Māori*. But most importantly my identity as Māori. I miss you dearly - *Mēnā i koinei koe ā-kanohi ka kitea e koe ngā hua kua tākohatia e koe mōku. Ahakoa tō wehe moata nāu i whakatō, nāu i poipoi tēnei āhua ki roto i ahau.*

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Glossary

Āhei	To ask for permission
Akomanga	Classroom
Ehara	Used as a predicate to negate certain sentences
Haikura	High School
Hanuere	January
Hapū	Sub tribe
Hau	Wind
Hōhā	To be annoyed, frustrated
Hou	New
Huarahi	Road, street, path
Hui-tanguru	February
Huka	Foam, snow (modern)
Iwi	Tribe
Ka taea	Able, competent,
Kai	Food
Kāhore	No, negative
Karakia	Incantation, spell
Kaumātua	Tribal elders
Kaupapa	Main theme, philosophy
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology, Māori based
Keke	Cake
Kēkē	Armpit

Kīwaha	Colloquialism, idiom
Kohitātea	January
Kōrero	To tell, say, speak, talk, address
Kupu	Word
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, generosity, support, external display of *mana* through reciprocal generosity
Māori tūturu	real or authentic Māori language
Marae	A tribal meeting place
Maramataka	Māori lunar calendar
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mauri	Life essence, life principle
Motowei	Motorway
Māngere	To idle, be lazy
Paenga-whāwhā	March
Pākehā	European
Papatūānuku	Earth mother
Parakitihi	Practice
Pepuere	February
Poutū-te-rangi	March
Pouaka makariri	Fridge
Pouaka whakaata	Television
Pera	Pillow
Pukapuka	Book
Puru	Put (modern), bung, plug, to insert, to plug up, put (modern)

Rā	Day
Rāapa	Wednesday
Rāhina	Monday
Raipire	Library
Rama	Window frame
Rātau/Rātou	Personal noun, they them (3 or more)
Rātū	Tuesday
Rōpū	Group, entourage, party of people
Rori	Road
Tangi/Tangihanga	Funeral
Taonga	Valuable treasure
Tapu	Sacred
Tauira	Student, pupil
Te ao Māori	A Māori world view
Te reo, te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Waipounamu	The South Island (of New Zealand)
Teka	Be false, lying, telling lies
Tika	Correct, right
Tikanga Māori	Māori culture
Tīwi	Television
Tū/Tūmatauenga	God of war
Tūrei	Tuesday
Tūturu	True, authentic, genuine, real, actual
Urunga	Bedding, blanket
Waiata	Māori songs

Wairua	Spirit, soul
Wāka	Walk
Wānanga reo	Māori immersion language retreat
Wenerei	Wednesday
Wini	Window
Whaikōrero	formal speech of welcome performed by a male
Whakaharatau	Practice
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, decent
Whakawhanaunatanga	Kinship
Whānau	Family
Wharekura	House of learning (traditional), Māori based secondary school (modern)
Whare pukapuka	Library
Whiriti	Fridge
Whiunara	Funeral

List of Abbreviations

Māori Language Commission   MLC

National Certificate of Education Achievement   NCEA

Second Language Acquisition   SLA

Second language learner   SLL

Te Tumu School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies   Te Tumu

Conventions

The orthographic conventions that are applied in this thesis follow those set by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori language Commission, MLC). Vowel lengthening is marked by the use of macrons, except in quotations, titles of books and articles (and other quoted material) which will appear as in the original source. The convention in regards to *te reo Māori* is that italics will be used for all non-English words that are not pro-nouns such as Māori and Pākehā. Quotes that appear in *te reo Māori* (and other languages used in this thesis) follow the original source and in these occasions italics is not used. When a Māori word is used for the first time, an English translation will follow directly afterwards in brackets. The translation of these words will appear once again in the glossary. I have also used footnotes on several occasions to make comment on certain areas of the text without interrupting the flow of discussion provided in the text.

Prologue

I grew up in a trilingual speaking family. My mother is German from Franconia, which is in Northern Bavaria. My father was Māori, from Te Urewera and affiliated to the tribe of Ngai Tūhoe. I was born and raised in Dunedin and growing up here as Māori there were very few people who spoke the Māori language. I was fortunate as my father was a native speaker of *te reo Māori*. He grew up in Ruataahuna, which is considered to be a stronghold of the Māori language and culture. He encouraged me and my sister to learn English, hence we both attended mainstream schools, but he maintained the use of *te reo* at home, in the local Māori community, and through the practices of the Hāhi Ringatū (a Māori faith founded by Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turiki). As a child I had no real interest in learning *te reo Māori*, until my father passed away in the year 2000. That is when I made a conscious decision to learn the Māori language and culture. I moved to the Bay of Plenty and attended a total Māori immersion school in Waiohau, which is close to where my father grew up. In the year 2005 I returned to Dunedin and attended Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Otepoti (the only total Māori immersion school in Dunedin). I went on to attend the University of Otago in 2007 where I completed my first degree, a Bachelor of Teaching in Primary, followed by a Graduate Diploma in Second Language Teaching in Linguistics. Since 2009 I have been teaching *te reo Māori*, I returned to my old school Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Otepoti, where I taught for two years. This experience was instrumental for me as an emerging teacher. In 2011 I taught in a bilingual unit, and in main stream classrooms in and around Dunedin. I am also a former student of Te Tumu completing my Bachelor of Arts with Honours in 2012.

Learning *te reo Māori* in a total immersion environment and with the influence of my father, I was aware of the stark difference between the language of native speakers and the language of those whose language was developed institutionally. My own Māori language learning experience through Te Tumu has influenced my disposition towards how I personally think that the language should be acquired. Coming into the language papers at Te Tumu I had a somewhat ingrained attitude towards the type of language that was being taught and also the teaching style. I found there to be a lot of English used as a method to learn the language. The down fall to this, in my opinion, was that in order to learn *te reo* I had to come to understand *te reo* through the English language. This feeling is also reflected in the data gathered from the eight participants involved in this study. My learning experience in Te Tumu coupled with the linguistic papers at University assisted me in coming to understand Māori grammar.

However, I still felt that my language was becoming somewhat 'Pākehāfied' or what some native Māori language speakers may call 'Plastic Māori'. Notwithstanding this, I worked hard and my grades in my language papers were very good. Only through engagement in *wānanga reo* (Māori immersion language retreat) such as Kura reo[3] and speaking Māori as much as possible was I able to maintain what I would call appropriate proficiency in *te reo Māori*. In saying this, I feel that I still have a lot to learn, and I feel that the English language impacts on my proficiency immensely and also influences the way in which I speak *te reo Māori*.

My curiosity for the development of this thesis stems from both my work teaching children and also my own learning experiences as a second language learner of *te reo Māori*. I believe that because the presence of the English language is extremely dominant in all areas of modern day life, it therefore has a great influence on a learner's language ability and developing proficiency in *te reo Māori*. My basic core belief regarding *te reo Māori* is that for the language to be acquired successfully learning must occur within a total immersion environment that encompasses *tikanga Māori* practices, and pedagogies that are culturally relevant.

My experiences also carry certain assumptions towards this study and have shaped the way that I interpret and understand the research data. Initially, I began this research project with a strong view that the influence of the English language is inherently negative. Because of the pervasiveness of the English language it is a challenge to avoid its influence when speaking and learning *te reo Māori*.

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[3] A total immersion Māori language learning retreat that is held throughout the year to provide a platform for intense engagement in *te reo Māori*.

Introduction

New Zealand is located in the south western Pacific Ocean and is the most southerly country in the pacific. Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. The indigenous language of New Zealand is referred to as *te reo Māori,* or the Māori language, and belongs to a sub-group within the family of Austronesian languages (Harlow, 2007).

With increased interaction with the English language since initial contact, which reflects over approximately two centuries, there has been dramatic change to *te reo*. These changes are reflected in the lexical, phonological, syntactic and semantic makeup of modern spoken Māori. Another key influence is that all adult speakers of *te reo Māori* also speak English, and many of which have learnt *te reo* as a second language thorugh institutions such as University or Whare Wānanga (Māori tertiary institution). As a result English language transformations have become more commonly observed in modern Māori language use (Harlow 2004, 2005, 2007; Harlow, Keegan, King, Maclagan, and Watson 2009; King, Harlow, Watson, Keegan, and Maclagan 2009).

When two languages come into contact this can result in linguistic change, incremental decline and in the most detrimental of circumstances decline can lead to language death, this was the case for *te reo Māori.* Following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) in 1840, there was a dramatic increase in the English speaking settler population in New Zealand. A defining point that had a detrimetal impact on the survival of *te reo Māori* was the Native Schools Act 1867. This Act enforced the English language as the sole medium of instruction in Native Schools, children were often physically punished for speaking Māori at school (Benton, 1981, O'Regan, 2012). The Māori language continued to be spoken within the home and many children still spoke *te reo Māori* as a native language. During the 1950s in the decades following the Second World War highlighted the time of urbanisation and mass Māori migration to the cities, and with it, a predominant shift to the use of English (Walker, 1990). The position of *te reo Māori* resulted not only in a generation of Māori not conversant in the language, but a complete change and dislocation of cultural context and domains in which *te reo* featured as the dominant language of interaction (that is, the *marae* or tribal meeting place and the home). Māori parents' saw greater relevance and prosperity in the English language and therefore, Māori began to abandon *te reo* in favour of English (Benton, 1991). *Te reo Māori* was seen as a hinderance in the acquisition of the English

language and the ability to participate and engage effectively in modern New Zealand society.

Along with the majority of participants engaged in this study, a large number of speakers in this generation have acquired *te reo* as a second lanague, as noted by Christensen (2001a). For the majority of these people English is their first language, and it is certain that a learners first language will impact on the development and acquisition of a second language such as *te reo Māori*. With only four percent of New Zealand's population being able to speak Māori, the current position of *te reo* still reflects it as being endangered. The Māori language is in constant competition with English, thus said, the impact of English on *te reo* raises concern and requires focussed attention if we are to consider the implications for the maintenance and revitalisation of *te reo Māori*.

The influence of English on *te reo Māori* is both visible and hard to evade. Elements of the English language can exist in Māori, as is evident from the vast number of English transliterations that exist in *te reo Māori*, as well as the many concepts that have been and are still being transferred from the English world. What this emphasises is the superimposing of a Western belief system and framework of understanding onto concepts derived from a Māori world view. In essence, what is occurring is the narrowing of the breadth of meaning and dilution of specific terms that express Māori culture, knowledge, spirituality and a Māori ontological world view. This thesis reflects a critical concern for the revival and maintenance of *te reo Māori* as the means for preserving an authentic Māori world view.

This thesis is titled '*Kia Māori te reo Māori?*' the translation being 'Is the Māori language still Māori?' and questions the changing nature of the Māori language due to the impact of English. Do learners see this change as a form of contamination or is it seen as a natural progression and aid in the language's development. This study examined attitudes towards the impact of the English language on *te reo Māori* from eight students of Otago University, Te Tumu School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies.

There are three stakeholder groups for whom this research may be useful, these are, learners of *te reo Māori*, language teachers, and educational institutions that have a commitment to teaching *te reo Māori*. This thesis offers insight into the thoughts, views and concerns regarding the impact of English on *te reo Māori* (from the perspective of active Māori language learners), to see whether this impact is seen as a threat to the maintenance and revitalisation of *te reo Māori*, or a natural progression and aid in the development of the

language. This thesis contributes to raising awareness of the nature of the impact of English on *te reo Māori*, with specific reference to the areas of lexical borrowing and transliteration; code switching, pronunciation, grammar and Māori idiom.

This research is important as there is very little literature about adult indigenous language learning. This research also assists in understanding what active language learners think about their own learning experience which will assist teachers and educators to design better courses, and also helps policy makers to make more informed decisions regarding Māori language revitalisation efforts.

The following research project is made up of five chapters. Chapter one provides a review of literature from the areas of language revitalisation and second language acquisition. This review examines several key areas with regards to the impact of the English language on *te reo Māori*. These areas are transliteration and lexical borrowing, pronunciation, conceptual shift, semantic, and syntactic change. Chapter two will discuss the methodology and methods that were used to investigate this thesis topic. More specifically, this study uses a qualitative methodological approach combined with aspects of Kaupapa Māori theory to examine and investigate the research topic. The method of analysing the transcriptions from the semi-structured interviews follows that of Thematic Data Analysis as described by Braun and Clarke (2008). Chapter three and four provides an in-depth discussion on the emerging key themes from the semi-structured interviews of the eight participants involved in this study. Chapter five summarises and interprets the findings from the data gathered from the interviews. This chapter will also discuss the implications of these findings for the future development of the Māori language.

Chapter One

Literature Review

1.0 Introduction

This review draws on both local and international literature from the areas of language revitalisation and second language acquisition (SLA). The central aim of this chapter is to outline and discuss existing literature in relation to the impact of the English language on *te reo Māori.*

English is the most wide spread language in the world and is more widely spoken and written than any other language in the world (Crystal, 2003a). The English language is spoken by over 400 million people and is a common lingua franca in many countries around the world (Crystal, 2003b). The impact of English when in contact with indigenous languages is described by Skutnubb-Kangas (2000) as cited in Rātima (2013) as a force of 'linguistic genocide'. That is, it's pervasiveness as a suppressive global language is a threat to the diverse nature and even to the existence of indigenous languages. In terms of language revitalisation, the impact of the English language on minority and indigenous languages reflects as having a general negative influence, specifically, an undermining of an authentic Māori world view. Furthermore, English as the language of colonisation of many countries, dilutes and minimises the uniqueness of indigenous languages (Smith, 1999). The presence of English is seen as a form of intrusion or interference. In Aotearoa New Zealand, English acts as a force of intrusion that imposes on *te reo Māori* by way of structural, lexical, and syntactic change. Harlow (2004) explains that these intrusions are widely used and heard by speakers of *te reo Māori*. The ultimate threat of incorrect use of *te reo* (based on English) results in the language changing altogether. Although language interference can be seen as having both positive and negative effects in the field of SLA, for the case of *te reo Māori* it is not seen as positive by the participants of this study as they felt it has an adverse effect of the development of their proficiency in *te reo Māori*. Harlow (2007) explains that interference of a speaker's first language, in this case the English language, is unable to be avoided by Māori language learners. A reason for this is because the majority of speakers of the Māori language also speak English as a first language.

The impact of English on *te reo Māori* is a topic that requires more focussed attention. The English language has impacted on the lexical, phonological, and syntactic structure of *te reo*

Māori as emphasised by a range of academics and will be discussed in this review (Harlow 2001, 2004, 2007; Harlow, Keegan, King, Maclagan, and Watson 2009; King, Harlow, Watson, Keegan, and Maclagan 2009; Benton 1985; and Duval 1995). The impact of English on *te reo* (and the experience of being colonised) led to the languages near death, and remains a destructive force in the maintenance and revitalisation of *te reo Māori*. This is evident in the current 2013 New Zealand Statistics regarding *te reo Māori,* which highlight the ongoing decline in the proficiency among Māori language speakers. In 2001 there was 25.15 per cent of Māori who identified as having the ability of converse in *te reo Māori*, in 2006 there was 23.74 per cent, and in 2013 there were only 21.31 per cent[4]. One of the major reasons is because the vast majority of New Zealanders are monolingual speakers of English, May (2004) states that:

> more than 9 out of 10 of Aotearoa/New Zealand's 3.8 million inhabitants are first-language speakers of English, which means that the country is one of the most linguistically homogenous in the world today. (p. 1)

Therefore, this study is occurring within one of the most hostile contexts for an indigenous language because New Zealand is one of the most monolingual countries in the world. What this means for revitalisation efforts is that *te reo Māori* is in constant competition with the use of English as a dominant force in the use and maintenance of *te reo.* This may also raise concern regarding the impact English has on the on-going development on *te reo Māori* in New Zealand.

There are two main categories from which this review will be explored, the first area is lexis, that is, the vocabulary that makes up a language. The areas that will be discussed is the impact of English through transliteration and borrowing, and the impact of English on the pronunciation of *te reo Māori*. The main point of this section is to examine issues in relation to lexical and phonological changes to *te reo Māori*. The second theme discusses the interference of the English language on *te reo Māori*. With regard to the loss of Māori terms which carry and convey certain Māori concepts. This section highlights the superimposing of English language concepts on the Māori language and Māori world view. This section will specifically look at conceptual shift, code switching, semantic change, and syntactic change to *te reo Māori.* This section forms an important part of this research as it shows clear

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[4] For further detailed information refer to http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/snapshots-of-nz/nz-social-indicators/Home/Culture%20and%20identity/maori-lang-speakers.aspx

examples of how the English language has infiltrated and ultimately changed *te reo Māori* in terms of how it is used, spoken and understood.

1.1 Lexical borrowing and transliteration

The socio-historical context of New Zealand spans approximately two centuries of cultural and linguistic interaction between Māori and Pākehā. As a result of this cultural contact through avenues such as trade and Christianity, a shift towards an innovative mixing of both languages occurred. Language contact situations such as Māori and English can hardly evade mutual influence, this is evident in the lexical borrowing that exists between both languages[5]. The English lexical influence, however, has been more invasive on *te reo*. For example, Macalister's (2005) research looks at New Zealand English loans from *te reo Māori,* he notes about 900 or so words that have been borrowed. Whereas, Duval (1995) outlines around 2,500 distinct loans that were integrated into *te reo*, from the English language lexicon, during 1815 to 1899. Duval highlights that the vast majority of these words relate to Christianity, technology, trade and law. Duval further describes these English lexical influences on Māori as 'gainwords' in which he asserts that the expressions, loanword or borrowing should be replaced by the phrase 'gainword' or 'gain'; and that the method by which new lexical items proceed into a language should be acknowledged more positively. Thus, he highlights a positive orientation towards the influence of English lexical items on *te reo Māori*. This, in turn, reflects a positive attitude towards borrowing and transliteration. However, some speakers of the Māori language, in particular those that hold puristic values towards *te reo* Māori, view transliterated words from English, or what Duval terms 'gainwords' as aspects of the Māori lexicon that should be avoided as their use is seen as minimising and diluting *te reo Māori*. Harlow (2005) discusses the existence to two types of purisum among Māori speakers, these are, a resistance towards borrowing from the English language and the other, 'dialect purisim', that is, resistance towards standardisation in favour of tribal dialects. Harlow (1993) explains that research into puristic attitudes and the impact this has on *te reo Māori* is minimal, therefore I can not make further comment as to how this impacts on the language however, participants in this study have voiced their opinions and concerns regarding the impact of English on the authenticity of *te reo Māori*. The MLC promote a shift away from the use of words that are transliterated, towards the use and

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[5] Refer to Bell and Holmes (1991) for a further discussion on the Māori language influence on New Zealand English.

reintroduction of original Māori words, terms and concepts (Harlow, 1993, 2005, Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori, 2004). In terms of the revitalisation of *te reo*, the use of English transliterations are seen as having a negative impact on *te reo* and the use of words that reflect Māori ontology and epistemology are preferred.

The use of phonological and lexical adaptations such as transliterations became a form of language integration and is a common result of languages in contact. These adaptations and transliterations are evident in particular regional dialects, where English transliterations are a common feature. For example, words such as *wāka* is for walk and *whiunara* is for funeral, while the more authentic Māori equivalents are *hīkoi* for walk and *tangihanga* or *tangi* for funeral[6]. Another development is the synthesis of a blend between traditional and modern Māori words. For example, the word '*haikura*' for high school, '*kura*' meaning place of learning and '*hai*' is the transliteration for the English word 'high'. All languages must adapt and words that are simpler to use and learn will often stick compared to '*kura tuarua*' for high school. This shows that transliterations are important and are a natural part of language development, as noted by Duval (1995). However, such use of *te reo Māori* can reflect a perception that the integrity[7] of the language is at risk because of the over use of English transliterations as noted by Benton (1985) and Harlow (2004 and 2005). An early example of the intrusion of loanwords from English is given in Māori printed material from 1905, provided by Moorfeild and Ka'ai (2011) who discuss the concerns of Rēweti Kōhere, an editor of the Māori language newspaper, Te Pipiwharauroa. He expressed his concern about the pervasive influence and use of transliterations from English to Māori. He gives forty-seven examples of specific loanwords such as *pera* for pillow, in which he says the word *urunga* is more suited as an authentic and more appropriate use of *te reo Māori*. His main concern about the use of transliterations is that these terms are replacing the use of original Māori words. The consequences are the potential loss of lexical items unique to the Māori language and by extension the loss of ideas, knowledge and cultural understandings that are attached to these words. This being said, due to the fluid nature of languages it is important to consider the place of dynamism and innovation as a natural phenomenon. As previously mentioned, Māori have a strong legacy of indigenising Western technology. Purists, or people that advocate the use of language that has not been contaminated or exposed to any other language, claim that their perception and use of authentic Māori terms is 'more valid',

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[6] Likely to be the regional dialect of Ngā Puhi, H, Temo, personal communication, April 23, 2013.
[7] I refer to integrity as a term that encompasses and reflects the undermining of *te reo Maori* at all of its levels, be it stylistically, linguistically or grammatically.

this may be a flawed perception. That is, because, all languages are subject to change, change is a natural consequence of languages in contact, they are not static entities they are fluid, dynamic and ever changing. Puristic ideals towards language, especially in the case of language revitalisation, reflect a somewhat narrow view that dismisses the changing nature of language. As Zuckerman and Walsh (2011) explain, language revitalisation depends on the need for setting realistic goals and expectations as opposed to puristic goals that may further jeopardise a language because puristic ideals reflect a somewhat narrow view that dismisses the changing nature of language. Although, the use of transliterations or phonetic borrowings from English perform an important function and are a natural part of language development, as noted by Duval (1995). Participant attitudes reflected in this study do not align with that of Zuckerman and Walsh (2011). For the most part the cohort felt that excessive use of transliterations will lead to the loss of authentic understandings embedded in the language. However, Zuckerman and Walsh (2011) raise an important consideration that cannot be dismissed. That is, for languages to survive, especially in the case of endangered languages such as *te reo Māori*, part of their survival is dependent on the need to evolve. A part of this process is the need to create words for things that did not exist such as, the examples discussed in table 1. However, if the goal for language revitalisation is to maintain the authenticity of a language, then the evolution of language should not extend to replacing terms that already exist as that is not evolution, it is extinction.

Christensen (2001a) explains that various borrowings and transliterations have become universally accepted as being an integrated part of *te reo Māori*. I agree with this statement, however, the notion of borrowed words being universally accepted has become challenged by the resistance to words that do not reflect a Māori conceptual framework. Examples of such words are provided in the table below. The publication of the MLC's 'He Pātaka Kupu' (2008) is a prime example of the endeavour to recapture conceptual authenticity of *te reo* from within the culture. This compilation of traditional Māori words captures the diversity and uniqueness of Māori values and the world view represented within it.

Table 1 Transliterations and their equivalents

Transliteration	English Equivalent	Māori Equivalent
Wini	Window	*Matapihi* (pre-contact)
Tiwi	T.V, Television	*Pouaka whakaata* (post-

		contact)
Whiriti	Fridge, refrigerator	*Pouaka makariri* (post-contact)
Motowei, rori	Motorway, road	*Huarahi* (pre-contact)
Parakitihi	Practice	*Whakaharatau* (pre-contact)

This table shows five examples of words that have been transliterated from English into Māori. There is an important distinction to make between words that predate English and words created to carry Māori concepts, this is illustrated in the table with pre-contact and post-contact. These are examples of objects or ideas that have been introduced due to modernisation and the need to extend the language for wider use. Adopting transliterations is common practice to accommodate for words that do not exist in Māori. Native speakers of *te reo Māori* often use transliterated words from English when speaking *te reo*. The importance of creating such words is so that *te reo* can continue to be used for wider application, this being the primary reason why *te reo Māori* has borrowed from other languages.

When a second language learner is looking for a vocabulary term to explain what they mean, they will generally use one of the following four processes. First, there is creating transliterations from English for something that did not exist such as *whiriti* for fridge and *tīwi* for television. Second, there are authentic or original Māori words that have not changed. Third, there are words that have been reintroduced from old Māori words and concepts such as the days and months in Māori[8] (this is based on the efforts of the MLC to revitalise old words and concepts for continued use in the future). Fourth, there is the practice of using an old word to describe something new. For example, the use of the Māori word *huka* for sugar, as discussed later in the chapter. However, the use of transliterated words can also be met with resistance from Māori language speakers. Keegan (2005) discusses issues regarding new and borrowed terms in *te reo Māori*. He explains that in contrast to some fluent speakers, others have the opinion that newly introduced words are seen as somewhat inappropriate and their acceptance into the Māori lexicon is subject to some controversy. In their view, borrowing removes the essence or authenticity of the language that it is being borrowed into.

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[8] Refer to http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/maramataka-the-lunar-calendar/page-1 for a full set of the months of the year in Māori and http://kupu.maori.nz/set/Days-of-the-week for a list of the Māori days of the week.

