Te tīmataka mai o te waiatataka mai o te reo

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He Kupu Whakaihi
Dedication

I dedicate this research to three people who have been mentors of mind and soul. To the late Joshua Fishman who pioneered a path in the language revitalisation movement that helped people from all over the world see another way and gave us hope. To my language mentor and inspiration, *te hākoro o taku reo* (the father of my language) Tīmoti Kāretu, for all you have done for our language and those you have nurtured to be the best we can possibly be. For the personal *aroha* and support you have given to me, *kai te pāpā, nōhoku te whiwhi ki te kī atu he tamāhine nāhau* (Pāpā, I am so proud to be able to say I am a daughter of yours). And to my father, Tipene O'Regan, who has always shown me what it means to believe in a dream and commit to a purpose greater than yourself with your heart and soul. What is more, you have shown me that with belief and determination, passion and heart, those dreams can be achieved. *Kai aku pou whakawhirinaki, tēnā koutou katoa* (to my support posts, I thank you all).

He Whakamāmarataka
Abstract

As the world places increasing pressures on the survival of minority languages, there is a growing urgency for the development and application of strategies concerned with language maintenance and preservation. This thesis will expand the literature relating to language revitalisation efforts of minority Indigenous languages within the context of my tribe, the Kāi Tahu people of the South Island of New Zealand and address the question, what new approaches are there to the assessment and development of minority language revitalisation strategies.

The thesis title, *Te tīmataka mai o te waiataka mai o te reo*, has been adapted from the title of an 1849 manuscript written by an esteemed tribal leader, Matiaha Tiramōrehu, who details the origin of the world according to the Kāi Tahu worldview and the immediate events that followed that helped shape it into that which he and his people knew. This title draws upon that unique worldview and applies it to the context of the heritage language of my people.

An analysis of the development of Kāi Tahu language and its emergence as a distinctive dialect along with its relationship to identity development and maintenance within the tribe, will help establish an understanding of the current Kāi Tahu language experience. I will argue that our Kāi Tahu dialect requires a *tūrakawaewae* (place to stand; ancestral lands), through research into its origins, its efforts to persist and survive and its relationship to the past, current and future identity of our people.

The perspectives of key individuals, both Kāi Tahu and non-Kāi Tahu Māori who have had a close relationship with the Kāi Tahu language revitalisation movement, will be integrated into this thesis in order to provide a broad view of the historical language revitalisation efforts and to help position the future direction of Kāi Tahu tribal language development.

A further contribution to language revitalisation studies will be provided through this analysis as an example of indigenous minority languages who no longer have a generation of native speakers to support intergenerational transmission of the language in the home.

This experience will be discussed alongside research on minority language maintenance and perspectives on raising minority language bilingual children in the home. A personal narrative approach will be used in order to locate the theories and strategies around minority language bilingualism and revitalisation in the context of my own family, as a second language speaking Kāi Tahu mother who is raising the first generation of native speakers of the language in our family in over 120 years. This personal narrative approach will include reflective analysis of practices and strategies that have been employed in our family and important lessons learnt over the last twenty-five years.

One significant implication of this thesis for the field of language revitalisation studies will be the development of a proposed new approach to the assessment and development of minority language revitalisation strategies. Although this strategic approach will be centred on the Kāi Tahu tribal case study, I will argue that the principles are transferable to other revitalisation efforts in New Zealand and internationally for language communities with similar language experiences and current language status.

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TE TOHU KAITUHI
ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

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

HE WHAKAWHETAITAKA
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To the participants that allowed me the honour of interviewing them for this research and were so willing to share their experiences, views and aspirations for *te reo* in Kāi Tahu, I will be forever grateful. Your words have helped guide and reshape my own views on the *kaupapa* and have supported this research immeasurably. *E kore e mimiti te puna o mihi ki a koutou katoa.* I also acknowledge my employers, initially The Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology and from 2016 Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, who have supported me to pursue this qualification both financially and personally.

To my *whānau*, my parents and children and my *tāne*, thank you for your understanding, tolerance and support to add yet another *kaupapa* to my life and for sharing precious *whānau* time with this research. You all knew in your own ways that this was something important to me and have given me the space and support to achieve it. *Ko taku whānau, ko au. Tēnā koutou.*

I acknowledge The Alexandra Turnbull Library for the use of the photo of Matiaha Tiramōrehu, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Archives team and Kotahi Mano Kāika team for

the use of photos in their collections, and Hori Mataki for his help to reimage a number of diagrams developed for this research.

Lastly I want to acknowledge the drivers and the *whānau* of Kotahi Mano Kāika. To those that have dreamed about our language and our people and done something about it to give it life, hope and a future again, thank you. No matter what part you have played in the journey of the revitalisation of our language so far, or how great or small that contribution has been, I *mihi* to you all for giving our language voice in this generation.

KUPU WHAKATAKI
PREFACE

Writing conventions

Dialect

The Kāi Tahu dialect is the dialect that I use in everyday context and, therefore, the dialect of choice when using Māori words in the context of this thesis. Where Māori words are being incorporated into the body of the writing, the Kāi Tahu dialect, characterised by one of its dominant features; the classic use of the *'k'* in place of the more commonly used *'ng'* in northern dialects, will be used. When quoting other language sources or using proper nouns and personal names the original dialect will be used. Although I have attempted to achieve consistent application of the dialect in this research, there are times when the tribal name *Kāi Tahu* will appear as *Ngāi Tahu* due to the context in which it is being used. The reasons for this application will be explored further in the chapter on *Te Mita o Kāi Tahu* – The Kāi Tahu dialect. For the purposes of the glossary the base word will be provided alongside relevant dialectal synonyms and the appropriate English translation.

Italicisation of Māori words

Māori words have been italicised in the text.

Capitalisation of 'Indigenous'

The word Indigenous has been spelt with a capital 'I', except where it is part of a direct quote. This convention is used by many Indigenous authors, as it corresponds with the term 'Western' (Ka'ai -Mahuta, 2010:5).

Translation of direct quotes in te reo Māori

Where respondents have used *te reo Māori* in their communications and have not provided their own English translation, I have provided my own translation and this is reflected in italics within the quote. I have provided English translations of letters, audio recordings and diary entries which are in italics and follow directly after the citation.

In text explanation of Māori words and acronyms

Where a direct quote has a list of Māori words and acronyms, the author provides the explanation in square brackets and italics directly following the word in the text.

The use of the lower case for selected words and names

The name, jessie little doe baird, appears in the text with no capitalisation of the first letters of the parts of the name as would be the English language orthographic convention out of respect for baird's own preferences around these conventions. Likewise where jessie little doe baird is quoted directly in this thesis, the original conventions used by baird are retained, namely the use of the lower case for the word 'i' for the first pronoun and the capitalisation of selected collective nouns.

Glossary

A glossary is provided with all of the Māori words found in this thesis. The glossary will provide the English translation of the Māori term used in the thesis, but will only provide dialectal options where relevant. The reader is expected to follow the dialectal conventions as detailed in the previous section on dialect.

Insider - personal statement / personal narrative

This thesis has been written using a *whakapapa* (genealogy) based methodology that places significant importance on the origin of the element being discussed; be that a thought, an action or a material thing. For this reason, I have chosen to write this thesis using the personal narrative approach rather than the contemporary academic practice where people are encouraged to write in the third person. Within a Māori worldview, more validity is applied to the thought or positional statement, when full ownership is attributed to its source of origin. There is nothing to be gained from distancing the thought of the author, from the author him or herself, by writing in the third person. The opposite can be said to be the case within *te ao Māori* (the Māori world), whereby more credibility is associated with the thinking if the person presenting the thought or position is able to confidently own and, therefore, be accountable for the thought or position presented.

Chapter outline

Chapter 1:   This chapter establishes an awareness of the state of languages in the modern world and the history that has necessitated revitalisation interventions. The literature on language revitalisation is discussed under the four pillars of language endangerment, language vitality, the theories associated with reversing language shift and the history and health of the language within Kāi Tahu. A *whakapapa* methodological framework for the research is presented as a way of connecting the Kāi Tahu language and purpose of this research to place, thereby providing the language with a place to stand now and in the future.

Chapter 2:   An historical overview of the Māori language focusing particularly on the experiences of *te reo Māori* post-European contact is provided in this chapter. The Māori language context is discussed within the broader context of the international Indigenous language experience, and this is then used to frame the contextual walls that have influenced and helped shape the Kāi Tahu experience.

Chapter 3:   The relationship between language and identity is explored in this chapter with reference to the tools used by colonial powers to disrupt the intergenerational transmission of Indigenous and minority languages. The impact of such actions on a people's cultural identity and sense of self-worth when their heritage language is denied them is discussed, with a particular focus on the Kāi Tahu experience of language loss within the context of the wider Māori cultural world.

Chapter 4:   This chapter provides an historical overview of the experiences of *te reo Māori* in Kāi Tahu that gave rise to the language revitalisation initiatives of the 1970s and 1980s and the birth of the Kāi Tahu Māori language strategy, Kotahi Mano Kāika (KMK). The implementation journey of the KMK strategy is discussed along with examples of initiatives and the periodic strategic reviews that have been undertaken.

Chapter 5:   Three international case studies of community language revitalisation initiatives that have relevance to the Kāi Tahu language situation and revitalisation journey are reviewed in this chapter. The case studies are

presented as potential practical strategic models for future KMK language revitalisation interventions.

Chapter 6:   The theories of bilingualism and the challenges associated with raising bilingual children within a minority language context are discussed in this chapter. A personal narrative approach is used to review the experiences of my own family's language journey from language loss through to the efforts employed to reverse language shift. These experiences are explored within the unique context of the modern Kāi Tahu language environment.

Chapter 7:   An analysis of the interviews conducted as part of the qualitative research for this thesis is presented in this chapter. The linguistic experiences and motivations of the 21 participants and their perspectives on key essential elements for language sustainability and development within the wider tribal membership are analysed. The participant's view of the Kāi Tahu dialect, their relationship to it and their aspirations and future predictions for the *mita* are explored in this chapter.

Chapter 8:   The world of *te mita o Kāi Tahu* – the Kāi Tahu dialect is explored in this chapter with a focus on the transformation of the dialect over time and the factors that have influenced dialect shift and its reversal. The influencers of dialect status and relationship are discussed alongside common arguments about its usage, validity and historical existence. The future of the dialect within the *iwi* and its place in the wider language revitalisation goal of KMK is also discussed.

Chapter 9:   A new approach to reviewing and assessing the strategic direction and interventions for KMK is proposed in this chapter, in order to identify possible ways to achieve the KMK vision developed in 1997. The challenges of time; achieving language breadth and depth across multiple domains, and language capability within the iwi are discussed within the context of the new proposed approach.

Chapter 10:   The theories of the new approach to assessing language interventions presented in Chapter 9 are tested in this chapter by applying them to two

specific language challenges within Kāi Tahu and developing potential models to address those specific challenges. These potential strategic interventions are presented as a way of reinforcing the tūrakawaewae for *te reo* and *te mita o Kāi Tahu* and developing a sustainable position for *te reo* in the *iwi* in the future.

Ūpoko 1 - Chapter 1
Te tīmataka mai o te waiatataka mai o te reo

Introduction

Will the tribe of Kāi Tahu be able to effectively engage in a language revitalisation effort that will see it once again become a people who are able to speak their heritage tongue? What strategies might need to be employed in order to achieve this, and does the desire to do so from within the tribal membership exist? Are there the numbers and level of commitment sufficient to ensure sustainable language growth and development for future generations, and is there a place in that future for *Te Mita o Kāi Tahu* – The Kāi Tahu dialect? These are the questions at the core of this study into the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) in Kāi Tahu.

This thesis is a journey through the lifecycle of a language, the language of my people; the Kāi Tahu of the South Island of New Zealand. It will review the factors that have contributed to its development and emergence as a distinctive language, along with the pressures to which it has been exposed as a minority language that have contributed to the state we find it in today. The birth and development of a tribal language strategy and subsequent interventions to create language shift will be examined and analysed in the context of language maintenance and revitalisation.

The primary objective of this study is to present *te reo Māori* as an essential element of the Kāi Tahu identity and to propose a strategy to work within the Kāi Tahu language context that recognises the current limited resources available and the time that the *iwi* (tribe) has at its disposal to revitalise the *reo*. The secondary objective is to establish a *tūrakawaewae* (place to stand; ancestral lands) for the Kāi Tahu dialect through research into its origins, the obstacles that it has faced, its efforts to persist and survive and its relationship to the past, current and future identity of its people.

The thesis title, **Te tīmataka mai o te waiatataka mai o te reo** has been adapted from the title of a manuscript written on June the 9th, 1849 by a tribal leader, visionary and *tohuka* (expert; spiritual leader) from Moeraki, Matiaha Tiramōrehu. The first line of his original 49-page document reads,

Kei a Te Pō te tīmatanga mai o te waiatatanga mai o te Atua
The beginning of the singing of the Atua is with Te Pō (The Night)
<div align="right">(van Ballekon & Harlow, 1987:23).</div>

Image 1: Matiaha Tiramōrehu in the 1870s
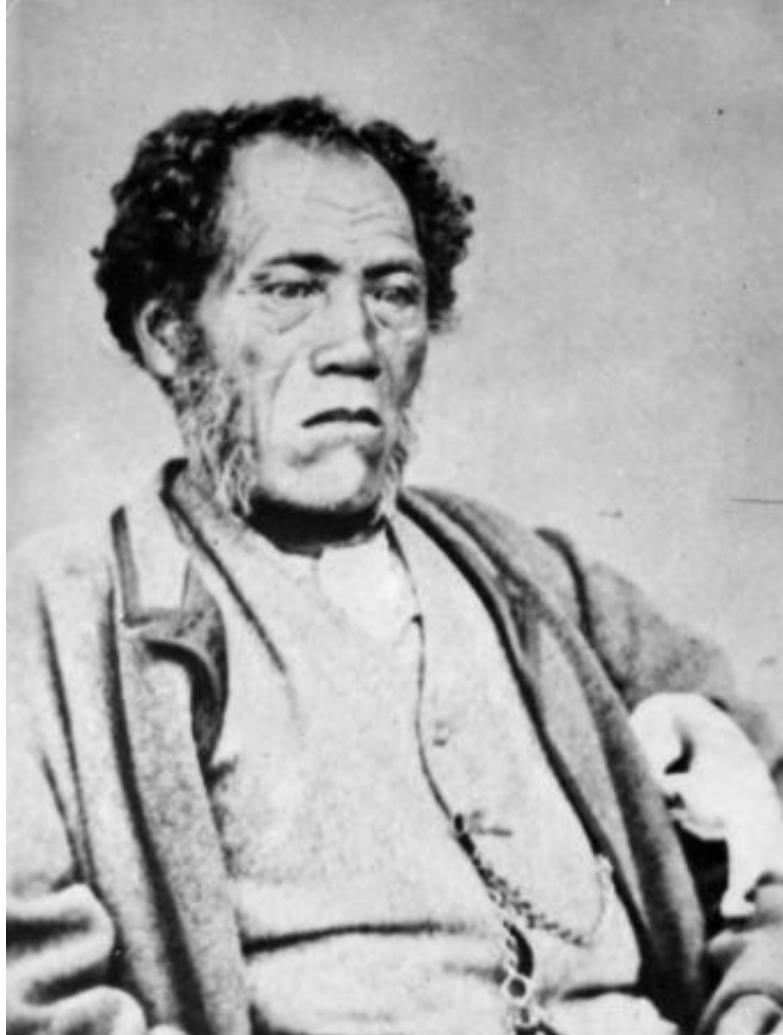
(Source: Alexandra Turnbull Library, 2016)

Matiaha's manuscript details the beginnings of the origin of the world according to the Kāi Tahu worldview and the immediate events that followed that helped shape that world into that which he and his people knew. The title, *Te Tīmataka mai o te waiatataka mai o te reo* draws upon that worldview and the understandings associated with it, and applies it to the context of the heritage language of the researcher's Kāi Tahu people. The use of the Kāi Tahu dialectal '*k*' in the title helps position the thesis in relation to the current issues around dialectal maintenance within the Kāi Tahu language revitalisation effort.

The value of language revitalisation research

As the world places increasing pressures on the survival of minority languages, key questions need to be asked about reasons for language maintenance and preservation. For those whose languages are threatened, perhaps the biggest question is how important is it for your people to be able to speak their own language? If the answer is that it is not a vital component required to keep the cultural characteristics they want to maintain, then perhaps the energy dedicated to the fight for language revitalisation is best invested in other identity markers and emblems that will help affirm that identity. If, however, those concerned believe that the language is core to their cultural integrity as a people and is a fundamental component to that identity, then the question that needs to be asked of them is how hard are they prepared to fight for its survival?

These are the questions and challenges currently being faced by the Māori tribes of New Zealand in relation to their heritage language, *te reo Māori* and its many associated dialects. *Te reo Māori* is currently identified as a 'vulnerable' language by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). A 'vulnerable' language is identified as one where*, "most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains" (Moseley, 2010). Other entities such as Ethnologue Languages of the World (2013) using a different assessment of language vitality, classify Māori as a language 'in trouble'. Those languages in this classification are identified as being in the 6b-7 group of the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS).

Chart 1: Māori Language in the Cloud
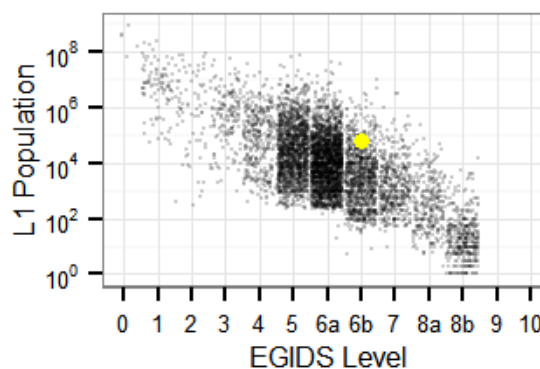
(Source: Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016)

Against this assessment of vitality, *te reo Māori* seems to be comparatively well positioned against many other languages.

Intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken, but the child-bearing generation can still use the language so it is possible that revitalization efforts could restore transmission of the language in the home (http://www.ethnologue.com/cloud/mri).

Whilst differences may exist across the literature and online sources in terms of the criteria used to assess vitality and associated endangerment, *te reo Māori* is commonly classified as a language at risk when assessed against other languages internationally, or at home on the domestic level.

The situation becomes direr however, when we turn our attentions to *te reo Māori* of the Kāi Tahu people. The Report on the Health of The Māori Language in Te Waipounamu (South Island) published in 2002 placed the health of the Māori language in the Kāi Tahu tribe as the worst in the country. The report concludes by saying,

> The overall health of te reo is in poor condition in the region. Key indicators suggest that without further intervention the language is likely to continue in the same health status over coming decades (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002:2).

The analysis reported above is concerned with the status and use of *te reo Māori* within the tribal membership. But if we were to consider a separate analysis of the status and use of the unique Kāi Tahu dialect amongst those identified speakers, we are likely to arrive at a classification that is beyond critical. We currently have only a few members of the tribe using the dialect, even fewer actively researching it and the last native speaker of the dialect passed away in 2011. For these reasons I consider this research crucial as part of a much needed wider intervention into the language revitalisation efforts of *te reo* and the Kāi Tahu dialect.

The four *pou* (posts, pillars) of language revitalisation literature

It is possible to group the bodies of literature to be used in this research into four main groups or *pou* which can provide a central support for this research, although it is acknowledged that many of the related disciplines and associated material overlap considerably. The four main *pou* are:

1. Language endangerment and the cost of language loss;
2. Assessing language vitality;

3.   The history and the health of the language within Kāi Tahu and the Kāi Tahu dialect;

4.   Strategies for language revitalisation.

These *pou* interrelate in much the same way as the four central *poupou* (support posts in a meeting house) in Tahu Pōtiki, the *wharerau* (meeting house, a Kāi Tahu round-house/southern form), in that they are linked around the *poutokomanawa* (main central post in the meeting house) of the *whare tipuna* (ancestral meeting house) which can be likened to the broader *kaupapa* (topic, theme, issue) of language revitalisation. All *pou* stand with their backs to the middle and face out in four different directions. Their respective views, whilst overlapping in places, are therefore unique and can provide a different perspective of the cultural narrative that adorns the outer walls.

Te *pou* tuatahi – The first post: Language endangerment and the cost of language loss
There has been significant contribution made in the past three decades to the study of localised and globalised language endangerment and death and the attempts that have, and are currently being made, to prevent further decline and address that which has already occurred. Fishman (1991:2), in his book *Reversing Language Shift*, presents one of the earlier comprehensive analyses of the issues at the core of language endangerment and proposes a methodology to assess language vitality and what strategies might be able to be employed to reverse language shift (RLS). In this work, Fishman presents what has become a cornerstone of the debate and research of language revitalisation theory, the 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' or the GIDS.

The GIDS is a tool to measure language health that was developed so that it could be applied to and across a variety of language contexts, and sets about identifying the criteria by which a given language would be graded upon. Fishman summarises the study of RLS as the "Theory and practice of assistance to speech communities whose native languages are threatened because their intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, with fewer and fewer users (speakers, readers, writers and even understanders) or uses in every generation" (Fishman, 1991:1).

The GIDS and theory of RLS is of particular relevance to this research, as it was the tool that was used to first assess the health of language within Kāi Tahu in 1997, and the theory

of RLS became the guiding philosophy behind the subsequent Kāi Tahu language strategy, Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata (KMK).

RLS was born as a result of increasing awareness within the linguistic community that the languages of the world were being subjected to unparalleled pressures on their survival and many were struggling to maintain their presence, let alone their strength, whilst others were seemingly increasingly slipping silently into language death. The reasons why this is an area deserving of urgent attention has been explored by many others including Harrison (2007) in his book *When Languages Die – The Extinction of the World's Languages and The Erosion of Human Knowledge.* The rate of language death predicted by linguists such as Harrison is startling,

> In the year 2001, at least 6912 distinct human languages were spoken worldwide. Many linguists now predict that by the end of our current 21st century – the year 2101, only about half of these languages may still be spoken (Harrison, 2007:3).

Although the assessment of actual numbers varies amongst linguists, it is broadly accepted that the numbers of languages expected to die out within the next 100 years, numbers in the thousands (UNESCO, 2013). Harrison provides further context to the rate of language decline by comparing it to other more commonly discussed areas of endangerment,

> At the current pace, we stand to lose a language about every 10 days for the foreseeable future. The accelerating extinction of languages on a global scale has no precedent in human history…Languages are far more threatened than birds (11% threatened, endangered, or extinct), mammals (18%), fish (5%), or plants (8%) (Harrison, 2007:7).