This particular opinion towards language reflects a puristic approach to language use and revitalisation. Purism promotes use of original and authentic language as opposed to words that have been borrowed. To illustrate, the use of the word Rāhina for Monday would be appropriate as opposed to the word Mane. Another example is the word Kohitātea (January), a term taken from the Traditional Māori calendar originally consisting of 10 months for referring to the term Hānuere which is a transliteration of the word January. It is important to note, however, that there were no pre-existing terms for the 7 days of the week such as Rāhina, Rātū (Tuesday), Rāapa (Wednesday) and so forth. They are not pre European terms for the days of the week. They were developed to bring a Māori concept into the Pākehā system for the 7 days of the week. Prior to the creation of the Māori days of the week, there was no Māori equivalent. The same applies to the months of the year, such as Kohitātea, Hui-tanguru (February), Poutū-te-rangi (March), Paenga-whāwhā (April) and so on as these terms were adapted from a traditional tribal calendar. I will discuss the days and months in more detail later in this chapter.

A topic that emerged out of Keegan's (2003) PhD research highlights the existing attitudes towards the use of borrowed words in Māori. Keegan's (2003) research which involved discussions with Māori language teachers found that there was a variety of opinions on the spectrum of attitudes towards borrowing from English. He found three predominant views among these teachers. The first of these views is that borrowing from English was totally acceptable. The second is that it was completely inappropriate and not acceptable in any way shape or form. The third is that borrowing from English was acceptable, however, extensive use of these terms could have a damaging effect on *te reo Māori*, thus rendering *te reo* as essentially English in nature, where the words and structure's being used are primarily borrowed from the English language. Some examples of how English has impacted on the syntactical structure of *te reo Māori* will be illustrated later in the chapter, in section 2.2.4 For now I will focus on certain lexical items that have changed due to contact with English.

Harlow (2004) discusses changes to the Māori vocabulary. He gives some examples of lexical changes based on the need to adapt and extend the use of *te reo Māori* for objects and concepts that previously did not exist before European contact. Harlow explains that these words have now changed in meaning from how they were earlier defined and understood. The first example is the word *huka* which was originally used to describe foam and has been adapted into modern Māori to mean sugar. The second example is the word *kura,* which is used in modern Māori for the word school, but Harlow explains that traditionally the word

was used in the sense of knowledge of *karakia* (incantation or spell) and other Māori lore, and also as the compound of *wharekura*, this refers to the place in which Māori cultural lore was taught. The third example he provides is the word *puru,* which in modern Māori has been adapted to mean the word 'put'. Originally the term was used to mean 'a bung, plug, to insert, to plug up' (p. 157). The meaning of these words have been extended due to contact with the English language. These examples demonstrate a naturally occurring phenomenon, that is, to extend the language in order to describe and discuss new things. With reference to the third example given by Harlow there was an existing Māori way of saying put or place that over there, which is *waiho te mea i runga i te tēpu* (leave that on the table) or *waiho tēnā ki te taha* (leave that to one side). As highlighted by Keegan (2003) an underlying issue is the fact that use or overuse of transliterations are diluting the use of original Māori words and replacing them with words that are essentially English but with Māori spelling and pronunciation. The issue being the loss of Māori cultural and spiritual knowledge that is embedded within those original Māori terms and concepts.

1.1.2 Phonological change

The phonological sounds that make up a language are a quintessential aspect of a language's distinct and unique identity. *Te reo Māori* is made up of only twenty one phonemes compared to the forty five that exist in New Zealand English (Bauer, 1993 and Harlow, 2001). Ryan (1999) specifies one particular difference between the pronunciation of English and *te reo Māori*, is the pronunciation of the vowel sounds. He also discusses the difference in pronunciation from English to Māori with the following consonants r, p, and wh.

Harlow et al. (2009) have identified contact-induced changes to *te reo Māori* that have appeared over the last century. The results from this study emerged out of sampled audio recordings from three specific cohorts, which all consisted of eight male Māori language speakers, whose birth dates span over 100 years (1880s-1980s). The first was a group of male speakers who were born in the late 1800s. They were recorded using both Māori and English. All speakers belonging to this cohort were first language speakers of *te reo.* Their use of English (pronunciation and grammatical features) imply that these speakers had all acquired English as a second language. The second group was born in the 1920s and 1930s. This cohort were also first language speakers of *te reo Māori,* who were socialised in Māori speaking environments and who learnt English once they had started school. The third group

was made up of Māori language speakers who were born in the 1970s and 1980s. The difference with this group was that six were first language speakers of *te reo* and the other two had acquired *te reo* as a second language[9]. The findings from this study show significant shifts in the vowel sounds, syllables and rhythm of modern Māori. To give an example there has been a considerable decrease in the distinction of quantity and quality between the long and short vowels in Māori. By quality, Harlow et al. are referring to mispronunciation of Māori vowels. By quantity, Harlow et al. (2009) are referring to the length that long vowels are held and suggests that the duration of sound has become considerable reduced, to the extent where the use of long and short vowels may be indistinguishable.

Changes to the phonological sounds that make up a language are a natural consequence of languages in contact (Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling-Estes, 2002). Moreover, when acquiring a second language, learners carry with them the phonological sound system of their first language, as evidenced by Flege, Schirru and MacKay (2002). The influence of the English language on the pronunciation of *te reo Māori* has become an observable feature. Some examples of shifts in the pronunciation of *te reo* based on English influences is discussed by Harlow (2004). For example the pronunciation of /*au*/ and /*ou*/ in words such as *hau* (wind) and *hou* (new) are examples of minimal pairs[10] that are commonly mispronounced in Māori. This is however, also influenced by the dominance of standardised teaching of *te reo Māori* that favours the use of '*au*' over '*ou*' in words such as *rātau* and *rātou* (a personal pronoun referring to three or more people).

Harlow (2004) explains that there is a puristic attitude among speakers of the Māori language towards Māori words in English, for example, place names, flora and fauna and cultural concepts in Māori. He asserts that many people who speak Māori hold a puristic approach to the way their words and concepts are pronounced, and that they should reflect the phonological pronunciation of *te reo Māori*. Harlow (2005) highlights the importance of pronouncing Māori words from the language of origin. Harlow asserts that the mispronunciation of Māori words may be seen as disrespectful and might even be seen as linguistic harassment.

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[9] Watson, Maclagan, King and Harlow (2006) provides a study that looks at the differences within this specific cohort of Māori language speakers, that is, the differences between first and second language learner speech.
[10] According to the field of linguistics or more specifically the area of phonology, minimal pairs are words or phrases that vary in only one phonological element as seen in the following examples, *pou* (post) and *pau* (empty) or *hou* (new) and *hau* (wind).

A common view among native Māori language speakers is that the English emphasised pronunciation is having a diminishing effect on the integrity of *te reo*. By integrity, one can take this as meaning, in this case, the linguistic tradition of *te reo* itself and its core pronunciations. The concept of the integrity of *te reo Māori* is something of particular concern to the participants of this study. That is, most participants expressed concern that the integrity of *te reo* is being undermined by the impact and influence of the English language. King et al. (2009) examines the influence of New Zealand English dialect on the pronunciation of *te reo Māori*. They show that there is a clear impact on various aspects of Māori language pronunciation due to linguistic and cultural contact. More specifically, the study highlights a shift in vowel pronunciation emulating the dominant language, that is, New Zealand English. This can be attributed to the Māori language revitalisation efforts in which the vast majority of speakers are bilingual in both English and Māori. The results of King's et al. (2009) study show that there are definite phonological changes that are influenced in the direction of the New Zealand English dialect. For example, the evidence collected from the vowel and diphthong analysis show specific phonological changes which suggest that there is six rather than ten Māori vowel sounds and less distinction of diphthongs. The study also highlights that phonemes which do not transpire in the dominant language (English) may diminish entirely over time, for example the '*wh*', '*p*', '*t*' and the '*k*' in Māori. Furthermore, King et. al. (2009) state that the changes in vowel length (of *te reo Māori*) may alter the rhythm of a language. This change reflects shortened annunciation of long vowels in Māori, which are signalled by macron. It can be said that the use of the macron has led to changes leading to standardising the vowel length, when it is much more varied in practice, for example, the Māori word '*rōpū*' where the pronunciation of the '*ō*' is held for much longer that the '*ū*', as if the macron over the '*u*' was non-existent.

From the perspective of native Māori language speakers, such changes to the rhythm highlight cause for concern. King et al. (2009) suggest that native speakers of *te reo* should be modelling appropriate pronunciation for language learners. This would be the ideal, however, the reality is that there are sparse numbers of native speakers and it would be impossible to provide teachers who are native speakers to all Māori language learners. As illustrated above, the findings of King's et al. (2009) study highlight that the New Zealand English dialect has indeed become imprinted on the pronunciation of modern *te reo Māori* that is spoken in New Zealand. According to the studies discussed above, the impact of English can be readily observed on the pronunciation of *te reo Māori*. This impact is asserted

as a form of intrusion on *te reo*. Although this is a naturally occurring phenomenon of languages in contact, the implications of these phonological changes raises concern among speakers of *te reo* because it compromises the authenticity of *te reo Māori*. Similar concerns have been raised by Nesmith (2001 and 2005) and his study about the current state of the Hawaiian language, which will be discussed further on in this chapter.

1.2 English language interference

In order to facilitate understanding about the broader influence of a first language on the acquisition of another language, it is important to consider further first language interference. This is a complex phenomenon both in practice and theory, therefore the focus of this discussion is not aimed at providing a deep account of interference. Rather, the purpose here is to provide a background from which the reader can form a basic understanding of this phenomenon. Lott (1983) characterises interference as the inaccuracies of a learner's use of a second language that are transposed from their first language.

Ellis (1997) refers to the phenomenon of interference as 'transfer'. He states that this is "the influence that the learner's L1 exerts over the acquisition of an L2" (p. 51). The notion of 'transferability' is a primary theory from which the phenomenon of how language effects and influences proficiency can begin to be understood. Transferability refers to "the claim that L1 first language [sic] transfer is partly a function of learners' (conscious and subconscious) intuitions about how transferable certain phenomenon are" (Ortego, 2009, p. 38). Ellis (1997) makes a clear and important distinction between learners making errors and making mistakes. He asserts that errors are reflective of the existing gaps in a learner's knowledge about a language, and they occur because a learner cannot distinguish what is correct in the context of the language that is being acquired. Whereas, mistakes maybe defined as the occasional inaccuracies or lapses in a learners speech. The implications of learners making errors is important to my study because the English language may impact on the way a learner structures their sentences and articulates their speech in *te reo Māori*. If English is their first language then they are more likely to think and structure sentences according to English.

In the acquisition of a language there can be both positive and negative transfer. The phenomenon of positive transfer occurs when the use of the same language structure is appropriate in both languages. Negative transfer is when structures of a first language are used in an inappropriate manner that is not conducive with the language being acquired.

Harlow (2004) and (2005) provide some specific examples of negative interference from English, one commonly used example is the sentence 'they built a house', one correct way of saying this in Māori is '*i hanga whare rātou*' which incorporates the object into the verb. In English this can be translated as 'they house-built' or the passive sentence would be '*i hangaia e rātou he whare*' the English translation would be 'was built by them a house'. Speakers of *te reo Māori* often use the expression '*he whare*' which is the English equivalent to 'a house', so the sentence '*i hanga rātau he whare*' 'they built a house' is widely used but is in fact grammatically incorrect as it clearly follows the structure of the English language. Harlow states that even very fluent speakers of *te reo Māori* have been known to use this sentence structure (p. 155)[11].

The impact of English as intrusion, is a linguistic phenomenon raising concern, as it could be argued that incorrect use of *te reo* has become an integrated feature of modern, contemporary Māori language. This concern is asserted by Harlow (2005) who states:

> interference error[s] may well become part of the language, but other examples which abound are so clearly direct encodings of English and so un-Māori that their absorption into Māori would represent a severe compromising of its genius. (Harlow, 2005, p. 138)

1.2.1 Code Switching

Interference errors transposed from the English language have become a commonly observed feature and concern for *te reo*. One of the most obvious observations is the act of code-switching, that is, switching between the use of two different languages This linguistic phenomenon can be attributed to a lack in knowledge of specific lexical items, or a lack of ability to express and convey ideas and concepts that are perhaps unknown to the speaker and are better explained using their first language. This is generally the language that one is more comfortable using. Benton's (1980) observations regarding the speech of young children in the 1960's (who lived in a remote Māori speaking community) illustrates how the English language became more prominent in the use of these children's day to day speech. An example of code switching is noted by Benton (1979) "I whaka<u>stay</u>ngia matou ki te <u>do</u> i a matou <u>work</u>" which translates to "we were made to stay in and do our (school) work" (p. 9). Crystal (2000) warns that an increase in the use of code switching is a condition leading to language death. That is, because ones fluency in a particular language may be hindered,

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[11] For further examples of English language intrusions on *te reo Māori* see Harlow (2004) p. 156, and Harlow (2005) pp. 137-139.

although code switching occurs on different levels, for example one may code switch for lexical reasons, the reason being, they may not know the correct word and therefore switch from speaking *te reo Māori* into English or they may not be able to express a particular concept and therefore switch to using English in order to explain themselves. There are currently no studies that look directly at the impact of code switching between English and *te reo Māori* and how this effects language development. However, Karetu (n.d.) explains that the use of code switching is not problematic as long as the grammar remains authentic to *te reo Māori*. He provides the following example, "Who knows ko wai ka mate i a wai, ko wai rānei ka win" (p. 62) which translates to 'who knows who will be defeated by whom, or who will win. Karetu further explains that if the Māori grammar is contaminated by code switching then the Māori epistemological world view is being debased, whether Māori language speakers are concisely aware of this or not. Therefore, from this position, the impact of code switching to English when speaking Māori is seen as having a detrimental effect if it interferes with the grammatical structure and essence of the language.

1.2.2 Conceptual Shift

Prior to Pākehā contact the Māori language consisted of an oral language base that conveyed cultural symbols and metaphors as explained by Haami (2004) and Rewi (2012). During the phase of initial contact between Māori and Pākehā, there was a rapid expansion of the Māori language lexicon to enable the expression of elements introduced to Māori from the Western world. A result of this impact is how the English language and belief system has imposed a Western worldview on Māori language speakers, and is manifest through linguistic changes to *te reo Māori.*

A strong example of conceptual shift is presented in the days of the week and months of the year. The days of the week in Māori were introduced by way of transliteration from English because there was no pre-European equivalent for the days of the week. For example, Mane for Monday, Tūrei for Tuesday and Wenerei for Wednesday. These terms were met with some resistance because they were taken from English and transposed into *te reo Māori*. The MLC created new terms for the days of the week based on traditional Māori knowledge, which correlates with the Gregorian or Western calendar. Monday became known as Rāhina ('*Rā*' for day and '*hina*' for moon) and Tuesday became Rātū ('*Rā*' for day and '*tū*' for

Tūmatauenga the god of war or the planet Mars), as noted by Keegan (2005)[12]. The same process occurred for the months of the year in *te reo Māori* where English transliterations such as Hanuere for January and Pepuere for February were introduced. In a letter to Mana Magazine (2009, p. 38), Huhana Rokx explains that the MLC took the terms for the months in Māori from Best's (1986, p. 19) The Māori Division of Time. These are based on the *maramataka*[13] (Māori lunar calendar), for example, Kohitāte*a* for January and Hui-tanguru for February. Roberts, Weko, and Clarke (2006) explain that with the introduction of Western concepts of keeping time such as the calendar, traditional Māori cultural knowledge and practices associated with the sun, moon and stars were replaced. It is important to note that there was regional variation among different tribes, the *maramataka* corresponds with the moon, and dictated *iwi* (tribal) and *hapū* (sub-tribal) survival. Tāwhai (2013) explains that traditionally the Māori lunar calendar consisted of thirty or thirty one moon phases and were referred to in Māori as "ngā pō o te maramataka" or the "the nights of the month" (p. 13). The re-introduction of old Māori terms described above also show that the impact on *te reo* is not all one sided. These changes demonstrate a strong example of conceptual shift, reflecting how English has impacted on how we keep time. In effect the adaption of these new terms based on Māori concepts for the months of the year have been superimposed on Māori speakers from a Western belief system. It would appear, based on the evidence reviewed thus far, that it seems likely that the more transliteration is used the more the Māori language is moving towards a Western conceptual framework. The participants of this study are highly aware of this and strongly agree that excessive use of transliterations do not reflect positively for the maintenance and revitalisation of *te reo Māori* because of the loss of authentic Māori cultural knowledge such as the *maramataka*.

Metge (1979) discusses various Maori words and how the cultural concepts and understandings of these words have changed in meaning due to contact between Māori and Pākehā. She highlights the specific adaptation of the Māori concept of *tapu*, which is commonly referred to in English as 'sacred' or 'holy' and has taken on a Christian connotation. This has altered the understanding of a specifically Māori concept by a Western belief system superimposing the cultural ideals of monolingual English language speakers. There is no English equivalent that can fully define the concept of *tapu*. Although in common usage, it is often translated simply as sacred. Shirres (1997) explains that the concept of *tapu*

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[12] Refer to Keegan (2005) for further detailed information.
[13] I am not suggesting that all Māori tribes have the same lunar calendar, as they vary from tribe to tribe.

is understood through two elements, these are faith and reason. Faith "being with potentiality for power" (p.33) and reason being "…the mana of the spiritual powers"[14] manifested by the elemental gods such as Tāne, Rongomātane, and Tangaroa[15] (p.33). This is essential to understanding the Māori concept of *tapu*. Furthermore, Pere (1997) describes *tapu* in the following ways as:

> …a protective measure; a way of imposing disciplines, social control; a way of developing an understanding and an awareness of spirituality and its implications; a way of developing an appreciation and a respect for another human being, another life force, life in general. (p. 40)

Due to these Western translations of the concept of *tapu,* the spiritual essence of *te reo*, the ideologies, and cultural belief system is being severely diluted. That is, the breadth of meaning of *te reo* is narrowed because of the superimposing of a Western worldview on a Māori concept. Language and culture are inextricably linked and the extent to which *te reo Māori* has been and still is being effected by the impact of the English language, culture and worldview requires critical attention. Fishman (1996) stipulates that inherent with language loss comes the loss of cultural understandings and representations of the world. The implications of these changes are severe and threaten the very existence of the Māori language.

Another example of conceptual shift of *te reo Māori* is evident in the use of the possessive 'a' and 'o' categories which are distinctively Māori and have no English comparison. Benton (1991, p. 15) highlights the use of the possessives 'a' and 'o' is a common grammatical feature that causes confusion among learners of *te reo Māori*. A misunderstanding is occurring in the correct application of these terms. For example, inappropriate use would be '*tāku waka*' (my car), '*tāku poraka*' (my jersey) or '*tāku Kuia*' (my Grandmother), whereas the correct use of these sentence's should be '*tōku waka', 'tōku poraka*' and '*tōku Kuia*'. '*Tāku*' denotes a class, which refers to anything inferior and '*tōku*' denotes o class which is anything superior. An automobile or any form of transportation is considered in the o class, as is clothing, as are our elders, so they all need to be rendered as o class. The 'a' and 'o' categories in Māori represent not only a physical relationship to objects but also a spiritual connection. In a Māori worldview, the physical and spiritual world are inextricably linked. If the grammatical structure of the 'a' and 'o' categories are misunderstood and continue to be

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[14] *Mana* is a specifically Māori term that is define by the power or prestige of something or someone. Pere (1997) defines *mana* as "divine right, influence or prestige" (p. 14).

[15] Tāne also known as Tāne Mahuta, is the god of flora and fauna, Rongo or Rongomātāne is the god of agriculture, and Tangaroa is the god of the sea.

used inappropriately then the embedded cultural knowledge of superior and inferior relationships that are attached to the use of these terms are also removed. As mentioned previously by Karetu (n.d.) when Māori grammar is interfeared with there is a great loss of cultural knowledge that is encapsulated in the language.

Nesmith (2002 and 2005) examines some differences in the variety of speech between native speakers and second language learners (SLL) of the Hawaiian language. When his research was conducted, in 2002 there were less than 1000 native speakers of Hawaiian, and most speakers of the language were SLL's, being taught primarily through instruction in Primary school, High School and Tertiary institutions. According to Nesmith (2002 and 2005) these two speech communities rarely interact, and native speakers hold little or no role at all in the teaching of second language learners. The result has been the transmission of an institutionalised variety of Hawaiian which he terms Neo Hawaiian. He asserts that the impact of Neo Hawaiian is altering the way in which the language (and culture) is being conveyed, understood and articulated, Nesmith states that "NEO speakers are creating their own community, speech habits, and rules…" (Nesmith, 2005, p. 10). For example, the invention of new terms in Hawaiian by Neo speakers which, Nesmith explains, is at times influenced by the English language. Neo speakers have created a new word, '*kiuke*' which imitates the English language equivalent of the word 'cute'. Whereas, in the traditional Hawaiian dialect when referring to the cute appearance of a child, a speaker would say "Auē, aloha nō ho'i kēia wahi keiki!" approximate translation: "Oh, how lovely this little child!" (Nesmith, 2005, p. 10). In the traditional Hawaiian dialect when referring to the appearance of a baby the expression '*pupuka*' (ugly) is used. The reason for this expression is culturally located, Nesmith explains that if a baby is said to be beautiful in appearance that "…an unwelcome hearer, human or spirit, might become jealous of the baby's good fortune and wish to do it harm" (p.11). Nesmith states that greater awareness of these changes to the Hawaiian language needs to be raised, as it is ultimately changing the shape of not only the language but also of Hawaiian identity. The traditional Hawaiian language is being undermined by this emerging neo-Hawaiian language. The same correlations can be made about the impact of English on *te reo Māori*. Evidence from this study and the literature that has been examined shows that cultural concepts are being narrowed and the meanings of *te reo* are being diluted due to impact from the English language, this reflects a situation where the essence, authenticity and world view of *te reo* is being threatened. The same concern may also apply to *te reo Māori* and the influence of the English language. Benton (1985) warns

that a primary threat to *te reo Māori* is the impact of modern English thought processes on *te reo*. He asserts that the influence of English modes of thought on *te reo* infiltrate Māori schema, that is, what is in your head that shapes your understanding of the world. For *te reo Māori*, these can be seen as the metaphorical expressions of the language linked to Māori spirituality, cultural values and understandings. Benton asserts that this is a critical threat to *te reo Māori*, he warns that the influence of the English language is impacting the cognitive and metaphorical representations that shape a Māori worldview. The implications are that they could result in the metaphorical and linguistic expressions unique to *te reo* being lost.

In summary there is evidence here that *te reo Māori* and the concepts that are conveyed through the language are being compromised due to the pervasiveness of the English language. Moreover, Māori ways of seeing the world are being minimised and undermined by the influence of the English language. The net effect is a negative one for the revitalisation and the on-going development of the Māori language. If we agree with the conclusions drawn from Nesmith (2002 and 2005) about the disappearance of traditional Hawaiian language due to this emerging Neo-language, then the conclusion is that the same thing is occurring with *te reo Māori*.

1.2.3 Semantic Change

Harlow (2001) and (2007) discusses certain grammatical shifts in *te reo Māori* that imitate the English language, which has changed the meaning of certain Māori phrases and expressions. One commonly heard example is the change in the use of the phrase *'ka taea'*. He explains how the use and meaning of this particular phrase has shifted from its original meaning towards an English expression. The phrase *'ka taea'* is used to express ability and skill, the English expression would be, 'you can', 'it can', or 'I can', for example '*ka taea e au te oma tino tere*' (I am skilful in running very quickly). Its common mistaken use follows that of an English language expression of asking for permission, consent or authorisation, whereas its proper meaning is only about ability and not about permission. An example of incorrect use would be '*ka taea e au te haere ki te toa*?' (Can I go to the store?). The correct Māori term to use is '*āhei*', for example, '*ka āhei ahau ki te haere ki te wharepaku*?' (May I use the restroom?). Harlow (2001) asserts that the incorrect use of this phrase must be avoided. This example of syntactic change highlights the impact that English is having on the use and understanding of specific language structures that are unique to *te reo Māori*. The

fact that aspects such as this are being transferred from the English language to *te reo Māori* demonstrates the detrimental influence that English is having on the shaping of *te reo*.

1.2.4 Syntactic change

The syntactical structure of *te reo Māori* also shows signs of contact induced change from English. An example of the extent to which the English language has impacted on *te reo Māori* is provided by Benton (1980 and 1985). He discusses the presence of the English language on the speech of children whose first language was *te reo Māori*. These children were socialised in one of the most dominant Māori speaking communities in New Zealand at the time (in the Tūhoe area of Ruātoki and Tāwera). Benton explores some of the semantic and syntactic changes that have been observed in the speech patterns of these children. Benton provides several examples highlighting certain linguistic confusions, inappropriate use and code switching[16]. Benton (1985) illustrates the use of unassimilated loans from English that appear in *te reo Māori*, that is, words that maintain the characteristics of the language from which it has been adopted or borrowed from. He illustrates how certain features of the English language are replacing Māori syntactic structures utilised to express certain grammatical distinctions unique to *te reo Māori*. He gives several examples, one being "*I haere ahau ki te tiki i ō tatou paraire* [sic] ("I went to fetch our bridles")" (p. 111). Benton does not provide an alternate correct way of saying this in Māori, however, this example clearly follows the structure of the English language, and a more authentic way of saying this is '*nāku ngā paraire i tiki*'. This structure follows a more accurate and appropriate way of saying the above sentence rather than simply following the grammar of the English language. The concern here is that these grammatical confusions that occur in Māori, which clearly imitate the structure and word order of the English language, may become a normal way of speaking and expressing *te reo*. Based on the evidence that has been examined, the syntactic structure of the Māori language is clearly being corrupted by English word order.

The impact of English as intrusion, is a linguistic phenomenon that is raising concern, as it could be argued that incorrect use of *te reo* has become an integrated feature of modern, contemporary Māori language. This concern is asserted by Harlow (2005) who states:

> ...interference error[s] may well become part of the language, but other examples which abound are so clearly direct encodings of English and so un-Māori that their absorption into Māori would represent a severe compromising of its genius (Harlow, 2005, p. 138).

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[16] Code switching is the act of switching between the use of two different languages.

The influence of English on the syntax of *te reo Māori* is yet another critical concern. Syntactical changes present a problematic issue for *te reo*, as highlighted by Christensen (2001a) who asserts that the structure of the language is what "carries the unique forms of Māori expression which offer insights into Māori values and understandings of the world" (p. 32).

Table 2 Retaining the essence of the language

English	Māori translation	Unique Māori expression	Translation of Māori expression
The food is ready.	*Kua reri ngā kai.*	*Kua hora te tēpu.* *Kei te karanga a Rongo.*	The table is spread. Rongo (God of cultivated foods) is calling.
Thank you for looking after us.	*Tēnā koutou mō tā koutou manaaki i a mātau.*	*Kei whea mai tā koutou manaaki i a mātau.*	How excellent indeed is the hospitality that you have shown us.
Listen carefully.	*Āta whakarongo.*	*Me whakarongo pīkari ngā taringa.*	Ears should be open in expectation like the mouths of baby birds in the nest waiting for their mother to return with food.

(Christensen, 2001a, p. 36).

The table highlights the use of the language as not simply about expressing logical and empirical statements. All language carries and conveys cultural codes. The examples above convey and give insight into the unique perspective of a Māori world view. The first example demonstrates the spiritual connection and relationship that is expressed through the language in even the most simple of utterances such as declaring that food is ready to be consumed. The unique Māori expression demonstrates the spiritual connection to the Māori elemental god Rongo or Rongmātane. The second example highlights how *te reo Māori* is used to

recognise and empower people, as a demonstration of appreciation. This expression conveys the idiomatic use of the language that is unique to *te reo Māori*, that requires specific cultural knowledge to be fully understood. That is, this unique Māori idiomatic expression cannot be literally translated into the English language as it would not make complete sense. The third example elicits the intimate connection of the language to the natural environment, through the use of metaphor. Although each example is different in some way, they each require embedded cultural knowledge to be appropriately understood.

These examples highlight Benton's (1985) grave concern regarding the impact of the English language on the cultural metaphor and epistemological expressions uniquely accessed through *te reo Māori*. He warns that the impact of the English language on the analogical and metaphorical expressions of *te reo* is the primary threat for the ongoing survival and development of the Māori language. In nature when a dominant species is introduced and it displaces an autochthonous one, generally this is considered a tragic loss to the biodiversity of the region. The loss of unique language syntax and semantics is far less obvious but just as alarming in terms of the linguistic and cultural diversity of both the region and of the world of human languages.

In exploring further, the notion of language conveying cultural codes and beliefs, Benton (2007) questions the contemporary state of *te reo Māori*. He contemplates whether the *'mauri'* (life essence) of *te reo* is being diminished. According to Benton (2007) as long as the language and its culturally located concepts are spoken, conveyed and understood, the *mauri* of the language can never be extinguished.

If we are to consider the influence of English on *te reo*, and how we make sense of the world, essentially what is occurring is English cultural codes and concepts are being conveyed and transposed into *te reo Māori*. This is a condition of language revitalisation and second language learning. Christensen (2001a) asserts that:

> If one of the arguments central to the revitalisation of the Māori language is to protect the understandings of the world and expressions unique to the language and culture, then it is important to ensure that the language does not become like English simply clothed in Māori words. (p. 34)

It is from this perspective that the *mauri* or life essence of *te reo Māori* is being affected and the authenticity of Māori linguistic expressions that represent and convey a Māori world view are at risk. The implications of which go right to the heart of how powerful the influence of the English language is on *te reo*. The implications being the contamination of Māori

representations and unique understandings of the world, and further undermining Māori self-worth and cultural identity. Examples of this will be discussed in detail in chapters three and four.

1.3 Conclusion

This literature review has sought to discuss issues regarding the influence of English on the Māori language, as argued by a range of academics. It is clear that *te reo Māori* is changing as a result of contact with English. The influence of English on *te reo Māori* impacts lexically, structurally, phonetically, and conceptually. The impact of English is something that we need to be aware of as we go forward in the journey of Māori language revitalisation.

This review has shown how English has impacted on *te reo Māori* in terms of the dilution and undermining of authentic Māori concepts conveyed through the Māori language. Historically, the use of transliterations was essential to describing newly introduced terms from English in Māori. But, now, the implications of the use of transliterations may have a critical effect that threatens the use of original Māori words. As some writers warn, the overuse of transliterations may posit a threat to the continued use of pre-existing Māori words. Their concern is that we may lose these words and their original meaning altogether.

The phonological changes to *te reo Māori* demonstrate a natural occurring phenomenon when two languages are in contact. Harlow (2004) states that there is a general feeling among Māori language speakers that the pronunciation of the Māori language must remain in its authentic form. The implications of these changes thus have a negative impact on *te reo* because the authenticity of the original sounds of the language (that are influenced by English) may become normalised.

The section on conceptual shift of *te reo Māori* raised further critical issues. The Māori language is being dissolved and replaced because of the superimposing of the English language (and culture) on *te reo*. A symptom of the impact of the English language is that essentially it is altering the cultural codes, concepts and ontological world view that is represented by the language.

The section discussing the impact of English on the syntactic structure of *te reo Māori* highlights that grammatical structures in *te reo* are changing and are imitating the English language. Grammatical correctness in Māori is important, the evidence discussed above shows that the English language is in fact interfering with the unique expressions of *te reo*

Māori. If we consider the implications of the impact of these changes to *te reo Māori*, the language will continue to be diluted. If awareness is not raised then proper use and understanding of *te reo* may be completely lost.

English code switching compromises the authenticity of Māori grammar, and places *te reo Māori* under threat. This chapter has shown examples of how code switching undermines the use of *te reo Māori*. However, as highlighted by the participants of this study, there may be times when code switching is appropriate, for example, during the beginning stages of learning. These exceptions to the use of code switching are discussed in detail in chapter three.

The impact of the English language on *te reo Māori* is detrimental to the health of the Māori language because, thus far its impact has been to undermine authentic Māori concepts. The extent and nature of the influence of English on *te reo* is not widely researched, and awareness of the effects that English is having on *te reo* requires more scrutiny. In the context of the 21st century, the core question, are language ideologies and attitudes towards this phenomenon changing? remains important, because if Māori language learners are not aware or do not care about this change, it is highly likely that the linguistic and cultural diversity of *te reo* will continue to decline. This thesis aims to explore adult learner attitudes towards the impact of English on *te reo*, so we may gain insight into how active language learners perceive these changes, or whether they are even aware of these impacts. This thesis seeks to describe existing perspectives of adult language learners on the influence of English, to see whether language ideologies are changing and or shifting with regard to the influence of English on *te reo Māori*. This thesis also seeks to explore what are the implications of the impact of English on the revitalisation of *te reo*.

The implications of the changes discussed in this review all point to serious problems that cannot be ignored. In essence, they concern dilution and loss of the ontological and epistemological representations of a Māori world view. The evidence from the literature demonstrates that *te reo Māori* is being influenced by a Western framework of speaking and understanding, however, more research into such topics is required. The implications of the sections discussed in this review provide an analytical framework for the remainder of the thesis and will be explored further with the data gathered from the research participants. The specific areas to be tested and examined in this thesis are transliteration, pronunciation, code switching, grammar, and Māori idiom.

The following chapter discusses more fully the methodology and research design that was used to conduct this study.

Chapter Two

Methodology and Methods

2.0 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine and describe adult learner attitudes regarding the impact of the English language on *te reo Māori*. These attitudes will be analysed and interpreted to provide an understanding of learner's views in relation to the impact English has on *te reo* from past and present Te Tumu students' perspectives with the purpose of gaining insight on what the implications may be for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori*.

This thesis endeavours to address the following questions: What impact does the English language have on *te reo Māori*? What attitudes do adult language learners have towards the impact of English on *te reo*? And what implications do these attitudes have for the revitalisation of *te reo Māori?* In this chapter I will discuss the methodology and research methods used in answering the above research questions. First, this chapter will discuss the methodology that underpins this research project, which includes a discussion of particular Kaupapa Māori principles relevant to this study. Second, is a discussion of the methods used to gather and collate the data. This section will also detail information regarding the research participants used to conduct this study. Finally, this chapter will explain the limitations of this research project, and the way in which the information will be disseminated.

2.1 Methodology

This research utilised a qualitative research design, that is, research that seeks to understand and construct meaning (Holiday, 2002). Qualitative research enables the voice of the research participants, and creates space for their beliefs and world view to be represented, thus dismissing grand narratives and universal theories. The use of a qualitative research paradigm is essential to the focus of this thesis because it is directly concerned with making meaning and drawing understandings about the sociocultural phenomenon of language learning. There is a particular need for further research into the impact of English on *te reo* and learner attitudes. Earlier studies such as Harlow (1993 and 2005) and Christensen (2001a) highlight the need for such research to occur. Harlow (1993) explains that there is limited knowledge of the level of use of borrowings from English and puristic attitudes towards the influence of English amongst speakers of *te reo Māori* and how this effects the use of the Māori language.

As noted by Christensen (2001a) if the goal for Māori language revitalisation is to maintain authentic use of *te reo*, then it is important to gain insight into how learner attitudes towards the impact of English, is affecting the language in order to establish the effects this may have on the future development and continueing survival of the language. Furthermore, Christensen (2001a) expressed concern among native Māori language speakers about the impact of English on the development of SLL proficiency in *te reo*. He further explains that SLL's felt that English affects their development in *te reo* in terms of the structure of the language, their knowledge of a range of vocabulary in Māori, and the way in which 'thinking in English' affects their use of *te reo*. It is important to gain further insight into learner attitudes towards these phenomena as it has a direct impact on the future development of *te reo Māori*. As this study has shown, learner awareness, or lack thereof may perpetuate the use of language errors in *te reo* to the extent where these errors become a regular feature of the language. This is discussed in detail in section 4.1.1 in chapter four.

The use of a qualitative approach was most useful as it enabled me to gather a great level of detail about the topic, in particular, the attitudes of adult learners (*of te reo Māori*) towards the impact of the English language on *te reo*. The importance of exploring learner attitudes is because it can tell us more about learning behaviour, engagement and motivation. But also, whether the impact of English is seen as a form of contamination of *te reo Māori* or a natural process in the aid and development of the language. Fishman (2001) explains that the success of a language's survival may depend on the attitudes that are held about a language. He asserts that those attitudes of the ethnic population that belong to that language are extremely important in determining the nature and success of linguistic survival.

Taking a qualitative approach to research is important when working with Māori because the nature of qualitative research is aligned with culturally appropriate ways of engaging with indigenous people. This is because historically Māori have been marginalised by Western research methods which privilege the voice of the researcher rather than the voice of the researched (Smith, 1999). In the past, research within the academy has returned very little benefit for Māori and often that has been because Māori people do not have a voice in the research process. One reason for taking a qualitative approach towards research is so that the participant's voice can be heard, and it allows the research participants a relatively active role in how the research is interpreted and understood. Although not all participants in this study are of Māori descent, qualitative methods of research are important because the role of participants form a primary function in the exploration and meaning making of this research

topic. As active users and learners of the Māori language their ideas and opinions provide a rich source of data. The use of a semi-structured interview process allows for participants voice. The voices of the participants articulate the significance of concepts, issues and ideas regarding the impact of English on *te reo Māori*. Following Braun and Clarke (2008), I used thematic data analysis to identity the following key themes and will be further discussed in chapters three and four. They are transliteration and authenticity; the impact of transliteration on learning; code switching and proficiency; the impact of code switching on teaching and learning; code switching and proficiency; the impact of code switching on teaching and learning; mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* as disrespectful; awareness of the impact of English grammar; use of correct grammar; Māori idiom; *tikanga Māori* (Māori culture) and the grammar translation method.

2.1.1 Kaupapa Māori Theory

In essence, Kaupapa Māori theory is a Māori centred approach to theorising research within the Western academy. Because this research involves Māori participants, and is directly related to *te reo Māori,* and is located within the specific context of Aotearoa, New Zealand, aptly, I locate my research from a Kaupapa Māori perspective. Aspects of a Kaupapa Māori paradigm will be used as a theoretical framework to underpin this research topic. The importance of locating this research from a Kaupapa Māori perspective is because this is how we, as Māori, can best validate and represent the values, concepts and ideologies that make up our understanding and representation of the world. It is important to note that this is to do with cultural competence and insight as opposed to genetic or ethnic rights. This is about voice and representation, that is, protection of culture and diversity, and acknowledging the multiple realities that exist.

A Kaupapa Māori framework is governed by *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* (Māori customs), these are based upon *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) (Pihama, 2010). These principles afford a cultural framework determined and defined by Māori (Smith 1992, Pihama, 2010). Smith (2012) maintains that the importance of such a stance towards research is shaped through the socio-historical experience of Māori and how this has shaped attitudes particularly among indigenous peoples regarding Western frameworks and research.

Kaupapa Māori theory may be defined as a Māori-centred cultural framework that is focussed on promoting Māori autonomy and self-determination with the aim of empowering and

validating Māori ontology and epistemology (Smith 2002, Bishop and Glynn 1999). It is essential, however, to note that not every aspect of Kaupapa Māori theory is applicable to this study, also Kaupapa Māori theory alone may not enlighten the research question of this thesis in a manner that encompasses learner attitudes and the impact of English on *te reo Māori*. Hence I will touch on the aspects of Kaupapa Māori theory that I see as relevant to my study. In particular I will draw on the following five select aspects of Kaupapa Māori in order to frame the research processes and procedures of this thesis.

Table 3 Kaupapa Māori Principles

Principle	Explanation	Application to this study
Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination)	The balance of power dynamics within the interviewing and research process.	Research participants are able to exercise their power through enabling voice through open-ended questioning and further knowing that at any point that they can withdraw from the research project. Providing multiple opportunities to review the transcripts and reading their narratives, thus giving the participants opportunities to feedback and feedforward[17] providing means of communicating and shaping their representation through the research process.
Taonga tuku iho	The tools and belief systems that represent a Māori worldview, *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* (the Māori language and culture) is one of these and is essential to the process of researching with Māori.	The aim of this research aligns with the understanding that *te reo Māori* is a *taonga* (valuable treasure), and that the information gathered will contribute to the revitalisation of *te reo* by engaging through a research process that incorporates *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga*.
Ako/Culturally preferred pedagogy	Māori cultural teaching and learning practices will direct and facilitate the interaction between researcher and research participant.	Participants were given the opportunity to use *te reo* throughout the interview process, *ako* provides a cultural space in which the research participant may feel more comfortable to

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[17] Bishop and Berryman (2007)

		respond.
		A *karakia*[18] was initiated before engaging in the interview, as part of the process of delineating the space between formal and informal, and creating and defining a focused space for the research topic to be explored.
Kaupapa/Collective vision	A collective and mutual vision provides the platform for *kaupapa Māori* initiatives.	Through collaboration research participant's co-construction of the *kaupapa*, that is, learner views regarding the English language impact on *te reo* in hope that this may contribute to the revitalisation efforts of *te reo*.
Ata (Pohatu, 2004)	Fostering positive relationships through a reflective and culturally located framework.	Having prior-established relationships with all my research participants there is already a sense of connection. Prior connections may make the participant more likely to engage in deeper level conversation than merely filling out a quantitative questionnaire. Entering the interview in a focussed and centred state of being, framed by *manaakitanga* (external display of *mana* through reciprocal generosity) which was expressed through the sharing of *kōrero* (discussion), *kai* (food) and *whakawhanaungatanga* (making kinship ties). This ensured that the participant felt at ease and that the interview process was not intimidating. Creating an environment of honesty and transparency enveloped by an understanding of confidentiality.

(Adapted from Rātima, 2013, pp. 20-21).

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[18] The opening and closing prayer used during interviewing were given to me by my Uncle Te Makarini Temara on the 12th of August 2013.

2.2 Methods

A literature review was carried out which helped to identify key topics for exploration with the research participants. The topics explored in the literature review were developed under two overarching themes, the first theme was lexis and the second theme was English language interference. The areas of discussion that followed topics on lexis were transliteration and borrowing, and pronunciation. The areas of discussion following topics on English language interference were code switching, and conceptual shift with regards to the impact of English on Māori concepts, and changes to the semantic and syntactic structure of *te reo Māori*. My literature review also helped to shape the research questions for this study and inform the interview process. The information gathered from the literature facilitated the formation of the set of questions for the semi-structured interviews to be tested out on the cohort. These questions can be referred to in appendix 3 (English version) and appendix 4 (Māori version).

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken in order to gain insight into the existing attitudes of SLL and their perceptions towards the influence of English on *te reo Māori*. This study makes use of individual interviewing as the method of gathering information through conversation. That is, to co-construct meaning of the research topic through engaging in in-depth dialogue with the research participants. Qualitative interviewing is a method for capturing information about social phenomenon at a deeper level than what can be acquired with the use of other research methods such as surveys or questionnaires (Silverman, 2000, Gubrium and Holstein, 2002).

2.2.1 Interview Technique

By way of interview I was able to elicit subjective and detailed information specific to the experience of each individual about their journey learning *te reo Māori,* but also their beliefs, perceptions and understandings in regard to the interview topics. The contributions made by the research participants were elicited through semi-structured interviews as opposed to a structured interview process. With the latter, power and control remain predominantly with the researcher (Burgess, 1984). The flexible nature of this type of approach to research enables further exploration into topics of discussion, as semi-structured interviews are not prescribed and they allow for the discovery or elaboration on information that is important to participants but may not have previously been thought of as important by the researcher (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002). A semi-structured interview questionnaire was used to help

guide the topics of discussion and draw out the participants experience with learning *te reo Māori* and their views of the impact of English on *te reo* (see appendix 3). The set of interview questions along with the examples were given to the research participant before engaging in the interview. This was important because of the broad and deep nature of the questions being asked.

The research participants were given the opportunity to read over the transcriptions of their personal interview to ensure accuracy of the conversation and messages being conveyed by them. Bishop (1996) and Bishop and Glynn (1999) explain this process as one of spiral discourse, that is, the reciprocal construction of research. Although Bishop (1996) and Bishop and Glynn's (1999) notion of spiral discourse is defined specifically through constant and repetitive interactions with their participants. I used a follow-up process as questions emerged from transcribing and reading, which are important in the process of clarifying the research questions through active contribution of my cohort of participants. By engaging in this follow-up method I was able to delve deeper into aspects of discussion with participants by reflecting on what was said and re-engaging in discussion with them (through email). When confronted with questions in an interview style this may be intimidating and therefore participants may feel pressured to give an answer. By using this method it gave opportunities for participants to reflect, add and changes the direction of their discussion, which is what occurred in two cases after the initial interview.

2.2.2 Sample selection

The participants involved in this study will remain anonymous, however, an aggregated profile of each of the participants is provided. Participants are identified in Māori, by their gender, as either *Wahine* (female) or *Tane* (male), and a number, *tuatahi* (one), *tuarua* (two), *tuatoru* (three), *tuawhā* (four), *tuarima* (five), *tuaono* (six).

I approached eight people to form the cohort of language learners for this particular study. The research participants were approached through previously established connections as they are all personally known to me from primary school, high school, Kōhanga Reo (early childhood Māori language nest), Kura Kaupapa Māori (total Māori immersion primary school) and University, and also through my connections with the local Māori community. All participants were based in Dunedin and, at the time of the interview, were current or past

students of Te Tumu. Recruitment of participants was done through email, which I had access to prior to beginning this study.

Some interviews were conducted face to face, Skype was also used to interview two participants as they were not on site (at the University of Otago) at the time of interviewing. The interviews were between forty minutes to one hour in length. All the interviews were digitally recorded. Prior to engaging in the interview process I discussed and outlined my research topic with each participant. Before beginning the interview, participants were given a copy of the information sheet and consent form and had an opportunity to ask questions or clarify any matters pertaining to the topic or interview process. The participants were asked whether they would like the interviews to be conducted entirely in *te reo Māori*, bilingually, or entirely in English. Four participants opted for their interviews to be conducted in *te reo Māori*. Three of these four participants had studied *te reo* to the fourth year at University and the other had studied up to the third year, this participant also spoke *te reo Māori* as her first language and had no exposure to the English language up until the age of eight years old. Code switching to English occurred often throughout these interviews, this was because a word was either unknown or the participant or the interviewer were unsure of how to properly convey the meaning and therefore used English to do so. Other participants felt uncomfortable in their ability to use *te reo* and express their feelings, thoughts and ideas in *te reo Māori*. Even those who opted to have interviews conducted in Māori at times switched to English in order to clarify meaning. As a Māori language learner I am aware that there are people who prefer never to refer to English when learning *te reo* or when engaging with interlocutors who are competent speakers of Māori. Taking this into account, the findings from this study may have returned different types of responses to questions had the participants shown a greater proficiency in expressing themselves in *te reo*. Given that every participant at some stage relied on speaking English, this may be an indication that this study displays a potential bias towards learners who favour English as a preferred medium of communication. The use of English may mean that participants require more engagement in *te reo* to build up their knowledge base and confidence to use the language fluently. Furthermore, because English is the first language of the majority of these participants, their lesser proficiency in *te reo* may have impacted on their ability to provide the information that I am seeking and their responses in *te reo* may limit the richness and fullness of their answers, because they are essentially using a second language to communicate their ideas, beliefs and in turn their attitudes toward the topic of this thesis. I must also consider my own

approach and influence on this study, as my own proficiency level made my initial approaches to participants in English, rather than *te reo*, and this may have also impacted on their decision to use English during the interviews. The outcome may have been different if I had initially approached my participants in *te reo Māori*.

2.2.3 Te Tumu's Language Programme

The participants are past and current students studying either their third or fourth year of Māori language courses offered by Te Tumu. The purpose for having such criteria was because learners at this level should have a firm grasp of the language and have built on prior knowledge and experience with *te reo* through their engagement in 100-level and 200-level language papers (first and second year papers) as well as other formal learning environments such as High School, Te Ara Reo[19] and Kura Reo[20]. This is important because the participants have acquired some knowledge and experience with *te reo* that they can reflect on and discuss to contribute to the research.

Te Māhuri is the third year language paper, which is broken up into two papers over the course of one year. During the semester there are two lectures that run for two hours each; students are also required to attend weekly tutorials of fifty minutes each. In total there is 64 hours of class time within a semester. Completion of the first paper, Maor 311 is compulsory before moving on to the second paper, Maor 312. The purpose of Te Māhuri is to extend and strengthen the communicative competence, listening, literacy skills (reading and writing). It is also the intention to immerse and extend upon the language base acquired from Te Pihinga (the second year language paper). There is much English language translation practice, this paper is taught in total immersion (Te Tumu, 2013a).

Te Kōhure, the fourth year university paper, is taken over one semester, that is with four hours of class a week. It is suggested that the learner spends ten hours a week outside of class time studying the class material. The purpose of this paper is to deepen and extend upon prior knowledge and learning from Te Mahuri (Te Tumu, 2013b).

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[19] A Māori language course taught through Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa, which is a Kaupapa Māori tertiary institution of learning.
[20] A total immersion Māori language learning retreat that is held throughout the year to provide a platform for intense engagement in *te reo Māori*.

2.2.4 Participant Details

Table 4 Aggregated Profile of Participants

Participant	Length of time learning	Age	With children and without
Wahine 1	*Te reo Māori* was her first language, Kōhanga reo, Kura Kaupapa, High School, Otago University	20	With children
Wahine 2	High School and Otago University	28	With children
Wahine 3	High School, Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa and Otago University	40	With children
Wahine 4	Kōhanga reo, Kura Kaupapa, High School and Otago University	25	With children
Wahine 5	Kōhanga, Kura Kaupapa, High School, Otago Polytechnic and Otago University	28	Without children
Wahine 6	High school and Otago University	23	Without children
Tane 1	Primary and Secondary school, University of Otago	25	Without children
Tane 2	Intermediate, High School (Bilingual), Otago University	25	Without children

The cohort for this research project included eight research participants in total. Six females and two male. The cohort began learning *te reo Māori* at different stages of their lives. Three participants began learning *te reo Māori* when they were children, they attended Kōhanga reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. One of these participants spoke Māori only until she was nine years old. One participant attended a Bilingual School from intermediate through to High School. The other four participants had little exposure to *te reo* at primary school and then began formal learning of *te reo Māori* at High School through NCEA[21] then went on to University. The participants ranged in ages from twenty to forty, and four participants are

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[21] NCEA was introduced into New Zealand Secondary Schools between 2002 and 2004 as a means of assessing student's qualifications. Prior to NCEA, School Certificate was implemented as a means of assessing qualifications.

parents. For those that were parents, including one non Māori participant, this factor is a motivation for them to learn *te reo Māori*, that is, these participants had a conscious desire for intergenerational Māori language transmission to occur as they feel responsible to pass on the language to their children. Christensen (2001a), Chrisp (2005) and Rātima (2013) all describe parenthood as a fundamental motivation for learning and maintaining the use of *te reo Māori*.