Harrison refers to language loss as an erosion of human history*, "*An immense edifice of human knowledge, painstakingly assembled over millennia by countless minds, is eroding, vanishing into oblivion" (Harrison, 2007:3). In Harrison's (2010) later work; *The Last Speakers – The quest to save the World's last languages,* he makes a further plea to the international audience to recognise the plight of endangered and threatened languages. The literature on this subject is not however merely concerned with an assessment of language diversity and endangerment, but the reasons why it is important to protect language diversity in the first place, that is, what we risk losing with language

decline and death. Evans (2010) in his book *Dying Words* suggests that maintenance of linguistic diversity is key to on-going human sustainability,

> The arguments for conserving diversity are similar whether we consider the loss of a rare bird species, a body of cultural knowledge that will soon be forgotten, or an endangered language. Since Darwin, we have begun to articulate, at the scientific level, what most cultures have had enshrined in their aesthetics and cosmologies for a long time: That variety is the reservoir of adaptability (Evans, 2010:18).

Evans supports linguistic diversity as an opposition to the universalising of language as practised throughout history by colonisers and language majorities of different eras such as English, Latin, French, Mandarin and Arabic. He suggests that it is impossible to conceive of a single language that might adequately encapsulate the richness, depth and breadth of human knowledge housed in the many languages of the world (Evans, 2010:19). This view is echoed by Fishman (1982) as he acknowledges the contributions made to humanity as a whole by separate ethnic collectives and their respective languages,

> Only if each collectively contributes its own thread to the tapestry of world history, and only if each is accepted and respected for making its own contribution, can nationalities finally be ruled by a sense of reciprocity, learning and benefiting from each other's contributions as well (Fishman, 1982:7).

Whilst the sum cost to human knowledge is significant, it is not the only cost of language loss on a people. The experiences of language loss can be traced through an ever increasingly large pool of personal and collective stories around the world. Individual, family, community and ethnic groups' laments for languages no longer heard and spoken, or on the brink of language death, often share similar messages.

Many examples of stories of language loss can be found in the edited collections of Goodfellow (2013) in *Speaking of Endangered Languages - Issues in Revitalization*, and Grenoble and Whaley (1998) in *Endangered Languages* and Hinton's (2013) *Bringing our Languages Home*. The sense of desperation is intense for those who understand the value of linguistic diversity and how it relates to people's cultural and ethnic identity, sense of worth and esteem. O'Regan (2009) discusses the extent of the loss in the context of the Kāi Tahu language story,

> Language loss is felt at every level of a community. It is felt by the nation if it is no longer able to be used as an emblem of national unity and pride. It is felt by the communities if they are no longer able to engage with confidence in their traditional activities and rituals that were previously conducted in that language. It is felt by the families who may no longer be able to transmit their stories, customs, beliefs and histories between the generations, and it is felt by the individual who may no longer feel a part of a world that they yearn to belong to (O'Regan, 2009:184).

O'Regan (2009) goes on to describe how language loss can be felt by those of a tribal collective who may never have heard it themselves, as opposed to having had it or having heard it, and then having it taken from you or lost to you. In such instances people may experience the feeling of loss because of the cultural alienation they may experience as a result of not having access to that language and the associated expectations that may be placed upon them that they may never feel they are able to achieve (O'Regan, 2009:185).

This sense of loss is then associated with a person's or a group's ability or potential to access and participate fully in their cultural heritage and the legacy of their traditional practices.

> To be able to engage and perform with competency in cultural ritual and practices, to access the cultural storehouses of knowledge that so often require an in-depth understanding of the language to open the traditions, the histories, the humour, the metaphor, the messages from one generation to the next, all these things that define a people, where they come from, who and what they are and what they can be, are housed in the world of their language (O'Regan, 2009:185).

In this sense O'Regan is suggesting a very personal, intergenerational feeling of language loss where people may be left to lament what they have never felt. This perception may be likened to the way in which a person, who has never known their parent, can lament having not known them or known what is was like to have a relationship with them. Although they might have other meaningful relationships in their life, they may never have access to their own *whakapapa* or genealogy and family stories and therefore, be left wondering or with a sense of emptiness.

As more and more languages fade from this world's grasp, many linguists struggle to fight against the limited time to record as much of the languages that they can, in the hope that their research might be able to assist language revitalisation efforts at a later date and, to capture valuable knowledge. Even these efforts are recognised by linguists as limited, in

terms of the reliability and quantum of quality language data that may be able to be captured by such linguists and researchers, of the small numbers of remaining speakers of many moribund or dying languages. Ahland (2010) discusses this issue in his book, *Language Death in Mesmes*,

> It can be argued that terminal speakers offer only glimpses of what their language was like before the "reduction" and death set in. In short, data collected in situations where only one speaker can be found must not be considered completely representative of the language in its healthier days (Ahland, 2010:27).

Certainly the challenges of attempting to revitalise a language, or in the case of Kāi Tahu simultaneously revitalise a dialect, from a limited pool of language examples, poses significant questions for this research around language authenticity and sustainability. The literature is therefore simultaneously advocating for the recording of those languages most at risk, whilst also actively investigating strategies to prevent more languages from falling to the same fate.

Te *pou* tuarua – the second post: assessing language vitality
Harrison (2010) reflects upon the term 'language hotspot' that he had earlier coined in 2006 as a metaphor for understanding the worldwide distribution of language diversity and the global trend of language extinction. In applying the 'hotspot' model to the World's languages, Harrison had wanted to not only raise awareness of the current situation, but also to potentially predict emerging areas of concern.

> Using the analogy of heat (or perhaps fire) as destruction, we consider hotspots *warm* if the languages spoken there are safe and thriving, *hot* if threatened by extinction (Harrison, 2010:87).

The process of identifying 'hotspots' requires assessment of language vitality, and this is an area that has received considerable attention. Although the criterion used to assess vitality varies widely, there is general agreement across the literature that it cannot be attained by simply counting the numbers of speakers in a given language group,

> In order to be useful for research on language loss, language assessments need to include not only head counts of speakers and estimates of fluency in native languages, but also evaluations of the likelihood of the continuation, decline or revitalization of the language(s) in any given community (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998: viii).

The World-Wide Web now provides a number of information access points on world-wide language diversity. *Endangered languages: The world through 3054 lenses* is an on online collaborative initiative dedicated to protecting global linguistic diversity (Alliance for Linguistic Diversity, 2012). This site uses new technology that allows users to explore a map that provides key information about at risk, endangered, and severely endangered languages across the globe. The detail of the content is however, often limited, although there are options for uploading specific information on language descriptions, samples, guide and activities (Alliance for Linguistic Diversity, n.d.).

There are similarities to the interactive site developed by Moseley (2010) of an *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* that can be accessed through the official UNESCO site on Endangered Languages. This resource is helpful in that it links to the UNESCO report on *Language Vitality and Endangerment* (2003) that was compiled by an ad hoc expert group on endangered languages in 2002 and 2003 that were invited by UNESCO to develop a framework for determining language vitality (UNESCO, 2003).

The group identified nine key factors that were considered to be essential components of vitality and developed assessment tables and associated indicators for each of them so that assessments could be made on particular areas of language vitality and strategies developed to address the gaps or areas of weaknesses,

1. Intergenerational Language Transmission (scale) Factor
2. Absolute Number of Speakers (real numbers) Factor
3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population (scale) Factor
4. Shifts in Domains of Language Use (scale) Factor
5. Response to New Domains and Media (scale) Factor
6. Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy (scale) Factor
7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies, Including Official Status and Use: (scale) Factor
8. Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language (scale) Factor
9. Type and Quality of Documentation (scale) (UNESCO, 2003:17).

Figure 1: Language Vitality
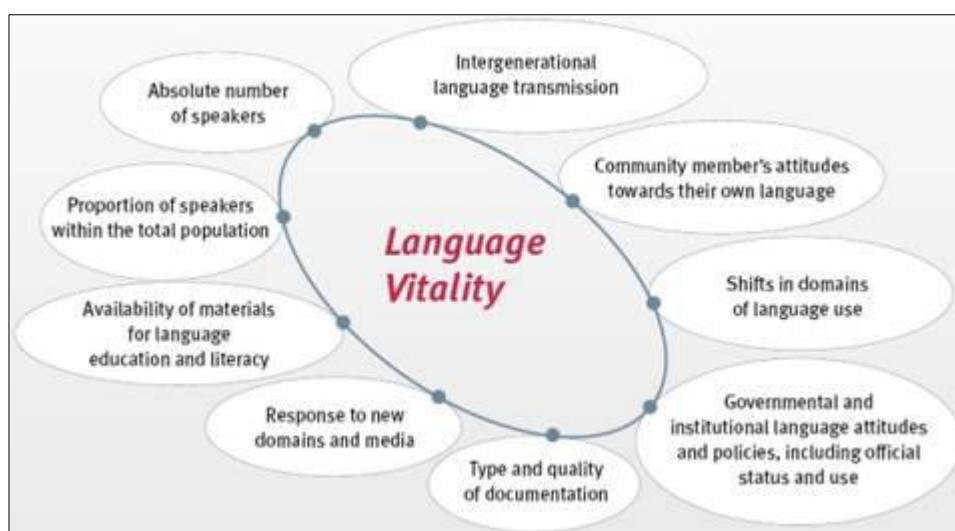
(Source: UNESCO, 2013)

The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale or EGIDS presented in *Ethnologue – Languages of the World* (Lewis; Paul, Simons, & Fennig eds. 2016) is an extension of Fishman's GIDS (Fishman: 1991) and is one of the current tools that have been designed for this purpose. The EGIDS presents 13 classifications, an extension of five on Fishman's original model.

Table 1: Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

Level	Label	Description
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation.
3	Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.
5	Developing	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

(Source: Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016:1)

The EGIDS is further extended to include a new status category of information that

summarises the status of each language in each country where it is used and was broken into two parts; the first looking at the overall development versus endangerment of the language, and the second, providing a categorisation of a given country's official recognition of the language. The Table below is an example of a selection of applications using this assessment tool:

Table 2: Table showing a snapshot of the Official recognition categories and definitions from *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*

Function	Definition	Example
Statutory national language	This is the language in which the business of the national government is conducted and this is mandated by law. It is also the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	Bengali [ben] in Bangladesh Indonesian [ind] in Indonesia Spanish [spa] in Spain
Statutory national working language	This is a language in which the business of the national government is conducted and this is mandated by law. However it is not the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	Amharic [amh] in Ethiopia Bislama [bis] in Vanuatu English [eng] in India
Recognized language	There is a law that names this language and recognizes its right to be used and developed for some purposes.	New Zealand Sign Language [nzs] in New Zealand Sénoufo, Mamara [myk] in Mali Tharu, Rana [thr] in Nepal
Language of recognized nationality	There is a law that names the ethnic group that uses this language and recognizes their right to use and develop their identity.	Candoshi-Shapra [cbu] in Peru Mangareva [mrv] in French Polynesia Puma [pum] in Nepal

(Source: Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2016:1)

It may be said at even this preliminary stage of this research, that it is possible to define the vitality of *te reo Māori* as one deserving of attention, whether it is classified as *vulnerable*, *threatened* or *endangered*, most of the literature suggests that the Māori language is far from secure or safe. In his concluding comments on the Māori situation, Fishman (1991) suggests a higher level of urgency exists in the fight for the survival of *te reo*, whilst questioning the potential success of the then, current language revitalisation initiatives being practised, to produce the desired result.

> The biological clock is ticking for Māori. Who can serve as models of native-like Māori language-in-culture, of authenticity orientated Māori X-men via X-ish life, suitably modernized of course, when the grandparents are all gone? Will this clock be heard, or will the noise of an artificial life-support system (consisting of media, hype and kindergartens plus a few schools operating in a vacuum) succeed in drowning out the ticking? (Fishman, 1991:246).

Although Fishman's assessment was of the Māori language in general, given the status of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu within the broader context of the Māori population, it suggests an even more dire assessment of vitality can be assumed which would be consistent with the tribe's own assessment.

Te *pou* tuatoru – the third post: the history and the health of the language within Kāi Tahu and the Kāi Tahu *mita* (dialect)

There has been little formal research undertaken into the historical or current vitality of the language within Kāi Tahu and more specifically the Kāi Tahu *mita* or an assessment of the factors that have impacted upon that vitality. During the early stages of the development of the KMK strategy, in an attempt to construct an environmental scan of *te reo Māori* capacity and usage within the tribe, those involved relied on their own anecdotal evidence and knowledge of the tribal collective and related linguistic policy and practice, to establish a picture of the health of the language. It was believed at that stage that less than 5% of the tribe had some capacity in *te reo Māori* and less than 2% were believed to be fluent. The results of that anecdotal data were then used to assess the language status of Kāi Tahu against Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Fishman, 1991:87) with alarming results.

It would be another four years before the assessment of the KMK working group could be tested against the data from the 2001 national Census information and Te Puni Kōkiri's Survey into the Health of the Māori Language in 2001 (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002). The findings of those surveys proved to be considerably more generous than the KMK Working Group's own assessments, showing in excess of 13% of Kāi Tahu identifying as having some ability in *te reo*. Whilst these results left the KMK Working Group wondering where the speakers of *te reo* might be hiding, it was by no means a reassurance. The 2001 data along with the subsequent data collected in the 2006 Census and Te Puni Kōkiri's Health of the Māori Language in 2006 report (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008a), continued to place Kāi Tahu at the bottom of the Māori Language heap: "Out of the eight Te Puni

Kōkiri Regions, Te Waipounamu has the lowest Māori Language Rate" (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008a:28).

Te *pou* tuawhā: Ko kā rautaki whakaora reo – The fourth post: Strategies for language revitalisation

The literature concerning language revitalisation strategies is extensive as it includes the historical narratives concerning revitalisation experiences, analyses of strategies in practice, strategic approaches to language revitalisation and the broad discipline of language planning. Literature relating to these aspect of language revitalisation will be explored throughout this thesis with particular attention given to the historical revitalisation experiences of *te reo Māori* in Chapter two; Kāi Tahu language revitalisation experiences in Chapter four, international examples in Chapter five, and proposed new strategic approaches for *te reo* in Kāi Tahu in Chapters nine and 10.

Methodology

There is a significant amount of secondary literature written on bilingualism and language revitalisation strategies. However, research conducted on the impact of language loss upon Māori communities and language revitalisation strategies being employed by *iwi* and in particular Kāi Tahu, is extremely limited. Therefore, this body of written literature is supplemented with oral evidence provided by conducting interviews with a range of people. Multiple approaches have been employed for data collection and analysis.

Qualitative interviews were conducted to collect data from three main groups:

- Kāi Tahu speakers of the language
- Kāi Tahu non-speakers of the language
- Non Kāi Tahu experts of the language with a relationship to Kāi Tahu language initiatives

For the cohort of Kāi Tahu participants, the criteria used for selection was those who have Kāi Tahu *whakapapa* and who are actively engaged within the activities of the *iwi*. A cross section of age groups and geographical locations for both groups was a consideration.

The non-Kāi Tahu consisted of a small group of language teachers and mentors who have been actively engaged in Kāi Tahu language initiatives over the last twelve years, and who were able to provide an external perspective of Kāi Tahu language health and revitalisation efforts.

The interviews focused on the linguistic experiences and motivations of the participants and their perspectives on key essential elements for language sustainability and development within the wider tribal membership. The interviews also explored the participant's view of the Kāi Tahu dialect, their relationship to it and their aspirations and future predictions for the *mita*.

It is important for me to establish the research methodology and subsequent findings in a *Kaupapa Māori* framework. *Kaupapa Māori* can be explained as a system of organising *tikaka* or customs and practices, *mātauraka* or education and knowledge, and *mātāpono* or belief systems and values within the context of a Māori worldview. That worldview is then used as the basis upon which other understandings and issues can be assessed, discussed, analysed and critiqued.

By the nature of its existence itself, a *Kaupapa Māori* based methodological framework challenges the notions of the superiority of Western thought as being the only basis upon which research and knowledge can be tested, authenticated and valued (Ka'ai, 2004). This position is important for this study as it recognises and therefore attributes value to the worldview that shaped, nurtured and gave meaning to the Kāi Tahu language, whose revitalisation the research is concerned with.

Dr Tania Ka'ai reflects on the power of the *Kaupapa Māori* model developed by the late John Rangihau in positioning a counter view to the Western centred approach to knowledge,

> Te Rangihau made the Pākehā aware of the Māori world-view and revolutionised the rights and status of the Indigenous people of New Zealand. Using the model he made Māori people aware of the value and status of *te reo Māori* and of Māori knowledge, customs and practices (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004:16).

Figure 2: Rangihau's Māoritanga model
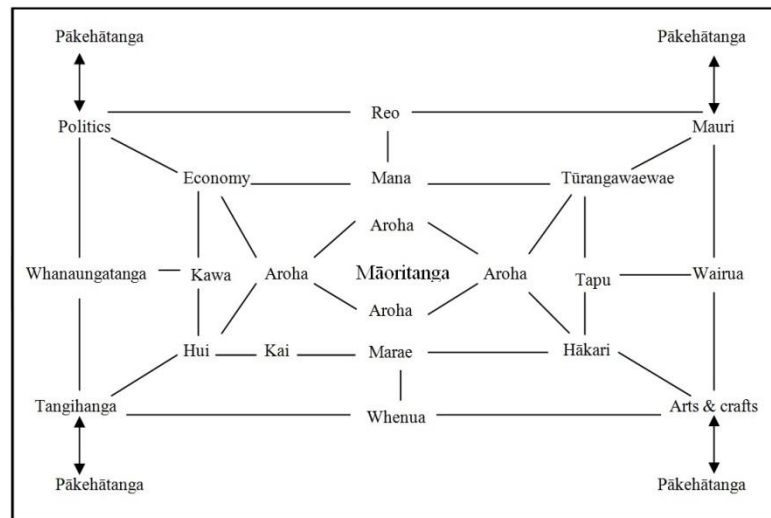
(Source: Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004:16)

This research aims to apply a *whakapapa* methodology to the *kaupapa* of language revitalisation within Kāi Tahu. The Māori understanding of their world is constructed from the core belief that everything has *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* is the basis from which all understanding can be derived. Through *whakapapa* we are able to see and interpret the connections between our human selves and all things in the natural world that can be seen, experienced, heard and considered. Furthermore, *whakapapa* allows the characteristics and qualities of all things to be understood. Within the context of language revitalisation, a *whakapapa*-based approach requires the implementation of a three staged process:

1.   understanding what has been – the origins of the language, its characteristics and relationships to other things
2.   understanding the current state - what has influenced and continues to influence its status, and;
3.   understanding its potential - what is required to ensure the sustainability of that *whakapapa* in the future.

In the world of our Māori ancestors, great status and value was placed on the learning of *whakapapa* of such things so that an understanding of their relationship to the natural world could be achieved. The acquisition of such understanding about those relationships

and their associated stories resulted in an intimate understanding of their natural world. And for what purpose did this serve? This was the knowledge base essential for the survival of the people and the world they inhabited. That understanding is the foundation of *mātauraka Māori* (Māori knowledge).

If the similar argument is applied to *te reo*, then understanding the *whakapapa* dynamics associated with the revitalisation of *te reo* Māori is an essential knowledge base to ensure its on-going survival in the context of the world it needs to and will inhabit.

To provide an example of the application of such knowledge, we need only to consider the *whakapapa* associated with the Māori *Atua* (God/s) and their inter-plays. From their interactions and experiences, we are able to understand why the *tuatara* (native New Zealand lizard) resides on land and why the *pātiki* (flounder) was transformed into a form resembling the fly. We can understand why the ground moves beneath us at times, why rain falls from the sky and why the winds sometimes attack the sea and forests.

Whakapapa was not only used as a tool to organise and structure the world from the time of creation, it was also applied to new bodies of knowledge and experiences that the *tūpuna* (ancestors) came into contact with post-European contact. When our Kāi Tahu *tūpuna* first learnt about the existence of the monkey as an animal in Otago, there are records of the discussions and debates that took place as they tried to locate the link of genealogy within the traditions of Tāne, the God of forests and all its forms. The fact that it existed meant that there needed to be a *whakapapa* explanation and a previously unknown or recorded deed that took place that led to the animal coming to be.

Another example of this application of *whakapapa* within the Kāi Tahu experience was the tradition associated with the discovery of the Foveaux Straight oyster or *tio* in the 1830s. The tradition recounts the battle in Akaroa Harbour between Ngāti Toa from Kapiti Island and Kāi Tahu, where the then Kāi Tahu paramount chief, Te Maiharanui, was captured with his wife Te Whē and 12 year old daughter Kā Roimata on board the European Boat, the Brigg Elizabeth. Knowing that his daughter would suffer a terrible fate at the hands of the enemy leader Te Rauparaha, Te Maiharanui and his wife garrotted their daughter as they lamented her departure.

Her father then prayed to Tāwhirimātea, the God of Winds to take the body of his precious daughter so she would not be defiled, and Tāwhirimātea took pity on the family and descended to retrieve her body before carrying her to the Southernmost shores of Te Waipounamu. Kā Roimata then awoke in the hands of Tāwhirimātea, and upon learning of her parent's fate, cried copiously for her loss and the love for her parents. Tāwhirimātea then decided to encase her precious tears as they fell to the ocean floor, so that the consequences of greed and the historical narrative that it caused, would forever be remembered by the descendants of the tribe as they coveted this desired delicacy.

The arrival therefore, of the oysters, having newly been physically discovered in this location, was explained through the application of their *whakapapa*, that is the chain of events that led to their being, in essence the genealogy of the oyster and its connection to the people, the place and the other elements within the physical world it inhabits. *Whakapapa* gave validity to its existence and relationship to its world.

How was this knowledge traditionally acquired? The answer is through research. Such understanding did not merely fall into the hands of the *tūpuna*; it was deliberately sought out, assessed, reflected upon and debated and the practice of doing so was attributed much respect, hence a common saying in modern Māori language communities, whilst variation exists, states,

Mā te whakaatu ka mōhio	*With revelation comes knowledge*
Mā te mōhio ka mārama	*With knowledge comes understanding*
Mā te mārama ka mātau	*With light and understanding comes wisdom*
Mā te mātau ka ora	*With wisdom comes wellbeing*

Much effort was spent by our *tūpuna* in the pursuit of knowledge that would assist their understanding of their world and enable them to relate to it, to adorn it and ensure it would be a world that would nurture and sustain future generations. Our traditions have our ancestors journeying to the depths of the oceans and the breadth of the land, and beyond to the upper most heavens to seek knowledge and understanding. All such traditions and histories, no matter the tribal variations that may exist, whether they focus on the deeds and activities of Māui in his search for the source place of fire, or Tāwhaki or Tāne Māhuta ascending the heavens to bring back to earth the baskets of knowledge, are all exemplars of traditional research in practice. They all tell of journeys and the motivations that

inspired them to happen, of the process of learning that took place and the fruits of the efforts or things learnt along the way that go towards the formation of new thinking and understanding.