At the time of interviewing the participants were based in Dunedin, Wellington and Auckland. Six out of the eight participants were either born and or raised in Dunedin. Of the other three, one is from Southland and the other two are from different areas of the North Island. One participant is from Hastings, another is from Auckland, and another participant moved overseas from country to country, but when he was in New Zealand he lived in Paraparaumu. Two participants are not of Māori descent, the other six participants are all Māori, and affiliate with the *iwi* or tribes of Ngā Puhi, Waikato, Te Ati Awa, Taranaki, Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngati Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Whare, Ngāi Tūhoe, Ngāti Whakaue, Whakatōhea, Ngāti Manawa, Tainui and Te Arawa.

It is important to comment about the specific context of Dunedin and the state which *te reo Māori* is currently in. Dunedin reflects a unique situation in regards to learning *te reo Māori*, and is comparatively different to other places in New Zealand. The reason being that Dunedin has the smallest community of Māori language speakers in New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2010). Statistics New Zealand (2013) shows languages spoken by Māori in Te Waipoumanu (The South Island) in comparison to the rest of New Zealand's Māori population. The data shows that there is an increase of Māori in Te Waipounamu that speak English only, with 77.5 percent in 2006, and 84.3 percent in 2013. The data also shows that only 9.9 percent of Māori that live in Te Waipounamu are able to speak both Māori and English, this has declined significantly from the last census in 2006 which showed 16.1 percent of Māori that could speak both Māori and English. Although the data discussed above does not specifically mention Māori language proficiency, the data strongly suggests that there are not many proficient Māori language speakers in Dunedin compared to places in the North Island.

2.2.5 Data Analysis

This thesis will utilise thematic data analysis towards defining, locating and extracting dominant ideas and themes from each of the eight interviews. Key themes are extracted from

the conversations with each research participant; with the research questions in mind I could see the key themes of the study begin to emerge. The specific process that I have followed is that of Braun and Clarke (2008) which is explained below. On completion of all eight interviews, the conversations were carefully transcribed, verbatim. The data (transcriptions) was then read whilst noting the primary ideas and concepts that emerged. Then I contacted the participants to provide them with copies of the transcripts and to seek further clarification regarding aspects of information collected to ensure proper representation. Codes were then systematically identified and extrapolated from the entire data set; these codes were then gathered into key themes relevant to answering the research questions. The themes were refined according to the feedback received by the research participants. Specific extracts from the interviews were identified and again presented to the research participants (through email) for accuracy, clarity and meaning, and to ensure participant voice was being represented appropriately.

I applied my original set of interview questions quite flexibly and therefore, certain categories were omitted or combined with existing ones in response to how much the participants knew about the topic, and or the questions that the participants felt were important. My rationale for doing so is because the participants tended to repeat what they had spoken about during the interview and this did not offer any new information or insight to the data being discussed.

2.2.6 Information dissemination

The research findings of this thesis will be shared with the eight participants. Dissemination of the research findings will also be shared with relevant National Māori Education organisations and Toitū te Iwi at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu as suggested by the Ngāi Tahu Research Committee. I was able to ensure this through the process of application for ethical approval, whereby the application went through a panel to ensure the necessary steps were taken and adhered to in order to carry out this study. I also intend to prepare a summary of the research methodology and findings for publication as an article in an academic journal.

2.3 Limitations

The use of qualitative methods to research also presents limitations which must be mentioned. That is, the findings of this research may be specific to the context, setting and number of participants included in this study. Specifically, this thesis represents eight

Dunedin located adults who are Māori language learners and their attitudes towards the impact of English on *te reo Māori*. The findings of this research may not be generally applicable to all adult Māori language learners as a whole. Also, the use of qualitative methods may mean that the results of this study are more easily influenced by the researcher's personal assumptions towards the topic for example, English having a negative impact on the acquisition and development of *te reo Māori*, as discussed earlier in my prologue. Further research can either confirm or refute the transferability of my findings to other cohorts of Māori language learners.

2.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to discuss the methodology and methods used to conduct this research. I consider qualitative semi-structured interviewing as the most appropriate way of obtaining answers and getting a deeper understanding of the perspectives of the research participants relative to the research questions of this thesis. This chapter has also discussed the process of thematic analysis by which I have analysed the data that has been collected. Chapters three and four will present the common key themes that emerged from the semi-structured interviews based on the thematic analysis. The findings from this study will be significant for anyone seeking an understanding of learner views and perceptions regarding the impact of English on *te reo Māori* and also the implications this may have for the revitalisation of *te reo*.

Chapter Three

Discussion One: transliteration, code switching and pronunication

3.0 Introduction

This chapter will outline and discuss the key themes from the semi-structured interviews which reveal beliefs and ideologies, and which in turn reflect the attitudes participants have with regard to the impact of English on *te reo Māori*. The discussion takes place through the key themes which illustrate the views of the participants in relation to the topics that were explored through the interview process. The topics that will be discussed are transliteration, code switching, and pronunciation. The topics of grammar and the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* will be explored in chapter four. Each topic will be discussed in relation to the identified key themes. There are two key themes that emerged from the topic of transliterations, these are transliteration and authenticity and transliteration and learning. The appropriateness and inappropriateness of the use of transliteration will also be discussed. The main conclusion from this section reveals that the participants view the impact of transliteration as having an inherently negative impact on *te reo Māori*, such as the replacement of authentic Māori terms and phrases due to an overuse of transliterations. The participants also view some exceptions to their use in particular settings and environments. These exceptions to the use of transliterations will be further discussed in detail below. There are two key themes that emerged from the topic on code switching; code switching and proficiency, and the impact of code switching on teaching and learning, more specifically the role of the teacher and the benefits of code switching to scaffold learners of *te reo Māori*. The main conclusion from this section is that the participants view the impact of code switching on *te reo* as a form of interference, in particular, on their developing proficiency in *te reo Māori*. There were also times when code switching was thought to be appropriate, these are discussed later in the chapter. The section on pronunciation describe participants' views of mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* as disrespectful. Mispronunciation can be seen as a symptom of the impact of the English language, and this section will discuss particular examples given by the participants.

3.1 Transliteration

There are two key themes that surfaced from discussion with participants, the first theme is the impact of transliteration with regard to loss of meaning and authenticity of *te reo Māori*. The second theme is the impact of transliteration on the learning of *te reo*. Participants were also asked what they thought was appropriate and inappropriate use of transliterations, key themes from this topic will be discussed and illustrated with examples from the interviews. The main conclusion from this section is that English transliterations are seen by the majority of the participants as having a negative impact on *te reo Māori*. There are however, some exceptions to their use in certain situations, which will be discussed in detail below. Links to the literature will also be discussed in relation to the findings from the participants.

3.1.1 Transliteration and authenticity

There was a general consensus among the cohort that the use of transliterations diluted, dissolved and minimised meaning, understanding and authenticity of *te reo Māori*. Transliterations are also seen as a force that debases a Māori ontological world view. *Wahine tuarua* said:

> ...the language has become more accessible to more people through transliteration, but in the same breath it's also probably diminished a lot of meaning in Māori… by just taking one thing and giving it a direct translation… rather than seeing the ideas and beliefs behind how things sit in *te ao Māori*. (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuarua discusses the notion of a Māori world view being compromised because of the use of transliterations. Similarly, *wahine tuatahi* said:

> *Kei te hanga kupu Māori hou mō ngā kupu Pākehā hou mō te reo, nā ko te raru ka ngaro i* [sic] *te reo tūturu a ō tātou tīpuna nā te kaha o te whakamahi i ngā kupu hou i ngā kupu* transliteration *nei, a, he anuanu kē te rongo o wenei kupu, me ki he* fake sounding *kē. Koira ki ahau te hē o tēnei āhuatanga…pai ake kia piri ki tā tātou reo tūturu me te hanga kupu hou e hāngai ana ki tēna reo tūturu anō hoki.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013)

> New Māori words are being created to compensate for English words that are new to *te reo Māori*, the issue or problem is that the authenticity of our ancestral language is being lost due to the overuse of these new words, these transliterations, these words are ugly or unpleasant to hear, they sound fake. This is, in my opinion, the negative thing about the impact of English on *te reo…* it is better to stick to the traditional origins of our language and to coin words that reflect the authentic language of our ancestors.

Wahine tuatahi, wahine tuarua, wahine tuarima and *tane tuatahi*[22] strongly believe that transliterations are not beneficial to *te reo Māori*, they assert that it is best to maintain the use of authentic Māori language, or what *wahine tuatahi* calls '*te reo tūturu*'. *Wahine tuarima* sees transliterations as a complete waste of time because they are merely English words that sound Māori and have no real meaning to them apart from conveying the English language equivalent of the word. Also, all three participants said that when coining new words in *te reo Māori* that it is best to create words that reflect and relate to authentic *Māori* words rather than applying a direct transliteration. This view is shared by Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (2004). They support the process of coining new vocabulary in Māori that are derived from old Māori terms and concepts as opposed to phonetic borrowings such as transliterations from English. Whereas Duval (1995) posits that phonetic borrowing from English should be viewed as having more of a positive impact on *te reo Māori*, he has termed the adoption of such words as 'gainwords' to denote a more positive influence on the language and the acceptance of the further use of these terms into the Māori language. This demonstrates two very different and conflicting ideas of the use of transliteration. The following excerpt captures *wahine tuaono* and her opinion about the overuse of transliterations, which in her view hinders the use of *te reo Māori*.

Wahine tuarima said:

> *ki ahau kāore he wairua tō ēnā kupu, ngā kupu whakawhiti, kāore he mana motuhake ō ērā kupu, ka kōrero ērā kupu, ngā kupu Māori mō te āhuatanga o tētahi mea, o te āhuatanga o tērā whakaaro...ko te kupu whakawhiti mai i te reo Pākehā ka kōrero mō te kupu Pākehā anake.* (*Wahine tuarima*, personal communication, 2013)

> In my opinion there is no soul or spirit in words that are transliterated, transliterations have no mana motuhake (unique meaning), Māori words describe things, they describe thoughts and ideas...transliterations from English merely describe the English word in Māori.

Wahine tuarima discussed the idea of authentic Māori words having the ability to express and convey things on a deeper level. Whereas, words that have been transliterated from English into Māori having no *wairua* or spirit or soul to them, nor do they have '*mana motuhake*' or unique meaning. Transliterations are a mere direct translation from an English equivalent and follow Māori phonetics or sounds. Therefore, when authentic Māori terms cease to be used then the authentic Māori knowledge of the world is also being lost.

Wahine tuatoru said that:

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[22] In my methodology chapter on p. 36 I have explained the use of these labels to identify my participants.

...he pai ake ngā kupu Māori, tino Māori, tawhito, ēngari i ētahi wā kāore he kupu, āe i aua wā he pai, nā te mea yeah*, he pai ake tētahi kupu ki te kore.* (*Wahine tuatoru*, personal communication, 2013)

It is best to use Māori words, real Māori, old [words], however sometimes there is no word, in times like this it is ok to use transliteration, a word is better than no word.

Wahine tuatoru prefers the use of authentic Māori words rather than using transliterations. *Wahine tuatoru* said that real Māori words are most appropriate and speakers should strive to use these words as opposed to transliterations because they do not represent original Māori knowledge, thought and understandings. She said however, in instances where a word is unknown to a speaker then the use of a transliteration is more acceptable than code switching and using English. *Wahine tuatoru* gave some examples of inappropriate use of transliterations, these are, *he pīki whara* for a big fellow and the word *wharoa* for floor. This is because there are pre-existing words for these terms such as *he tangata nui* for a big fellow or person and *papa* for floor. Hence, what *wahine tuatoru* is alluding to is that the use of pre-contact terms in Māori are more appropriate than the use of transliterations. It is important to note that there is cultural knowledge embedded in each of the terms, '*tangata*' and '*papa,* and this cultural knowledge is required for correct use of the terms. The term *tangata* requires specific knowledge of Māori grammar, the word alone refers to one person, this is signalled by '*te tangata*', to use the word in the plural sense the term is changed to '*ngā tāngata*' and is used to refer to two or more people. If the transliterated word '*whara*' is used then this removes that knowledge and the authentic Māori grammar becomes corrupted. For example, the term would simply become '*te whara*' or '*ngā whara*' as opposed to '*te tangata*' and '*ngā tāngata*' which conveys authentic Māori grammar knowledge. Furthermore, the use of the Māori word '*papa*' for ground or floor, which is derived from the word '*Papatūānuku*' (Earth Mother), shows how Māori spirituality and worldview is encapsulated in a single Māori word. Whereas if we apply the transliteration '*wharoa*' for floor, this completely removes the subtle reminder of the spiritual connection that is expressed through the word '*papa*' or '*Papatūānuku*'. These are prime examples of how *te reo Māori* is changing and becoming more aligned with the English language. If the correct use of these terms are replaced by their transliterated counterparts then there is a danger that the knowledge will also be lost.

Wahine tuaono said:

…I'm all about using the real Māori words and keeping to the original rather than the English version, so I guess ahh, if there is an overuse of these words then this could pose a threat to the survival of Māori words, concepts and ideas, things that come from a Māori

perspective…we might lose those original words, you know, with introducing new words and concepts from English, the language is not so Māori anymore. (*Wahine tuaono*, personal communication, 2014)

Wahine tuaono, wahine tuatoru and *tane tuarua* also felt strongly about the use of genuine Māori words as opposed to transliterations from English. W*ahine tuaono* expressed a concern that if there is an overuse of transliterated words and concepts, then this could compromise the uniqueness of genuine Māori words, concepts and ideas. Which in her view would essentially lead to the replacement and loss of specific Māori terms and vocabulary. She said that "…with introducing new words and concepts from English, the language is not so Māori anymore…" (*Wahine tuaono*, personal communication, 2014). What she means by this is that *te reo* is taking on elements from the English language to such an extent where the language becomes laden with transliterated words that have no Māori meaning to them.

Similarly to *wahine tuaono, wahine tuarua* maintains that the use of authentic Māori words is crucial. She said that if speakers use transliterations extensively then this may question the purpose of learning *te reo Māori* in the first place. This is because she believes that transliterations diminish and minimise the meaning and concepts embedded within the Māori language. That is, to give a particular word a direct phonetic translation from English into Māori as opposed to seeing the ideas and beliefs behind these words and how they relate to a Māori ontological world view, undermines Māori assumptions about the nature of being.

The comments made by these participants' highlights very strong feelings towards the use of original and authentic Māori terms. The use of transliterated words from English are seen as predominantly negative if they replace unique Māori terms in place of phonetically borrowed words that have no real meaning and merely convey the English equivalent. Keegan's (2003) research expressed the same opinion regarding the potential harm caused to *te reo Māori* if there is an overuse in transliterations. The focus of Keegan's research is the Māori lexical knowledge of year 6 students who are engaged in Māori-medium education in New Zealand. His research involved interviewing a group of Māori language teachers in regards to their attitudes towards the use of transliterations in their classrooms. The participants believed that if there is an overuse of transliterations the integrity of the language and its uniqueness is at risk. Thus, narrowing, diluting and essentially removing deeper meaning that can be obtained through the use of authentic and genuine Māori words.

3.1.2 Transliteration and learning

With regard to the use of transliteration and learning *te reo Māori*, *wahine tuarima* said:

> ...I think that you shouldn't use those [transliterations] when you are trying to teach people from scratch, I kind of feel like they are a blank slate so why not go straight away with the words that are *tika* [correct, right] and then you don't have to change it later. (*Wahine tuarima*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuarima believes that when it comes to learning *te reo Māori*, transliterations should be completely avoided. She asserted that when teaching beginners they should be taught proper Māori words, she felt that because they have no prior knowledge or experience with *te reo*, by teaching more authentic Māori rather than transliterations that they would not have to make later corrections to what they have already learnt. Whereas, if transliterations are taught then learners may become accustomed to these words and not bother learning the authentic Māori term.

Wahine tuarua and *wahine tuaono* both spoke about the use of transliteration from a more positive perspective, *wahine tuarua* said:

> ...when I was starting to learn Māori I thought they were really useful, so I could have a simple conversation effectively, but as I started learning Māori at Tertiary we were told not to use transliterations, and I guess this made it a little bit more challenging to try and learn a whole new set of *kupu hou* [new vocabulary] that I had already learnt, but in saying that I guess it's quite good in a sense that if you are having a conversation and you just completely forget the proper word um, you could insert something to maintain the flow of the conversation going. (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Although the use of transliterations were discouraged by certain language teachers, *wahine tuarua* spoke of the potential that transliterations offer as a tool for transferability from English to Māori, or from a speaker's first language to a second language. In her opinion transliterations can act as an aid in the initial stages of learning *te reo Māori,* where the learner is able to make lexical connections between his or her first language and apply that to the acquisition of a second language. *Wahine tuaono* thought that transliterations could be beneficial to people who are learning *te reo Māori* as a second language. She believes that on a lexical level transliterations can be used in a positive manner where *te reo Māori* may be more easily transferable, and learners may use them to aid their ability to converse in Māori.

With regards to learning *te reo*, the participants' main concern was the replacement of authentic or genuine Māori words in place of English transliterations. On one hand, there was the opinion that transliterations should be completely avoided, and on the other hand, there

was the idea that they are beneficial to early beginners in aiding the initial transition from English to *te reo Māori*. Although the use of a first language to teach a second language (in a formal instructed learning environment) is generally viewed by language teachers as having a predominantly negative effect, there is supporting literature which advocates otherwise. For example, Auerbach (1993) explains that the use of a first language in teaching a second or foreign language is an effective manner that is necessary for Adult learners. Furthermore, Brooks-Lewis (2009) provides two examples of when first language is consciously used as a means of second language learning, whereby adult learners respond positively to the clarity that was gained by using their first language to acquire a second language, while these learners also felt that their identity was being valued.

3.1.3 Transliteration as appropriate

There are several instances where the participants expressed support for the use of transliteration under certain conditions. These conditions include the use of transliterations to avoid confusion, or use of transliterations to maintain the fluidity of a conversation, and the use of transliteration as a form of humour.

In considering appropriate use of transliterations *tane tuatahi* said that he prefers the use of the transliterated days of the week such as *Mane* for Monday, *Tūrei* for Tuesday and *Wenerei* for Wednesday and so on. He also prefers the use of the transliterated months of the year, for example *Hānuere* for January, *Pēpuere* for February and *Māehe* for March, and so forth. He finds the use of the transliterated days and months from English more appropriate because for him they are less confusing to use and understand as they are essentially the same as the English days and months. There is a need to make a clear distinction here regarding the use of transliterations for terms that Māori had no pre-European contact word for, and the use of transliterations where there was a pre-existing Māori word. As this is quite different from abandoning terms such as '*huarahi*' (road), which is a pre-contact word, in favour of words such as '*rori*' (road) or '*motowei*' *(motorway)* which are post-contact transliterations. When the term '*huarahi*' is broken down it has many meanings, the word '*hua*' or '*huanga*' meaning 'fruit', 'product', 'advantage' or 'benefit' (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 1996, p. 159), and the word '*rahi*' meaning 'great', 'plentiful', 'abundant' or a 'multitude' (Williams, 2000, p. 320). Therefore, the meaning of the word 'huarahi' is also seen as the pathway that leads to great benefits. If an authentic Māori word like '*huarahi*' falls out of use and is replaced by transliterated words such as '*rori*' or '*motowei*', it is no longer in the psyche or

consciousness of the speaker. Clearly this shows how the use of transliterations corrupts the vocabulary, and is also an indication of a Māori world view changing.

Another exception to the use of transliteration was raised by *wahine tuarua* who said:

> ...they kind of annoy me, coz it takes away the māoriness, but I guess if you don't have a
> Māori word already and you're trying to keep a sentence going I suppose you could see how
> it would benefit someone to insert a word. (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2014)

Wahine tuarua expressed that if one is trying to maintain the fluidity of communication then inserting a transliteration to maintain the conversation would benefit the speaker for that particular purpose. However, in saying this, she also thought that an overuse of transliterations could be harmful and reflect negatively on the use of *te reo* as the authenticity of *te reo Māori* is being undermined.

Another commonly discussed theme was the use of transliteration as a form of humour. *Tane tuatahi*, *tane tuarua* and *wahine tuarima* all said that the use of transliterations could also be seen as a humorous way to use *te reo Māori*. *Tane tuarua* gave a few examples that he and his friends use. Instead of saying *whakawhiti i te huarahi* (cross the road) they would say *korohi i te rori* (cross the road), to use the word '*whiti*' correctly, the speaker must understand that there are many contexts in which this term can be used. '*Whiti*' has many meanings, 'to change, turn or exchange', 'to shine' or 'to cross over'. If the use of the term '*whakawhiti*' is replaced by the transliteration '*korohi*', then the multiple levels of meaning are also lost. Another example provided by *tane tuarua* was instead of saying *whare pukapuka* (library) they would say *raipire* (library). The word '*whare pukapuka*' has been created from English as there was no pre-European term for library. The word '*pukapuka*' is also a transliteration for the word book, but it uses the Māori term '*whare*' for house or building, which captures the use of more authentic Māori language and according to *tane tuarua* is more appropriate than the use of the word '*raipire*'. The issue of importance here is that these terms are humorous because the speakers know the authentic Māori expressions. However, the concern is that when these types of speech are transliterated and used seriously, as if they were common or normal sayings in *te reo Māori*. Again this would signal the loss of authentic cultural knowledge.

The general feeling among the participants was that genuine use of specifically Māori words and terms were more appropriate than using transliterations. They also felt that the use of transliterations were acceptable on a purely lexical level, if a speaker in conversation is unsure of how to express a certain word in Māori then using a transliteration in its place is

appropriate. The feeling of the use of transliteration as a form of humour was also seen as acceptable by participants. With the exception that those humorous expressions based on transliteration should not be adopted as serious or formal expressions replacing the authentic words and phrases.

3.1.4 Transliterations as inappropriate

A common theme that emerged when discussing the inappropriateness of transliterations was the idea that they are seen as a form of laziness. Tane tuarua said:

> ...I think that in a sense it's lazy...because all you are doing is taking an English word and giving it Māori pronunciation, if there is a word that already exists in Māori then people should use these words and not made up English versions. (*Tane tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuatahi said:

> *Kāore he pai, karekau he painga nā te mea ehara wēnei kupu i tō tātou reo Māori, he kupu māngere noa iho, he kupu hei* accommodate *i te reo Pākehā.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, 2014, personal communication)

> It is not good, there is no benefit because these are words that do not belong to our Māori language, they are merely lazy, they are words that function to accommodate the English language.

Wahine tuarua said:

> …I think if there is already a Māori word for something just giving it a simple transliteration is probably a lazy way of learning Māori… and may question why you are learning Māori… the purpose of learning it...although language is a big part of culture, intact in the language is a lot of culture, so by engaging in transliterations you might miss those certain aspects. (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuatahi, wahine tuarua, wahine tuawhā, wahine tuaono, and *tane tuarua* all said that the use of transliterations were a lazy way of speaking *te reo Māori*. They felt that if a speaker uses transliterations as opposed to pre-existing words in Māori then they are not challenging themselves enough to use genuine Māori words. They also felt that if there is an overuse of the use in transliterations then this would be harmful to *te reo Māori*, as it diminishes the use of words that already exist.

Another key theme raised by the participants was the inappropriateness of transliterations in formal settings. *Wahine tuarua* said that:

> ...I think in any formal setting such as newspapers or reading the news or anything where *te reo* is seen by a lot of people, I think transliterations shouldn't be used. (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuatahi also said:

> *Ki ahau nei kāore i te pai ki te whakamahi i ngā kupu* transliteration in places like, *ki te marae, te Kōhanga Reo, te Kura Kaupapa Māori, i te marae hoki, pērā i roto i te whaikōrero… ko ngā horopaki tino Māori, koinei ngā horopaki kāore i te pai hei whakamahi i ngā kupu nei.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, 2014, personal communication)

> In my opinion it is not appropriate to use transliterations on the *marae*, Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, during a *whaikōrero* or a prayer… context that are specifically Māori, these are the contexts in which the use of transliteration is inappropriate.

Tane tuatahi, wahine tuatahi and *wahine tuarua* thought that the use of transliterations would be inappropriate if you are in a context where the use of *Māori tūturu* (real or authentic Māori language) was expected. For example, on the *marae* or a total Māori immersion environment such as Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa or a *wānanga reo* (Māori immersion retreat). These learning environments play an instrumental role in the revitalisation of *te reo Māori,* especially Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, which serve as a platform for sustained intergenerational Māori language transmission to occur. *Wahine tuarua* felt that the use of transliterations in any formal setting such as the media was inappropriate, she felt that the use of authentic Māori words in the media was important because it gives wider opportunity to hear real Māori words being used on a daily basis.

The inappropriate use of transliterations was discussed by the participants in terms of their use being a form of laziness. That is, by engaging in the use of transliteration there is no real thought behind the use of these words. What is occurring is the application of an English word with Māori phonetic pronunciation as opposed to using a word or concept that is inherently Māori. This may occur not only on a lexical level as transliterations were initially introduced into the language, but, as demonstrated in the examples provided by the participants, where not only simple lexical transliterations are used but entire phrases or sentences. The impact of transliterations may have even more far reaching consequences for *te reo Māori*. If the use of transliterations become normalised as a form of common engagement with *te reo Māori* then this causes issues of concern by way of authentic Māori terms and concepts falling out of use and being replaced by a language that in essence is no longer authentically Māori.

Another identified key theme of inappropriate use of transliterations is the context in which they are used and certain interlocutors such as *kaumātua* (tribal elders). Participants felt that the use of authentic Māori terms is vital in total immersion contexts such as the *marae*, or Māori immersion learning environments. The participants felt that when in these types of environments and when conversing with *kaumātua* that the use of transliterations should be avoided as their use is seen by the participants as a sign of disrespect.

3.2 Code-switching

Code switching is the act of alternating between the use of two or more languages in a conversation. There were three primary themes that emerged from discussions with the participants about code switching. The first theme is code switching and proficiency, they felt that the use of code switching was lazy, and that it was important to find out the Māori word or the correct way of saying something in Māori. The participants also felt that the use of code switching to English impacts negatively on their developing language proficiency, The second theme is code switching in terms of context and interlocutors, this section discusses the use of code switching may be a sign of disrespect when in formal situations of when speaking to certain Māori language speakers such as kaumātua or elders. When a speaker is in a formal situation they may find it more necessary to find out the Māori expression however, when in an informal situation the use of code switching may be seen as more appropriate as the speaker is in a relaxed setting. The third theme is code switching and teaching and learning, in this section the participants discuss the use of code switching as inappropriate when used by the language teacher. Furthermore, exception to the use of code switching as a form of encouragement for beginner learners of *te reo* was also raised. There was a general consensus that code switching on a lexical level was acceptable, whereas excessive code switching is seen as not good language practice, that is because excessive code switching interferes with the flow and structure of *te reo Māori*, It also interferes with a learner's development of proficiency. When teaching *te reo*, the use of code switching was seen as not appropriate if engaged in by the language teacher. Some participants felt that code switching for early beginners could be useful in terms of supporting and encouraging initial language skills in *te reo Māori*. *Wahine tuatahi, wahine tuarua, wahine tuawhā, wahine tuarima, wahine tuaono, tane tuatahi,* and *tane tuarua* said that they tend to code switch to English a lot when speaking Māori.

3.2.1 Code Switching and proficiency

The participants felt that the use of code switching had an impact on their ability to use *te reo Māori*. *Wahine tuatahi, wahine tuaono* and *tane tuarua* said that the issue with code switching is that you become lazy, it obstructs the use of *te reo Māori* and creates a negative pattern of language use where the speaker may use more English than *te reo Māori*. *Wahine tuatahi* said:

> *Ki ahau ehara tēnei mea i te mea pai nā te mea ka māngere ahau. Ki te kore e mōhio ki tētahi kupu Māori, me pēhea rānei te whakahua i tētahi rerenga Māori ka huri au ki te reo Pākehā. Nā te mea he tere ake i te tiro* [sic] *ki tētahi papakupu te āta whakaarotia rānei me pēhea te whakahua i te reo Māori. Āe, nō reira ka kore au e ako, ka kore au e whakawhānui i tōku ake reo ki te* 'code switch' *i ngā wā katoa. Ā, ka kapeti nei tōku reo Māori.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2014)

> In my opinion code switching is not good because I have become lazy, if I do not know a word, or how to say a sentence in Māori I will switch to English. Because it is quicker than looking in a dictionary or to think carefully about how something is said in Māori. Yes, therefore I do not further my learning, nor do I further the development of my own linguistic repertoire due to code switching. My language base is cabbage [dumbed down].

Wahine tuatahi said that code switching causes her problems because it inhibits her ability to use *te reo Māori* as it does not require her to think in more depth about how to say or structure something in *te reo Māori*. Her main concern is that the act of code switching inhibits her language skills and essentially dilutes her proficiency in *te reo*.

For *tane tuarua* code switching allows him to be lazy with his ability to use *te reo Māori*. He discussed his concern with code switching and that it interferes with his ability to further his language skills and increase his proficiency in *te reo Māori*.

Wahine tuarua, wahine tuatoru, wahine tuarima, wahine tuaono and *tane tuarua* see code switching as being acceptable purely on a lexical level. That is, when a word in Māori is unknown then the use of an English word in their opinion is acceptable. They all also agree that if there is an overuse of English or entire sentences in Māori are substituted for the use of English then this causes concern about a speaker's on-going language development. If the authenticity of Māori grammar is being compromised by the use of English then insertions of English words when speaking *te reo* is inappropriate. The majority of the participants agreed that this had to do with a lack of knowledge or proficiency in *te reo Māori*. *Tane tuarua* said:

Yeah, so I do it quite a lot, it's usually because I may not know how to explain something in that language, so, if I am speaking Māori and I may not know how to explain something I will switch to English and once that's done I will switch back into Māori… code-switching words is good so that they can understand and I'm more easily understood…I think it has a massive impact, um in a sense that it allows… me to be comfortable with my level of Māori that I have... it's alright that I may not be able to explain this in Māori because I can explain it in English. I guess in that sense again it allows me to be lazy and my language skills are not growing. (*Tane tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuarua and *wahine tuaono* said that code switching was good for maintaining the flow of a conversation. They both said it enables you to not have to stop and think for particular words that you might not know in *te reo Māori*. *Wahine tuarua* did assert that code switching was only appropriate on a lexical level and if speakers use entire sentences in English then this could have potential harm to the language and their developing proficiency in *te reo Māori*. Karetu (n.d.) raises this particular point, he asserts that when code switching is used in a manner that does not interfere with the authentic Māori way of structuring a sentence then code switching to English is appropriate. *Wahine tuarua* also said that learners may become stunted in their development and that their language skills would diminish over time with the use of more and more English as opposed to trying to maintain a conversation purely in *te reo Māori*.

Wahine tuarua said that she tends to code switch when she does not know a certain word, in these instances she will use English. She knows that this is not good for her learning and ongoing development. She said that she does become embarrassed when she uses English because this in her opinion reflects poorly on herself as a learner of *te reo Māori*. In her opinion code switching is not good when you are in a context where the Māori language is being used. *Wahine tuatahi said:*

> *Ehara i te mahi pai, ka ngaro te pai o te rere o te rerenga kōrero, ka pakaru nei te kōrero, ka tānoanoa tō tātou reo i tēnei mahi.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013)

> It is not a good thing to do, the flow of the sentence is lost, the speech becomes broken, our language is downgraded.

Wahine tuatahi said that she often code switches to better explain herself or if a word is not known to her or does not come to mind at the time then she will code switch to English. She is aware, however that code switching is interfering with her ability to use *te reo* fluently.

Wahine tuatahi also raised her concerns about the impact of code switching on her on-going use and development of *te reo*. She notes that her language skills are suffering because of her use of code switching. She said:

> *Kāore i te pai nā te mea i a koe e kōrerorero ana…ka waia koe ki tēnei mahi, ka kore koe e whakapiki i ōu pūkenga reo mā te mahi pēnei.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013)

> It is not a good thing because when you are speaking…you become used to doing this, you will not raise your level or skill in *te reo* by code switching.

Participants said that they tend to code switch to English when speaking Māori. The majority of the participants discussed this as being a symptom of them not having sufficient knowledge of *te reo Māori* and therefore reverting back to English as a means of explaining concepts, words and ideas that are unknown to them. Participants see excessive code switching as having a negative impact on their own learning, growth and development in *te reo Māori*. Karetu (n.d.) asserts that lexical code switching is not as serious or harmful when the grammar remains Māori, because the grammar is the vehicle for authentic Māori thought and a Māori world view. Karetu's point is more about the corruption of Māori grammar rather than code switching, hence I will return to this point in chapter four, when we discuss grammar (refer to table 5). While the participants of this study might not understand Māori grammar as well as Karetu, which this study will show later on, they appear to concur that on a lexical level the use of code switching is an acceptable practice. However, when code switching is used in a way that alters the structure of a sentence or where *te reo Māori* is not used at all and is being replaced by English then this becomes a problem. Furthermore, correlations can be made about the impact of code switching on *te reo*, in terms of its excessive use in altering the grammatical structure of the Māori language. Furthermore, correlations can be made between the impact of lexical code switching and the use of lexical transliterations from English, when a speaker does not have sufficient knowledge of *te reo Māori*, and may not know the authentic or correct term to be used. This was viewed as acceptable by the participants, and not seen as a huge threat to *te reo Māori*.

3.2.2 Context and interlocutors

Three out of the eight participants raised the use of code switching in particular settings and when engaging in conversation with certain speakers of *te reo Māori*. These participants saw the use of code switching as inappropriate when in formal, total immersion environments or when speaking to *kaumātua* or native speakers of *te reo Māori*. *Wahine tuarua*, *tane tuatahi*, *wahine tuatahi* and *wahine tuawhā* all said that when in informal settings or when speaking to friends the use of code switching was seen as being more appropriate as the environment is more relaxed. *Wahine tuarua* said:

> *...mēnā kei tētahi kaupapa reo Māori koe, nā ka huri koe ki te reo Pākehā,* yeah *he tino kino tērā. Āe me ū ki te kaupapa... he kino hoki ki* [sic] *te mahi pēnei i roto i ngā mahi whakaako tangata.* (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

> If you are in a context where the Māori language is being used and you use English, it is not a good thing. It is important to remain steadfast to the agenda it is also inappropriate to code switch when teaching or learning the language.

Tane tuatahi said that:

> *...he tūmomo* habit... [it is a type of habit] because you are so used to speaking English you just, when you are asked a Māori question you will start going *ae, ae, ae, he aha te kupu, he aha te kupu,* [yes, yes, yes, what is the word, what is the word] and then you will speak in English, *tērā pea i ētahi wā he whai hua, tērā pea he* instinctual or a habit [at times is it a good thing and at other times it is instinctual or a habit]... *he mea pai mō te whakamārama, te whakakaha i te kaupapa o tō korero* [it is a good thing for explaining or strengthening the point of your discussion]... *Kāore i te pai mēna ka* code switch *ki te marae pea... i ngā wā e kōrerorero ana ki ngā kaumātua, ki ngā tohunga o te reo, ngā tāngata matatau...* [it is perhaps not a good thing to code switch on the *marae*... or when speaking to tribal elders, or experts in the language, or people who are proficient...]. (*Tane tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013)

Tane tuatahi sees the use of code switching as somewhat of an ingrained habit because as second language speakers of *te reo*, English is the primary language and therefore speakers will revert to using English. He views the use of code switching in formal settings such as the *marae* as inappropriate, or when speaking with *kaumātua* or native speakers of *te reo* the use of English may be seen as disrespectful, because in his opinion the use of *te reo* within the context of the *marae* and when speaking to tribal elders is important as it signals respect. *Tane tuarua* also thinks that code switching is inappropriate when speaking with *kaumātua*

and native Māori language speakers, or during a *whaikōrero* (formal speech of welcome performed by a male), he explained that by code switching the *wairua* (spirit or soul) is removed and their willingness to converse with you may be hindered because of the use of English. By the *wairua* (spirit or soul) of the language being removed, *tane tuatahi* is alluding to the loss of expressions and meaning that is unique to *te reo Māori* such as the idiomatic, metaphorical and spiritual references as discussed earlier in table 2 on p. 25. Furthermore, although this was not raised by the participants in this study, it is also important to consider that depending on the situation on a *marae* or when engaging in formal speech making such as *whaikōrero*, that the use of code switching may be used as a form of *manaakitanga* (hospitality, generosity and support) to accommodate for those that are unfamiliar with *te reo Māori*.

3.2.3 Teaching and learning

One of the key themes of the impact of code switching on teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* is the role of the language teacher in modelling the use of correct Māori language. Participants also see code switching as a form of scaffolding to provide encouragement for beginner learners. *Wahine tuatoru* said:

> *Mēnā he kaiako koe me whakatauira atu koe i te reo kia tika… he mahi porearea i te tangata e ako ana…* (*Wahine tuatoru*, personal communication, 2013).

> If you are a teacher you must model or demonstrate correct use of the language.

Wahine tuatoru also said that:

> *Āe, koirā te huarahi mō ngā tāngata kua ako i tētahi atu reo nē...ki ahau nei,* oh *kāore au i te mōhio ki te kupu, ka* code switch *au, '*natural progression', you know, for bilinguals*, ētahi wā he pai, ahakoa he kupu Māori ka whakawhiti atu, ka whakawhiti mai ka ū tonu ki te reo Māori, āe. Ah ēngari i ētahi wā, kaore i te pai i te mea he maha ake ngā kupu Pākehā i te reo Māori...ka kitea tērā te whakawhiti atu whakawhiti mai i ngā wā katoa.* (*Wahine tuatoru*, personal communication, 2013)

> Yes, this is a pathway for people who have learnt another language isn't it…in my opinion, oh I'm not sure of the word. I am going to code switch, 'natural progression', you know for bilinguals, at times it has its benefits, although a Māori word is being switched, the language [*te reo Māori*] is still being used, yeah. However, at times it [code switching] is not good

because there are many more Pākehā words than there are Māori words…This switching to
and from languages is seen all the time.

Wahine tuatoru said that in a learning environment code switching should not be used by teachers of *te reo Māori.* It is the teacher's responsibility to demonstrate and model correct use of *te reo Māori* at all times.

Wahine tuatoru, wahine tuawhā and tane tuatahi also acknowledge the use of code switching is a natural progression for people who are beginner learners of a language. They felt that when used in the early stages of acquiring *te reo Māori* that it may benefit the learner and make the transition of learning *te reo Māori* less challenging by using their first language. This view is supported by Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) who classes the language learner in a total immersion learning environment as a developing bilingual. Their view reflects the act of code switching as having a positive impact, and is a common feature for learning a second language, rather than being seen as a deficiency in a language learner's development. Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) assert that code switching is a natural part of the learning process and experience.

Code switching was seen as having both a positive and negative impact by the participants. The participants view code switching as having a negative impact on their use of *te reo Māori*, in particular, they see the use of code switching as inhibiting their developing language proficiency in *te reo*. The role of the teacher and the act of code switching is seen as inappropriate or problematic due to their role in demonstrating and modelling the incorrect use of *te reo Māori*. However, the impact of code switching for beginner learners was seen by some of the participants as a facilitative pedagogical tool that encouraged and scaffolded the use of *te reo Māori*. Only at the very early stages of learning the language, code switching may be both necessary and desirable.

3.3 Pronunciation

There are three key themes that emerged out of discussions with participants about the pronunciation of *te reo Māori* and the impact of the English language. The themes are: the mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* as disrespectful; change in meaning; and the loss of the essence of *te reo Māori*. All eight participants agreed that correct pronunciation of *te reo Māori* was vital and that awareness needs to be raised regarding the significance of correct

pronunciation of words in Māori. Mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* was seen as a form of disrespect, or ignorance towards *te reo Māori*, that undermines and undervalues the Māori language. Furthermore, the participants also voiced that mispronunciation can change the entire meaning of particular Māori words. This section will provide specific examples of commonly mispronounced elements of *te reo Māori* based on the responses of the participants. The participants also feared that incorrect pronunciation may become normalised, the implications of which would compromise the unique identity of the language. All participants agreed that these changes are a direct symptom of the impact of New Zealand English language pronunciation, more specifically, the pronunciation of the Māori vowel sounds, and some consonants of the Māori language, examples of which are discussed below.

3.3.1 Mispronunciation as disrespectful

All participants felt strongly about correct pronunciation of *te reo Māori*. They felt that mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* indicates signs of disrespect towards the language and, by extension, the Māori people. *Tane tuarua* said:

> I think that some people are just so used to speaking English...they just somehow pronounce it or kind of bastardise it into their own pronunciation of Māori. (*Tane tuarua*, personal communication, 2014)

Tane tuarua sees mispronunciation of *te reo* as an example of the many indignities Māori are subject to from the English language. The strength of the language that the participant used ("bastardise") is a clear indication of this. Speakers see incorrect pronunciation of Māori words as insulting and for him this is an issue that requires more focussed attention. *Wahine tuawhā* said:

> It makes me cringe when our *reo* isn't pronounced properly, like those people don't care enough to try and say it right… there are so many Pākehāfied words now like especially place names Otākou for example, people often say Odourcow…even my boys name, people can't even say it right and ask if he has a nickname…I'm always like no, that's his name…that's not our language, that's not how our *reo* is spoken. (*Wahine tuawhā*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuawhā said that the mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* due to the impact of New Zealand English, or what she has termed 'Pākehāfied', is commonly heard and observed. She feels that when *te reo Māori* is mispronounced that it undermines the authenticity of the language and is insulting. This is captured in her statement regarding her child's name. For

these participants, the mispronunciation of a personal name signals a strong sense of disrespect because it is something personal to them. Furthermore, personal names in Māori generally convey *whakapapa* (genealogical) connections, they may be named after an ancestor or that name may carry idiomatic or metaphoric meaning in *te reo Māori*. Furthermore, the mispronunciation of a personal name may be demoralising and may make the person feel ashamed or that their sense of worth is undervalued. Dorerr (2009) explains that mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* displays ignorance, and aids the perpetuation of negative attitudes towards Māori people and Māori culture.

Nesmith (2005) discussed the changing nature of the traditional Hawaiian language and the emergence of what he calls 'Neo-Hawaiian' and that it is not only the linguistic aspects of the language that is being affected but, so too is the identity of the people (Hawaiian). This notion of mispronunciation as being disrespectful can be attributed to the connection between *te reo Māori* and Māori identity. That is, because *te reo Māori* is a symbol of Māori identity, and Māori affiliate so closely with the language as a '*taonga*'. Karetu (1993) explains that the Māori language is essential to the construction and articulation of Māori identity, he further stipulates that the ability to speak Māori is the ultimate expression of the experience of being Māori. Thus mispronunciation of *te reo* can be seen as debasing and under valuing not only the language but also the identity and status of the Māori people.

3.3.2 Change in meaning

With regards to the mispronunciation of *te reo Māori,* and the change of meaning. *Wahine tuaono* said:

> ...it actually changes words, because there are words that could be really similar, but there's just one slight variation...in how one of the vowels is pronounced and that can change the word completely...like the word *keke* [cake] and *kēkē* [armpit]...it can completely change the meaning of the word, so pronunciation is important in that aspect. (*Wahine tuaono*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuaono, *wahine tuatahi*, *wahine tuarua*, *wahine tuatoru*, and *tane tuarua* discussed the mispronunciation of minimal pairs[23] in *te reo*. In particular, the confusion with the pronunciation of minimal pairs such as '*au*' and '*ou*' and the personal pronouns '*rātau*' and '*rātou*' (when referring to three or more people). In the literature review I discussed that this

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[23] Minimal pairs are pairs of words or phrases that vary only in one phonological element as demonstrated in the above examples.

may be a symptom of the standardisation of *te reo Māori* through instructional methods of teaching *te reo,* that have a preference towards the use of one particular word over another. For example, the use of '*rātau*' over '*rātou*'.

Wahine tuaono gave an example of the words *keke* (cake) and *kēkē* (armpit), where a slight variation in vowel length gives the word a completely different meaning. Therefore, in her opinion attention to correct pronunciation is important because it can alter the meaning of a word in Māori altogether. *Tane tuarua* also gave an example of the words *tika* (correct, right) and *teka* (be false, lying, telling lies). *Tane tuarua* said:

> ...it's one of the things that I associate with *te reo Māori* as important especially around getting the length of the vowels right and the pronunciation of the 't'. Like for example when people say *mana* [power or prestige] they say like maahnah...it changes the whole definition...it's insulting...it needs to be addressed, it needs to be sorted out because it means something completely different, you know, it's not right, it's not Māori. (*Tane tuarua*, personal communication, 2014).

Correct pronunciation of *te reo Māori* is vital, This is because when aspects of the language such as the vowels or certain phonemes are not correctly used then the meaning of the Māori words and phrases change, as evidenced in the statements of the participants of this study.

The participants involved in this study have demonstrated an awareness of changes to *te reo* based on the impact of English pronunciation. The participants discussed their knowledge of the mispronunciation of the vowels and certain consonants of the Māori language which they have demonstrated, may alter the meaning of particular words in Māori, again, the effect of this being the undermining of the authenticity of *te reo Māori* but also the identity of Māori. Findings from this study, such as the view that mispronunciation of *te reo* is a result of close contact with English, further supports the earlier work of King et al. (2009), who found that shifts in pronunciation of *te reo Māori* are a direct symptom of contact-induced change from English. For example, the study highlights specific phonological changes which suggest that there are six rather than ten vowel sounds and less distinction in the pronunciation of diphthongs, that is, the sound made by the combination of two vowels in a single syllable.

3.3.3 Loss of the essence of *te reo Māori*

Wahine tuatahi said that correct pronunciation of *te reo* is important, she also said:

> ...koinei te tūturutanga o tō tātou reo… kei reira ngā ture ngā tikanga nei hei pupuri ki te tino reo o tō tātou iwi (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013).

> This is the true essence of our language… therein lies [in the pronunciation] the rules and the correct way which we must maintain in order for our language to remain in its true and authentic form.

Wahine tuatahi asserted that correct pronunciation of *te reo* is essential because it determines the true essence of the language. She said that correct pronunciation must be maintained in order for *te reo* to remain in its true and authentic form. This particular view of the language may be seen as somewhat puristic in nature, as Chambers et al. (2002) explains, phonological changes are a natural consequence of two langauges in contact. Furthermore, when a second language is being acquired, learners carry with them the phonological sound system of their first language, in this case English (Flege et al. 2002). It is important to be aware of the impact English has on the pronunciation of *te reo* so that it does not become normalised, much like the pronunciation of various Māori place names. For Māori, correct pronunciation of *te reo* is essential. When the language is mispronounced there is a sense of a lack of worth and respect towards not only the Māori lanaguge but also the Māori people.

Wahine tuawhā, wahine tuaono and *tane tuarua* discussed issues with the pronunciation of some specific consonants in *te reo Māori. Wahine tuaono* discussed the importance of pronouncing the vowels and consonant's such as the Māori '*t*' and 'ng' in *te reo Māori. Wahine tuawhā* also said that people have difficulty with pronouncing the vowels in Māori, she discussed the mispronunciation of the '*i*' and the '*e*', and the '*a*' and the '*o*' in Māori, which in her opinion are commonly exchanged for one another. *Tane tuarua* also mentioned the struggle with pronouncing the Māori '*r*', and 'ng'. In his opinion people find the pronunciation of the '*r*' in Māori a challenge because there is no equivalent sound in English.

Wahine tuatahi, *wahine tuarua* and *tane tuarua* all felt that if *te reo Māori* continues to be mispronounced then this will cause issues for the ongoing development and use of *te reo*. That is, if mispronunciation of *te reo Maori* continues to be perpetuated to the extent where it becomes normalised, then the essence and authenticity of the language is compromised. All Participants felt that this was due to the impact of New Zealand English pronunciation on the Māori language. Furthermore, this fear of the mispronunciation of *te reo* becoming normalised highlights an urgency for the cultural maintenance of *te reo Māori*.

All languages are subject to change and due to the majority of speakers of *te reo Māori* being first language speakers of English they will naturally carry with them the phonological sounds of English. There is cause for concern if the mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* continues to be perpetuated to the extent where it becomes normalised and the Māori language no longer reflects authentic Māori pronunciation. It may be suggested that similarly

to the Hawaiian situation, as discussed by Nesmith (2002 and 2005) *te reo Māori* may also become a hybridised language, where the pronunciation is contaminated by New Zealand English. Evidence of this shift strongly suggests that this is already occurring.

3.4 Summary

In summary, this chapter has explored the key themes extracted from the eight semi structured interviews. There were three sections that have been discussed in detail, these are transliteration, code switching and pronunciation. The opinions reflect the particular attitudes of this cohort of Māori language learners. For the most part, participants felt that the impact of the English language interfered with the ongoing development and acquisition of *te reo Māori*. The participants were also fearful of the dominance of English transliterations and code switching as they undermine an authentic Māori world view as expressed by pre-European Māori vocabulary terms. Although there were times when the participants felt that code switching was appropriate, such as the use of transliteration to avoid confusion among use of Māori terms, to maintain the fluidity within a conversation, and as a form of humour. Transliteration and code switching were also seen as a particularly useful tool for scaffolding language learning during the early stages of learning.

The section on transliteration highlighted a shared, common theme among the cohort. That is, the dilution of pre-existing Māori words and by extension loss of these particular lexical items from the Māori language. Participants felt that if there was an overuse of transliterations from the English language then they may begin to replace more genuine and authentic Māori words. Furthermore, all participants agreed that the use of pre-existing and authentic Māori words are more important to maintain. Participants felt that it was inappropriate to use transliterations in place of words that are pre-existing, they also felt that the use of transliterations was a lazy way of using and learning *te reo Māori*. Although the participants felt that the use of transliterations impact negatively on *te reo Māori*, participants did see some exceptions to their use, such as, to avoid confusion, and to maintain the flow of the conversation. Three out of the eight participants mentioned that the use of transliteration was appropriate to express humour when using *te reo Māori*, but only when this is done with the awareness of the speaker of the more correct words or expressions. In terms of learning *te reo Māori*, transliteration was seen by some participants as beneficial at the early beginner stages, because the use of transliterations may act as a bridge between both English and Māori to encourage and scaffold during initial stages of learning *te reo Māori*. Other

participants felt strongly about the use of transliterations, to the extent where they should be avoided and the pre-existing Māori words should be used from the onset of learning *te reo Māori*, with the exception of words for items that have no Māori equivalent, only then is the use of transliteration acceptable.