These research journeys and investigations can be likened to an annotated *whakapapa* of the thinking or understanding that they produce and influence. They speak of origins of an issue, the reason why the research needed to be carried out in the first place, the path travelled on to acquire the understanding and the external factors that influenced the journey. To understand the result, you need to know where it came from and what influenced it along the way.

In a Māori worldview, the very words we use to articulate this process also have *whakapapa*. If we want to truly understand the meaning of a word, we need to trace back to the thought that shaped it, and in order to understand the thought, we must know the content and factors that influenced its birth.

Charles Royal (2012) draws on this notion of conception of thought in his discussion on Māori creation traditions,

> *Nā te kune te pupuke*
> *Nā te pupuke te hihiri*
> *Nā te hihiri te mahara*
> *Nā te mahara te hinengaro*
> *Nā te hinengaro te manako*
> *Ka hua te wānanga*
>
> From the conception the increase
> From the increase the thought
> From the thought the remembrance
> From the remembrance the consciousness
> From the consciousness the desire
> Knowledge became fruitful
> (Royal, 2012)

When applying the concept of *whakapapa* to the process of research and using it to construct a research methodology we are not only able to validate the research practice within a Western academic context, we also allow ourselves to establish that knowledge within a Māori worldview, therefore giving it *mana* or prestige and status. The same basic research principles are still being applied; the source of information is still being sought

and explained. We know where the thinking has emerged from. We study the background to understand the current context, the notion of cause and effect, and how and why the end result has been influenced by other factors along the way.

Much like a family-tree, it is these stories that provide the real understanding as to the question why we are the way we are, rather than the linear approach of simply listing the names of one genealogical line. *Whakapapa* is relational as well as linear. Again like a genealogical tree, it is possible to follow many paths when tracing the genealogy of a person or *iwi*. We often choose to focus on particular paths in order to emphasise specific connections relating to the context we are discussing. The *whakapapa* itself may not be different, but the different lines may well tell a different story.

No matter the angle, the motivation or the context, to Māori thinking, it remains essential that the journey be traced to the origin for it to be validated and *mana* associated with it. This process allows for the emergence and development of different views, whilst placing great weight on the validity of the process and journey followed to arrive at the conclusion. Again this is consistent with Western notions of research practice.

Rakahau or research provides a *tūrakawaewae* for the thought or position one might be espousing. *Tūrakawaewae* is often translated as a 'place to stand'. It is a traditional Māori concept that explains a person's rights associated with their *whakapapa* and the connections of that *whakapapa* to place. Your right to have a say on issues, to 'be heard' are linked to one's *tūrakawaewae*. To establish your *tūrakawaewae* you must draw on your links and connections to that place through your ancestry, your associations with it and the traditional stories and events that support those connections to that place. If this is achieved, your voice is given standing within the context of the *hapū* or sub-tribe. Whilst other connections may be able to be discredited or debated, one's *whakapapa*, if accurately presented, is considered to be the trump card that cannot be discarded or denied.

Applying a *whakapapa* based research model to this research supports a personal narrative approach in way that the thesis is written. This means that I, the author, will not be spoken about in the third person as is customary in western academic writing. Instead, I will own the *whakapapa* of my own words and thinking directly, presenting them for direct analysis

and critique. Within the Māori language world, this should only be done when one is able to defend and authenticate what has been said and must be open to being questioned. Therefore, if the thinking or argument is found to be lacking in any way, then this will directly impact on my own credibility. Owning the information presented, and not speaking in the third person and notionally attributing the thinking to someone else in order that it be considered valid is therefore consistent with a Māori language *whakapapa* model.

When addressing the question of language revitalisation within Kāi Tahu, the concept of *whakapapa* as a research methodology can provide a framework that helps me to establish a research position that will be meaningful and will have *mana*. The research process will help to establish the *tūrakawaewae* for the findings, and like *whakapapa*, this will not be static. If it is successful, the findings will be able to be tested in an on-going way and further debated and analysed. To be meaningful, it will need to influence new thought and direction.

When attempting to identify an image that may encapsulate the essence of a *whakapapa-*based framework, I have chosen my own *wharerau* at Awarua. One of the four central *pou* in the middle of the *whare* or house is Mereana Teitei, my own *tipuna wahine* (female ancestor).

Many of the *poupou* in the *whare* (house) of Tahu Pōtiki have *kōpū* or wombs that open up to reveal places where technology, holding information on *whakapapa* of the respective *pou*, can be placed and accessed. This allows for new connections, and inspires new research and thinking to take place. The house itself is named after the tribal eponymous ancestor and so therefore, provides a metaphor for a space formed and based on *whakapapa*, that houses the collective tribal histories, knowledge and future aspirations.

Image 2: Te Whare o Tahu Pōtiki, Awarua Marae , Bluff, New Zealand

(Source: O'Regan, personal collection)

The strength of the *pou* is relational to the connections that link it to the 12 other *pou* in the whare. Understanding those relationships and the histories and experiences that shaped them, are crucial to an understanding of the *pou* themselves. This is the reason I must also be able to trace and articulate my own connections to the *pou* in order to establish my *tūrakawaewae* and have my views and findings validated.

Image 3: Mereana Teitei, carved post in the *wharerau,* Awarua Marae

(Source: O'Regan, personal collection)

Conclusion

Before it is possible to look at the signs that help us to recognise a language at risk, it is first necessary to understand why we might bother to do so. At the core of research concerning language endangerment is a belief that it is indeed important to invest energy and heart into the task of saving the world's languages, because of what we stand to lose as people, as individuals and as the human race.

Understanding measurements of language vitality can help to understand what areas of the language require attention and what might need to be prioritised in order to successfully revitalise a language. Understanding the wider context from which the *kaupapa* of language revitalisation emerges, helps to construct a *tūāpapa* or foundation upon which the *pou* of this research can be erected. Once these foundational *pou* are established, they provide context so that the story of *te reo o Kai Tahu* can be evaluated.

These *pou* must be subject to critique and debate and will need to stand strong against the elements of academic thought and challenges of time. Applying a *whakapapa* methodology to this research provides a platform from which te reo o Kāi Tahu can be

assessed in the context of its origin, its current state and its future. The title of this thesis, *Te tīmataka mai o te waiatataka mai o te reo*, is directly linked to the *whakapapa*-based framework and the aims of this research, as it is derived and adapted from a text that establishes the Kāi Tahu worldview using *whakapapa* as its basis. The stories that describe the adventures, experiences and interactions of the characters within the text, help to explain and define our relationship to that world, and therefore, provide us with our own *tūrakawaewae* – our own place to stand. Importantly however, it speaks of new beginnings, those that we emerged from, but also those that we are able to create, a new beginning for our language, *te reo o* Kāi Tahu.

Ūpoko 2 – Chapter 2
He reo, he ara i takahia – a language, a path trodden

Tuiau ki ruka, mākeokeo ki raro
Kai te tītaha te hua o te waka
i te waha torohī

Fleas above, itchiness below
The mast of the canoe is leaning
Because of the loose lips

Introduction

In order to understand the history of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu it is necessary to first take the broader view of the history of the wider Māori language as this helps to frame the contextual walls that have influenced and helped shape the Kāi Tahu experience. Those walls have themselves been shaped and influenced by greater forces, often initially unseen by the people that are experiencing their effects directly. In order to fully understand the history of the Māori language and its decline and subsequent efforts to revitalise it, we need to be able to understand the broader factors that have influenced its historical treatment, its development, and its usage and health, including the local, domestic and international influences over time.

Background to understanding the history of the Kāi Tahu language experience

When we look at the international minority language experience, we are able to see the similarities across borders, languages, ethnic groups and even continents. The ability to do this historically can help immensely when we start to attempt to unravel and understand the political, cultural, social and economic experiences of Indigenous minority languages, like that of the Kāi Tahu people of Te Waipounamu.

We are also able to now draw on a much wider research base around the *kaupapa* of minority language experience, decline and revitalisation to help us with that understanding, than was possible fifty years ago. This is because of the burst of activity and development of new disciplines focused on these issues that have emerged as a result of the unprecedented rate of minority Indigenous language death and endangerment over the past one hundred years which is occurring at a faster rate than any other time in human history.

> … the maintenance of customary languages are becoming a greater focus as the consequences of the erosion of 'language space' are being more readily seen around the globe (O'Regan, 2012a:298).

Even though the effects of colonisation and later globalisation might have been applied and felt in unique ways, there remained a level of consistency in the overall experience. There have been trends of behaviour by colonising powers that historically frequently transcended borders and this also applied to the treatment of Indigenous people, their cultures and languages. Although acting independently in most situations, there were certain rules of engagement over different eras of colonisation that were often followed, that laid down expectations of the colonisers as to what would be acceptable and what would not be.

At different times it was deemed acceptable to assume control over land and the people and the resources upon it, simply by being able to prove greater might and control by invasion and occupation, or by claiming sovereignty by right of Terra Nullius on the basis that any people living there were not civilised enough to own the land and resources themselves. At other times in history, there was the belief that the invaders needed to get agreement by way of Treaties to establish their sovereignty over the land and its people, if the people they were colonising were believed to rate high enough on a civilisation scale. There were times that slavery was acceptable and then periods where it was frowned upon and where the international community would rally against its existence. These trends were never instantaneous in their application, or absolutely consistent in the approaches used or the outcomes achieved, and could sometimes take place over centuries. But they remain trends nevertheless.

As a result of these global movements and activities, we are able to draw significant comparisons with the way that Indigenous people and their languages were treated by the same ethnic group colonising completely different parts of the world and sometimes hundreds of years apart, as can be seen with the treatment by the English colonials of the Māori, First Nations people in America and Canada, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.

For the Indigenous people themselves, there would likely have been little comprehension of the shared experiences with these other language communities over the other side of the world. They would be completely unaware of the fact that the colonising force were

able to draw on their collective efforts and learn what worked and what did not in terms of their goals of assimilation and colonisation, and duly share the techniques and tools of colonisation with their counterparts across the world.

Over the past few hundred years, the isolation of colonial rule has become increasingly eroded for Indigenous communities as international travel became more achievable, and communication through the constantly evolving tools of media meant much greater access to border-less information and knowledge. It is now possible to connect and engage, from Christchurch, New Zealand, with language advocates and revitalisationists in Western Scotland or the Squamish in Vancouver, Canada, instantaneously and at the click of a button or key. These connections are now able to happen across various time zones and boarders, and as a result we no longer have the same barriers of communication and isolation that were once common place.

These relationships and connections themselves have helped us to understand the trends and patterns of the treatment of Indigenous people through colonial history and also through to the present day. Whilst there has been considerable effort invested into understanding those shared and individual experiences from a historical perspective, the relationships and connections have also helped dislocated Indigenous communities to find support from one another as to the current situations they are in, and to collectively look at solutions for the future.

I will return later to discuss the importance of these relationships for the modern day language revitalisation movement as we look at how we might be able to achieve tribal aspirations for the revitalisation of *te reo* within Kāi Tahu into the future. For the moment though, it is suffice to highlight the commonality of experience and the understanding that the local experience of Kāi Tahu language history, is a subset of the Māori language history experience and, that in turn, is a subset of the greater body of minority Indigenous language history worldwide. The rippling effect of language policy and subsequent treatment of Indigenous people and their languages and cultures and attitude to indigeneity have historically crossed all oceans and waterways; for some, they transformed into tidal waves, and for others they became relentless tides that continuously encroach upon their shores.

It is important to note when discussing the history of *te reo* in New Zealand, that we recognise that we are fortunate to have *te reo* Māori as one main language, albeit with regional dialectal variation, where the differences are comparatively minor. All tribal dialects are mutually intelligible and require minimal effort to adapt to the differences across the country, in much the same way that a person who is speaking English might need to 'tune in to' someone else who is speaking English with a different accent. The reason this is presented as a positive characteristic, is because it means those committed to language revitalisation, are able to achieve a level of critical mass across the different tribal groupings and therefore, are able to use the same base set of resources and tools that have been developed over the decades for *te reo Māori*.

Despite this relatively high level of traditional conformity in the language across the country, the history of language decline and the way in which *iwi* have chosen to respond to the language has differed significantly. Although all tribes share a common history of the impact on *te reo* by the role of media, public policy and the education system, the different way in which the different regions were colonised and settled during, and after the colonial area, and subsequent levels of dislocation from traditional communities, have all resulted in a variance of language outcomes for different tribes.

No tribe or community in New Zealand has been immune to the impact of linguistic colonisation and remain unscathed in terms of their language health and sustainability either historically or today. Even *iwi* accredited with having the strongest language base like the Tūhoe people of the Urewera who, partly through geographic isolation, have maintained a higher level of language health in their communities, have still suffered language decline and the linguistic influence of English upon their heritage tongue.

Te reo - as a new century dawns
Since the turn of the Twentieth Century, the journey for *te reo Māori* has been one where the most immediate focus was on survival and needing to fight for its protection and status, and to simply exist.

> At times, the struggle has been a silent one, in which the language has fallen
> from the consciousness of the people, being taken for granted or even, ignored;
> no longer meriting significant attention. Conversely, there have been times
> where that consciousness has been shaken as people realise what is being taken

from the collective and individual grasp, and what the consequences of such a loss might be (O'Regan, 2012a:298).

Although Māori tribes had undergone vast transformational changes in terms of their resources, social, political and economic organisation, and even their worldviews, in many cases, in the preceding century, the picture for the Māori language was still a positive one at the turn of the Twentieth Century. The Māori people had, by the most part, responded eagerly to the new tools and knowledge that were brought by the new immigrants to their homeland as they could immediately see the potential for their own communities and developments. But not all attention was focused on the physical tools of metal, weaponry and new technologies, as Māori were also very quick to identify the potential and power of the written word and this was to have a profound impact on *te reo Māori* (O'Regan, 2012a:299).

Within a comparatively short period of time, the Māori people had transitioned from being solely an oral language people to having a written language that a significant proportion of the population had competency in. This was not all due to the introduction of formal learning through schools and churches, but often during the early period of colonisation, the result of 'self-teaching' by Māori people achieved very high rates of literacy across their communities.

> Literacy and expanded numeracy were two exciting new concepts that Māori took up enthusiastically. In the 1820s missionaries reported that Māori all over the country were teaching each other to read and write, using materials such as charcoal and leaves, carved wood and the cured skins of introduced animals when no paper was available (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2015:2).

Paul Moon (2016) provides a number of similar accounts of early records of Māori thirst for literacy in his book, *Ka Ngaro Te Reo,* indicating that the thirst was widespread across Māoridom (2016:111). Not only were these early adapters to literacy learning the skills of the written language, they were actively participating in it. One such example he provides in support of this is from a record in 1840 of a visitor to New Zealand, R.G. Jameson,

> Their favourite amusement is writing upon a slate, or sending letters on puka pukas to their friends. The style of their epistles is quaint, igurative [sic], and full of repetitions and expressions of courtesy (Moon, 2016:112).

By the mid-1900s, Māori people from all across New Zealand were not merely engaging in literacy passively through reading what others had written. The transformation that had taken place in a comparatively short period of time saw Māori move from an oral culture to one where literacy had become so heavily entwined with cultural practices that it became the norm.

> Literacy in te reo was now emerging as a fixture of Māori society rather than a skill loaned from another culture. This possession and control of literacy by Māori made it a de facto part of New Zealand's indigenous culture, and to that extent it lessened the coloniser's control of that culture (Moon, 2016:113).

Māori were actively using the tools of writing to produce a wider range of literature and records, from letters to the Crown arguing about disputes over land or, asking for consideration on certain matters, to recording their *whakapapa* and family stories in personal journals as was the case with Matiaha Tiramōrehu of Moeraki. Matiaha turned to his journal on the 28th of February 1852 to record the tragedy of his wife's suicide. He explains in his writing that he is doing so that the thoughts do not drive him crazy as he attempts to understand the reason behind her death.

> He nuipuku taku whakaaro ki te mate i taua taima. He mamae rawa hoki nō roto i a au ki a Pī, i te mea kāhore hoki he rawa tahi i whakamōmori a ia. Kotahi tonu tāku i whakaaro ai, ko te nihomakā anake te kupu i hika ai a Pī. Koia au i whakaaro ai … kua kaihere hoki i a ia nāna anō i tāroua i a ia … He kōrero tēnei mō taku pōraki ki au anō. Kei pōhēhē noa iho ai taku whakaaro i konei. Koi mamae mamae haere roa ai taku wairua i ruka i te hē (Tiramōrehu, 1852:8).

> *My thoughts about the death at that time were significant. I was also deeply pained inside of me by Pi's actions, because there was absolutely no reason for her to kill herself. There was only one reason I could think of, it was the nihomakā comment that caused her to do it. And that is what I thought… she also hung herself and did it to herself … I am writing this about how I am driving myself crazy. Lest my thoughts be left forever in this space. Lest my spirit be left for a long time feeling this intense pain because of the guilt* (translated by O'Regan, 8 April 2016).

The example of Matiaha's journal entry as early as 1852 is evidence of the written word being used by Māori not only for direct communication, but to record one's personal feelings and events as a means of healing or perhaps to ensure his version of the event might be recorded in history. No matter the reason, the document is one of many that provides evidence of a rich and extensive corpus produced by Māori themselves after

having come into contact with the written word and the tool of literacy less than thirty years beforehand.

The prevalence of literacy within Māori society was evident a decade before Matiaha made that journal entry in that as early as 1842, just two years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Government had turned to the written word to communicate with Māori *iwi*. The first newspaper in Māori, *Ko Te Karere o Niu Tireni,* was published by the Government and circulated around the country as a way of transmitting official information to Māori in their own language (McMillan, 2014:3).

Because these newspapers were controlled by the Government they were very one-sided and would not always publish responses to their articles sent to them from Māori around the country. Māori leaders were, however, actively using whatever means they could to get their voices heard, and that meant also contributing their views and stories to mainstream publications both in Māori and English; Kāi Tahu leaders were no exception. One such example was from Matiaha Tiramōrehu who wrote his letter to the Cook's Straight Guardian published on February 17, 1849. The letter had been written by Matiaha 10 days prior, and was intended as a communication to Governor Grey, putting his case of sovereignty over the Kāi Tahu tribal territory, and debasing the claims made by the Kāti Toa invaders that they were the rightful owners of his land. That communication was the first protest that marked the birth of the Ngāi Tahu Claim, to become affectionately known as *Te Kerēme*.

> The editor introduced the letter thus:
>
> We have received for publication the following letter relating to the purchase of lands in the Middle Island, made by the Government from the Ngatitoa tribe, in 1847. The letter, which we have accompanied with a faithful translation, is the genuine and unassisted production of the writer, a chief of the Ngaitahu tribe, who forcibly sets forth their claims to Kaiapoi and other districts included in the purchase, extending northward from Banks's Peninsula to Kaikoura. In a rapid sketch he explains the origin of Te Rauparaha's wars with the tribes in the Middle Island which were attended with such disastrous results to the latter, and shows that although they suffered many reverses, they eventually succeeded in maintaining their ground, and have held undisputed possession of' these districts where they still remain (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, 1849: 2).

The letter was a heartfelt and strong rebuttal by Matiaha of a previous article that laid claim to his lands. Although he was using the medium of the Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent) newspaper as a means of communication, his approach to stating his case was classically Māori as he proceeded to attack the credibility of the Ngāti Toa Leader Te Rauparaha, presenting him as a liar, an outcast of his own people and a thief.

> Te Aro, Pepuere 7, 1849.
> He tohu tēnei nō tā mātou korero, kia mōhiotia ai e ngā Pākehā, te tikanga tāhae a Ngāti Toa i ō mātou kāinga. E hoa, e Kawana Kerei, kia rongo koe, kia rongo hoki ngā Pakehā, katoa o ia wāhi, o ia wāhi ki te timatanga mai o Te Rauparaha ki ēnei wenua …
> (New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, 1849:2)
>
> *Te Aro, February, 1849*
> *This is an instruction about our story, so that the Pākehā will be informed about the thieving behaviour of Ngāti Toa of our homes. My friend, Governor Grey, you must hear, and all Pākehā in every locality must hear about the beginnings of this man Te Rauparaha in these lands…*
> (translated by O'Regan, 8 April 2016, macrons and punctuation corrected by translator from original text)

By 1862, Māori had started publishing their own newspapers with the first being *Te Hokioi o Nui Tireni*, which was published by the Kīngitanga or Māori King Movement as a way of responding to the Government propaganda being disseminated through Government funded newspapers, and to ensure their messages were conveyed accordingly to their communities.

> Māori newspapers were published by a range of Māori tribal, pan-tribal and religious groups, including Pākehā missionaries. While these publications generally presented a particular political or religious point of view, they also contained correspondence, advertisements, local news, waiata, obituaries and reports of local hui. From the early 20th century Māori-language newspapers went into decline (McMillan, 2014:3).

Over the next 50 years, a total of 47 other newspapers were to follow, and although some were only short lived, others produced hundreds of copies over a number of years. It seemed as if there was a continuous flow of newspapers, taking different forms and with different agendas or writing styles, but it was not uncommon as one went out of circulation for another to rise and take its place, much like the Māori *whakataukī* (proverb),

> *Mate atu he tētē kura, ara mai he tētē kura*
> When one fern frond dies, another one rises

Māori literary production had ascended on to a whole new level with the publication of these early historical Māori language newspapers. The language had managed not only to move from an oral language to a written one where its people were actively engaged in literary activities, it was also flourishing in terms of its growth and transformation as it became exposed to new technologies, people and cultures previously unknown to Māori people. The language had been thrown into a foreign world where it needed to find new words to cope with all of the new things it was confronted with, and so started a flurry of word creation and adaptation.

Moon (2016) speaks of the rapid transformation that took place with the significant conversion of many Māori communities to Christianity in the early to mid-Nineteenth Century. In particular he references the cultural adaptability of *te reo* in this new world and credits that adaptability with the linguistic persistence that was able to be achieved over the rest of the century.

> The confluence of indigenous language and colonising culture was altering te
> reo itself – first through the increasing standardisation of the language (at least
> in printed form), but then more noticeably in the expansion of its vocabulary
> through the addition of neologisms (Moon, 2016:110).

One of these adaptations was to use transliterations from English for the new word. Transliterations had been incorporated into the language to describe the new concepts and resources that Māori were being exposed to almost immediately at first contact. Transliterations are literally words that have been loaned from other languages, appropriated into the native language and then altered to 'sound Māori' (Benton & Benton, 2001).

Over a period of time, the neologisms that had been incorporated into *te reo* through contact with missionaries and other Pākehā, including early settlers and traders and trading contacts overseas, became commonly accepted and normalised into everyday *te reo Māori*. It should be noted that Māori people were largely in control of this adaptation and it was not one that was forced on to them. The use of transliterations helped to fill an immediate gap in *te reo* where there was a pressing need to describe and define an

immense amount of new terms and concepts in order to engage effectively with the new world they were now exposed to.

> For that period of time when an avalanche of new words descended on the language, the disruption – not only to te reo itself but to Māori knowledge, perceptions and beliefs – was considerable. There was no clenched-fisted coercion in this process; on the contrary, it was more a form of intellectual colonisation by tacit consent, in so far as it addressed for Māori readers a shortfall in the existing vocabulary of te reo (Moon, 2016:111).

An example of this adaptation can be seen in an excerpt of one of the early letters written by Topi Patuki, a Kāi Tahu *tipuna* and *rakatira* (leader, chief) in 1854. I have highlighted the transliterations below:

> *Tanitini* Ōtepoti, Ōtākou
> *Tīhema* 21, 1854
>
> Haere rā e taku pukapuka tukuwhenua ki a *Wikitoria*, ki a te *Kuini*.
> E kui, e tō mātou hākui, tēnā rā koe, koutou ko ōu tamariki *pirinihi*.
> Whakaroko mai rā ki tāhaku kupu atu ki a koe, nā mātou katoa hoki tēnei kupu.
> Ko kā moutere tītī e tū ana ki waho o *Pōtiweta* o tētahi atu wāhi, o tētahi atu wāhi. Māhau ano te whakaaro hei a koe kā moutere, hei a matou kā tītī, hei kai mō mātou, mō o mātou whanauka.
>
> *Dunedin*, Otago
> *December* 21, 1854
>
> Go well my letter to *Victoria*, to the *Queen*.
> Dear lady, our mother, greetings to you and the *princely* *(royal)* children.
> Please listen to this message from me (and know) that it is also a message from all of our people. The Muttonbird Islands that life off *Port Adventure* and off a few other places. I am suggesting you consider that the islands become yours so long as the muttonbirds themselves remain ours as food for us and our families
>
> (Patuki, 1854).

The creation of transliterations for new words and concepts enabled Māori to modernise their language in a way that provided them with a higher level of flexibility to discuss the new technologies, practices and experiences they were exposed to. As with most languages, this was not always done in a systematic way across the country and the evolution of the language meant that there might be multiple different variations of the transliterations across different regions, and in some cases, in the same communities as people identified their preferences for the new words (O'Regan, 2012:300).

To give an example of such variation, we can look at the transliterations of English names,

George	*Hōri, Teoti*
John	*Teone, Hone*
Charles	*Tāre, Tiare*
Catherine	*Katarina, Kataraina, Katerina, Kātarina*
Elizabeth	*Irihāpeti, Riripeti*

This aspect of language evolution is also replicated in the natural way dialects evolve, with certain groups preferring the use of a particular sound or word over those chosen by other language groups. Over time these developments and preferences become characteristic of the respective dialects and an indicator of association to a particular grouping. Despite the variation of transliterations developed, they were in most cases consistently similar to the original loan word to be able to be deciphered.

It was not always the case that transliterations were only used to create a word when the original concept or thing did not previously exist in traditional Māori language. In some cases, however, transliterations were not just used for new concepts and words, but were commonly adopted in place of their traditional equivalents.

> Some transliterations were unnecessary. Māori had perfectly good names for places like Napier (Ahuriri), but sometimes transliterations of the European names, such as Nepia (Napier) and Karauripe (Cloudy Bay), were used. The English language in New Zealand was also changing and borrowing words from Māori or Polynesian languages, such as taboo (tapu), kit (kete) and Kiwi (a New Zealander) (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2015:2).

The choice of integrating transliterations into the vernacular, both for new terms and words and for those that had traditional alternatives, was common place in the early Ngāi Tahu transcripts of our *tīpuna*.

Even as early as 1852 when Matiaha was composing a *waiata* (song) on the same topic as the journal entry referred to earlier, that is, the suicide of his wife, he uses the term '*rori*' to mean road instead of the other traditional options available to him or *huanui*, *huarahi* or *ara*. What is even more interesting in this example is that Matiaha is talking of the spiritual path travelled by those when they die as they follow the path of Tāne to the maiden of death, Hinenui-te-pō. The common name for that path is *Te Ara Whānui a*

Tāne. In this example, Tiramōrehu chooses to combine '*te ara whānui*' and the transliteration of '*rori*' instead of the traditional name,

Haere rā Whatukarokaro e te tahu	*Farewell and disappear my love*
e karo tonu atu koe i au	*You have been lost to me*
Haere ra e Hine i te ara whānui	*Go now my dear on the wide path,*
he <u>rori</u>	*the <u>road</u>*
Ka tika i a Hinetītama	*Directly to Hinetītama*
I a Tahu Kumea, i a Tahu Whakairo	*and Tahu Kumea and Tahu Whakairo*
Ka tika te ara ki te mate	*the path leads straight to the death of lies*
Huaparaunoa e Tāne ki te whai	*That Tāne is left to follow*

<div align="right">

(Paipeta, 1920)
(translated by Hana O'Regan 2016)

</div>

This growth and development of the language was, whilst proving to be a persistent aspect of the language over the next century, not enough to support the language through the often insurmountable challenges it was to face. With the systematic loss of land, economy and subsequent generational impoverishment of the people, we see the communities being increasingly dispersed from the early 1830s on, and becoming dislocated from their traditional cultural and social supports.

> The language that once bound the everyday lives of those communities was likewise dispersed, unable to sustain its fragmented collective. Although the language itself persisted, the threat of its passing was marked by a silent and gradual decline as the numbers of speakers able to communicate, and engage with other speakers, became less and less. The decline of Māori language communities therefore went hand in hand with the social and economic loss of those community's resources, autonomy and sustainability (O'Regan, 2012:301).

Conversely, history has also shown us that when the overall status of the Māori people and their associated health across those spheres has been comparatively favourable, so too do we see glimpses of hope and success in the fight for the Māori language. This was the case with the Kīngitanga Movement and the Kotahitanga or Māori Parliament Movement in the 1890s. Both movements created bursts of language activity in the newspapers, the latter including the writing of laws and public policy using new terms akin to those used in the European Parliament structures. At the time of The Young Māori Party in the latter part of that decade for example, we see the language also taking a prominent place in associated publications, gatherings and literature, such as Apirana Ngata's work

researching and publishing material in and on *te reo*, such as his Māori *waiata* collection *Ngā Mōteatea* which was published with English translations in 1853 (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2015:2).

These glimpses of hope and periods of comparative strength achieved for the language were becoming less and less frequent by the turn of the Twentieth Century. In the years leading up to 1900, the Māori population had reached its lowest point with the 1896 census recording a Māori population of just 42,113 people (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, n.d.).

In 1847, just seven years after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, the Government launched its first targeted attack on *te reo Māori* through the Education Ordinance. Despite the rates of literacy within the Māori communities that had already been established, the Ordinance established a state education system that restricted the medium of instruction to English,

> …the government reassured colonists that 'instruction' in the English language shall form a necessary part of the system'. This commitment to English as the sole medium of instruction ran deep – so deep that students could opt out of religious instruction (which was a provision in the ordinance) but had no such choice when it came to the language they were taught in (Moon, 2016:125).

The dramatic decline of the Māori population coupled with decades of suppressive legislation and Government policies such as the later 1867 Native Schools Act, that enforced English as the only language to be used in the Native schools, had had a significant impact on the Māori language and their communities both physically and psychologically. Māori children were actively discouraged from speaking Māori in or around school and often punished if caught doing so (O'Regan, 2012:301).

These policies and practices of the colonial power and Settler Government were part of the blue-print of colonial rule described earlier that the English colonists adhered to wherever they settled, and New Zealand was similar to the experiences of the Indigenous people in Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Canada, North America, Africa, India or Australia. The destruction of a people's language had long been tested and tried as an effective tool to control Indigenous people and destroy their social hierarchy, their culture and

community cohesiveness, as well as their perceptions of their own cultural and ethnic worth.

The impact on Indigenous culture of policies that forbade the use of the native language in schools is described clearly by Moon (2016) in reference to Governor Grey's Education Ordinance of 1847,

> Grey's move was all the more injurious to Māori because language is not just a means of communication: it is a culture-shaper that is socially and politically constructed. In addition, educating one culture entirely in the language of another has the potential to sever the continuity of history of the former culture. The introduced language of instruction has the potential to inject new ways of thinking that, deliberately or otherwise, override older ways (Moon, 2016:127).

The same explicit goals of assimilation of Māori pupils and the banning of *te reo Māori* by Māori children in schools, as articulated in the New Zealand Native Schools Act of 1865 can be also found in the King's Act for the settling of parochial Schools in 1616, over two hundred and fifty years earlier (O'Regan, 2012a:301-302).

The punishments afflicted upon the Indigenous students may have varied across schools and countries, but only in terms of the methods of punishment and the levels of torture and ridicule applied. In Wales the technique used was the 'Welsh Not'.

> pupils who were caught speaking Welsh were forced to wear a wooden badge called the "Welsh Not." The wearer was in turn allowed to transfer the badge to any of his or her peers overheard speaking Welsh, and so it passed from child to child. At the end of the week, whoever had it in their possession was punished by flogging (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:140).

In another continent in the British colony of Kenya, again corporal punishment coupled with public humiliation and degradation was also used. wa Thiong'o (1986) recalled the experiences of extreme humiliation for children that were caught speaking their native Gĩkũyũ language around the school,

> The culprit was given corporal punishment – three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks – or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY (wa Thiong'o, 1986:11).

As was the case with the Māori experience, many such practices continued well into the Twentieth Century. Māori reported the strap or cane as a form of corporal punishment that was dished out on a regular basis if someone was heard speaking Māori in or near the school grounds. Despite the variations of methods, the impact of these actions in terms of the effect that they had on individuals and communities including the subsequent reluctance to maintain the language and subjecting their own children in due course to similar treatment, was consistent across all groups.

> Māori children were left knowing in no uncertain terms that the power culture saw no place for their language of heritage; te reo was of no benefit in the modern world (O'Regan, 2012a:302).

The devastating impact of these polices on the New Zealand Māori were described by Joshua Fishman (1991) in *Reversing Language Shift*, as being "dislocative with a genocidal vengeance" (Fishman, 1991:230). Like Fishman, Hinton and Hale (2001) in *The Green Book of Language Revitalisation,* highlight the profound effect on a people's self-worth, identity and status in society when their language is denied them and constantly held up to public opprobrium by the surrounding colonial culture,

> A group that does not speak the language of government and commerce is disenfranchised, marginalized with respect to the economic and political mainstream. Furthermore languages other than the languages chosen for government and education may take on a low status in the eyes of the nation's citizen and be denigrated as inferior (Hinton & Hale, 2001:3).

The transition from a language cherished and central to a person's cultural identity and being, to a language of shame and social alienation, can take place in a surprisingly short amount of time. Certainly this may be dependent on the severity of methods and the extent of the language policies applied, however, history is able to provide us with a good measure in terms of the experiences of colonised people over the last four hundred years across the world. What we are able to see, is in those places where the colonised remain the ethnic majority and the colonial power are the minority in terms of population, there is a greater likelihood of linguistic persistence of the heritage language, especially where communities have been able to remain together and maintain high density areas of native speakers.

In these situations, it is possible for the language to survive in spite of the educational policies and Government dictates for centuries, if it is maintained in the homes. If, however, the damage done to the people's perception of their language as being of no worth and potentially damaging to their future prospects and those of their family, the language can die within a family and a community in as little time as a generation.

Although simply maintaining the ethnic majority in a population does not by any means guarantee language survival, it certainly provides a platform for language maintenance to occur for the simple reason that it is much harder to maintain the heritage language if the community is broken up and there are fewer people to converse with. The decline of *te reo* had certainly coincided with the decline of the Māori population in the Nineteenth Century as a result of the European introduced epidemics and land wars.

> What the Musket Wars had started in the first decade of the nineteenth century, bequeathing a death toll of upwards of 20,000 Māori, epidemics such as measles and influenza had continued in the 1830s: up to 50 per cent of the population of 1800 Ngai Tahu, for example were wiped out (Moon, 2016:121).

Where land loss and Government policy have caused the physical dislocation of communities, often coupled with inter-marriage and cultural isolation, then the rate of language loss can be hastened. In these cases, with the language no longer being spoken in the homes, with fewer and fewer opportunities to engage in cultural events and traditional ceremonies, the language can quickly become a relic in the collective consciousness of a people, leaving only a small group as the 'rememberers' of their *reo*.

When analysing the variances in the rate of language loss in different regions and amongst different tribes in New Zealand, it looks as if population density was a significant determiner of language survival. For tribes that were able to hold on to their lands for longer and maintain their communities, the Māori language was more likely to be evident in the homes as a language of intergenerational transmission right through until the early 1900s. Children from these communities would also tend to be fluently bilingual with a high productive capacity in English.

> Although most Māori children were still native speakers of te reo at that stage, their ability to use it and hear it was becoming increasingly limited to certain

domains, namely the homes, churches, marae and at Māori cultural gatherings (O'Regan, 2012a:303).

Within Kāi Tahu, the education policy had already proved successful from the coloniser's perspective by the late 1880s and 1890s, with most Kāi Tahu children accessing educational instruction in English and increasingly turning away from *te reo Māori* in other domains. Moon (2016) cites records from around the country illustrating the successful transitions to English occurring in the native schools on account of the educational policies, citing three examples of native schools in the Kāi Tahu *rohe* (district, tribal area) between 1885 and 1892,

> …at Otago Heads, 'nearly all the Native children in attendance can speak English quite well, so that they might advantageously work for the public-school standards'…in Rapaki, 'a persistent effort having evidently been made to induce the habit of answering every question by means of a complete English sentence'; in Waikouaiti, officials reported that the 'writing and the English deserve notice as being generally very good' (Moon, 2016:201).

By the early 1890s, many Māori and non-Māori alike were supporting a view that *te reo* speakers and their heritage language were doomed. Moon (2016) describes the linguistic resilience and survival of *te reo* into the Twentieth Century, even in a skeletal form, as "one of New Zealand's great escape Acts" (Moon, 2016:219).

Although it need not have been the case, the rise in English language proficiency within Māori communities had started to coincide with a decline in Māori language proficiency. Those *iwi* and *hapū* who had suffered the fate of land loss and systematic and dramatic Pākehā settlement earlier on in their regions, were also the first to experience Māori language decline. As was the situation for Kāi Tahu *whānau*, the miniscule reserves allotted for the people to live off were more often than not incapable of sustaining the population and people were forced to leave the communities in search of work and sustenance.

The retention of the language and culture took second place to survival as many *whānau* found themselves with restricted access to their traditional *mahika kai* (food gathering places and resources) and land to support their families, adequate shelter and rations, whilst also having to battle the deadly introduced Pākehā diseases. One strategy common by Kāi Tahu tribal members of the time was to marry Pākehā so as to secure resources for

one's family and children, and this was also seen as a way of protecting the offspring from the high mortality rates of children born to Māori only parents, because of the lack of immunity to Pākehā introduced diseases. The likelihood of maintaining *te reo Māori* in the homes of mixed Māori – Pākehā marriages was even less, and we saw very quickly, a decline in those children being raised in *te reo* in Kāi Tahu, except for the few who were raised in the communities that maintained a high density of people and usually in the more rural areas.

To draw on a personal example to illustrate this experience, My Grandmother, Rena Ruiha Bradshaw was born in 1900 and was not raised as a native speaker of the language. It would be another thirty years or so before most other Māori in the North Island would start to experience the emergence of a generation of children who had no functional ability in their heritage language. My great-grandparents, who were born in the 1880s were both native speakers of the *reo*, but had stopped using it in the home by the time my grandmother, their eldest child, was born. This fate was not merely confined to Kāi Tahu and other South Island tribes however, many of the *hapū* in Taranaki and the Wairarapa experienced similar language decline and community dislocation early on.

For most, however, by the end of the first three decades of the Twentieth Century, the pressures had become increasingly stronger to leave the Māori language behind and fully assimilate into Pākehā society. The increasing cost of landlessness and the associated impoverishment and cultural and geographical dislocation were compounded by the constant negative propaganda that positioned English as the superior language and presented Māori as a language that would ultimately cause damage to a child's development and potential in life (O'Regan, 2012a:303).

The decreasing levels of proficiency of Māori communities were becoming a growing issue of concern for Māori leaders like Apirana Ngata who had emerged through the ranks of The Young Māori Party and became the first wave of Māori academics and then later politicians. Ngata, who was elected into Parliament in 1905, had initially supported the Act that made it compulsory for English to be the medium of instruction in Māori schools. He had, however, reputedly assumed that the Māori people would naturally continue to speak *te reo* in their homes and simply learn English through the education system. He

was attempting to provide the opportunity for bilingualism for Māori people, and did not intend for his language to be relegated to the halls of memories.

His stance changed in the latter period of his political career when the realisation of the potential loss of culture and language started to become a reality. Ngata, along with a number of his contemporaries from Te Aute College and beyond, turned their attentions to rallying Māori communities all around New Zealand to uphold their traditions, their arts and their language, in an attempt to restore it to its former glory (O'Regan, 2012a:303).

> From the 1900s, articulate Māori leaders, educated in the Māori world, and increasingly in the European one as well, fluent in te reo Māori and English, and committed to reviving te reo and Māori as a people, served their culture with a devotion and energy that exceeded anything the language's opponents could muster, and spearheaded te reo's uphill battle for survival as a living language (Moon, 2016:225).

Moon (2016) records a poignant testimony in support of the language by the former Te Aute school graduate Reweti Kohere, in his submission to a royal commission in 1906:

> I think if a boy is taught to despise his own mother-tongue', he suggested with simple, inarguable logic, 'we should not be surprised if he comes to despise his own mother.' He added that, from his own experience 'the more I learn of that language the more I find there is in it. I derive great pleasure from learning it. Besides, it helps to make a boy love things Maori…if you take away the racial pride from the Maori heart, and pride in the traditions of his people, lower his character (Moon, 2016:225).

He parawhenua mea, he manawa haea - A tsunami, a torn heart
Māori had succeeded in defying the odds in the first hundred years after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840. Initially they were believed to be a race that would simply die out and disappear, thereby ceasing to be a problem for the settlers and their Government. Instead they remained resilient and continued to adapt and find ways to survive. The cost to the culture, identity and health of the people was extreme in every way. For many, it had meant decade after decade of calamities and attacks that meant villages and families would be in a constant state of rebuilding, re-grouping and restructuring.

In Kāi Tahu, the wave of attacks on the population was relentless. Having only recently recovered from internal tribal battles in the 1820s, they were confronted with devastating

attacks from Ngāti Toa and their allies from the North in the 1830s, that threatened their control over their tribal territory and a profound attack on the population, with whole communities being wiped out in some areas. Just as the tribe regrouped for the counter attack to secure the tribal boundaries and expel the invaders, they were hit with the measles epidemic that spread through the deep-south and around the *rohe* (tribal territory), killing mainly children and the elderly. Influenza hit again having the same impact as the Black Plague in Europe, and then whilst attempting to deal with the impact on the physical and emotional wellbeing, they were forced into mounting a political defence against the pressure for land by the settlers and the Government.

By 1849 when Matiaha Tiramōrehu initiated the Kāi Tahu Claim that would later be affectionately referred to as *Te Kereme*, his people were already feeling the effects of land loss, his tribe's *mahika kai* resources were being severely depleted, and his people were impoverished, dying of hunger and disease. In a 20 year period from the first land sale of 1844, Kāi Tahu would lose 80% their land through sales, totalling 34.5 million acres. Despite the legality of a number of the larger sales, they would be left to fight for the reserves that had been guaranteed to them that were never honoured.

> The Crown failed to honour its part of those contracts when it did not allocate one-tenth of the land to the iwi, as agreed. It also refused to pay a fair price for the land. Robbed of the opportunity to participate in the land-based economy alongside the settlers, Ngāi Tahu became an impoverished and virtually landless tribe (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016).

Te Kereme became a unifying tool for the Kāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe people, drawing communities and *whānau* together in the fight for justice and what had been promised to them. The fight was to become an intergenerational one. Much to the disgust of the Government officials, Kāi Tahu started erecting *whare rūnaka* (council houses) around the rohe to help them strategise around Te Kereme, as described by Reverend Stack in a leeter to the Native Minister, Donald McLean in 1873,

> Day and night they talk of nothing else but '*whakaotinga o Niu Tireni*' – spending all their time in runanga houses which have of late been erected in all their villages with a view to organising this agitation (Evison, 1997:306).

Te Kereme was to dominate the Kāi Tahu political and social scene for generations to come. *Te reo*, and in many cases, those cultural practices and customs that the language carried, were more often than not relegated to the back set of the community and tribal

agenda. The focus instead was on the survival of the people. Perhaps there was a belief, as was the case elsewhere in the country, that the language would somehow prevail and would remain spoken in the homes of the people. Whatever the rationale, conscious or otherwise, it was not seen as a priority for the Kāi Tahu people.

The lack of attention politically to *te reo* was compounded by the toll of land alienation and community dislocation and increasing negative expectations from the Pākehā community. For many Kāi Tahu during this period, the pressure to leave their heritage language was too great, and for those with mixed heritage it was often easier to leave their Māori heritage aside and fully adopt their Pākehā side. This was by no means a guarantee that Pākehā society or family would fully accept them, but it was in some way the relief of the burden that Māori affiliation carried with it in those times; a survival strategy of sorts.

The pressure upon their identity, language and affiliation was to remain a constant for Māori in the first half of the Twentieth Century. Māori children had been subjected to a continuous assault of media, education and political policies which were all geared to assimilation and degradation of Māori culture and all its facets for over three generations by the time the Second World War broke out in 1939. The defence forces of cultural and linguistic preservation were never allowed the benefit of rest. Instead, *whānau* and the wider *iwi* were having to watch more and more of their counterparts fall to the side and leave their cultural paradigms behind.

> Even some of the stronger proponents of the language found it hard to stand firm against this generational onslaught that seemed unrelenting and only growing in strength itself. At the same time over the next few years, Māori would experience significant loss as many of their men joined the War campaign, many never to return (O'Regan, 2012a: 304).

The effect on the Māori language and the whole Māori culture was extreme. Not only did they lose a significant number of their population to foreign shores, their communities also continued to feel the direct impact of land erosion and community breakdown. The maintenance of the language and culture of the people was relegated to the end of the priority line, as attentions were focused on the support for the troops overseas and the maintenance of the home fires so that the *whānau* could be fed and sustained.

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> Te Reo Māori was probably one of the least recognised casualties of the Second World War, and yet the impact that it had on the language's health and usage can be likened in its severity to the impact it had on society itself. Losses experienced by Māori communities in World War One did not compare either in numbers or impact to those of World War Two. Not only did the War strip the Māori language speaking communities of thousands of their men, it also changed the shape of those communities for generations to come (O'Regan, 2012a:304).