All participants admitted to code switching at one time or another, some participants engage in code switching often and others not so much. Most participants said that the reason why they tended to switch to English was because they were unsure or the particular Māori word or concept that they were trying to discuss or explain. Participants view excessive code switching to English as having a negative impact on *te reo* and a damaging effect on their proficiency and ongoing development as active Māori language learners. Participants also spoke of code switching as being a form of laziness.

The section on pronunciation demonstrates a strong feeling among the cohort of the importance of correct Māori pronunciation. The participants felt that mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* was a direct symptom of the impact and close contact of English and *te reo Māori*. Participants feel that the mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* is a sign of disrespect which in their opinions degrades the value of *te reo Māori*. Mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* also obscures the meaning of particular words and the ideas and concept that they convey.

The impact of English on the mispronunciation of *te reo* (as a sign of disrespect), the mutation of Māori grammar, and the lack of attention to Māori idiom demonstrate that its impact is not only effecting the language but also the identity and status of the Māori people because of the strong affiliation Māori have to their cultural identity.

The following chapter will discuss the implications of these findings and concluding remarks from the data set explored in this thesis.

Chapter Four

Discussion Two: grammar and *te reo Māori* and learning.

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will continue with the discussion of the research data, in particular, the areas of grammar and the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori*. In the section on grammar there are two key themes, these are awareness of the impact of English grammar and use of correct grammar. While correct Māori grammar was seen as important, the majority of the participants were unaware of the impact of English on Māori grammar structures. This is highlighted in table 5, which illustrates the participants' lack of awareness of the specific examples discussed during the interview. In the section on *te reo Māori* and learning there are three key themes that emerged. These are Māori idiom, *tikanga Māori* (Māori culture) and the grammar translation method. The main conclusions from this section demonstrates a strong feeling among the participants about the impact of not only the Pākehā language but also the Pākehā culture[24], on the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori*. More specifically, the dominance of Pākehā methods of teaching[25] the language; the lack of attention of teaching Māori idiom, or culturally located aspects of *te reo Māori*; and a lack of emphasis on Māori culturally-centred method and approaches to learning.

4.1 Grammar

In discussing the impact of the English language on the grammatical structure of *te reo*, there were two key themes that emerged. The first theme is the awareness about the impact of English grammar on *te reo*. The second theme is the importance of grammatical correctness. Most participants were not aware that English grammar and English word order has had an impact on Māori grammar. There were only three participants that were aware of the changes that were discussed in the examples during the interview. However, only two of the three participants were able to give their own examples. Both of these participants engages in regular Māori language activities such as *wānanga reo* (total immersion language retreats),

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[24] Pākehā culture refers to the culture of the descendants of the first European settlers who came to New Zealand. I am not only referring to their culture but the dominant culture of New Zealand society which dictates the way our education system is designed and the way in which the country is governed.

[25] By Pākehā methods of teaching I am referring to the pedagogical teaching practices that favour the use of the English language.

and one of these participants also speaks Māori at home with her children. Not only were the other five participants unaware of the specific examples discussed during the interview, but they were also not aware of any transformations occurring to Māori grammar based on the English language.

The implications of having awareness about grammar changes means that these learners are conscious of the correct use of *te reo* whereas, if learners are unaware of these changes then they will be uncritically learning the language. Therefore, these uncritical learners may not be concerned with learning the authentic way of structuring their knowledge base in Māori, and the use of incorrect Māori language will continue to be perpetuated. As illustrated in table 5, there did not appear to be a high level of awareness of the specific changes to *te reo* within this cohort of participants.

Furthermore, the implications of the participants not being aware of the impact of English grammar and word order on *te reo* raises cause for concern. That is, because if speakers are not aware of these changes then incorrect use of *te reo Māori* will continue to be perpetuated, to the extent where Māori grammar will follow the structure and word order of the English language. Karetu (n.d.) strongly asserts that the corruption of authentic Māori grammar is cause for concern. This is because within the grammar lie the rules and structures that make *te reo Māori* unique, and reflect a Māori ontological world view. Therefore, if the authenticity of Māori grammar becomes corrupted by the English language it is not only the linguistic elements of the language that are being compromised, but so too, is the world view and understandings of the world that are conveyed through Māori grammar.

Given that all participants have been studying *te reo Māori* for three years or more at Te Tumu, their unawareness may imply that the participants' level of Māori language proficiency is not sufficient enough, or there is a lack of attention given to this phenomenon in their language classes. Variables for this unawareness may be that these participants did not make an attempt to learn correct grammar; or the curriculum is not highlighting and bringing to their attention that there are these differences in how the language is being spoken; or the language teachers may not be aware of authentic Māori grammar and the difference between Anglicised grammar of *te reo Māori*. Nesmith (2002 and 2005) explains that in Hawaii, the dominant presence of language teachers who are SLL's of the Hawaiian language is the source for the perpetuation of Neo-Hawaiian, and thus, weakening the survival of the traditional Hawaiian language.

4.1.1 Awareness of the impact of English grammar

Wahine tuatahi, wahine tuarua, wahine tuawhā, wahine tuarima, and *wahine tuaono* all said that they were unaware of the impact of English grammar on *Māori* grammar. They were also unaware that the three examples discussed during the interview were expressions that are influenced by English grammatical structures and English word order. These examples are the use of the structures '*kāhore*', '*ka taea*' and '*puru*'[26]. *Wahine tuarua* and *tane tuatahi* were aware of one or two examples being incorrect. *Wahine tuatoru* was well aware of the impact of English grammar structures on *te reo Māori*, she was aware of all of the examples discussed during the interview. *Wahine tuatoru* and *whahine tuarima* were able to provide other examples of the impact of English grammar on the use of *te reo Māori*, which are discussed on pp. 69-70 and pp. 71-72. The data in table 5 was generated through discussion with the participants during the interviews. The table illustrates all three examples and highlights the structures that were known and unknown to all the participants. It further illustrates those participants that were completely unaware of any changes to Māori grammar and their level of language learning at Te Tumu. This data was gathered during the interview process

Table 5 Knowledge of the impact of English on Maori grammar

Research Participant	*Kāhore*	*Ka taea*	*Puru*	General Changes to Māori Grammar	Proficiency Level
Wahine Tuatahi	Not aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	300 Level
Wahine Tuarua	Not Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	400 Level
Wahine Tuatoru	Aware	Aware	Aware	Aware	400 Level
Wahine Tuawhā	Not Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	400 Level
Wahine Tuarima	Not Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	Aware	300 Level

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[26] Refer to appendix 3 for the full explanation of each of the sentence structures.

Wahine Tuaono	Not Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	300 Level
Tane Tuatahi	Aware	Aware	Not Aware	Aware	400 Level
Tane Tuarua	Not Aware	Aware	Not Aware	Not Aware	400 Level

Wahine tuarua said:

> *Kāo* [no]… I'm not aware, pretty much at tertiary level we were given stuff to learn and that was sort of it, but I am aware of our teacher [a language teacher in Te Tumu] trying to, I think he mentioned a couple of times the original way of saying something or doing something but no one takes that into account when they are learning Māori… they just want to learn the easiest way of how ever you would say something. (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuarua said that she was not aware of changes to Māori grammatical structures that are based on the English language. Essentially, in her opinion learners of *te reo* just want to learn how to communicate in an easy and effective manner, even if it follows the structure of the English language. The concern here is that there should be an emphasis on the use of authentic Māori grammar, this is supported by Karetu (n.d.). *Wahine tuarua* also said that she was not aware that the examples discussed during the interview were incorrect and that she often misuses all three sentences. For example, the use of the phrase *'ka taea'* and the use of the word *'puru'*. Although, she has been made aware that these examples are in fact incorrect and follow the structure of the English language, *wahine tuarua* thinks that it will be difficult to relearn these sentences in their correct form because she has been so conditioned to using these particular structures in their incorrect form. Her attitude towards this phenomenon determines how language is going to develop and in continuing to do so she may pass these errors on to other speakers and they will continue to be perpetuated. This has implications for the languages ongoing development, as these Anglicised expressions in Māori may become embedded in the speech of Māori language speakers.

Māori language users may be completely unaware of the impact of the English language on Māori grammar and therefore may or may not be using correct language; or they may be aware and aim to use correct Māori grammar; or, similar to *wahine tuarua*, they may knowingly use grammar that follows the structure and word order of the English language

and in doing so these structures become embedded in their speech. In terms of Māori language use there are general attitudes among learners and speakers where either, they are more concerned about the use of authentic Māori language, and then there are those that are purely concerned about being able to converse in *te reo* whether it be correct or incorrect. These personal attitudes have implications for how *te reo Māori* is developed and being spoken. Similarly, *wahine tuatahi* said:

> *Āe, ko au hoki tētahi e whakamahi ana, e whakamāori ana i te rerenga kōrero Pākehā. Te kāhore, te ka taea, me te puru he kupu katoa ka whakamahia e ahau. Ko te mea kē, kia whai kōrero Māori he rite tonu te tikanga ki tāu e kōrero ana.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013)

> Yes, I am one of those people that uses and translates Māori into English sentences. The thing of importance is to use Māori according to what you want to say in Māori, [rather than just trying to translate something you want to say in English].

She also said:

> *He mea pouri, he mea ahua mataku, kei te panoni tō tātou reo, kei te anga ki tā te reo Pākehā nō reira me matua piri tātou ki tō tātou reo tūturu.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013)

> It is very sad, it is also something kind of scary that our language is changing in the direction of the English language, therefore, it is essential that we stay true and maintain our language in its most authentic form.

Wahine tuatahi said that she uses all three structures incorrectly and was not aware that they followed English grammar and word order. She spoke of her own use of *te reo*, and said that she speaks Māori with English grammar. That is, she structures her sentences in Māori as if she were speaking English. She said that it was a sign of the impact of the English language on her proficiency in *te reo Māori*. In her opinion the impact of English and the implications that these changes have on *te reo Māori* are not good. Although she is aware that she speaks Māori in this fashion she asserts the importance of maintaining authentic Māori grammar and ensuring that the language is not compromised by the English language.

Although *wahine tuarima* was not aware of the three examples discussed during the interview, she asserted that correct use of Māori grammar was important. She highlighted two other examples of the interference of the English language on *te reo Māori*, the use of the word '*tūmeke*' and the word '*mīharo*'. Originally '*tūmeke*' was used to express being struck with 'awe', or to be surprised, startled, shocked or frightened, but in modern spoken Māori this word has adopted a completely new meaning, that is, to state that someone or something

is great or excellent. Just as the word awesome in English, the root meaning of this expression has also shifted. The New Oxford Dictionary states that the origins of this word is from the late 16th century and means to be filled with awe, but it's informal or modern use has come to mean "extremely good; excellent" (Pearsall, 1998, p. 118). It is likely that the modern Māori use of the term '*tūmeke*' follows this change. This is a clear example of semantic change of *te reo Māori* that is impacted by the English language, as discussed in the literature review on p. 23. However the second example discussed by *wahine tuarima*, shows how the use of a Māori term is interpreted into an English expression. *Wahine tuarima* gave an example of the incorrect use of the word '*mīharo*' that she has heard. That is, the phrase '*mīharo ahau*' to mean 'I am Amazing', this is an incorrect Anglicisation which clearly follows the English language. The correct way to use this sentence would be '*He tangata mīharo ahau*'. This is a direct example of the impact of English on *te reo Māori,* and how incorrect use of *te reo* by applying a literally translation from one language to another is not appropriate.

Wahine tuawhā discussed the presence of the English language and the fact that English is so dominant and present in the mind set of many speakers of the Māori language that it becomes difficult to distinguish what is English based grammar and what is Māori grammar. She was also not aware of the changes to *te reo* based on English grammar. She also indicated using the sentence structures '*ka taea*', '*kāhore*' and '*puru*' unknowingly, in their incorrect form. *Wahine tuawhā* is a Māori language teacher and therefore she was passing on this incorrect use of *te reo* to her students in her language classroom (Primary School, Bilingual Unit). She asserted that now she is aware of the correct way of using these particular structures that she will make a conscious effort not to use them incorrectly.

Tane tuarua also thinks that English grammar has had, and continues to have a significant impact on *te reo Māori.* He thinks that it is now a big part of how we have come to understand *te reo Māori* and how the language is spoken. *Tane tuarua* is talking about the influence of English on the way *te reo* is spoken. That is, Māori sentences that follow the structure of the English language. He said that he often uses *te reo* in this sense and that this was because he initially learnt the language through English. He said that this does not reflect good language practice as it inhibits his ability to use correct Māori grammar. *Tane Tuarua* said that he was unaware of changes to *te reo* based on English grammar. Nor was he aware of the examples discussed in the interview. After discussing the set examples he said that he

often hears the use of '*ka taea*' in its incorrect form, and he also knowingly uses this sentence incorrectly. *Tane tuatahi* said:

> I do fear the Pākehāfication of *te reo Māori* with respect to the language losing its diversity more than anything… *Āe, i ngā wā katoa ka whakawhiti ngā rerenga kōrero Pākehā i te reo Māori tōtika* [yes, English sentences are frequently changed or translated directly into Māori]… it is important that things remain grammatically the same… I think that while it's true that languages evolve over time, it's important to remain true to the language's roots. It's important that *te reo* stays as it is meant to be and isn't changed completely... so for example we shouldn't just end up translating an English sentence into Māori without changing the order of words, because it would be incorrect grammar. (*Tane tuatahi*, personal communication, 2014)

Tane Tuatahi said that he too was aware of the impact English has on the grammatical structure of *te reo Māori*, he was also aware of the three examples that were discussed during the interview, but he was unable at the time to recall any other examples. He used the term 'Pākehāfication' with regards to the impact of English, or rather, New Zealand English, on *te reo Māori*. His attitude reflects that of a puristic view, he feels that the changes in Māori grammar based on English have an inherently negative impact because of the loss of authentic Māori meaning in the language. Although he acknowledges that languages change and evolve when in contact with another language, he believes that a language should remain pure and continue to be used in its original form. *Tane tuatahi* discussed fears for the Māori language, his concern is that the diversity of *te reo Māori* may be at risk and that the contamination of English grammar and word order diminishes and dilutes *te reo* to the extent where the language becomes like English in the way that the language is structured, spoken and used.

Wahine tuatoru was aware of the impact of the English language on *te reo* and that this is an issue that many speakers of the Māori language are confronted with. She discussed the fact that she wanted her *te reo* to be authentic and not follow the structures of the English language. In her opinion this is only attainable through concentrated study and sustained commitment to learning *te reo Māori*. She also spoke of the importance of not only learning *te reo* through University but, attending Māori immersion retreats such as 'Kura Reo' and 'Te Panekiritanga', which she does regularly. *Wahine tuatoru* said that she was aware of changes to *te reo Māori* based on English. She gave the following example, the use of the Māori word '*mō*' for the English word 'for'. *Wahine tuatoru* said that she has heard this sentence being used in the following way, which is incorrect and does not follow Māori grammar, '*he aha*

tērā mō?' to ask 'who or what is that for?' whereas, the correct utterance is '*mā wai tērā?'* *Wahine tuatoru* is aware of changes to *te reo* based on the English language. She provided a few examples, one of which was '*kei te pīrangi koe he kai?'* (do you want something to eat?) or '*kei te pīrangi koe te wharepaku*?' (do you want the toilet?) These two examples follow the word order of the English language, she said that the more appropriate way of expressing these two sentences in Māori would be '*he kai māu?'* and '*kei te hiamimi koe?'* Harlow (2005) discusses this exact example too, he states that the use of '*mō'* to mean 'for' demonstrates a clear example of the impact of English syntax on *te reo Māori*. He also states that the use of the sentence has now become a "correct" (p. 137) expression in *te reo Māori*, meaning it is widely accepted and used by speakers of the Māori language. This example is compelling evidence that the impact of the English language is altering the use of *te reo* and following English grammar and word order to the extent where this has become acceptable and even normalised within the speech of speakers and learners of *te reo Māori*. The use of the term '*mō'* is in fact quite a complex error, one instance is the use of '*mō'* for 'for', Harlow (2005) provides an example, the use of the phrase '*tatari mō…'* to mean 'wait for…', which is a direct Anglicisation of the English phrase. The more authentic expression is '*tatari i…'* or '*tatari ki…'* The other instance is where a speaker must also have knowledge of the '*a*' and the '*o*' category in Māori, the terms are knowing in Māori as '*mā*' and '*mō*' and are used to denote future possession. The use of these terms require specific cultural knowledge in order for it to be used correctly, this was discussed in more detail in the literature review.

Nesmith (2002 and 2005) discusses differences in the variety of speech between native and SLL's or what he terms Neo speakers of the Hawaiian language. His findings indicate that the variety of Hawaiian that is spoken by SLL's is altering the original form of the language and by extension the Hawaiian culture and identity is also changing. The implications of Nesmith's assertions warrant concern for *te reo Māori* and Māori identity. Nesmith further explains that the traditional Hawaiian language is at threat due to the impact of this new emerging variety of Hawaiian which is minimising and diluting the diverse richness of the language. He discusses how this community of speakers brings with them their own linguistic nuances, this is in part due to the influence of the English language. Nesmith further asserts that a heightened awareness regarding the impact of these changes needs to be made in order to preserve traditional Hawaiian language as spoken by native speakers. In considering Nesmith's concern, the lack of awareness of many of my participants regarding changes to

Māori grammar and the continued use of incorrect Māori grammar based on English grammar and word order presents grave issues that need to be addressed.

Christensen (2001a) warns that the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* must be free from the influence of English if the goal is to maintain the authenticity and unique expressions that are conveyed through *te reo*. Whether this is truly possible or not within the context of language revitalisation efforts is the key question. The impact of English grammar and word order on *te reo Māori* also compromises and contaminates the Māori ontological world view that is represented through authentic Māori grammar, as asserted by Karetu (n.d.). For most of the participants, the data highlights a significant lack of awareness regarding the impact of the English language on the grammatical structure of *te reo Māori*. This raises particular concern, as it indicates that these participants will continue to use incorrect Māori grammar that follows the English language, as opposed to the structures that are unique to *te reo Māori*. Furthermore, if these learners are not even aware of their incorrect use of *te reo Māori*, then these participants will not consciously be able to do anything about it.

4.1.2 Use of correct grammar

Wahine tuarima, wahine tuaono, tane tuatahi, wahine tuatoru and *wahine tuawhā* all spoke of the importance of the use of correct Māori grammar. *Wahine tuaono* said that the grammar of a language is what makes it unique. It is the way that things are expressed in that particular language and it is important that they remain true to *te reo Māori*. Wahine tuaono discussed the idea of the English language interfering with the way in which leaners of *te reo Māori* structure their sentences. This, in her opinion does not reflect positively for the ongoing development of *te reo Māori.* That is, because the Māori grammar is being compromised by the English language, and the authenticity of *te reo Māori* is therefore being altered. In essence, *wahine tuaono* is referring to the unique structure of the Māori language being altered to the extent where *te reo* is being contaminated by elements of the English language.

Wahine tuarua discussed the impact of the changes to Māori grammar based on English as having a negative impact because it alters the structure and meaning of the language. She also discussed the notion of how rapidly a language changes when in contact with a dominant language such as English, she said:

> I think it's a bad thing… coz, um, it wasn't its original intended purpose to be spoken or used
> in that manner, so I think that taking something that was pure and changing it because of the
> impact of another language can't be a good thing… it changes the meaning and the way you

say something in Māori and turns it into an English constructed sentence... well these are a good example of how quickly a language can change when a largely spoken language such as English comes into effect for the minority, so the fact that those words are being used in a different way than the original meaning shows how quickly it can change or become extinct. (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Key issues raised by participants highlight that correct Māori grammar is important. Although all participants were not aware of the particular changes to *te reo* brought to their attention in the interviews and as illustrated in table 5 on pp. 68-69. Participants did discuss that they tend to follow English ways of structuring their sentences in Māori. This can be attributed to the participants' language proficiency and perhaps in time and with more exposure to *te reo* this may be rectified. However, there is cause for concern, as explained by Harlow (2001) and Karetu (n.d.) who assert that incorrect use of Māori sentences that follow English must be avoided. Karetu clearly states that *te reo Māori*, and in particular, Māori grammar, must remain in its true and authentic form. As previously mentioned, this has to do with his concern that if features of the English language are present then the ontological world view that is conveyed through *te reo Māori* is debased and by extension, the diverse knowledge and understanding of *te reo* is diluted and may be lost. If learners of the Māori language are not aware of the impact and influence of the English language on Māori grammar and word order, and such terms and phrases (as those discussed above) continue to be utilised in an incorrect manner, or as Harlow (2005) explains, they become normal or correct ways of communicating.

As the participants of this study have shown, the lack of participants' awareness in regards to the impact of English language structures and word order may have negative implications for the ongoing development and use of the language. That is, because if these incorrect structures continue to be utilised, either knowingly or unknowingly, then *te reo* will become more and more anglicised in nature, except when learners know there is a difference between authentic Māori grammar, and where learners make a conscious effort to correct these language errors and use authentic Māori grammar or terms. Only the latter group contribute to ensuring that *te reo* continues to be used as authentically as possible, and remains free from the corruption of English language structures and word order. Furthermore, there is a particular responsibility here among language teachers and curriculum designers to be aware of the differences between anglicised Māori language and authentic Māori grammar. Also, in order to reinforce the importance of speaking authentic Māori language, if this is to be a priority for *te reo*, then language teachers have to commit themselves to reinforcing that

within their students. This theme of teaching and learning will be discussed more in the following section.

4.2 *Te reo Māori* and learning

This section will discuss the impact of the English language and culture on the learning experiences of the research participants during their time learning *te reo Māori* through Te Tumu. There are three key themes that emerged out of discussions with the participants. The first theme is Māori idiom and metaphor, this section discusses the significance of these types of expressions and the importance of their presence in the acquisition of *te reo Māori*. The participants felt that there was a need to make a more conscious and explicit effort in and around learning Māori idiom. The second theme is *tikanga māori* (Māori culture), this section highlights a strong feeling among the participants of a lack of presence of Māori culture in the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* in Te Tumu. The third theme is the grammar translation method, this section highlights the use of a particular method of teaching within Te Tumu where learners are taught the grammatical rules of a language and then apply those sets of rules by translating from English to *te reo Māori* and vice versa. The grammar translation method privileges the use of the English language and impacts on the way that *te reo Māori* is taught and learnt. By using this method, the learner must therefore have an understanding of English in order to learn *te reo*. The underlying assumption being, that language teachers in Te Tumu are privileging the English language. The impact is that English is the device or mechanism by which you gain knowledge and come to understand the use of *te reo Māori*. The dynamics of which, render English as the language of superiority in the way that the language is taught and acquired.

Wahine tuatahi, *tane tuarua*, *wahine tuarima*, *wahine tuaono*, and *wahine tuawhā* all said that the examples of unique Māori expressions (see appendix 3) were not known to them and without the English translation they did not fully understand the meanings. All participants felt that the English language interferes with their ability to fully understand these types of Māori expressions. Māori idiom depicts a particular richness reflective of the conceptual understandings offered by a Māori world view. All participants believed that Māori idiom is an important aspect of *te reo Māori*, which provides a deep and meaningful understanding of the culture and the language which are seen as intertwined entities that are not easily separated. These participants had to look at the English translation in order to fully understand what was being discussed.

4.2.1 Māori idiom

Māori idiom refers to the utterances of *te reo Māori* which cannot meaningfully be literally translated into English without further explanation, because they assume some further Māori cultural knowledge. For example, the use of the Māori phrase *'kei te karanga a Rongo'* to say that the food is ready to be consumed and refers to the elemental god of Rongo or Rongomātane the god of agriculture. As opposed to the phrase *'kua reri ngā kai'* which can be literally translated to 'the food is ready'. Even communicating an ordinary thing such as the food is ready in *te reo Māori* demonstrates the strong connection Māori have to the spiritual world. Therefore, when this expression is used, the listener must have knowledge of who Rongo is and what his domain is. This may indicate that there is a shift away from sacred or spiritual Māori knowledge conveyed in the use of the name 'Rongo' towards the secular, where unique expressions such as the above example are replaced with something as simple or common as the food is ready. The impact of the English language on *te reo Māori* not only accommodates for English expressions, but there is movement away from and isolation away from Māori spirituality, and Māori ontology.