Although the World Wars were played out on foreign shores, the scars were deep on the homeland. *Whānau*, trying to etch out an existence, were more and more often, forced to move from their traditional villages and lands, and head to the urban centres in search of language and sustenance. Speakers of the language left centres of cultural strength, and entered into new domains where they were the linguistic minority. Not having community members to converse within Māori soon saw a domination of the majority language in the home environment. The effect of this transition was not only experienced on the urban linguistic deserts that the Māori people moved to, so too the impact of linguistic deprivation was felt in the rural areas that saw the departure of their people.

By the 1940s, the full effect of this societal dislocation was fully evident in the rural areas. Rewi (2010) discusses in his book *Whaikōrero*, two devasting impacts of this wave of migration on rural villages and their cultural capacity, as it served to reduce the numbers of speakers in the community and sever the link between the *kaikōrero* (speakers) and their marae (Rewi, 2010:169).

The Māori population had been transformed, from a largely rural series of communities throughout the land, to a largely urban based population. For those Māori now resident in the urban centres, access to their traditional supports, language and cultural posts of strength and resilience were severely tested by sheer geography, or in some cases, by the combined effect of cultural subjugation, community breakdown and the constant belittling of their cultural identity in mainstream society (O'Regan, 2012a:304).

> English was the language of urban New Zealand – at work, in school and in leisure activities. Māori children went to city schools where Māori was unknown to teachers. Enforced contact between large numbers of Māori and Pākehā caused much strain and stress, and te reo was one of the things to suffer (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2015:2).

The constant wearing down of the Māori language strongholds, combined with the pressure of community dislocation and negative cultural stereotypes in the new urban environments, saw an increasing shift away from *te reo* as the intergenerational language of choice in Māori homes, to the dominating English language. Whether the motivations for the shift emerged from a desire to protect their children from the abuse and humiliation that they had experienced as speakers of *te reo*, or because of a desire to conform to the societal dictates of progress and advancement, the effect was the same – Māori stopped being used as the dominant language for intergenerational transmission in Māori homes throughout the country.

> The new generation of parents was convinced that their children had to speak English to get ahead, and thus a whole generation grew up who either knew no Māori or knew so little that they were 'unable to use it effectively and with dignity' (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:7).

Te hikaka o kā takitaki o te ao o te reo Māori – The falling of the palisades of the world of the Māori language
The mass urbanisation of Māori crystallised the tipping point of the language, from an era in which it was challenged by the arrival of English, but nevertheless flourished with literacy, transliterations and new application of traditional words to new concepts and technologies, to a point where that strength and growth was severely tested and rapidly started to decline and falter.

> These shifts placed huge pressure on language users to adapt to new technologies, new cultural experiences and a diversity of people and situations for which the language had not previously been adapted. For those Māori that chose to retain te reo in their whānau and communities, a significant uptake on transliterations often resulted (O'Regan, 2012a: 306).

The language shift was also evident in the domains that the language was being used. Where traditionally the cultural practices of food gathering and lifestyle were tied to the natural environment the community inhabited, the shift to urban centres saw a decline in traditional practices and therefore, less of a reliance on the language required giving context to those environments. As the new urban Māori started to turn to grocers and shops to obtain their food and household resources, they soon found little opportunity to practise the language required for traditional *mahika kai*. Their children, in turn, would often, in the space of one generation, lose the opportunity to hear the specific phrases and vocabulary associated with those traditional domains.

New words came into being for the supermarket, certain cuts of meat, steak, banks, the bank tellers, accountants and electricians for example. Traditional words that described customary practices of cooking, birding, preserving foods, hunting and associated festivities became less common, less frequently used and retained by fewer and fewer people as the generations passed (O'Regan, 2012a:306).

Indeed, it is near impossible to quantify the amount of language and language practice that has disappeared or died as the experts of traditional Māori sciences, customs, industry and so forth have passed away. Although there may be written records of such domain specific language, these will be limited and unlikely to provide modern day Māori with examples of use, associated colloquialisms and the kind of language exemplars that are often produced through interaction with others of similar knowledge and proficiency.

To fully understand the loss of language that has been associated with this era, we would need to somehow quantify the loss of certain aspects of the language such as domain specific language, associated with the cessation of cultural or traditionally practised activities. Then we would need to measure this against the growth of the language such as the introduction of new words, both loan and newly developed words, created as part of the adaptation to new domains and environments. The best indicator of actual loss, might be best applied to the numbers of people 'using the language' as opposed to a focus on the kind of language they are speaking.

To look at numbers of speakers, what we see for *te reo* over the period of Māori urbanisation, despite the peaks of language growth with literacy and loan words, is a steady decline in overall speakers and intergenerational use of *te reo* in the home environment. By the mid-1950s less than 30% of Māori school children who were able to speak *te reo* (O'Regan, 2012a:307).

Māori had by this point been subjected to over a hundred years of negative stereotypes around the value of the language and its place in the future of New Zealand society. There had been a few glimmers of hope over the first half of the Twentieth Century that suggested perceptions might be able to be changed and due attention given to the language and what it had to offer, but none of these were enough to change the overall treatment of the language and ensure its preservation and development.

The University of New Zealand had accepted *te reo* as a subject of study as part of a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1925, however, this was not introduced as an option at Auckland University until 1951 (NZ Parliamentary Library, 2010:3). The milestones, while important, were nowhere near strong enough to provide a sufficient defence against the encroaching tide of language loss for *te reo* and would be constantly challenged by an increasing pressure placed on *whānau* and individuals to assimilate into the English language and leave *te reo Māori* behind. An example of this is the introduction of *te reo Māori* as a School Certificate subject in 1945.

Whilst it may be argued that such a move by the Ministry of Education was an endorsement of a positive language status and a positive milestone for *te reo* revitalisation efforts, the reality was more bitter sweet, as it was not given the same academic standing as other languages in the curriculum, or made available to all Māori students. It was essentially left to the school to decide whether or not *te reo* would be an option for their students up until the qualifications framework was changed for secondary schools in 2002.

> …it was the only language in the New Zealand curriculum to be considered as a non-academic subject, and was relegated to the ranks of the vocational subjects such as home economics and woodwork. This was to remain the case until the introduction of the NCEA (O'Regan, 2012a:307).

The challenges did not cease there either for those children who were fortunate enough to access Māori language learning opportunities through the formal education system, as they were confronted with a Eurocentric approach to language learning that produced language that bore little semblance to a native language setting and the intergenerational language of the home. Students that acquired their language in this way were guided through resources with a strong focus on grammar and formal language that traditionally produced more formal classic 'classroom' language.

This had the potential to create a divide amongst the second language learners and the decreasing pool of native language speakers that they could possibly communicate with to develop their language further, as it was seen as too 'academic' and not natural enough. This reliance on the Eurocentric models of second language acquisition as a system for

teaching *te reo*, was to prevail for the next four decades, before the introduction of colloquialisms, intergenerational language to support language in the home environment and immersion language learning techniques started to emerge in Māori language learning programmes across the country (O'Regan, 2012a:307).

Despite the persistence of some Māori to find ways to retain and learn their language through the mechanisms of formal education, the Government's assimilation agenda was not to diminish in the 1960s. Instead, it received a booster injection with a new wave of assimilative policies aimed at deterring the surviving quarter of Māori children who were still speakers of the language, from using and holding on to their *reo*.

In 1960, Prime Minister Nash appointed a senior Public Servant by the name of Jack Kent Hunn, to conduct a comprehensive stock take of Māori policies and assets under the Department of Māori Affairs, and his subsequent report was to become known as the Hunn Report. Although the scope of the report included economic, political, social and cultural position of the Māori people and associated policies, Hunn's perception of the Māori language as a 'relic of ancient Māori life' and of little value to the progress of the Māori people was to have a profound impact on educational policies and practices in the decades that followed (Hill, 2009:90-91).

> Its recommendations aimed to hasten the assumed natural evolutionary path 'towards the 'integrationist' version of assimilation and (ultimately) the 'distant end result' of 'final blending'. Efforts to accommodate ways of 'seeing and doing' that were different from those of Anglocentric culture were not on any state agenda (Hill, 2009:92).

As far as Hunn and his contemporaries were concerned, there were no other potential prospects for Māori other than the option of full assimilation in every way, and his agenda found life in the educational policies around the language that were to dominate the next twenty years. Walsh (1971) in his book "More and More Maoris" refers to the State's treatment of the language in educational institutions and the media during that era and the impact of this treatment on successive generations of Māori who had, by this time, been educated in an environment actively hostile to their language (Walsh, 1971:42).

It was to be another 20 years before the belief that proficiency in Māori would negatively impact upon a person's proficiency in English would start to become more widely

dispelled, although even today it has not been completely eradicated and may still be heard in wider society.

He tai tohe e pupū ake ana – A tide of protest is bubbling
As we neared the end of the 1960s, *te reo Māori* nationally was in a dire state as the social cohesiveness of Māori language speaking communities had been severely impacted by the compounding effects of urbanisation and generational negative stigma attributed to *te reo*.

> … shocking statistics emerging from national surveys that showed only 18-20 per cent of Māori were fluent speakers of te reo. Of that percentage, the majority were elderly. By 1975 fewer than 5 per cent of Māori school children were reportedly able to speak te reo (O'Regan, 2012a:310).

There was however, a political resurgence amongst Māori that was beginning to achieve some momentum, and although the scope of growing Māori protest was concerned with a myriad of *kaupapa*, from land grievances to resource dispossession and issues of social exclusion and deprivation, *te reo* was to find a foothold in the body of the protest movement. This resurgence became a dominating feature of the 1970s and the era can be referred to as an 'age of protest'. Māori communities were mobilised to advance their rights. *Te reo Māori* was seen to be right at the core of this movement and assertion of identity,

> Maori leaders were increasingly recognising the dangers of the loss of Maori language. New groups emerged and made a commitment to strengthening Maori culture and the language (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2015:2).

A leading group of the time, *Ngā Tamatoa* (The Young Warriors), had emerged out of the University of Auckland. The group succeeded in getting 30,000 signatures for a landmark petition in 1972, calling for *te reo* and Māori culture to be taught in all schools in New Zealand (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:7). The day of presentation to Parliament was later to be recognised and celebrated annually as Māori language Day and this was extended to Māori Language week in 1975.

Although the petition itself was not immediately successful in achieving the stated aims of the petition in terms of the Government's responses, it was pivotal in establishing a

voice for the revitalisation, protection and preservation of the Māori language, and importantly, for bringing the plight of *te reo* to the forefront of community and political consciousness. The waves of protest also served another function, and that was it made it clear to Government that the issue was not going to go away and the language would not simply slip away into a state of quiet death as had been previously forecasted.

This persistence of Māori was to take the form of another petition presented to Parliament three years later. In 1978 it listed 30,000 signatures and was actioned by the Te Reo Māori Society of Wellington, this time petitioning for the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation to establish a stand-alone Māori television production unit. This was then followed by yet another wave of protest in 1981 that called for Māori to be made an official language of New Zealand (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:8). Despite the apathetic response of the Crown to these protests for *te reo*, a current of Māori commitment to the *kaupapa* did persist and continued to gather momentum.

> Rather than waiting for the Government to deliver on Treaty of Waitangi promises and the Crown's obligations to protect and nurture the reo, Māori embarked on a number of community, grass-roots initiatives to stimulate the language revitalisation effort. These initiatives seemed to snowball, crystallising the 1970s as the era in which modern Māori language revitalization efforts were born (O'Regan, 2012a: 309-310).

There was a huge call for language acquisition – for Māori to take up the challenge to proactively seek to learn their *reo*. There was a call to arms in many Māori communities to speak what language they had at their disposal, irrespective of their current proficiency, lest the language should die. Language acquisition was not always easy to achieve for the now second generation urban Māori, who no longer necessarily had the resource of native language speakers around them to assist with their language learning, and very limited formal educational opportunities in or out of the school system (O'Regan, 2012a: 310).

One response to this gap was the development of the Te Ātaarangi language movement, a community based language initiative that focused on teaching Māori speakers to become language teachers themselves and thus helping others in their *whānau* and communities to learn *te reo* as a second language (Fishman, 1991:236).

> The Aatarangi programme was hugely successful at engaging whānau and empowering them in their language acquisition, and in introducing te reo back into the home environment. The fact that the movement remains a powerful force in the reo world today is testimony to the foresight of the founders of that era (O'Regan, 2012:310).

The first bilingual school was established in 1997 and this would be the start of a significant wave of Māori medium educational developments (O'Regan, 2012a). Just six years after the first mass petition to Parliament for *te reo*, the first modern Māori *wānanga*, Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki was established in 1981, and provided a new model of *wānaka* style immersion language programmes. These programmes proved very popular and were attended by not only those affiliating to Ngāti Raukawa and related *iwi*, but by Māori from all around the country. The flow on effect was significant, with a number of other communities being inspired by Raukawa's approach and developing similar models in their own communities.

> The Raukawa iwi tribal language strategy, Whakatipuranga 2000, was a visionary and exemplary response to the lack of language speakers within the iwi at the time, and again inspired others to consider language strategy development at the iwi level (O'Regan, 2012:310).

The pioneering exemplar of 'Whakatipuranga Ruamano' as a model for language revitalisation in the New Zealand context, certainly found root in the heart of one young Ngāi Tahu man at the time, Tahu Pōtiki, who would become the first champion of Ngāi Tahu language revitalisation in the south. Pōtiki returned from his language immersion programmes as a student of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, inspired to find a way of creating a similar model for the benefit of his Kāi Tahu people, and he set about doing just that.

At first Pōtiki invested his efforts in establishing *wānaka reo rumaki* – Māori language immersion block courses in the south, following the model of the immersion programmes at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. These *wānaka* became a series of three a year that were held for one week blocks in the school holidays and used teachers from the University of Otago and other language speakers from Dunedin, where Pōtiki was based.

Pōtiki had to lobby the tribal organisation for support to run these *hui* and this was a challenge in itself. But he was successful in his requests, and the first Kāi Tahu Reo Rumaki was held in Taumutu in 1992. The teachers initially gave of their time for free,

often needing to use their annual leave provisions from their employment in order to attend the *wānaka*. The introduction of this initiative to Kāi Tahu will be further explored in Chapter Four in the context of the Kāi Tahu language revitalisation movement. Like Kāi Tahu, other *iwi* communities around the community started to follow the *reo rumaki* approach as a way of supporting language acquisition in a more traditional Māori environment.

Another significant initiative had been born in the 1980s and this perhaps had the largest single impact on positive growth in language revitalisation at the time, the Kōhanga Reo movement. The first Kōhanga Reo or language nest for pre-schoolers was founded in April 1982 in Wainuiomata, Wellington. The model was an immediate success within Māori communities, who were now feeling the desperation of language loss in their families, and the continued negative experiences of their children in mainstream educational institutions. Numbers had grown to 416 Kōhanga Reo nationwide in a three year timeframe, and that represented over 6000 *tamariki* (children) engaged in education in their heritage language (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:8). The Kōhanga movement became a key factor that influenced a positive shift in the Māori language speaker demographics over the next 20 years.

> Kōhanga Reo flourished in an environment of excitement and celebration, and one hundred Kōhanga Reo were established by the end of 1982…Growth continued and by the end of 1994 there were 800 Kōhanga Reo, catering for 14,000 mokopuna. Kōhanga Reo were virtually springing forth all over the country and with very little financial assistance from government (Te Kōhanga Reo, 2015:1).

The Kōhanga philosophy was based on *tikaka* and *kaupapa Māori* and was centred on *whānau* engagement, drawing in the language and other skills of those within the wider *whānau* to support the learning environment of the *tamariki*. The three main drivers of the Kōhanga are articulated by Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust is as follows,

- Ensure the survival and revival of te reo Maori.
- Totally immerse Te Kōhanga Reo mokopuna, and whānau in the principles of Maori child rearing practices, through the medium of te reo Maori me ōna tikanga.
- Target the participation of mokopuna and whānau into Te Kōhanga Reo to develop and up skill the whānau (Te Kōhanga Reo, 2015:1).

At the core of the *kaupapa* was intergenerational transmission of the language and this required intergenerational engagement. The *kuia* or 'grandmothers' and *koroua* or 'grandfathers' were seen within the Kōhanga as the ideal role models of the *reo* as well as being the traditional educators and nurturers of the young children. There was not the imperative in these early stages, for their Kōhanga teachers to be formally trained in the Western education system, and instead the focus was on:

> …reassembling the language from the 'mouths and memories' of the grandparental generation, for transmission to the very young – while enabling the parental generation to learn alongside their children if they had the time and inclination (Benton & Benton, 2001:425).

For many of the young urban Māori *whānau* who found themselves isolated from their own *kaumātua* (elders), the Kōhanga provided an opportunity to build new Māori *whānau* supports in their communities, irrespective of tribal affiliation, that they might not have otherwise been able to easily access.

The first Kōhanga Reo opened in the Kāi Tahu *rohe* in Te Waipounamu in 1982. It was registered with The Kōhanga Reo National Trust and based at Rehua *marae* in Christchurch. Within the whole of Te Waipounamu, a total of 69 Kōhanga were to be opened over a 35 year period. However, this number was to later significantly reduce by two thirds since the peak in 1998. As was the case for Kōhanga all around the country, many struggled to stay open after the Ministry of Education brought in new regulations, and the results saw a large decline in operating centres, as they had largely been driven by *whānau* commitment and investment and they simply could not afford the compliance costs.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust South Island district manager, Catherine Stuart, spoke of the impact of the regulations on the *kaupapa* in Te Waipounamu,

> Pre-regulations many Kōhanga worked from marae, garages, any type of room and these facilities did not comply with the regulations hence the decline. Today we have 26 Kōhanga operating with two affiliated to their marae, Ngāti Waewae and Waihōpai (Stuart, 2016: personal communication).

Within a few years of the first Kōhanga Reo being established, parents and teachers had quickly seen the effects of mainstream education options on the graduates of the Kōhanga Reo, both in terms of their dispositions as learners as a result of not being able to

immediately compete with English first-language speakers in the classroom, and the speed at which those *tamariki* turned from their Māori language in preference for the language of the majority. This was often heart breaking for parents and teachers alike who, after investing so much of themselves into fostering the language in these *tamariki*, were left to witness first-hand how quickly the language could be lost and left behind if it was not being actively supported and nurtured.

This situation coupled with the huge success of the Kōhanga precipitated the next significant milestone in the Māori language revitalisation journey, the development of Kura Kaupapa Māori or Māori medium primary schools. The first Kura Kaupapa was opened at Hoani Waititi Marae in Auckland in 1985, but the path for establishment was still anything but easy. At every milestone, the drivers of Māori medium education found themselves having to fight and lobby for support, *rakatirataka* (sovereignty, autonomy) to determine their own objectives, programmes and financial support from Central Government.

> As with kōhanga, in the early stages parents were forced to fundraise to run kura until they received government recognition and funding. Kura kaupapa Māori gained recognition in the Education Act 1989 and from 1990 the Ministry of Education supported the establishment of new kura (Calman, 2015:5)

Despite the challenges, Kura Kaupapa Māori numbers followed the same pattern as Kōhanga, growing steadily over the first 10 years and then, slowing down in the 2000s. Fifteen years after the first Kura Kaupapa Māori was launched, numbers had reached 73 across the country; many providing Māori medium education from years 1-13 and engaging more than 6,000 students (Calman, 2015:5).

The initiatives that drove the Māori language revitalisation efforts in the 1970s and 80s, through until the early 90s, were not limited, however, to the education sector. Te Ātaarangi, the Māori Wānanga, Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, also had support with a parallel development taking place in the world of broadcasting.

The first regional Māori language boards were set up by the Māori Affairs Department under the leadership of Īhakara Puketapu and Iritana Tawhirirangi in 1981. Two years later in 1983, with no Government support and relying only on the voluntary contributions

of a handful of language experts and advocates, the Wellington Board named Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo, established the first Māori FM radio station named Te Reo o Poneke – The Voice of Wellington (Walker, 2015:3).

> In 1987 Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo established Te Reo Irirangi o Te Upoko o Te Ika, to run for two months from May to June. Positive community and listener feedback led the board to bring the station to air permanently. It went to air on April 1988 as the first permanent Māori radio station (Walker, 2015:4).

The example of Te Upoko o Te Ika was to be followed by *iwi* and Māori communities around the country as they looked to Māori radio to be another vehicle to support language revitalisation by promoting and normalising *te reo* over the airwaves. Like the Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori movements, Māori radio would be set to face decades of underfunding, little Government investment and a constant battle to survive and prosper.

> From 1985 the example set by Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo was followed by a wave of other regional Māori radio stations. Lacking state funding, they used out dated equipment discarded by mainstream radio stations. Many stations were staffed by energetic rangatahi (young people), and some relied on employment schemes to pay and train staff. Later, these young enthusiasts were hailed for their professionalism as broadcasters (Walker, 2015:4).

For Māori *whānau* who no longer had the privilege of having native speakers available to them in their everyday lives, Māori radio provided an avenue to bring *te reo* back into their living rooms. Importantly, it also became a helpful resource for the generation of second language speakers who had joined the language acquisition journey.

This had been anything but the reality for Māori communities prior to this development. It was Kāi Tahu singer, Airini Grennell, who first sang in Māori for listeners on the national network and this was followed by recordings of Māori music by the Petone Māori Variety Entertainers and Ōtaki Māori College in that same year (Walker, 2015:1). This small introduction of *te reo* was to increase into a one-off programme the following year:

> On the following Waitangi Day, 6 February 1928, an elaborate pageant of Māori history, song and story was broadcast by all four national radio stations and later repeated for international listeners. It was thought to have been New Zealand's most-widely broadcast radio programme to that time (Walker, 2015:1).

Although there had been some limited use of Māori language, they tended to be limited in the time that was made available to them and the resources invested. To understand the significance of the Māori language radio stations, you need only reflect on the constant lobbying by *kaumātua* and Māori leaders from the time of the first Māori language broadcast in 1927, through until the establishment of Te Upoko o Te Ika. It had taken over 60 years to achieve that milestone. Language advocates and leaders like Wiremu Parker had been able to secure Māori-only broadcasts during the Second World War. But these were still only short programmes and were limited in the content that was able to be shared because of the time constraints, therefore covering limited domestic news and covering the activities and casualties of the Māori Battalion (Walker, 2015:1).

> The first programme entirely in the Māori language was broadcast in 1940, after Māori elders lobbied the government for this service. It was a weekly 15-minute news bulletin about the 28th (Māori) Battalion's overseas campaigns during the Second World War. The broadcaster was Wiremu (Bill) Parker (Ngāti Porou) … Parker vowed never to use a non-Māori word in his bulletins, and relied on imaginative translation skills to deal with new terms such as 'submarine' (Walker, 2015:1).