Wahine tuatahi, *tane tuarua*, *tane tuatahi*, *wahine tuarima*, *wahine tuarua* and *wahine tuaono* said that there was minimal or no exposure to Māori idiom during their learning experience at University. All participants thought that by having minimal or no exposure to aspects of the language such as Māori idiom and metaphor that this reflected negatively in terms of the authenticity of the language that is being learnt. All research participants agreed that there is not enough focussed attention on the teaching and learning of Māori idiom and the metaphoric expressions that capture the true and authentic nature of Māori thought, culture, values and understanding. *Tane tuarua* said that he would use the basic or common examples (discussed during the interview) as these are the ones that he has learnt and that he knows well. In regards to the unique Māori expressions *tane tuarua* said he would not ever use them because he does not actually know or understand these types of saying in *te reo Māori*. In discussing the importance of idiom *wahine tuarua* said that:

> …just because something can't be directly translated doesn't mean that its use or purpose is any less… and that is a good example of how English can interfere with things, like if you can't directly translate it that it's not important…there is a lot of feeling and emotion when you say those words and phrases…a lot of ideas, knowledge, and spirituality come across in the idiom… there is a depth of meaning within the idioms [sic] and metaphors [sic] that is hard to explain it just gives you this special kind of feeling. (*Wahine tuarua*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuarua spoke of the importance of Māori idiom in conveying those deeper and more meaningful aspects of thought and communication that show the interconnectedness of the language and the ontological world view represented within these modes of expression. *Wahine tuarua* spoke of idiom as having a depth of meaning that is hard to convey, by this she may have been referring to the sense of connectedness and empowerment that one may feel when using these expression as they fully represent and reflect Māori culture, Māori thought and Māori ways of understanding and making sense of the world. This can be linked to how *te reo Māori* provides a sense of connectedness and belonging that strengthens one's own cultural identity. As previously mentioned, this notion aligns with Karetu (1993) who discusses *te reo Māori* as a pillar of Māori identity.

Wahine tuatahi spoke of the specific examples discussed during the interview, she said:

> *…ki au nei he tino pai rawa ngā mea tino Māori, he tino hāngai ēnei kōrero ki te ao Māori, ki te whakaaro Māori, ko te wairua Māori kei roto i ēnei momo āhuatanga o te reo Māori… koinei te whaitaketanga o te reo… me mātua ako e tātou katoa i ēnei kia noho tūturu te reo, kia kaua Pākehā nei tō tātou reo, kia kore ai te hanga o tō tatau reo rangatira e ngaro noa.* (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013)

> In my opinion the unique Māori expressions are really great, these types of language relate to a Māori world view, to Māori thinking, it is the Māori spirit or essence that is conveyed through these types of expressions… they carry the important aspects of the Māori language… We must all learn this type of language [the unique Māori expressions] so that our language remains authentic, so the language does not become English, so that our chiefly language does not die out.

Wahine tuatahi said that Māori idiom was incredibly important because it is at the heart of the Māori language, they represent the true essence of *te reo Māori* and convey and represent a Māori world view. She also referred to Māori idiom as '*te tūturutanga o te reo'* or the genuine or authentic Māori language. To her, Māori idiom represents the essence of *te reo Māori*. She said that the unique Māori expressions are poetic and have a certain beauty about them that cannot be expressed or fully understood through the English language. This is because they represent a Māori belief system and to understand these aspects of the language a learner must have a certain amount of exposure, knowledge and understanding of *te reo Māori*. *Wahine tuatahi* said that in her opinion unique Māori expressions should be taught so that the language that is being acquired is authentic and that these types of expressions are maintained and are not lost. They are an important element of *te reo Māori* that must be maintained. *Wahine tuatahi* said that learning *te reo Māori* through the language papers at

University she did not learn these types of expressions in Māori. She further asserted that if they are not taught then they will die out because they are not being used or understood.

Wahine tuatoru said that using Māori idiom is her current language learning goal, she mentioned that it is difficult to apply these types of expressions in her everyday conversations and that not many people understand these types of expressions. This is because they are not widely used and they require specialist knowledge of the Māori language. *Wahine tuatoru* spoke of the difficulty of using Māori idiom and metaphor as you must be actively engaging with these types of expressions regularly in order to have a sound command of them and their use. The fact that idiom and metaphor are not commonly used as a vehicle of everyday expression and that it is more desirable to use basic or common Māori sentences when speaking, raises some concern for *wahine tuatoru*. She went on to question their place in the modern use of *te reo Māori* and hopes that there will be focussed attention given to the teaching and learning of these expressions. If this does not occur then she fears that their use and the knowledge and understanding conveyed through them will be lost.

Wahine tuawhā spoke about the fact that all we hear is the English translations and ways of saying things in *te reo Māori* and the importance of continuing to teach more Māori idiom because it is not widely taught, used and understood by many Māori language speakers. She said that learners need to be exposed to these types of expressions in order for them to continue to be utilised. *Wahine tuawhā* said that she prefers the unique Māori expressions as they express true authentic Māori ways of saying things. Instead of using *titiro mai* (look this way) and *whakarongo mai* (listen this way), you can say '*me whakarongo pīkari ngā tāringa*' (listen attentively) or '*tēnā areare mai ō tāringa, ō whatu ki ahau*' (focus you ears and eyes on me) which in her opinion has more depth of meaning. *Wahine tuarima* said that she prefers the unique Māori expressions as in her opinion they have a certain sound and flow to them that sound more Māori or more authentic. She said that Māori idiom encapsulates the beauty of *te reo Māori* and the meaning that is drawn from these expressions hold a wealth of richness.

Tane tuatahi said that he was not exposed to Māori idiom and Māori expressions until he reached his fourth year of studying *te reo Māori*. In his opinion these expressions were introduced far too late in the stages of learning. He said that until he reached his fourth year of study he was not aware of how much *te reo Māori* is influenced by these forms of expressions. *Tane tuatahi* thought that it was challenging to learn unique Māori expressions due to the fact that they are not widely taught and therefore less understood by speakers of *te*

reo. In his opinion SLL or learners who speak English as a first language, will be more inclined to learn the Pākehā expressions of *te reo Māori* as they are more useful and can easily be applied in everyday conversation. The dilemma being that there will be less focussed attention on learning important aspects of the language such as idiom and metaphor.

Wahine tuarima believes that Māori idiom is not focused enough on formal teaching and learning of *te reo Māori*. *Wahine tuarima* said that there is more to *te reo Māori* than merely learning sentence structure, and vocabulary. She believes that with focussed teaching about aspects of the language such as idiom, metaphor and analogy that learners are able to make more meaningful connections to the language and the culture. Participants from Christensen's (2001b)[27] research also spoke of the beauty or splendour of the Māori language and that when they heard or engaged in *te reo* of high standard, "…they felt uplifted, satisfied or cathartic" (p. 27). This aligns with the feelings expressed by my cohort of research participants, as they too felt that *te reo* and especially those deeper aspects of the language, such as idiom provide meaningful and personal connections. His research also discussed the critical need for SLL's to be exposed to 'high quality' Māori language, his participants also voiced their desire to ensure that their ability in *te reo* is maintained to a high standard. For this to occur, learners and especially those who are SLL's, need to be exposed to the rich and diverse elements of *te reo Māori* such as the idiomatic and metaphoric expressions.

The ideas expressed by the participants reflect the importance and relevance of Māori idiom and metaphor. The participants discussed how Māori idiom carries and conveys significant aspects of the language that provide a deep connection and understanding of the language and the ontological world view that is represented through *te reo Māori*. Participants said that Māori idiom carries culturally specific knowledge, concepts, and *wairua Māori* or Māori spirituality, which can only be expressed and understood through these forms of expressions and although Māori idiom and metaphor can be translated into English, the meaning may be lost because they are expressions that are culturally located and defined. The participants also raised concern regarding the lack of focussed attention on the teaching and learning of Māori idiom and metaphor within the language papers taught at Te Tumu. Nesmith (2002 and 2005) explains that the development of Neo Hawaiian is in part, due to the acquisition of the language through instructional based learning where speakers have minimal or no exposure to

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[27] Christensen (2001b) research comes from the Hoe Te Nuku Roa Research Programme which is comprised of three main areas. These are a Baseline Study, a Longitudinal Study, and smaller cohort studies. The article that is referred to above presents findings from the Baseline Study and a qualitative cohort study which involved forty participants all of who were medium to high fluency speakers of *te reo Māori*.

the native Hawaiian language. Furthermore, the language teachers themselves are SLL's of Hawaiian and are products of the schooling system. Nesmith's concern is that this emerging variety of Hawaiian is threatening the survival and transmission of traditional Hawaiian, to the extent where he fears that it may be lost. The same too may be said for the impact of English on the survival of *te reo*. Especially if aspects of *te reo* such as idiom and metaphor are not deliberately included in the teaching of *te reo Māori.*

All participants also felt strongly about the significance and importance of Māori idiom. All participants agreed that learning Māori idiom was important to them, and felt there should be a more explicit focus on the teaching and learning of Māori idiom and unique Māori expressions in Te Tumu, and the lack of attention to teaching Māori idiom denies learners the platform for that authentic Māori language to flourish. In saying this, it may be that teaching idiomatic and metaphoric Māori expressions was not made explicit to the learners in the delivery of the curriculum during their time at Te Tumu, as there are areas in the Te Whanake series (the set of language books used to learn *te reo Māori* at Te Tumu, and other New Zealand Tertiary Institutions) that teach Māori idiom and *kīwaha* (colloquial expressions in Māori). This lack of focus in these particular cultural areas may also be a reflection on the language teachers, most of whom are SLL's of *te reo Māori* themselves. Nesmith (2002 and 2005) discusses the role of language teachers whom are predominantly SLL's of Hawaiian and contribute significantly to the perpetuation of the Neo-Hawaiian language. Because of the pervasiveness of the English language, the same implications may be drawn for the Māori situation and the ongoing future development of *te reo Māori*.

Participants also found it challenging to understand these types of expressions, to the extent where they had to use the English examples to make sense of the unique Māori expressions discussed during the interviews. Benton (1985) asserts that the impact of the English language is detrimental to the on-going survival of unique Māori expressions such as idiom and metaphor. If unique Māori expressions are not taught then these modes of communication may not continue to be used. This is also evidenced by the participants of this study, most of whom did not understand unique Māori expressions. Apart from some *kīwaha* that they had learnt in the 200-level Māori language paper at Te Tumu. The participants required an English translation in order to make meaning of what was being conveyed in the examples. This is a direct example of the influence of the English language as a mechanism of interference, if learners of *te reo* feel that they need to cross check the Māori phrase or expression against an English translation to make meaning, then the English language

remains the dominant language for creating understanding of *te reo Māori*. As Benton (1985) has warned, if the priority is to maintain an authentic Māori understanding of the world through the idiomatic, metaphor and analogical expression of *te reo Māori*, then this does not reflect well for the maintenance and ongoing survival of the language.

The lack of attention to Māori idiom was not the only criticism participants had, many felt that there was also a lack of attention to *tikanga Māori* in the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* at Te Tumu. The following section will discuss this in more detail.

4.2.2 Tikanga Māori

This section discusses concern from the participants regarding the lack of deliberate attention to *tikanga Māori* or Māori culture within the delivery of the Māori language curriculum that is taught at Te Tumu. More specifically, the need for cultural methods of learning such as *karakia* and *waiata*. *Wahine tuatahi, wahine tuarua, wahine tuatoru, wahine tuawhā* and *tane tuatahi* (all of whom have experienced other modes of learning *te reo Māori*) were all critical of the lack of emphasis on Māori cultural approaches to teaching *te reo Māori*. *Tane tuatahi* said that:

> *Ki ahau nei kei te ngaro ngā mea tino Māori i roto i ngā akoranga… pērā i te waiata, i te mahi whaikōrero… ko te tikanga me ako mātau i ēnei tū āhuatanga o te ao Māori ki te kore kāore mātau e mōhio, tērā pea ka ngaro.* (*Tane tuatahi*, personal communication, 2014)

> In my opinion there is a lack of focus on Māori-centred approaches to acquiring the Māori language, such as learning Māori songs and the processes of formal speech making [*whaikōrero* is a specialised practice of formal speech making that is generally performed by a male]… it is imperative that we learn these aspects of the Māori world if we do not then learners of the Māori language will not have an understanding and they will surely be lost.

Tane tuatahi raises concern about the absence of Māori approaches to learning and engaging in *te reo Māori*. For Māori, the language and the culture are seen as inseparable. The use of cultural methods for teaching and *learning te reo Māori* creates a cultural space that is reflective of Māori belief systems and ways understanding the world. Therefore, learning *tikanga Māori* alongside *te reo Māori* provides a culturally relevant environment for motivating and engaging in *te reo*, it also offers opportunity for learners to make connections and develop a deeper understanding of the language and culture.

Wahine tuawhā asserted for a focus on Māori-centred teaching and learning that integrated things such as *karakia*, which would benefit all learners by exposing them to and providing

them with a more authentic understanding of *te reo*. She suggested that classes should always begin with a *karakia,* in order to focus and prepare students for learning. She said that this was only introduced at 400-level which in her opinion was too late, it should be integrated from the onset as a form of teaching and learning of *te reo Māori*. In her opinion exposure to things such as *karakia* would provide a culturally relevant learning experience. This would be particularly beneficial for those learners who have had little or no exposure to these aspects of Māori culture.

Wahine tuatahi felt that if there was more attention given to teaching *tikanga Māori* that this would create a more positive and encouraging context for learning. She said that:

> *…he mea whakahihiko i te ngakau, i te hinengaro me te wairua ki te ako i te reo Māori me ōna tikanga… koinei te pūtake o te ako i te reo*. (*Wahine tuatahi*, personal communication, 2013)

> Learning about Māori culture and the Māori language inspires, stimulates and motivates my entire being… this [Māori culture] is the crux of learning the Māori language.

Wahine tuatahi discussed the importance of teaching *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori* and how it impacts on her as a learner. This aligns with the notion of *te reo Māori* and the connection to Māori identity. As mentioned previously in the sections regarding the mispronunciation of *te reo Māori*, and the impact of English on Māori grammar there is a strong sense of connection of cultural identity and heritage that is experienced through *te reo Māori*, but more specifically through learning in ways that align with *tikanga Māori*.

This section highlights that there is evidence in the learner's experiences that the English language and culture are having a somewhat detrimental impact on the way *te reo* is being taught at Te Tumu. Specifically their concern, the lack of emphasis on cultural elements such as *karakia* (Māori prayer) and *waiata* (Māori songs) and ritualistic customs of the Māori language such as *whaikōrero*. The teaching of *tikanga Māori* is an important aspect of the entire experience of learning *te reo Māori*, for example, the use of *karakia* as a means of setting the scene for learning, which creates a space for mentally, physically and spiritually preparing students for learning. The Ministry of Education's Māori Education Strategy, 'Ka Hikitia' promotes Māori culturally-responsive approaches to teaching and learning, across all education sectors in New Zealand. The strategy outlines an evidenced based shift in achieving Māori education success as Māori (Ministry of Education, 2013). An example of which is learning *te reo Māori* through culturally grounded pedagogy, as outlined in participant concerns. Ngaha (2011) explains that a focus on promoting *tikanga Māori* as a

vehicle for engagement in *te reo* which not only creates a motivating environment for learning, but it also creates a heightened and positive awareness of Māori values and Māori identity. Furthermore, she suggests that a focus on *tikanga Māori* may impact positively on non-Māori engagement of *te reo*.

The concern for a lack of *tikanga Māori*, such as the use of *karakia* and *waiata*, which are methods that resonate with the preservation of authentic Māori ways of knowing, highlights that the participants would prefer the use of more meaningful, Māori centred and culturally appropriate pedagogies as a vehicle for the acquisition of the Māori language. If the ultimate goal for *te reo* is to use authentic Māori language, then it is relevant that the vehicle for the transmission of this knowledge is through methods that reflect *tikanga Māori* and by extension, *te ao Māori* (a Māori world view). However, in order to understand what this may look like in the language classroom, further research is required.

The following section will discuss the grammar translation method and the implications that the use of this pedagogical teaching method has on the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* in āTe Tumu.

4.2.3 Grammar Translation

This method focusses on rote learning set grammatical structures in *te reo Māori* and then applying these set rules and translating to and from English and Māori. This is a teaching method that is utilised to teach the set grammar structures within the Te Whanake series. All participants voiced that they had significant difficulty learning *te reo Māori* in this manner, this may be attributed to the fact that it is through the English language that learners come to use and understand *te reo Māori*.

Wahine tuawhā said:

> …for most of us you know growing up with *te reo Maori* we go into uni papers and its completely different… we had to try and change what we had you know, what we were raised with, our *reo* we were raised with… we could speak it [*te reo Māori*] fluently and the dialect we learnt growing up from *kōhanga* and our *kuia* and *koroua*, but the *reo* we were learning or exploring at Uni we had to focus on that and so it made it harder for us…it was harder for Māori students to actually understand it, coz in the book this is what was right but for us coming from our *iwi* this is actually how our *iwi* portrays that story or that *kaupapa* [subject or topic] or would say that sentence in Māori. (*Wahine tuawhā*, personal communication, 2013)

Wahine tuawhā spoke of her experience growing up with *te reo Māori* and then comparing this to her learning experience at Te Tumu. She said that for those students who grew up speaking *te reo Māori* they really struggled and found learning from a text book a challenge, where they found themselves having to change the way that they spoke, the language that they grew up with and had known all their lives. She said that this created a lot of tension and conflict for herself and students like her. What *wahine tuawhā* is referring to is that the intense focus on grammar undermined the prior knowledge and understanding of *te reo* that these students brought with them into the language classroom. She gave an example of the use of a common Tūhoe (a Māori tribe) expression '*ehē*' (no, an interjection), where she said, the use of '*kao*' is more commonly used and preferred to mean 'no'. *Wahine tuawhā* may have been eluding to the fact that the teaching of the set grammar structures denied use of regional or dialectal expressions that are unique to the dynamic identity of *te reo Māori*. In saying this, there may be signs of a disconnection between either; the Te Tumu approach to teaching *te reo* and what some of these participants have experienced elsewhere; or it could also be a disconnection with the actual vocabulary or grammar that is being taught; or it may be that the learners have embedded language errors that they themselves are not aware are incorrect. Furthermore, there is the notion that learners who have acquired their *reo* through total immersion environments such as Kura Kaupapa Māori, view the teaching method within a tertiary environment such as Te Tumu, as a very Pākehā approach to teaching and learning *te reo Māori*. Due to the limited data I am unable to explore this any further, therefore, more research is required and may be a topic for future research as it goes beyond the full scope of this study.

Wahine tuaono said that there was no major focus on learning the depth of the Māori language through the University papers that she engaged in. She said the papers tended to focus more on grammatical structure and vocabulary. She said that it was a shame that they did not have the opportunity to learn Māori idiom. She said that Māori idiom forms a massive part of the language, signifying the deeper connection Māori have to their environment, their spirituality, and their understanding of the world. Similarly *wahine tuarua* said that her learning experiences up to 300-level did not involve learning Māori idiom. She fears that if learners are not taught about Māori idiom that these ways of understanding and coming to know the language may disappear. She went on to say that if you want good grades then you must follow the structures that you are taught in class. She found this to be unfair because

being exposed to Māori idiom in her opinion is important, it enables the learner to make deeper connection and conceptual understandings of *te reo Māori*.

Tane tuatahi felt that his learning experience has followed a very Pākehā dominated method of teaching the Māori language that focusses primarily on grammar structures and translating them from English to Māori and vice versa. He said that:

> I find that *te reo* is being taught in a real Pākehā way…like having to study the grammar and then always translating Māori into English and English into Māori… (*Tane tuatahi*, Personal communication, 2014).

Tane tuarua discussed the idea of using Māori idiom and not knowing how to aptly translate the concepts from Māori into English. In his opinion because the two world views do not match each other it is hard to make sense of Māori concepts. Metge (1979) raises this particular point, she explains the dilution of Māori concepts as a symptom of the superimposing of the English language on *te reo*. *Wahine tuarima* also discussed the issue of translation, that is, the English language interferes with being able to convey and make sense of the deeper aspects of *te reo Māori*. With the common Māori examples one can make out what is being said, whereas the unique Māori expressions require a depth of knowledge of *te reo* to be able to understand them. She said that they were hard to understand because she had not been exposed to or taught these expressions in Māori.

In essence, the use of the grammar translation method prioritises the English language as a necessary tool by which *te reo Māori* is acquired and understood. The implications of which clearly demonstrate the level of impact that the English language has on *te reo Māori*. In summary, the participants felt that an intense focus on learning *te reo* through the grammar translation method hindered their acquisition. They felt that having to translate from Māori to English and vice versa created a lot of confusion during the learning process. They also felt that the translations did not always match up or make sense to them. This may have to do with the level of language proficiency that these participants are at.

4.3 Conclusion

The participants of this study have shown that there is compelling evidence that English is having a destructive impact, not only in terms of the acquisition of *te reo*, but also in the acquisition of authentic Māori grammar and Māori lexicon. All participants felt that correct Māori grammar was important to them and were fearful that the dominance of English

grammar is undermining an authentic Māori worldview as expressed by pre-European Māori grammar. Five out of the eight participants were unaware of the significant impact that the English language has on the grammatical structure of Māori. The issue of concern is that the unawareness of the impact of English on certain grammatical features of *te reo* reflects potential for the ongoing use of incorrect grammar because the learners are not consciously aware of the correct expression that reflects authentic Māori grammar. Had I been able to include learners at a higher proficiency level then the data may have reflected greater awareness, that is, speakers of greater proficiency may have greater awareness regarding Māori grammar. This study has also shown that even when a learner becomes aware of incorrect use of Māori grammar, that these errors may be so deeply embedded in their speech that it is difficult to reverse. Furthermore, when *te reo* is unknowingly being used in the incorrect form, that is, it follows the structure and word order of the English language, then these errors will continue to be used and passed on as 'correct'. Which points then to the fact that incorrect habits can be passed on, unknowingly or not, and should todays students become *te reo* teachers themselves one day, there are far reaching structural implications for the language itself, and the way in which *te reo* is passed down and taught to future generations.

In regards to Māori idiom, participants felt that if these particular aspects of *te reo Māori* are not taught then they will be at risk of disappearing. With the loss of elements of the language such as Māori idiom this will dilute the knowledge, concepts, metaphoric expression, and Māori spirituality that is able to be conveyed through the language. All participants agreed that Māori idiom has an important and relevant place in the learning of *te reo Māori*, they further felt that these aspects of the language should be introduced and learnt as part of formal language lessons taught at Te Tumu. Furthermore, participants of this study expressed concern with the methods of teaching and learning *te reo* at Te Tumu. They felt that the approach was a Pākehā one. They cited examples of lack of *karakia*, *waiata* and *whaikōrero*. Some of the participants further emphasised that a focus on *tikanga Māori* would provide a more stimulating and motivating ethos for engagement in *te reo*. The participants felt that the emphasis on grammar translation privileged Pākehā methods of teaching and learning *te reo*, whereby, learners come to know and understand *te reo* through the English language. There is sufficient evidence that the English language is having a negative impact in terms of the authenticity of Māori grammar and how the language is being spoken, and the methods in which the language is taught in Te Tumu. The participants have expressed concern about

these issues, therefore, there is scope for these problems to be addressed, by addressing issues around the methods of teaching; the delivery of the curriculum; and the awareness of Māori idiom. These findings are limited by the exclusion of comments from Māori Language teachers from Te Tumu, who may have been able to provide another side to the story, this may be addressed through future research.

The following chapter will present the findings from the key themes in chapters three and four.

Chapter Five

Findings and concluding remarks

5.0 Introduction

This study has found completing evidence that the Māori language learner participants see the impact of English as intrusive and interfering. In particular, the pervasiveness of English intrudes on the learners' abilities to develop proficiency in *te reo Māori*. Furthermore, participants feel English interferes with their efforts to maintain a Māori identity and Māori cultural authenticity as expressed through their developing proficiency with *te reo*. For the most part, participants aspire to speak Māori unfettered by the impact of English pronunciation and grammar.

This chapter will summarise the major conclusions from each chapter, and interpret the findings from the semi-structured interviews, and discuss the implications of these findings.

5.1 Chapter One

The findings from this study aligns with the section on transliteration and borrowing, in particular Keegan (2003), which concluded that an overuse of phonetic borrowings from English impacts negatively on the authenticity of language use, the primary concern being the replacement of genuine Māori terms and phrases.

The evidence from this study in chapter one shows participant awareness of significant changes to Māori pronunciation on *te reo Māori* such as, changes in the length of vowel sounds, which have now become shortened in their annunciation and are less distinctive. This section highlights the notion of the integrity and identity of *te reo* being diminished through the contamination of the English language on *te reo Māori*.

This chapter also discussed English language interference through areas such as conceptual shifts of *te reo Māori*; transformation of the semantics of *te reo*, and changes to the syntactical structure of *te reo*. The section on interference provides compelling evidence that the authenticity of *te reo Māori* is being corrupted and undermined by the Pākehā language and by extension the Pākehā culture and worldview. The major findings from the literature that was reviewed shows clear changes to *te reo Māori* due to contact with the English

language, such as shifts in authentic Māori pronunciation, and the superimposing of Pākehā concepts on Māori cultural concepts, which effects the way in which Māori see and interpret the world.

This chapter further highlights critical concern about the impact of the English language on the authenticity, integrity, and uniqueness of the Māori language and the identity of Māori people.