Forty years after the first *reo* broadcast, Māori language programming and Māori interest programming that was largely in English but on Māori *kaupapa* totalled less than 90 minutes a week on the National Radio Network. The movement therefore, from 90 minutes a week to a 12-hour broadcast and then to a Māori only radio station, helped to give the language revitalisation movements in education and community and national political arenas, a much needed boost in the last half of the 1980s through to the 1990s.

The momentum of the fight for *te reo* continued to build across all of these fronts, and in 1985, this culminated in WAI 11, the Te Reo Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, led by Huirangi Waikerepu and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori. The recommendation of the Tribunal in their report published the following year, would become the basis of the Māori Language Act of 1987 which created significant milestones for including the establishment of *te reo* as an official language of New Zealand and the Māori Language Commission – Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:12).

Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau had argued in their Waitangi Tribunal Claim, for Māori broadcasting rights to extend across the broadcasting spectrum, including television. The

fight would continue through to the Privy Council in 1993, at which point it was found that the Government was required to fulfil the promises that they had made to Māori in this area. The result of this decision was the establishment of a Māori Broadcast Funding Agency, Te Māngai Pāho, and a compulsory allocation and commitment to Māori programming that promoted *te reo* and culture within the NZ On Air funding provisions (Dunleavy, 2014:3).

> This was a hugely significant step, for the size of the funds available to Te Māngai Pāho and how the agency chooses to allocate them have had a major impact upon the amount and quality of Māori language broadcast content (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:15).

It took a decade to set up a Māori television channel that was established in 1996 as a pilot, the Aotearoa Television Network (ATN). However, along with the Kōhanga, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Ātaarangi and the Māori Radio network, this was to be insufficiently funded in comparison to investments into mainstream programming and infrastructure. Unfortunately, coupled with an audience largely limited to the Auckland region, the ATN was shut down the following year in 1997 (Dunleavy, 2014:3).

It would be another seven years before the television network would again host a Māori television channel under the Māori Television Service, which had been established as a result of the Māori Television Service Act 2003. This service had the benefit of being a non-commercial service with clear public service responsibilities and fully funded by the Government (Dunleavy, 2014:3).

> Launched in 2004, Māori Television, the flagship channel of MTS, brought a profile to Māori language, culture, custom, society and history that was unprecedented in television (Dunleavy, 2014:3).

Another milestone was to be achieved for *te reo* in the television world, when an entirely Māori language channel would be launched in 2008. Although limited in its programming times, this sat alongside Māori language radio stations in terms of being one of the biggest breakthroughs for *te reo* broadcasting in the 71 years since Airini Grennell took to the radio airwaves.

Te Mātūtūtaka – The period of recovery

As the country looked towards welcoming in the Twenty-first Century, at least on a national level, it looked like the tide had been successfully turned from a language standing on a grave's edge, to one where it now had official status, could be heard in most parts of the country on the airwaves, and was available in many parts of the country as the medium of instruction in formal education. There were, however, still significant gaps.

The privileged position of choice – standardisation or regional variation, simplification or depth and language excellence?

The growth in Māori medium education over the 1980s and 1990s highlighted the shortage of quality Māori language literature to support the language in the homes for *whānau* with children in Māori medium education, and in the schools alike. The Ministry of Education was pressured to respond to this growing need and fund the production of age appropriate Māori literature (O'Regan, 2012a:313).

Little investment had historically gone into the production of Māori language resources since the decline of the Māori newspapers in the early 1900s. Indeed such was the demand and desperation for immersion language resources for the early Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura (Māori immersion high school) students to support their literacy aspirations, that one strategy saw the revival of some of the old Māori newspapers as a way of getting quality language examples into the classrooms. A series of three such books were published by Huia Publishers,

- *Te Puni Wahine* – a Collection of articles relating to women from a range of newspapers (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994);
- *He Pakiwaitara* – a collection of stories and prose from different individuals (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994b);
- *Te Mareikura* – A single issue of the newspaper, Te Māreikura, as an example of the range of kaupapa covered in the old newspapers (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994c).

Although many hundreds of books for pre-school and then later journals and readers for primary schools were published with funding from the Ministry of Education, the demand exceeded the rate of supply and limited scope of the material available. Individual writers like the prolific language champion and writer, the late Dame Katerina Mataira, contributed momentous amounts of literature into the Māori language pool, often

translating the common English language books of the time into *te reo* so that *whānau* could access these in their homes.

Mataira moved from a focus on supplying the younger children with quality and engaging books in *te reo* to the young adult and adult markets, and was the first ever author of a Māori language novel, *Makorea,* that was later followed by a science fiction series all in *te reo*, *Ngā Waituhi o Rehua*. To gain some perspective on the rarity of these *taoka* (treasures), Makorea was not published until 2002, twenty years after the first Kōhanga Reo was established. Perhaps of greater concern, along with Mataira's other novels they remain the only ones available outside of the formal educational institutions to the Māori language speaker in 2016, although a number of other novels written by Māori authors in English, have been subsequently translated into *te reo*, including; Tū, The Whale Rider and Ngā Purapura Whetū.

These resource publication efforts succeeded in helping to provide a base support-platform for Māori language educators in the compulsory education sector. However, the limited nature of the platform created a level of anxiety for some parents concerned with literacy levels of their *tamariki*. This was also influenced by concerns around the kind of language being used in the resources, the quality of that language, and the dominance of dialect types in areas foreign to those dialects.

> Such issues also sparked a wider debate concerning whether to support dialectal differences, as opposed to a more standardised version of te reo, as had been the focus of the revitalisation movement from the 1970s. Until this point, the language of a particular author had largely dictated the nature of the language and dialect used in resources. But as text books and resource books were increasingly used nationally to teach te reo to Māori children from multiple iwi, the issue of dialectal preference became more overt (O'Regan, 2012a:313).

The dialect divide

The debate as to whether or not a language revitalisation strategy should promote dialectal variation, may be seen as a positive indicator of language strength, on the simple basis that the language is secure enough to be entering into such debate. When the language was considered to be dying and at its most vulnerable state, the focus of the revitalisation movement was on its survival and continued existence amongst the largest number of people as possible. The 'privilege' of being able to then contemplate the issues of dialect,

the use of traditional words verse transliterations and different language for different domains, only comes to the fore when the immediate survival needs have been met.

In this regard, an analogy can be drawn to a *whare*. The immediate need for shelter as a matter of survival will necessitate the bare basics being available to support that survival. You may still experience cold, it may be shack-like, and offer little protection, but it does serve the purpose of keeping the ills of hypothermia at bay, and therefore a slow inevitable death. Once the bare minimum has been achieved, you are able to turn your attentions to fixing the shelter to increase its benefits and the quality of your living. After a while you may also be able to decorate and expand the house so that it can perform a greater number of functions. When your survival is not immediately threatened, you can afford to think about the best kind of house you aspire to support your wider aspirations.

So to with the *reo*, the necessity of standardisation and simplification of the language at the cost of the dialectal variations may be seen as a requirement for its survival. But as with the *whare* analogy, that was never perceived by many *iwi* and language speakers to be the fulfilment of their aspirations for their reo. Moreover it was just a temporary step in the process until their had the benefit of time and resource to look at the other aspects of *te reo* they held dear to them, that is, those being associated with their respective *iwi* identity as housed in their unique dialects.

> For some, seeing resources or hearing their grandchildren or children use another tribes dialect hit home the vulnerability of their traditional language in a way that statistical data and decades of reports had been unable to do previously (O'Regan, 2012a:313).

It was right for people at this time to be concerned about the vulnerability of their dialects in the modern era, as the macro Māori language was still considered to be endangered let alone its dialectal variations. During this period between the 1960s and 1990s, there was less than a handful of native speakers of the dialect still alive in Te Waipounamu; none of whom were using the language as a part of their everyday communication.

The Waitangi Tribunal's pre-publication on Te Reo Māori (2010), referred to the perilous situation of *iwi* dialects when highlighting the change in the language models of modern children whose may speak *te reo* as their first language, but not in the dialect that reflects

their *iwi* affiliation or locality.   The report identified variations in *te reo* Māori to be its most vulnerable elements:

> This is the inevitable state of tribal dialects today, with some elements already all but gone and others clearly in peril. Unless dialects begin to be spoken more by younger Māori, their prospects beyond the next 20 years are obviously bleak (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:41).

This next period of Māori language resource production was accordingly characterised with increasing examples of dialectal variation. This also started to take form in the broadcasting arena, with a concerted effort to find a variation of dialect speakers to be interviewed and showcased. Access to resources in the various dialects was inevitably going to be an issue. The demand for mainstream *reo* resources was still not being able to be met, and certainly not being met for the adult reading population who still had very little to choose from (Benton & Benton, 2001:433).

The politics around dialect use would continue to be a feature of the revitalisation movement, as some would cry for more promotion of the language variations and others would decry the position on the basis that it created confusion for the language learner; that dialects should remain the responsibility of the *iwi* owners, and not detract from the more important task of concentrating on developing the quality of the language available to the learner and speaker. The function of dialect preservation and development here was considered to be more akin to the 'interior design' role of a house builder, and not part of the essential foundations that would mean the language would stand the test of time against the elements.

The reason for this concern for a number of leading Māori language experts of the time, was related to the overall standard and quality of the language being used and taught in many of the schools and communities. The initial efforts of the revitalisation movement had succeeded in raising critical awareness of *te reo* and its perilous status, and in engaging masses in language acquisition. But there had at the same time been an aversion to concentrate and focus on grammatical accuracy and appropriate use of *te reo* for fear of turning people off their learning. The result was often that grammatical inaccuracies and poor language examples were often left unabated and would become normalised in

common everyday language use of the second language speakers and their young children (O'Regan, 2012a:315).

It was evident from the quality of language being spoken in the 1990s and early 2000s, that the *whare* had developed significant cracks that required attention. Although some would proclaim that if it was not going to be spoken correctly, it should not be spoken at all, the majority conceded, that a house with cracks was better than no house at all and simply required considerable forbearance and commitment to attend to the plastering and carpentry tasks for the rebuild. Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori was to play a leading role in this,

> The Māori Language Commission was to respond to this situation by acknowledging the efforts made in earlier years to 'simplify' the language in order to make it easier to acquire, and then seeking to invest depth and quality into that 'simplified' language (O'Regan, 2012a:315).

One initiative established by the Māori Language Commission, that the researcher was also to personally benefit from, was the introduction of the national *Kura Reo*, or Māori language proficiency immersion *wānaka*. These week long immersion *wānaka* were held in the school holidays and were targeted at teachers and advanced students of *te reo* to develop the quality of their language. Run under the leadership of Tīmoti Kāretu, these Kura Reo provided a renewed focus on colloquial language, traditional idioms and phrases.

Kāretu managed to pull together renowned language experts from multiple *iwi* to be the exemplars of language excellence for the students on these Kura Reo and many students would eagerly attempt to attend all four held a year so as to take every opportunity to learn from these rare and treasured repositories of *te reo*. The model of these Kura Reo has been replicated by a number of *iwi*, including Kāi Tahu, and have stood the test of time.

The Kura Reo worked to develop the speakers 'spoken language', and precipitated a shift away from the more rigid formal language usage, to language that could be used on an every-day basis, and importantly, in the home. This genre of language was commonly referred to as *te reo o te kāuta* or 'language of the kitchen' and was natural in its structure and delivery. The relevance to the home environment and everyday life was a crucial

turning point for *te reo*, as it provided a focus and a tool that was necessary to support intergenerational transmission in the language which in turn had a significant impact on the quality and appropriateness of the language to be communicated to the next generation of tamariki being raised in *te reo* (O'Regan, 2012a:315). An example of such a resource was the pioneering publication on Māori idioms, written completely in Māori, *He Kohinga Kīwaha,* published by Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori in 2003.

After running the Kura Reo for 15 years, Kāretu continued to look for ways in which to extend the language and create a pool of new generation language experts. Still running the national Kura Reo, in 2004 Kāretu joined forces with Wharehuia Milroy and Pou Temara to establish Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori, under the mantle of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. The stated aim of Te Panekiretanga was to further refine and develop the quality, depth, and 'Māoriness' of those language speakers invited to participate.

One might be excused for thinking that the efforts of the first 30 years of *te reo* revitalisation had set a path for certain progress and upward movement, taking the *reo* further away from the cliff of endangerment and language death, and closer to the comfortable foothills of language growth and continued sustainability. The reality, however, was that many in the Māori community remained complacent about the state of the language on the basis that there were more speakers around than had been for the last few decades, and therefore, things seemed to be going okay.

Certainly, many *whānau* in Kāi Tahu when asked about their language aspirations for their *whānau*, were still talking about the day sometime in the future when they might start learning the language and holding onto a belief that it would be an option for their children and grandchildren even if they themselves did not commit to it at this time.

It was correct that there had been dramatic increases in the number of the younger generation being raised with *te reo* as their first or dominant language, supported significantly by the Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori education provision, but those initiatives were never intended to be the sole solution and were simply not enough. Kura Kaupapa Māori would continue to grow as it still needed to service the larger numbers that had been previously engaged in Kōhanga. However, the rate of growth was not comparable to that experienced in the early 1990s, and their numbers peaked in 2004

before following the Kōhanga's example of declining numbers thereafter (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:12-13).

> It was as if the wind had been taken out of the sails of the revitalisation movement. The dreams and hopes for the reo that had been invested in the kōhanga and kura kaupapa, which had soared and shown so much potential in the 1980s and 1990s, were left flapping in the wind. Perhaps it was because too much faith had been put in the educational institutions to support and develop the language, without the necessary commitment from whānau and iwi themselves? (O'Regan, 2012a:316).

Whilst many Kōhanga *whānau* cited the regulations as the key factor influencing the decline in operations and participation, it is likely they were part of a wider set of factors contributing to the decline, as similar patterns of language shift were starting to be seen in the decade that followed in the numbers of the adult population speaking and using *te reo*.

No doubt the reality of second language learning and maintenance of a minority language in an English speaking dominated society, combined with the constant pressure to keep a step ahead of your children so that you might be in a position to support intergenerational language, was too much for some parents, who would also be juggling the everyday dramas of child-rearing and *whānau* life. At the same time, a natural decline of native speaking kaumātua who were able to lend support and guidance in sustaining an immersion Māori language environment in Kōhanga, would have undoubtedly impacted on those Kōhanga who were not at the same level of proficiency and capability.

Whatever the causative factors might have been, the effect remained the same. The numbers of children learning and speaking *te reo* started to decline and so too did any sense of security for the language's future.

> It remains to be seen, therefore, whether the proportion of Māori participating in Māori-medium education will continue to decline, as it has done inexorably since 1999, as well as what impact this will have on the overall health of te reo. Already, the decline may be seen in the declining proportion of 10 to 14 year-olds able to converse in te reo, which fell from 24.4 per cent in the 2001 census to 21.4 per cent in 2006 census (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:31).

For those actively engaged in *te reo* revitalisation and with a high level of awareness of the critical state of *te reo* and minority Indigenous languages globally, this time was one

of grief and frustration. To have been in a position where so much had been achieved, so much energy and emotion invested into a cause, only to then be made to watch the tide turn again and threaten retreat of ground previously gained, was simply very painful.

There has been much written about the pain of language loss and the accompanying grief. While the younger generation may be concerned with the loss of what they may never have and experience, there must be another intense sense of loss for those who know its full beauty and potential; who had their own lives defined and shaped by it and their sense of identity housed within it. For those elders to have to watch the tide ebb with no ability to stop it, must be agonising in a completely different way.

As a second language learner it is difficult to comprehend the emotional tug of war that I imagine being felt by those stalwarts of *te reo* at every turn in the reo revitalisation journey. In recognition of the cost of language loss to the native surviving speaking and the legacy they were so desperately trying to protect, I composed this poem for Tīmoti Kāretu, who, as aforementioned, was the first Māori Language Commissioner, the leader of the national Kura Reo and founder of Te Panekiretanga o te Reo. Tīmoti epitomised the fight for the language's survival, as being someone in my adult lifetime that has been a consistent voice in the language revitalisation journey; speaking and writing copious articles, books and chapters at every opportunity to drive forward the advancement of the *reo* cause. He has challenged, critiqued and contested positions and actions that were seen to be detrimental to the survival of the language, even directly to those considered to be responsible for its state. The apathetic, the indifferent, the side-line spectators, and the detractors – all have found reference in the works of Kāretu as he has progressed with all effort a future for his cherished language.

In this poem, titled *Ki te Hākoro o te reo - To the father of the reo*, Kāretu is likened to the father of the language who is personified as his young ill son.

Kai te hākoro	*Dear Father*
Whāomoomo ana i tō tama	*Tending to your ailing child*
Parea te wero o te manawa kiore	*fend off the sting that a last breath brings*
Ko roa e tohe ana	*The fight has been a long one*
Kia whakahokia mai ai	*to return him once again*
Ki tōna ao taketake nei	*to his rightful place*

Tohea te tohe ki te kai	*You must prevail*
Koi mate ā Tarakihi	*Lest his sentence be that of the Tarakihi*
I tōna toheka ora e	*In his fight for life*
Pēhea rā te kukume	*How is the heart*
O tō te matua manawa?	*Of the father drawn?*
Tōna rētōtaka anō te moana uriuri	*Its depths like that of the darkest oceans*
Tōna hōkai anō kā raki ātea	*Its breadth is as the heavens*
Tōna roa anō Te Ika o te Raki	*Its length, The Milky Way*
Pēhea rā te taki o te manawa	*How does the father's heart cry?*
I te karo o te hā i te pūkahukahu	*When the breath is wasted from the lung*
I te maninohea o te tinana	*When the body is wasted away*
I te memehataka o tumanako	*Hope is scattered*
I te roaka o te karaka	*when the distant call is heard*
I te whare o Pōhutukawa	*of the house of Pōhutukawa*
Ki tana tama kura e	*to his precious son*
Pōrakitia te whatumanawa	*The heart is crazed*
Tāmia rā te wairua	*The spirit is smothered*
I te mataku, i te manawapā	*with fear and apprehension*
Koi heipū kāore koe e roko	*On the chance that you may never hear*
I kā kupu e rērere i ōna kutu	*words take wing from his lips*
Koi heipū kāore koe e kite	*In case you never see*
I tana puku kata i tōna mata	*the laughter on his face*
Me kā roimata i ōna kamo	*the tears within his eyes*
Koi kore koe e kite	*in case you never see*
Tōna puāwaitaka e	*his mature years*
E mutu tō taki, e Pā	*Stop crying now, Father*
Ko whakamāui tō pirika	*Your loved one is recovering*
I tana mate e	*from his long-drawn sickness*
Ko ea, ko ea, ko Ururoa	*It's done, it's done, Ururoa*
Ko puta i te paru e	*has emerged from the chaos*
Ko tūmau tana noho	*His standing now assured*
Ko tūmau tana reo	*His words now secure*
Ko tūmau tō uri	*Your child will be forever more*
ki tēnei ao e	*in this world of ours.*

<div align="center">(O'Regan & Rangipunga, 2007:24-25)</div>

Ka aha hoki? – And what of it?

This short history of the *reo* detailed here, tells a story of survival against the odds, albeit at times a perilous story of needing to hold on with a fraying and thinning survival rope, but hanging on regardless. The *reo* has, nevertheless, persisted by adapting, transforming, advocating and fighting for its right to be. Although the Māori language revitalisation movement might have been considered slow off the starting mark, and ad-hoc in its application, it has succeeded in achieving significant milestones across the political,

broadcasting and education spectrums, sustaining political and community pressure on the Government over a number of generations.

The Government's response has been limited in comparison, and not unlike what is experienced in the wider battle for Māori rights, the Government has only really made moves to change and provide redress for the destruction of the *reo* under its control, when their hand has been forced to do so. The Crown's position has more often than not been reactionary rather than pro-active, and often funding their defence of a position with significant investment, leaving the Māori challengers to raise their funds to fight for the *reo* themselves.

> …the support given has been limited in its effectiveness because of sheer time it took to respond. In many cases, decades or generations passed before governments turned their attention to the urgency of the issues. Indeed, the investment that has been made is unlikely to equate to anywhere near the amount invested to suppress and undermine the language over the years (O'Regan, 2012a:316).

Not only has the *reo* taken a sustained intergenerational attack on its status and health, it is also left with the immense challenge of the protracted recovery time that will require a significant larger investment to restore it to a position of health. This notion of time and cost associated with reviving a language was articulated in Te Paepae Motuhake's report to the Minister of Māori Affairs on the Government's Māori language strategy in 2011,

> To draw on the metaphor of a house, it is known that the time taken to demolish it is significantly less than the time and effort required to build it again. In the case of te reo Māori, the Crown's actions historically played a significant role in the demolition of the whare kōrero of Te Reo Māori, and consistent with the whakataukī, what had taken over a thousand years to develop and grow, was nearly completely destroyed over an 80-100 year period (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011:41).

Although we may continue to lament that fact that the investment by the Crown to redress these injustices have historically fallen short of what is required, had they not been made at all, we would certainly be in a much worse position today.

Ahakoa he iti, ko te kopa iti a Raureka

This *whakataukī* translates as: 'although it is small, it is the small purse of Raureka'. The relevance to the current point of discussion is in the purse's contents. Raureka was the first person to bring *pounamu* or greenstone from Te Tai o Poutini, the West Coast, over to the Kāi Tahu ancestors on the East Coast of the South Island. After traversing the Southern Alps, she opened her purse to display her *pounamu* (greenstone) tools to the people there. Despite their size, their value and potential was incredible, and was immediately identified by the onlookers as a *taoka* (treasure) because of the greater things that may come of its use.

So too the advancements for *te reo* revitalisation that did eventually find support from the Government, especially those achieved in the two decades that followed the enactment of the 1987 Māori Language Act, have all played a noteworthy role in bringing *te reo* from the brink of extinction, to its current state of convalescence. They can be likened to the precious *pounamu* tools of Raureka's purse, and those that fought and lobbied for their existence, can likewise be likened to Raureka and her pioneering and relentless journey across difficult terrain in order to achieve her goal.

> …there have been many developments that have collectively formed the State's modern Māori language policy. They include the expansion of Māori-medium education, the growth of the wānanga, the establishment and funding of a network of iwi radio stations and the Māori Television Service, the broadening of public services in te reo Māori, the funding of community-based language initiatives, and the development in 1997 of the first Māori language objectives to coordinate Government Māori language activities (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:36).