5.2 Chapter Two

Chapter two discussed the methodology and methods used to conduct this study. The research design took a qualitative approach coupled with principles of Kaupapa Māori theory to discuss the process of engagement with the participants of this study. Then the methods used to gather information about the research topic and research participants were discussed. More specifically, the interview technique; sample selection; a description of the language papers offered by Te Tumu; and details about the participants. Following Braun and Clarke (2008), the process of thematic data analysis was used to extract and code the key research themes. Chapter two also discussed the way in which the research will be disseminated, followed by a discussion on the limitations of this study.

5.3 Chapter Three

Chapter three discussed key themes from the semi structured interviews of the eight research participants. This chapter covered the topics on transliteration, code switching and pronunciation. The following subsections will illustrates the key findings from each of these topics.

5.3.1 Transliteration

The findings on the impact of English and transliteration yield that the participants of this study view excessive transliteration as a form of intrusion on *te reo Māori*. They strongly advocate for the use of pre-existing Māori words, terms and concepts as opposed to a simple transliteration or phonetic borrowing from English. The dominant view among the participants was that transliteration dilutes and minimises *te reo Māori*, essentially removing the meaning of Māori words in place of transliterations. The use of transliteration was, according to the participants, a lazy way of using and engaging with the language. There was

further concern that if there is an overuse of transliterations then the pre-existing or original Māori words may be replaced for their less authentic English translations.

Although the participants saw the use of transliterations as having a predominantly negative impact, there were certain exceptions to their use. The participants did acknowledge that the use of transliteration was acceptable in situations where a particular word or phrase was unknown to the speaker. In terms of learning *te reo Māori* and the impact of English transliterations, there were both positive and negative implications discussed by the participants. Some participants thought that English transliterations should be avoided from the onset of learning *te reo*. This was due to the participants' view that the use of transliterations have no real meaning, that is, they are merely words that have been directly translated from English with Māori pronunciation. They felt that the use of genuine Māori words was essential as they reflect authentic Māori thoughts, ideas and concepts.

In a learning situation the use of transliteration was seen by some of the participants as being perhaps beneficial, but, only at the very early stages of learning. In the sense that they may act as a mechanism for scaffolding and encouraging the learning of *te reo Māori*. However, this was counteracted by the view of a minority of participants who agreed that the use of transliteration had no place in the Māori language lexicon, and their use should be avoided altogether. With the exception of words that did not or do not exist in Māori, this however is a very uncommon phenomenon in modern spoken *te reo Māori*.

The use of transliteration was seen as appropriate when used as a form of humour. Examples of this were discussed in chapter three. It is also important to note that this view of transliterations as being humorous is due to the participants knowing the authentic expressions of these terms.

The participants did identify context, either directly or indirectly as a situation where the use of transliteration may be appropriate or inappropriate. The use of transliteration was seen as inappropriate by the participants when used with certain interlocutors such as kaumātua, and also when in particular settings such as the *marae*, or when in a total Māori immersion environment such as Kōhanga Reo, and Kura Kaupapa. Although the participants felt that when in formal situations the use of transliterations was a potential sign of disrespect, this also implies that in informal situations the use of transliterations may be more acceptable by speakers.

5.3.2 Code Switching

Each of the eight participants said that they engaged in the act of code switching to English, their reasons for switching was because they were unfamiliar with how to express or convey a particular aspect in *te reo Māori*. Participants viewed code switching as a lazy way of engaging with the language and the repercussions of this would interfere with a speaker's developing language skills. This was evident in some of the excerpts from the interviews in chapter three. The participants view the impact of excessive code switching as having a negative effect on their on-going development and proficiency in *te reo*. Furthermore, there is evidence that with excessive code switching the grammar of the Māori language is being interfered with, and by extension authentic Māori thought and world view is being debased. With regards to code switching and learning there was exception of the use of code switching in the language learning environment, two participants saw this as a natural process for learners to engage in. Virtually all adult learners of *te reo Māori*, have English as their first language. Therefore, code switching to English in a language learning environment may be seen as beneficial for scaffolding and encouraging the use of *te reo Māori*. The use of code switching in particular contexts and settings was seen as inappropriate and even disrespectful, for example, when a speaker is on the *marae*, or when speaking with *kaumātua* or native speakers of *te reo Māori*.

5.3.3 Pronunciation

The participants felt strongly about the importance of correct pronunciation of *te reo Māori*. They also felt that the English language, or more specifically, the variety of English that is spoken in Aotearoa New Zealand, impacts significantly on the mispronunciation of *te reo Māori*. The findings yield that mispronunciation of *te reo Māori* indicated signs of disrespect and disregard for the value and importance of the Māori language, for example the use of a personal name in *te reo Māori*. There is evidence to suggest that the ongoing use of mispronounced Māori language may be seen as having a negative impact on the cultural identity and status of the Māori people. The findings further demonstrate that the impact of English pronunciation shows signs of semantic changes to *te reo Māori*. In particular, the participants thought that the mispronunciation of aspects of *te reo Māori* such as the vowel sounds, certain minimal pairs and consonants were largely affected by the pronunciation of English, to the extent where there is obscurity in meaning of particular words that carry and convey specific Māori concepts. The findings also show that embedded mispronunciation

may lead to the Anglicisation of Māori identity. There is cause for concern that if *te reo Māori* continues to be mispronounced, to the extent where it becomes normalised, much like the pronunciation of particular Māori place names in New Zealand, the ramifications of which not only compromise the survival of authentic Māori pronunciation, and authentic Māori language but also the uniqueness of Māori cultural identity.

5.4 Chapter Four

Chapter four discussed the key themes from the semi structured interviews, and covered the topics on grammar and *te reo Māori* learning. The following subsections will discuss the findings from these topics.

5.4.1 Grammar

Five out of the eight participants of this study were largely unaware of grammatical transformations to *te reo Māori* based on the English language, including the specific examples discussed during the interviews. Notwithstanding this, the participants all felt strongly about the importance of correct use of Māori grammar. This lack of awareness raises particular concern regarding the ongoing use of English induced Māori language, to the extent where it may become a natural feature in the use of *te reo Māori*. Evidence from the literature suggests that this is already occurring for example, with the use of the word '*mō*' in Māori.

The findings show that only a minority of participants had a good level of awareness of changes that are occurring to Māori grammar that mirror English language structures. This awareness may bring forth the possibility for learners to make informed decisions during their learning about the type of language that is being used. If learners are able to distinguish the difference between authentic Māori grammar and grammar that mirrors English, and they are aware that their way of speaking may have flaws then they have the possibility or the motivation to learn the more authentic grammatical Māori expression.

This study reveals that the majority of the participants involved in this study were not aware of English induced changes to *te reo,* which is of great concern. The major concern being that if learners are not aware of these continual changes and their implications, then these changes cannot be rectified. However, if learners are made aware of these English induced changes to Māori grammar, then it is also important to have an understanding of the particular learner's

attitudes and the new obstacles presented to them by this knowledge. As this study has demonstrated, there where at least two participants that were made aware that their use of certain grammatical structures were incorrect, but they knowingly continued to use them in favour of authentic Māori grammar. The key point is that learners need to be aware of the Anglicisation of Māori grammar, so they may improve their language proficiency in *te reo* through the use of more authentic Māori grammar, and that these types of errors do not continue to be perpetuated by Māori language speakers, which will result in the normalisation of Anglicised Māori grammar.

The implication of the use of incorrect Māori grammar is very serious for *te reo*, because if more people are in this latter category of being totally unaware, or are aware and continue to use incorrect *reo*, then this does not reflect positively for the continuing survival and maintenance of not only authentic Māori grammar, but the development of how the language is going to be spoken in the future. Furthermore, the implications are that the quality and the knowledge of the authenticity of the language is threatened if speakers and learners of *te reo Māori* are completely unaware that the language that is being used is morphing into an anglicised form of *te reo*. But also if speakers are aware and not re-correcting their use of the Māori language to align with more authentic Māori grammar and language.

Given that all participants have been studying *te reo Māori* for three years or more at Te Tumu, their lack of awareness may imply that the participants' level of Māori language proficiency requires further development, or there is a lack of attention to the use of English induced Māori grammar in their language classes. An alternative exploration may be that these participants did not make an attempt to learn correct grammar; or the curriculum is not highlighting and bringing to their attention that there are these differences in how the language is being spoken; or the language teachers may not be aware of authentic Māori grammar nor may they know the difference between Anglicised grammar of *te reo Māori* and authentic use of *te reo*.

5.4.2 *Te reo Māori* and learning

The findings yield a strong awareness among the cohort of the impact of the English language and culture in the teaching and learning or *te reo Māori*. The participants voiced the importance of Māori idiom and metaphoric expression, that is, the aspects of *te reo Māori* that are culturally grounded and express distinct elements of *te reo Māori* that are explicitly

derived from authentic Māori thought that are inextricably linked to a Māori epistemological world view. There was grave concern among the participants that if these types of unique Māori expressions are not taught then this will result in extensive loss of knowledge. Although particular attitudes may exist among Māori language learners about Māori idiom being somewhat archaic or irrelevant in this modern age. There was a strong sense among the participants regarding the relevance of expressions that are unique to *te reo* as having a significant place in the acquisition and learning experience of *te reo Māori*. The participants felt that these particular elements of *te reo Māori* should be explicitly taught throughout the language papers that are offered by Te Tumu. They felt that this would provide a more culturally relevant, Māori-centred approach to learning and coming to understand *te reo Māori*.

The section on *tikanga Māori* or Māori culture signalled a strong feeling among the participants regarding the importance of *tikanga Māori* based learning of *te reo Māori*. The participants were critical of the absence of Māori cultural methods or approaches to learning *te reo* at Te Tumu. Participants felt that the use of elements of *tikanga Māori* by way of *karakia* (prayer), *waiata* (song) and *whaikōrero* (formal speech generally performed by a male) would provide a more culturally responsive and motivating context for learning *te reo Māori*.

The finding from the section on grammar translation highlights the dominance of the use of the English language in translating grammatical sentences to and from Māori and English. The prominent use of translating to and from English and Māori is a strong example given by the participants of the negative impact of English on *te reo* and on the teaching and learning of the language. This is because English is the device or mechanism by which *te reo Māori* is being acquired and understood.

5.5 Chapter Five

The findings from this study highlight a strong feeling among the research participants that English is a force of interference which corrupts and contaminates *te reo Māori* with the exception of certain aspects of English language that may help learners during the early stages of learning *te reo*. As indicated in chapter three, this is due to the fact that most of the participants involved in this study were relatively unaware of the impact and effects of English based grammar on *te reo Māori*. They all voiced that the impact of English based

grammar and word order was not acceptable. This highlights a need for further research into the use, awareness and attitudes towards these changes to *te reo Māori*, so that these mutations of Māori grammar do not continue to be used by Māori language speakers. If these types of language expressions continue to be used subconsciously then they may become a normal feature of modern spoken Māori. This would intrude on the uniqueness and authenticity of *te reo Māori*, it would also debase authentic Māori thought, and intrude on the knowledge and understanding of a Māori epistemological world view. The findings are nevertheless of sufficient concern to warrant further investigation.

Further research into attitudes towards the impact of English on *te reo Māori* is required. In particular, the implications of puristic attitudes towards *te reo Māori*, as there is little research on this topic, as noted by Harlow (1993 and 2004).

Extending the focus of this research project into other cohorts such as Māori language learners of a higher proficiency or learners from a total immersion education environment may contribute towards developing further understandings and insight into the topic of attitudes and the impact of English on *te reo Māori*. This is a topic that raises critical concern and requires further focussed attention if we are to consider the implications of these changes to *te reo Māori* and the future development and revitalisation of *te reo Māori*.

This study may also be of interest to other University Māori language programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand. Furthermore, the findings from this study will be significant for anyone seeking an understanding of learner attitudes towards the impact of English on *te reo Māori* and also the implications this may have for the revitalisation of *te reo*. There is a need for further research into learner attitudes and the impact of the English language as the findings from this study reflect the data gather from a small cohort of Māori language learners who are situated in Dunedin. The findings are nevertheless of sufficient concern to warrant further investigation.

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Appendix 1
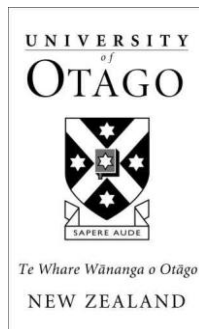
The Influence of English on *te reo Māori*: Contamination or Natural Progression?

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 project aims to describe the impact and influence of English on *te reo Māori*. More specifically, the project describes perceptions by the Māori language learner around 'new formations' of *te reo*, and the impact of the English language on the use, function and understanding of *te reo Māori*. In particular, this project will investigate the views of learners with regards to the impact of the English language on *te reo Māori*. A core focus area of this research will be centred on the attitudes held for the language in relation to the particular use of *te reo*. This project aims to capture learner's perspective about the use and direction of the Maori language with a particular emphasis on understanding the impact of English on *te reo.*

This thesis will contribute towards comprehending the changing nature of the Māori language.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

- The participants for this study will be made up of past and current students enrolled in Maori Language papers at 300 (Te Mahuri) and 400 (Te Kōhure) level.
- These participants will be contacted through email.
- 8 participants will be recruited to take part in the study.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to...

- Answer a set of open ended questions about your knowledge and attitudes towards the influence of English on the Māori language.
- The interview process may take as long as 1-2 hours depending on your answers to particular questions.

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

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

- Data on the knowledge, attitudes, use and language ideologies of the research participant will be recorded.
- Participant will be audio taped using an electronic recording device.
- No personal information about the research participants will be collected.
- Only the researcher (Te Ao Marama Tawhara, Department of Māori Studies) and the supervisor (Dr Matiu Rātima, Department of Māori Studies) will have access to the data collected.
- The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned below will be able to gain access to 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 depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.
- 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 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:-

Te Ao Marama Tawhara   and   *Matiu Rātima*

Department of Māori Studies   Department of Māori Studies

University Telephone Number: 4798674   University Telephone Number: 4793977

Email: marama.tawhara@gmail.com   Email: matiu.ratima@otago.ac.nz

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 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 2

[Reference Number: 13/235]
[5ᵗʰ July 2013]

UNIVERSITY
of
OTAGO

SAPERE AUDE

Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo
NEW ZEALAND
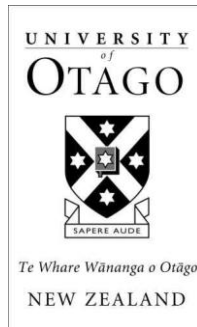
The Influence of English on *te reo Māori*: Contamination or natural progression?

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 [*specify e.g.video-tapes/audio-tapes etc*] 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;

4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes my perceptions about the English language influence on the Māori language i.e loan words, transliterations, grammar, and idiomatic Māori phrases (*kua karanga mai a Rongo*, meaning the dinner is served); duration and avenues of learning, ethnicity, socio-economic status, and socialization in *te reo*. 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. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand). However, all my responses will remain anonymous.

....
                                              ....

(Signature of participant)

(Date)

....

(Printed Name)

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 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 3

Interview Questionnaire

Preliminary questions

1. Can you tell me about your journey learning *te reo Māori*?
2. Through your active engagement with *te reo*, what does *te reo* mean for you? (what does it symbolise)
3. What are your thoughts about the impact of the English language on *te reo*?
4. How does the English language impact on your learning of *te reo Māori* (specifically in the classroom, Te Māhuri, Te Kōhure, and other)?

Lexical

- How do you feel about the use of words that are transliterated from the English language? Why do you feel this way? (Invite interviewee to add some of their own words).
- Are there certain times you think the use of transliterations are more appropriate than others?
- Can you give any examples of appropriate or inappropriate transliterations?
- Why are they inappropriate or appropriate? Which words for the days of the week, months of the year do you use and why?

Example

English Word	English Transliteration	Māori Word
Pillow	*Pera*	*Urunga*
Beer	*Pia*	*Waipiro*
Motor Car	*Motokā*	*Waka/Waka whenua*
Motorway	*Motowei*	*Huarahi*
Television	*Tīwi*	*Pouaka Whakaata*

- On a scale of 1-5 (1 being positive and 5 being negative) what type of impact do you think transliteration has on the way *te reo* is spoken?

1　　　　　**2**　　　　　**3**　　　　　**4**　　　　　**5**

Code-switching

How do you think code-switching impacts on spoken *te reo Māori*?

Do you think there are times when code switching is good?

Do you think there are times when code switching is not good?

Do you think code-switching is problematic?

On a scale of 1-5 (1 being positive and 5 being negative) what type of impact do you think code-switching has on *te reo Māori*? Why?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Pronunciation

- Do you think the English language impacts on the pronunciation of *te reo*? Can you give me some examples?
- Would you say pronunciation of *te reo Māori* is important to you? For example the lengthened vowel, the pronunciation of the Māori phoneme 't' if so why?
- On a scale of 1-5 (1 being the pronunciation and 5 being the message) should the focus be on correct Māori pronunciation or the message that is being conveyed when speaking *te reo*? And why?

1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**

Grammar

- Are you aware of examples of grammar change based on English grammar? Can you think of any examples?
- What are your thoughts?

Examples

Sentence	Original meaning	Correct use	Incorrect use
The use of 'ehara'	*Ehara* is used as a predicate to negate certain noun phrases in Māori.	*Ehara ia i te wahine manaaki.*	*Kāhore ia i te wahine manaaki.*

	The use of *kāhore* is commonly used instead of *ehara* by speakers of the Māori language.		
The use of '*ka taea*'	*Ka taea* is used to discuss ability or competence. Speakers of *te reo* often use '*ka taea*' to ask for permission, whereas '*ka āhei*' is the correct form to use when asking permission.	*Ka ahei au ki te haere ki te wharepaku?*	*Ka taea e au te haere ki te wharepaku?*
The use of the word '*puru*'	The word *puru* originally means plug, to plug up, and insert. This word is now commonly used to mean put, as in the English equivalent.	*Waiho ōu hū ki te taha*	*Puru ō hū ki te taha*

(Harlow, 2001).

- How do you feel about the impact that these changes have on *te reo*?

Māori Idiom (metaphorical and analogical use of *te reo*)

- Do you know what Māori idiom is?
- Define Māori idiom for research participants (words and phrases that cannot be literally translated)
- Can you give me some examples?
- Tell me about your experiences learning about Māori idiom.

- How do you feel about direct English translations, for example:

English	**Māori translation**
The food is ready.	*Kua reri ngā kai.*
Thank you for looking after us.	*Tēnā koutou mō tā koutou manaaki i a mātau.*
Listen carefully.	*Āta whakarongo.*

(Christensen, 2001, p. 36).

- How do you feel about unique Māori expressions such as:

Unique Māori expression	Translation of Māori expression
Kua hora te tēpu, *Kei te karanga a Rongo.*	The table is spread. Rongo (God of cultivated foods) is calling.
Kei whea mai tā koutou manaaki i a mātau.	How excellent indeed is the hospitality that you have shown us.
Me whakarongo pīkari ngā taringa.	Ears should be open in expectation like the mouths of baby birds in the nest waiting for their mother to return with food.

(Christensen, 2001, p. 36).

- Do you think these kinds of expressions are being learnt, taught and understood?

- Do you have any questions or comments?

- I will provide you with a copy of the interview in due course.

- Thank the participant

Appendix 4

Te Uiuitanga

Pātai tīmatanga

1. *Tēnā kōrerohia mō tō huarahi ako i te reo Māori?*

2. *He pehea ōu whakaaro mō te reo Māori mōu anō?*

3. *He aha ōu whakaaro mō te pā mai o te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori?*

4. *Pēhea te pānga o te reo Pākeha ki a koe e ako ana i te reo?*

Kupu whakawhiti

He aha ōu whakaaro mō ngā kupu kua whakawhiti mai i te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori? He aha i pēnei ai koe? (*mā te kaiuiui hoki e tāpiri ētahi tauira*).

- *Ki a koe he pai mena ka whakawhiti tōtika ētahi momo kupu mai i te reo Pākehā?*

- *Hōmai ētahi tauira o ngā whakawhitinga pai, mai i te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori. Hōmai ētahi kāore i te pai?*

- *He aha ngā painga o ēnei kupu pai ki a koe? (He aha ai?)*

- *He aha te tikanga e kino ai ēnei kupu? (He aha ai?)*

Ngā Tauira

Te reo Pākehā	Kupu Whakawhiti	Te reo Māori
Pillow	*Pera*	*Urunga*
Beer	*Pia*	*Waipiro*
Motor Car	*Motokā*	*Waka/Waka whenua*
Motorway	*Motowei*	*Huarahi*
Television	*Tīwi*	*Pouaka Whakaata*

- *I runga i te rarangi ine 1-5 (1 mō te pai, rima mō te kino) e ai ki a koe he aha te pānga mai o ngā kupu whakawhiti ki te āhua o te reo? He aha ai?*

1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**

Te whakawhiti atu whakawhiti mai

- *Tautuhi te mahi whakawhiti atu whakawhiti mai i te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā mā te kaiuiui.*
- *Kei te mōhio koe ki ētahi tauira?*

Ki a koe he aha te pānga mai o te whakawhiti atu whakawhiti mai i te reo Pākehā mō te reo Māori?

Ki a koe he wā pai mō te whakawhiti atu whakawhiti mai?

Ki a koe he wā kino mō te whakawhiti atu whakawhiti mai?

Ki a koe he raruraru mō te whakawhiti atu whakawhiti mai?

I runga i te rarangi ine 1-5 (1 mō te pai, rima mō te kino) e ai ki a koe he aha te pānga mai o te whakawhiti atu whakawhiti mai ki te āhua o te reo? He aha ai?

1	2	3	4	5

Te whakahua i te reo Māori

- *Ki ōu whakaaro ka pā mai te reo Pākeha ki te reo Māori? Homai he tauira?*
- *E ai ki a koe he mea whaitake te whakahua tika i te reo Māori? He aha ai?*
- *He aha te mea whai take ki a koe, the whakahua i te reo Māori kia tika, te nako rānei o te korero?*
- *I runga i te rarangi ine 1-5 (1 mō te whakahua tika, rima mō te nako o te kōrero) ki a koe he aha te mea whai take rawa atu? He aha ai?*

1	2	3	4	5

Te Wetereo

- *Kei te mōhio koe ki ētahi tauira o te wetereo reo Māori e whai ana i te reo Pākehā? Kei a koe he tauira?*
- *He aha ōu whakaaro?*

He Tauira

Te Rerenga	Te Whakamarama	Te mea tika	Te mea hē
Te rerenga 'ehara'	*Ehara* is used as a predicate to negate certain noun phrases in Māori. The use of *kāhore* is commonly used instead of *ehara* by speakers of the Māori language.	*Ehara ia i te wahine manaaki.*	*Kāhore ia i te wahine manaaki*
Te rerenga 'ka taea'	*Ka taea* is used to discuss ability or competence. Speakers of *te reo* often use *'ka taea'* to ask for permission, whereas *'ka āhei'* is the correct form to use when asking permission.	*Ka ahei au ki te haere ki te wharepaku?*	*Ka taea e au te haere ki te wharepaku?*
Te kupu 'puru'	The word *puru* originally means plug, to plug up, and insert. This word is now commonly used to mean put, as in the English equivalent.	*Waiho ōu hū ki te taha*	*Puru o hū ki te taha*

(Harlow, 2001).

- *He aha ōu whakaaro e pā ana ki ngā tauira kua kōrerohia?*
- *He aha ai?*

Ngā kupu tauaki, korero tauaki

- *Kei te mōhio koe he aha tēnei mea te kupu tauaki, kōrero tauaki rānei?*
- *Kei a koe he tauira?*
- *Tēnā kōrerohia mō tō ako i ngā kupu, kōrero tauaki.*
- *Kei te mōhio koe ki te āhua o te kōrero i te reo, kia Māori?*
- *Kei te mōhio koe ki te āhua o te kōrero i te reo Māori e whai ana i ngā tikanga o te reo Pākehā?*
- *Kei a koe he tauira?*

- *He aha ōu whakaaro mō ngā kōrero Māori e hāngai ana ki te reo Pākehā? Anei he tauira:*

Whakapākehātanga	Whakamāoritanga
The food is ready.	*Kua reri ngā kai.*
Thank you for looking after us.	*Tēnā koutou mō tā koutou manaaki i a mātau.*
Listen carefully.	*Āta whakarongo.*

(Christensen, 2001, p. 36)

- *He aha ou whakaaro mō ngā korero tino Māori? Anei he tauira:*

Whakamāoritanga tino Māori	Whakapākehātanga e hāngai ana kit e ao Māori
Kua hora te tēpu, *Kei te karanga a Rongo.*	The table is spread. *Rongo* (God of cultivated foods) is calling.
Kei whea mai tā koutou manaaki i a mātau.	How excellent indeed is the hospitality that you have shown us.
Me whakarongo pikari ngā taringa.	Ears should be open in expectation like the mouths of baby birds in the nest waiting for their mother to return with food.

(Christensen, 2001, p. 36).

- *Ki ōu whakaaro ka whakaako, ka whakamārama tēnei mea te kupu, korero tauaki ki tā te hunga ako?*

- *He pātai, he kōrero rānei tāu hei tāpiri atu?*

- *Māku tētahi kape o te uiui e tuku ki a koe, ā te wā.*

- *Tuku mihi ki te kaiuiui*