The fragmented approach to *te reo* revitalisation efforts across the Government's own machinery and the various initiatives that were being supported by them, lead the Government to develop a Māori Language Strategy (MLS) in 1997 that was aimed at co-coordinating the ad-hoc and disjointed activities, thus reducing duplication and aligning the strategy across all areas responsible for and delivering *te reo Māori* outcomes (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011:33). The MLS was to be reviewed a number of times since its conception, in 1999 and then again in 2003, but with limited success due to the overriding reluctance of a number of key Government Ministries to work collaboratively to achieve the strategic goals.

The on-going challenges for Government to be accountable for the investment in *te reo* and ensure the effective management of the resource, led to another internal review of the MLS in 2008. In 2010, the then Minister of Māori Affairs, Pita Sharples formed a review panel of seven members named Te Paepae Motuhake. Sharples directive to the Panel Chair, Dr Tamati Reedy, was, *"*to ensure the programmes and expenditure across the whole of government are responsive to *Iwi*/Māori aspirations" (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:36).

The panel held consultation *hui* with the respective Government Departments as well as *iwi* and interest groups around the country before authoring their report, *Te Reo Mauriora*, in 2011. Te Paepae Motuhake had the benefit of access to the significant amount of research material and statistical data on *te reo Māori* that was contained in the Waitangi Tribunal's (2010) pre-publication report on *te reo Māori*, along with the census data and data associated analysis of Te Puni Kōkiri collected through their Health of Māori Language surveys in 2001 and 2006.

The combined information presented a frightening picture of overall language decline, although certain age groups had shown increases during specific periods, the danger was in the reduction of the youth *reo*-Māori-speaking population which correlated with the drop of Māori children attending Māori medium education in the preceding decade. In the Waitangi Tribunal's report (2010) the level of activity and investment into *reo* revitalisation was not deemed by the Tribunal to be sufficient enough to sustain a positive future for the language and the overall prognosis was not positive:

> …the on-going gains being made with te reo are not offsetting the on-going losses occurring as older speakers pass away. Moreover, the theoretically on-going gains are in fact beginning to turn into losses amongst the crucial younger age groups, who represent the future health of te reo (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:38).

In their findings, Te Paepae Motuhake concluded that a new approach was required to achieve the outcomes articulated by Government and Māori communities and to halt the further declining trend of *te reo*. It also recommended that the investment needed to be better aligned with outcomes that directly supported *te reo* regeneration in the homes and that potentially the investment required to do so could be sourced from other *reo pūtea*

(funds) that made up the biggest beneficiaries of Government spend; formal education and broadcasting (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011:5).

We need only to review the historical experience of *te reo* to see what can happen when the fate of the language is left to the will of the majority and is not valued, respected or supported by that majority. By the same token, we are able to see what has been able to be achieved through the mobilisation of our own communities around its survival and maintenance and the miraculous shifts that took place in the 1980s and 90s, in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds. These historical milestones are evidence that such shifts can be achieved if the necessary commitment, drive and investment is there, and are owned and being driven by enough people who wish the language to remain a treasure for theirs and future generations (O'Regan, 2012a:320-321).

E ahu atu ana ki hea? – Where is it headed?
It is necessary for the Crown to create an environment where the promoters of the minority language can be allowed to nurture and develop their language without the presence of unnecessary obstacles and constraints. However, it is not sufficient for the Crown to simply stop doing those things that actively damages the current health of the language. Wright (2004) discusses the role of the State in this regard as being a significant factor in the success or otherwise of minority language revitalisation efforts:

> Where an organ of civil society undertakes the role of promoting the language, then it will need to do so under the aegis of the state. Little can happen here if the governing elite or the dominant group is opposed to extended use of the minority language or subscribes to the civic ideology of the 'neutral' state (Wright, 2004:232).

Where there have been sustained historical attacks on the economic, social and cultural environments in which the language resides, it is also necessary to actively seek ways to redress the inequities that may have emerged and the damage historically inflicted on the health of the language. The State cannot be a 'passive bystander' at this point, or take a neutral position in terms of the health of the language, leaving it up to the owners of the heritage language to bring it back to a state of health. To take such an approach would be ignoring the responsibility of the State to acknowledge and address its own actions that resulted in the current state of ill health and language endangerment.

Te Paepae Motuhake (2011) importantly placed a dual responsibility for the history and the future of *te reo Māori* with the Crown and Māori themselves and urged both groups to pay immediate attention to the status of the language if there was to be hope for its survival.

> Although many socio-linguists argue that the key to language revitalization of minority languages is state intervention by way of official support and promotion of that language, it is also readily accepted that such support needs to go hand in hand with families and communities who are committed to intergenerational transmission and private use of the language (Wright, 2004:232-233).

The challenge of reviving and maintaining the *reo* in the Twenty-first Century is compounded by the need to maintain currency in the language in a rapidly changing world. For *te reo* to be able to be used in everyday life by *whānau* in the homes, across the education curriculum and throughout the work and community environments, there are vast linguistic pressures to adapt and evolve the language to ensure relevance and status in new domains and technological worlds that are traditionally culturally foreign to the minority language speaker.

The pressure to turn to the easy option of *English* remains a constant threat for *tamariki* and adults alike, as technologies introduce new knowledge and associated language at a rate probably not experienced since the first introduction to Māori of the wider Pākehā world in the late 1700s, and the subsequent explosion of transliterations and other new words.

> It might not be just one new word that is required (for example 'computer'), but many: words that are able to describe features and programmes that might not have even existed a month prior. With often limited resources available to invest in such lexical development, it becomes easier to turn to English, rather than attempt to adapt the traditional language to the new domain (O'Regan, 2012a:320).

This fact is in turn compounded by the rate at which wider media and information in the majority languages is now being exposed to individuals and communities, penetrating the traditional realm of *whānau* time, conversations and engagement at times and levels not historically experienced. Smart phone technology, texting, 24 hour television and internet, have all become an ordinary part of the everyday lives of many Māori and are usually delivered to them in the English language. Accordingly, the resolve to take the

harder route of using, maintaining and engaging in the minority heritage language amongst this constant bombardment of English in the modern world must be great, as it will be constantly met with challenges and barriers that permeate the everyday and every hour reality of a Māori language speaker's life.

> At the micro level te reo acquisition would often take a back seat to the pressures and demands of everyday life; work, securing income for the family, paying bills, the children's sports and so on. The issues around the urgency of the language revitalisation effort and were largely unknown or ignored at both the macro and micro levels and critical awareness varied at best (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011:39).

In this regard, there is no one else who is able to make such commitment and take on such challenges, than the speaker or language learners themselves. Yes, there remains a responsibility for the Government to provide the right environment and resources to be able to make such language learning and use possible in society, but the individual is still required to actually deliver on the opportunity and use *te reo*. There is, in fact, little to be gained by lamenting the loss and damage of the language, if people simply are not prepared to make the most of the legacy left to us by the language stalwarts and champions of the language revitalisation era.

Hinton and Hale (2001) express this very notion in their book, *The Green Book of Language Revitalisation in Practice,*

> It is only if an indigenous community itself desires and initiates efforts towards language survival that such programs should exist or would have any chance of success (Hinton & Hale, 2001:5).

It is important to recognise, however, that there are also situations where people may be committed and willing to uphold the aforementioned legacy, but may be in a situation where they have no one to converse with or who shares a similar drive and commitment in their family and community. If such people are unable to find others with whom they can speak the *reo*, their ability to maintain and develop their language could be compromised.

Whilst acknowledging the external political, economic and societal factors that influence language health, status and use, Fishman (1997) also supports the overriding reliance on

the motivation and will of the minority language communities themselves and the role that it plays in their language's survival,

> Endangered languages become such because of the lack of informal intergenerational transmission and informal daily life support, not because they are not being taught in schools (Fishman, 1997:190).

This perspective is by no means an attack on those of the minority languages who have neither chosen nor managed to maintain intergenerational transmission of their heritage language in their families and communities, but it is an acknowledgement that without that level of commitment going forward, that languages are unlikely to be able to survive. Fishman also widely acknowledges the disproportionate level of effort and investment that is required in order to turn the tide of language endangerment, and bring a language back into use and a state of positive health. A minority language can be very quickly destroyed or damaged, as indicated in Te Paepae Motuhake's report,

> Fishman's edict that it takes one generation to lose a language and at least three to get it back, is now well known in language revitalisation circles world-wide, and it is not too distant from the traditional Māori whakataukī:
>
> **'E tata tapahi, e roa te whakatū'**
> It is quick to cut down, but takes a long time to stand it up again
> (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011:41)

Te Paepae Motuhake uses the analogy of a *whare* kōrero or 'house of *te reo*' to convey this point, referring to centuries of construction and development of the *whare kōrero*, and the subsequent speed at which the historic actions of the Crown succeeded in demolishing that *whare* over an 80-100 year period (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011:41).

The Report goes on to develop the metaphor further to discuss the respective responsibilities of the Crown and *iwi* in addressing the issues relating to the future of the revitalisation of the Māori language as we enter this next stage of the *reo* journey. Although both Crown and *iwi* have worked on the reconstruction of different parts of the 'house' over the last 40 years of the language revitalisation journey, the parties have not always worked together to achieve the goal and even the goal itself has not always been mutually accepted or understood, leaving something more akin to a temporary and badly constructed shelter rather than a permanent sustainable house that is fit for purpose.

> The various initiatives of Government Departments can be likened to the different trades-people involved in building the house. The Government has paid the Ministry of Education to be the carpenter, the Ministry of Economic Development to be the Plumber, Te Māngai Pāho to be the electrician, and Te Puni Kōkiri to be the plasterer and so forth. Each group has gone away to different parts of the project and worked hard… but have nevertheless been working in isolation and with little knowledge of what the other trades people are doing (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011:41).

This challenge has been further complicated by the respective tradespeople not working to a consistent architectural plan and with no consultation with the people who are expected to live in the house. The important questions of 'who is the house for?', 'who is expected to live in it?', 'what are the specifications for the house that are required?' and 'who will be responsible for its upkeep?' were historically not consistently asked or provided to the architects, the builders, or intended tenants.

Te Paepae Motuhake proposes that there is a responsibility of the Crown to fund the re-construction, as they were largely responsible for its demise. *Iwi* need to commit to be the *owners* and the future tenants that commit to its on-going maintenance and development. *Iwi* have to *live* in the house, thereby making the commitment to use, speak and maintain the language. As the future tenants and owners, *iwi* then need to play a significant role in determining what the house will need to look like in order to fulfil the function of supporting future intergenerational transmission of *te reo* in their communities.

> There will always be work to do, as with any house, but if well-resourced and nurtured, these costs can be manageable over the long term. If the house is left however to decay and fall down, then the rebuild will again consume greater levels of investment (Te Paepae Motuhake, 2011:43).

Conclusion

The domestic and international milestones that have been achieved over the past forty to fifty years of the language revitalisation effort, have provided the environment and knowledge that have informed the architectural blueprints of language revitalisation strategies across the globe. This environment has certainly impacted on the *te reo Māori* revitalisation effort and the on a more local level, our Kāi Tahu KMK strategy. It is important therefore, that we understand the historical circumstances and events so we can also understand the trends over time and how they might influence the future paths that we can take to revitalise our minority heritage languages.

The connection between understanding the historical experiences of a language that have caused past and current language shifts both in term of decline and regeneration and the future of that language, is strongly made by Nettle & Romaine in their book *Vanishing Voices – the extinction of the world's languages* (2000) when discussing what can be done?

> The first step in the solution to any problem is to acknowledge its existence and understand its origins. Only be understanding the historical and social circumstances which have created this threat can we hope to reverse it (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:23)

Although much of the historical narrative of the language brings with it a sense of heaviness and *mamae* in terms of what the language and its people have had to endure, there is also hope. Those parts of the narrative that speak of resilience and surviving despite the odds; of transforming communities re-establishing language previously lost in families, educational institutions and the community, remain an important source of inspiration for future language revitalisation efforts.

> There has perhaps been no greater time, in the history of te reo Māori than today, where the fate of our customary language has been so vulnerable and exposed to factors that challenge its very existence, both locally and internationally. And yet, as a people and as a Country, we have probably never been in a better position in terms of the resources, both physical and intellectual that we currently have at our disposal, to make the decisions that might ensure its sustainability for future generations (O'Regan, 2012a:298).

That aspect of our language's history speaks of another dawn for *te reo* that we have some control over if we so desire.

Ūpoko 3 - Chapter 3
Aoraki Matatū - Te reo and identity

E kore nei te ua e tākina e te awa
Ka mutu kē mai te kārearea
Pōkaikaha ana tō kāhui e...i

The river doesn't snatch at the rain
Oh what great stupidity
Your flock are left confused

Introduction

There are many elements that are often used to express cultural identity and are known as markers of that identity, including cultural dress, customs, musical expression and cultural performance styles, skin pigment and other physical features, movements and behaviours, to name a few. But perhaps one of the most readily identifiable and dominant markers of cultural identity, is language (O'Regan, 2001:59).

I would not personally come to realise the significance of language as an identity marker until my late teens and then even more so, when I became a parent at thirty. My younger years were more dominantly influenced by non-verbal markers. Until then, I had become used to people questioning my right to call myself a Māori because of my fair complexion and Pākehā features. My youth was marked by challenges to my identity as Māori and Kāi Tahu. I wrote of this experience in *My Language Story*, an essay in Leanne Hinton's book '*Bringing Our Languages Home, Language revitalisation for families* (2013). I described the trauma I experienced after severing my right hand in an accident at the age of six and waking up from the surgery that had reattached it, to the distress of thinking I had lost my Māori blood and that would somehow mean I could not be Māori any more. This experience was then contrasted with my blonde and blue eyed daughter's expressions of identity as a first language speaker of Māori 31 years later.

> … people have not questioned her in the same way as they did me. She looks into the mirror and sees a Māori face look back at her. I use to look into the mirror and imagine what it would be like if I looked Māori, and what that would mean. I didn't stop, back then, to consider what I had heard, as opposed to what I saw, might define my Māoriness in time (O'Regan, 2013:82).

My identity had been largely constructed and influenced by how others saw me and notions of blood quantum and fractions, hair and skin colour and the lack of Māori features. My daughter and son were growing up not even questioning their identity but still discussing the Māoriness of others, largely based on whether they spoke Māori or engaged in cultural practices. What had become evident to me as an adult, was that the language seemed to trump all other markers in my children's minds, even without the physical attributes that might readily identify someone as belonging to the ethnic collective of Māori.

> Language is at the crux of human communication and interaction and it is therefore an effective way in which to highlight cultural difference and to articulate one's distinctiveness during the process of boundary construction or maintenance (O'Regan, 2001:59).

As is the case with many minority Indigenous people who have suffered colonisation and cultural subjugation, other aspects of cultural expression may have prevailed as persistent aspects of those identities well after the language has ceased to be used as the main language of communication in those communities. The language and its revitalisation is often found to be a unifying force at the centre of the cultural identity revitalisation movements (O'Regan, 2001:59).

> When a language is flourishing and alive it can serve the function of reinforcing group membership and notions of national or cultural identity. When it is threatened a language, or the memory of it, can act as a cohesive thread that unites and binds the people (O'Regan, 2001:59).

It is perhaps the importance of the language as an identity marker of cultural identity that has made it so vulnerable to attack and suppression throughout history, and certainly throughout the history of colonialism. The language of the Indigenous people was seen as a key threat to the ability of the coloniser to rule and conquer the minds and hearts of the people. The link between a people's language and how they felt about themselves, their culture, their customs, their strength and character as a people, was widely understood by the colonising powers, which is why the treatment of Indigenous languages around the world was so similar.

Linguistic colonisation through educational instruction was tried and tested as an effective tool to control Indigenous people and demolish their social hierarchy, their culture and

community cohesiveness. As discussed in Chapter 2, colonial powers around the world often used the same *blueprint* in the implementation of their colonising goals because it was proven to be so successful. The easiest way to destroy a people's sense of individual and collective worth is to take away their language and systematically destroy their belief in themselves.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (1986) refers to the domination of the "mental universe of the colonised" by the domination of their native language as a crucial part of the process of achieving colonial rule and, therefore, a necessary step to achieving any other colonial agendas,

> Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control and people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others (wa Thiong'o, 1986:16).

Wa Thiong'o goes on to to highlight the 'deliberate' nature of this colonial behavior; that is the deliberate debasing of one language and culture and deliberate promotion and valuing of their own.

> For colonialism this involved two aspects of the same process: the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser (wa Thiong'o, 1986:16).

Nettle & Romaine (2000) give multiple examples of such deliberate policy and practice in the context of England's colonisation of Ireland, Scotland and Wales and the treatment of the Indigenous peoples. Under the reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547), the goal of assimilation and eradication of the Irish culture through the eradication of the language was a stated aim in the King's Act for English Order, Habit and Language,

> …nothing which does more contain and keep many of his subjects in a certain savage and wild kind and manner of living than the diversity that is betwixt them in tongue, language, order and habit (Romaine & Nettle, 2000:140).

The same tools would be applied by succeeding Monarchs to great effect in the centuries that followed. The wording in King James VI of Scotland's Act for the settling of Parochial Schools of 1616, explicitly refers to the link between a people's maintenance and use of their language and the persistence of their expression of their cultural identity.

It was believed, that the prevalence of the Indigenous languages would prevent the people being controlled for the uses desired by the coloniser,

> The vulgar English tongue be universally planted, and the Irish language, which is one of the chief and principal causes of the continuance of barbarity and incivility amongst the inhabitants of the Isle and Highlands, may be abolished and removed" (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:140).

Understanding the *deliberateness* of the action is key to understanding the relationship between language and cultural identity. The fact that the same deliberate action took place so consistently across the history of the colonial narrative, is testament to the role that language plays in influencing one's cultural self-perception and self-worth, or the *mental universe of the colonised*, as referred to by wa Thiong'o.

The effectiveness of this deliberate action can be seen on an equally global scale. It is not surprising then, to find similar negative beliefs about the value, status and worth of Indigenous languages by the Indigenous people themselves and those around them, existing in all of the places that applied the same blue print of linguistic colonisation centuries earlier. The success of the strategy is evidenced by the persistence of these negative perceptions across the story of time.

Even when Indigenous people have been able to achieve a level of political success and self-determination, as is the case in parts of Africa, Ireland and Wales for example, there often still exists the hang-over negative associations of perceptions about the language. The persistence and prevalence of these negative perceptions may have greater longevity in those countries where the Indigenous people are a smaller minority, as opposed to the coloniser being the minority, but the impact on the colonised mind of the people at the time of direct colonisation would likely have been the same in terms of how their language was used to determine their place in the world.

> Since culture does not just reflect the world in images but actually, through those very images, conditions a child to see that world and where he stands in it as seen and defined by or reflected in the culture of the language of imposition (wa Thiong'o, 1986:17).

The same list of stereotypical put-downs about languages has been almost inter-changeable across the colonised Indigenous communities. I have heard the same stereo-

typical put-downs about *te reo Māori*, applied to other languages and cultures I have had the opportunity to work with across Australia, North America, Canada, Taiwan, the Philippines, Ireland and Scotland,

- If you raise your child in the (Māori, Gaelic, Hawaiian, Cherokee, Squamish...) language, their English will be compromised;
- It's better for your children to concentrate on English so they don't get confused;
- Speaking the (Indigenous) language will hold you back in the modern world;
- Your language won't help you get a job;
- You need to speak (English, Mandarin, French, Spanish…) to succeed in today's world;
- If you speak your language people will think you are dumb/ backward/ slow.

Furthermore, it is not only the similarities around language status and perceptions that are similar across these communities, but also the other characteristics of a colonised group who have been subjected to intergenerational attacks on their ethnic and cultural worth.

The social and economic expressions of colonisation are equally text-book for so many of the colonised minorities, as is often the rhetoric of blame for the social and economic condition of the people by the wider power culture. The usual problems associated with poverty are exacerbated by the symptoms of colonial rule and negative cultural self-perception. These include,

- alcoholism and drug abuse-high crime rates;
- domestic violence and sexual abuse;
- Low educational achievement;
- Poor health statistics;
- high unemployment; and
- intergenerational welfare dependency.

Although these characteristics may be an accurate portrayal of the current situation of a number of people in Indigenous communities, the problem is that the 'mental universe' of the Indigenous people themselves links these characteristics to the ethnic identity of

their respective ethnic origin. Being Māori, Aboriginal, Paiwan, or First Nations in North America and Canada for example, is then linked somehow to a distorted perception that they are genetically pre-disposed to this kind of social position and condition.

The damage done to a people when this conditioning happens over generations likewise compounds, as society continues to feed new generations with images that becoming increasingly harder to dispell from the mind of the colonised. As time passes there become fewer and fewer examples of an alternative way of being that they are able to retrieve from their own memories and experiences.

> …it was worse when the colonial child was exposed to images of his world as mirrored in the written languages of the coloniser. Where his own native languages were associated in his impressionable mind with low status, humiliation, corporal punishment, slow footed intelligence and ability or downright stupidity, non-intelligibility and barbarism (wa Thiong'o, 1986:18).

An added danger is when this negative status becomes so entrenched that the people start to believe that such characteristics *are* the expressions of their culture and cultural way of being as they have been so far removed from knowing another way.

It is no wonder then, when confronted with these barriers to maintaining and developing a positive sense of cutlural identity linked to your heritage language, that even when the political and educational barriers restricting heritage language acquisition are minimised, the negative associations of a people to their language can prevail.

Nettle & Romaine (2000) illustrate the similarities of this characteristic in both the Irish Gaelic and the Hawaiian language experience in an attempt to give context to the choices later generations make about their language,

> …they were choosing within a framework defined and overcast by systematic political and cultural domination. It is not surprising that by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries many people wanted little association with their past, given the institutions which had been working to alienate them from it (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:142).

Nettle & Romaine go on, however, to look at the persistence of heritage language in some of those same communities, in spite of the attacks upon them, as a further indicator of the strong relationship between a peoples cultural identity and their language,

> What is surprising is not that so many people chose to abandon the Celtic languages, but that so many people chose for so long to maintain them in the face of enormous external degradation and policies designed to forcibly assimilate both the peoples and their languages (Nettle & Romaine, 2000:142).

The relationship between language and identity: a personal account

Perhaps the most significant determinant and support of my Māori identity in adult life has been my involvement in and capacity in *te reo*. Where colour and skin pigmentation failed, where urban upbringing and physical dislocation from my ancestral *marae* and tribal *rohe* failed, *te reo* came to my aid. That is not to say that those other identity markers are not valid or do not matter, it is just to say that when I was in receipt of 'what is she doing here looks', when I heard the '*titiro ki tērā Pākehā'* (look at that Pākehā) jibes, or heard whole conversations about me in *te reo* by people in my close proximity, then having an ability to converse in reo had its benefits – in that if nothing else, it made others pause for a while and think.

My knowledge of the Māori language has helped my understanding of my cultural self as a Māori woman immensely. It has opened up stories, traditions and messages from generations now gone that I would not have otherwise been able to grasp or have access to. From within those traditions, cultural practices and worldviews, I have been able to establish for myself an idea of what it means to be Māori. The more I learn about traditional Māori values, ethics and beliefs however, the more my anxiety grows in regards to how far away we are from those ideals, ideas, and practices in contemporary Māori society.

In my view, I would argue that the majority of Māori are no longer immersed in traditional Māori cultural values and principles and that this situation has gone hand in hand with the decline of the Māori language. For some, their understanding of 'being Māori' might be closer to their experiences of poverty and the culture of those impoverished communities, drinking culture and Afro-American gang culture and affiliations, than anything that

might resemble traditional cultural values.   They may be ethnically Māori, physically identifiable as Māori, but culturally something quite different.   What identity markers have become for many, are also often now articulated in the negative, like those represented in the excerpts below from a *pānui* (notice) circulated in the late 1980's and written by an anonymous author in 1978, titled 'Being Māori is',

Being Māori is:
Fouling up the Government and its statistics
Talking tough
To never drink alone
To be able to dodge daggers at Pākehā social gatherings
Going to school to eat your lunch
Punching a Pākehā in the mouth for saying you are dumb
Having your friends and relatives accuse you for being a traitor if you earn
more than $7000, wear a tie, and drive a new car... (Walker, 1987:134-136)

As a researcher of identity articulation and development, I am aware of the emergence of new identities as a result of cultural shift and external and internal influences, and that these identities are in themselves valid.   However, I am challenged by the ascription of the term 'Māori' to those negative characteristics that are often referred to as 'Māori' by the media and within our own communities, but that are arguably not representative of anything traditionally Māori at all.

The pressures upon Māori society now in the Twenty-First Century, which have historically impacted upon the breakdown of Māori communities and society are not weakening. Instead, they are getting stronger. Globalisation and technology which have so much ability to take us further, also expose us to a seemingly unlimited amount of information from anywhere in the world at any time. This serves to hasten the cultural shift of Māori people at a rate probably not experienced since the first arrival of Pākehā and their culture to Aotearoa.

To return to the relationship between language and identity, we are able to make some high level assumptions about the rate of decline of cultural knowledge that might help establish a positive cultural identity, with the decline of the Māori speaking population. With approximately one quarter of the Māori population being able to speak *te reo* to some degree, we are left with three quarters who are not able to do so. Within that majority, there will undoubtedly be those who maintain a level of cultural confidence and

competence despite their lack of language. There will also no doubt be a significant number who are not culturally engaged as a result of cultural alienation and dislocation, lack of access, or by choice. Conversely, the quarter of speakers who do have some proficiency in *te reo* may also *not* be the best exemplars of cultural practice and knowledge, adhering to Māori *tikaka* and practising Māori values.

Certainly there are many Māori speakers that I have witnessed at *marae* who seem to have the proverbial gorse or thorns in their pockets at *koha* (contribution) collection time, when it would be customary to present a contribution of food or, in modern times, money. Likewise speakers of *te reo* can be seen ignoring the customs associated with food, allowing the *manuhiri* (guests) to eat first, or taking only small portions to ensure there is enough for all gathered. Such behaviours are at times noted by onlookers who refer to that 'kind of person' having empty purses at the *pōwhiri* (ceremonial welcome), and full *puku* (stomach) at the *poroporoaki* (farewell).

Although these shifts in cultural behaviours may seem small, they are in fact representative of a wider set of significant behaviour shifts that in turn have an impact on people's perceptions of their cultural identity and understanding as to what are the customs and behaviours that influence it. If such changes can be classified as merely a shift in cultural practice, as might be expected with the evolutionary nature of cultures, the two questions might be, when did the change happen and what caused the movement away from traditionally appropriate norms?

For the speakers of *te reo*, is it because there are so few to adjudicate their cultural practice and hold them accountable? Or maybe they were not actually taught the rights and wrongs; just the language? Maybe it was about assumption, that is, assuming people would instinctively know how to behave, even with the entire world changing dramatically around them.

Certainly the same is not expected within the English language speaking population; that etiquette, good manners and protocols of social engagement and interaction are assumed to be automatically transferred to children who are raised speaking English that do not have such behaviours modelled to them by their own families. It is therefore reasonable to suggest, that simply having learned the Māori language, or having being raised in it as

your native tongue, provides no guarantees of cultural knowledge and belief systems of the speaker.

I am not attempting to present a mystical, glorified idea about how Māori people culturally behaved historically. What is evident in the literature and public and private records, however, is that the key instructional and guiding messages that were publicised, broadcast and passed down through the generations, quite clearly articulated what behaviours were deemed to be culturally appropriate and what were not. They knew how to behave, even if they were to misbehave and when asked about their aspirational values, they could articulate them and still aspired to them.

If we know that it takes one generation for a language to be lost, and at least three generations to get it back and re-establish it within a *whānau*, and even longer within a community – what does that mean for re-establishing core cultural values and practices back into a community?

Perhaps, when one is able to understand the importance of the relationship between language and cultural identity, it may help to give context to the social and economic dynamic that so many Indigenous communities find themselves in. Assisting the explanation of the 'why' and 'how' a situation may have been derived, maybe useful as it will distance and dispel the myths of association of negative stereotypes from the culture and heritage. In this way, it gives hope to the Indigenous communities who now battle the daily consequences of colonial rule in their social reality, as presented in the diagram below,

Figure 3: The impact of linguistic colonisation on cultural identity and self-worth

1
- Self-determining pre-colonial Indigenous community with strong cultural base, beliefs and language and self-perception

2
- Process of colonisation initiated - Linguistic colonisation through forced education works to remove the language from the indigenous community as a mechanism of control and subjagation

3
- The mental environment of the Indigenous community is consistently and generationally attacked and fed negative beliefs about their cutlural worth and ability as a people

4
- The language and other traditional cultural expressions become associated with trauma and abuse and exemplars of historical success are not accessible to the Indigenous community

5
- Indigenous communities adopt the imposed negative beliefs about themselves, and this in turn impacts on their social and economic wellbeing

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Indeed the *role* of language as an effective tool for colonisation and establishing deliberate perceptions of cultural and ethnic worth in the minds and hearts of the collective, may also be able to be positioned to achieve the reverse, thus playing a key role in language revitalisation efforts.

This is not to suggest that language acquisition in the context of language revitalisation might be able to be positioned as the answer to all of a people's social, economic and political problems that the community might be facing. However, the proposition may be able to be advocated; that the same tool that was used to destroy the Indigenous collective's sense of worth as a people, may also be able to be used to help restore it and claim it back.

The idea here is that the language, and fight for its restoration and regeneration, can act as the catalyst for the development of a positive sense of the cultural self. When people are helped to see clearly, without the application of the colonial curriculum lens of history

to misrepresent it, how different the current perceptions are from the traditional reality, and how much the perceptions of cultural worth have been manipulated in the Indigenous mind. Not only might this approach support the development of a new sense of cultural worth and associated aspirations, giving hope of another reality divorced from the current negative one, it may also present the language as the very vehicle to achieve Indigenous restoration, literally by turning the process on its head, as presented in the following chart to be read from the bottom to the top,

Figure 4: Linguistic de-colonisation as a tool for the development of a positive cultural identity

5 • Indigenous communities are self-determining and the development of communities with strong cultural base, beliefs and language and self-perception is positively impacting on the social and economic position of the people

4 • The language and other traditional cultural expressions become associated with cultural and societal re-positioning and success, using historical and current exemplars to inspire and create cultural pride

3 • The positive mental environment of the indigenous community is consistently and generationally nurtured to develop positive cutlural worth and self-belief as a people. Language revitalisation is presented as tool for social and cultural development

2 • Process of de-colonisation is initiated - providing the communities with evidence of the practice of linguistic colonisation through forced education in order to remove the language from the indigenous community as a mechanism of control and subjugation

1 • Indigenous communities are provided with the historical narrative evidencing the self-determining pre-colonial indigenous community with strong cultural base, beliefs and language and self-perception.

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

The importance of the historical narrative of colonisation in reframing a positive sense of the cultural self can be seen clearly in the Māori experience. When presenting to audiences around New Zealand on the issue of stereotypes and Māori educational achievement, I have witnessed first hand the extent of historical ammensia we have experienced as a country in terms of the information we have access to about our colonial heritage, and that is within Māori and non-Māori communities alike.

The current position of Māori being over-represented in the negative statistics in education, health, economic position and crime for example, are rarely able to be explained to me in terms of what caused this condition, by the majority of my largely educated, professional audiences. They simply have not had that account of our collective history provided to them. When discussing, for example, the shocking statistics around Māori illiteracy and educational failure in today's society, most tend to accept that this is how things 'are', without wanting to understand how it has 'become this way', even though there is a genuine desire to address the issue.

There is usually genuine surprise and shock when I start to introduce the history of Māori literary prowess, as illustrated earlier in Chapter 2, with the Māori newspapers and proportionately higher rates of literacy at the turn of the century than non-Māori. Over 95% of my academic and professional audiences, are usually completely unaware of the fact that Māori have such a literary heritage.

Likewise, they are often completely unaware of the education Acts that were passed to deter Māori from succeeding academically by ceasing to teach the academic subjects in the native schools, after the first significant wave of Māori academics coming through and graduating in professional occupations as lawyers, doctors, anthropologists and so forth. The Law was another deliberate action that was passed in order to discourage academic pursuit in favour of working-class and labouring class roles in our society.

> That Māori did achieve when they were given the tools and opportunity to succeed in education – as in the Te Aute College example – was soon overshadowed by a number of perceptions that Māori were better suited to menial jobs such as labourers, housemaids and the like. Similarly, it didn't take long for the stereotypes and value judgments promoted through the formal education system of education to become accepted and adopted by Māori themselves (O'Regan, 2011:35-36).

The legacy of academic and literary prowess, soon became forgotten within our wider New Zealand society and importantly, forgotten within Māori society, being replaced instead with the desired belief that Māori were kinesthetic learners, non-academic and not able to achieve higher positions of economic, political and social standing. Within a few short generations, it was possible to hear Māori people themselves describing Māori as 'kinesthetic learners' who prefer working in groups, who are culturally not likely to

engage as individuals in learning, and struggle with reading and writing because traditionally our culture was an oral culture.

Suffice to say that such perceptions, if not challenged, offer little hope of change of advancement for a Māori child who is left to believe that somehow their cultural heritage means they are less likely to succeed in the academic, modern day world. The language that defines and contextualises that cultural heritage then also inherits the perceptions of failure and struggle in the mind of the child.

The potential of language to act as a driver for cultural re-framing and social and economic advancement of colonised minority communities could be a significant motivating factor for communities to engage in language revitalisation. However, it is essential for the sum total of that cultural identity to be a positive one if this is to be achieved, even if it is just an aspiration to do so at the present time.

The transformation through language revitalisation, from being a people with negative cultural self-image to a people strong in their cultural identity and proud of the collective position, needs to be one that can be visualised and believed in, especially for those who have historically associated that identity with trauma and distress.

The relationship between the language and Kāi Tahu cultural identity
It is not always the case that the negative treatment of a people in terms of their perceived cultural worth is always attributable to those outside of the ethnic collective. The negative stereotypes that exist within the wider New Zealand society for Māori by non-Māori can also be seen to be mirrored at a micro level within Māoridom amongst different tribes or groups. For many decades now there has been common commentary heard in all parts of Māori Aotearoa, pertaining to the status of Kāi Tahu in the Māori language and cultural worlds.

The impact of the negative associations towards Kāi Tahu were communally felt at the individual and collective tribal level, as expressed by the late renown Kāi Tahu artist Cath Brown in an interview in 1996,

> I know that there are lots of other folk from other tribes who resent Ngāi Tahu. And they resent that we are fairer, and we have lots of Pākehā blood in us. I notice that some of the most vociferous – while they may look more Māori than me – can't speak Māori. And that's the criterion by which they seem to judge your Māoriness, is whether you have te reo or not... We didn't match up to how they thought we ought to look, and how they thought we ought to sound when we spoke (O'Regan, 2001:63).

These kinds of taunts would not be unfamiliar to those within the Māori world over the past three decades. Even though they were often cast in jest or out of ignorance, they presented 'Kāi Tahu tribal' characteristics as equating to some sense of Kāi Tahu being less than what *real* Māori might be expected to be. For example, Kāi Tahu are,

- all pale skinned
- have no cultural knowledge
- don't know their customs
- can't speak the language
- are money hungry and consumed by money
- stingy with their *pounamu*, and so forth.

So where have these perceptions and degrading statements emerged from, and at what point in our history did others outside of Kāi Tahu start to look down negatively upon our tribe and cast such dispersions? No matter what answers may be found to give explanation to this context, I believe the overriding cause or justification for this negative cultural stereotype is attributed to the tribe's capacity in *te reo*.

Despite our common fair colouring amongst many tribal members and our different customs foreign to many northern Māori, if we had remained strong in our language as a tribe, I do not believe we would have been subjected to such negative cultural putdowns by other Māori and Pākehā alike.

Perhaps the best example of this negative association to Kāi Tahu affiliation and the relationship to *te reo* could be historically seen over the last 20 years in Kāi Tahu youth who have been born and raised in Te Waipounamu, and who also had a level of proficiency in *te reo* and cultural competency. Among such youth who had dual affiliation, that is those who were also able to trace lineage to another *iwi* or multiple *iwi* outside of Kāi Tahu, it was common to hear them introduce themselves in a language context and not hear any recognition of their Kāi Tahu links.

Even though we would be physically in their tribal territory, such *taiohi* (youth) would tend to identify with their northern connections first and at times would fail to mention their Kāi Tahu links altogether. This is a practice that my contemporaries in the language scene and I had never witnessed in the north, where it is more common to first draw upon your connections to the *iwi* from the place you are in at the time, or where you were raised.

To witness this behaviour among some of the few precious speakers of our Kāi Tahu youth certainly pulled at the heart strings of those of us working in KMK, as it was a strong indicator that the *taiohi* did not feel the same level of cultural pride associated with their Kāi Tahu affiliation as they did with their northern *iwi* who were perceived to be somehow more culturally and linguistically superior, and therefore attractive to these Māori language speaking youth.

Despite the distress at witnessing this behaviour for the best part of two decades following my arrival in Te Waipounamu in 1993, I was able to understand why we were finding ourselves in that situation. Kāi Tahu had long been an *iwi* that was impoverished in terms of our language capacity, and if you happened to be one of the few Māori language speaking members, you were likely to be bereft of Kāi Tahu language mentors within the house of Tahu.

The house of Tahu had become void of the adorning rafters that could be used to hang the stories upon, or the walls of support which one could use to lean upon when needed, and, what's more, for those working in the language world, they have no one to guide and direct them on the correct path. For this reason, it is understandable that those speakers were so ready and eager to turn to other corners and their other *iwi* affiliations in search of the 'sheltering houses for their language'. By taking such an approach, they would likely be saved from the taunts and the jokes and sarcastic comments about their Kāi Tahu affiliation. Whilst this may be seen by some as an avoidance, it is a practice of avoidance that can be understood and empathised with.

This situation, of Kāi Tahu people feeling *whakamā* about their Kāi Tahu affiliation, became a central focus in the activities of one of the KMK language initiatives aimed at building the proficiency and cultural knowledge of those who had already achieved a base fluency in *te reo*. The initiative was named Pari Karakaraka and brought together a group

of around 10 Kāi Tahu speakers at a time. Students were invited to explore our traditional narratives and the information we had on hand regarding our Kāi Tahu dialect, dissecting and analysing them and taking the opportunity to discuss them with one another in an attempt to better understand the characteristics of our dialect, and the stories held within it.

One of the key aims of the programme was to work collectively to compose new *waiata*, *whakataukī* and *pepeha* (tribal sayings) that could then be taught to the wider tribal collective, as this was seen as an area that Kāi Tahu was lacking in, often needing to sing other tribal songs on account of not having access to our own.

Due to the concerns raised by the tutors and a number of the participants at this *hui*, the decision was made to take a direct approach and respond to the negative sentiments that were being articulated increasingly in Māori media and within Māori communities about Kāi Tahu being less than 'real Māori'. This was done by composing sayings and *waiata* that would challenge the negative stereotypes directly and hopefully instil a sense of pride in Kāi Tahu youth so that they did not feel that they needed to look elsewhere for their cultural strength.

It was believed if we were able to build up a repository of sayings and *waiata* that were uniquely Kāi Tahu, our youth and wider *whānau* would be able to more easily draw on their own tribal examples when engaging in cultural activities, and therefore more likely to see a positive association with their Kāi Tahutaka (Kāi Tahu cultural identity).

The first *pepeha* that was composed at the *hui*, was a direct response to the situation outlined above,

Aoraki matatū

Aoraki is the name of our tribal mountain, mountains being a feature of the landscape that Māori commonly refer to in their introductions as a locator of one's identity, alongside the tribal river and ancestral canoe. In our Kāi Tahu tribal context, Aoraki has become known as the central mountain that unites all of the sub-tribes and regions within the Kāi Tahu traditional territory. It is the tallest mountain in the Southern Alps; *Kā Tiritiri o te*

Moana, and itself an example of the dialectal use of the *'k'* as opposed to the northern and Cook Island variation of the name *Aorangi*, or Aora'i in Tāhiti.

Aoraki matatū drew on the image of our tribal mountain that was used to represent a story of resilience, persistence and strength despite the generations of grief and struggle that by all accounts, should have resulted in complete destruction. The fact that we still exist as a tribe, is something to be celebrated and be proud of when one considers the extreme attempts that were made to destroy it, first by the invading Māori tribal parties from the north in the early 1830s, and then by the colonial Government efforts of the following 170 years.

Despite the history of land alienation, dramatic population decline resulting from introduced epidemics, starvation and poverty, and the intergenerational impact of cultural and linguistic colonisation through education and social policy, the tribe still exists. That is something we wanted our children to be proud of as a feat unto itself that is, Aoraki is still standing, and is still the highest mountain in the land.

Aoraki matatū was linked to a more common *whakataukī* that had previously been adapted for the Kāi Tahu context,

Ki te tūohu koe, me he mauka teitei, ko Aoraki anake
If you are to bow, let it be only to a lofty mountain, only Aoraki

The term *matatū* encompassed a dual meaning. The first one refers to resilience, *matatū* being a word to denote permanence; Aoraki who has always been there as a symbol of our collective strength and always will be. But the second meaning is a play on the words, using the term *mata* for face, in association with *tū* to stand up. In this context, it means to 'lift up ones face', to hold your face up with pride and not be embarrassed about your identity as Kāi Tahu.

The group of Pari Karakaraka then took this a step further and composed a *haka* (traditional style war dance) that told the expanded story of that history of resilience and sought to bring a common understanding together of our validity as a people, directly challenging those that chose to belittle our tribal position.

He aha kai muri i te awe kāpara	*Who is behind this pale face*
Ko ahau, ko Kāi Tahu!	*Tis I, Kāi Tahu*
Tītī ā-kai, tītī ā-manawa	*Where tītī abounds, the people unyielding*
Pōīa mai koe ki aku awa	*plundering my rivers*
Hī ai i taku ika a Kahue	*thieving my precious resource*
heia nei te kakī ōu, o te tini	*to adorn your neck, and those of the multitudes*
Heke ana i ahau tō ware	*I make you drool*
ki taku pōhā kai	*for want of my greatest delicacies*
Tupakaruatia te kiri o aku tīpuna	*Obtained at great cost, our ancestors skin weathered*
E Pūnui-o-Toka	*by the icy chill of the southern winds*
Tītī ai te manawa	*Tenacious in their endeavors*
Pēnei i tōku e tītī tonu nei	*as am I*
Hēoi anō tātou Kāi Tahu e,	*A word of caution Kāi Tahu,*
koi wareware rā	*remember*
kā taero o Tū te Koropaka	*Those obstacles that challenge our existence*
Te Nihomakā hika ana tokomaha,	*The Nihomakā where so many fell*
toa ana a tokoiti,	*yet the few prevailed*
Kā tonu ana taku ahi e	*as do my proprietary rights*
Te tai tuarua	***The second wave***
He para whenua mea	*Like a great tide*
Takata pōra tahae whenua	*Came the ship people, land filchers*
Mūrere, he whakamōkeke	*Devious and underhanded*
Mana kore ana te kupu	*Their words meant nothing*
Toko mai ko te aha?	*And what transpired?*
Ko Te Kereme, ko Te Kereme	*Twas the Claim, twas The Claim*
mana whenua, mana takata	*Asserting our rights*
mahi kai hoaka	*The grinding battle*
mahi kai takata	*That consumed the generations*
Kāi Tahu e	*People of Kāi Tahu*
Kia tama tāne te tū	*Be fearless in your stance*
Kia rite ki te tipuna	*Just like our ancestor*
Te tihi o te motu	*The highest peak in the land*
E titi nei ki te raki	*Piercing the heavens*
Koi pōhēhē koutou e te motu	*People of the land, be deluded no longer*
He tai rere noa?	*That this tide is spent*
Ekari mō tēnā!	*On the contrary*
E pari mai anō	*it flows more strongly*
I kā pari o te rua	*From the brink of ignominy*
Ka mate, ka mate,	*Are we doomed*
Korekore rawa!	*Never, never!*
Anea kau ana te reo	*Our language ravaged*
Tūteia kā kāika manomano e	*But a thousand homes have rallied*
Tītaia ana au ki ō kupu tāwai	*I disregard your taunts*
He kore tikaka	*We of no customs*
He utu pārara	*Bought with a bottle of rum*

He utu pihikete	*and cabin bread*
He karu ōpure	*of light coloured eyes*
He tea te kiri	*Of white skin*
He warea ki te tāra	*Obsessed with the dollar*
Ko tāku atu ki a koe	*But here is my retort*
Ae mai, Ae mai	*I welcome your challenge*
ki te whae o nono, ki te whae o kaheto e	*The victory will be mine*
Aoraki matatū hei!	*Aoraki be ever proud!*

In the example of the *pepeha, Aoraki Matatū* and the *haka* that took the same title, the language was being actively used as a tool to defend the cultural identity of the people and encourage positive affiliation. The first verse speaks of a common taunt, of Kāi Tahu being pale, on account of the high rates of generational intermarriage often regarded in the mid to late 1800s as a survival strategy for the tribe. It also reflects on the cultural treasures of food and the prized greenstone that exist only in the Kāi Tahu *rohe* but are coveted by some of the same people who are so ready to belittle our cultural integrity.

This expression is extended in the second verse which also acknowledges the extreme climate and environmental challenges that our people traditionally endured in the sub-Antarctic and mountainous regions of Te Waipounamu. The strength of the *tītī* or Sooty Shearwater bird, is used as a metaphor for our ancestors, who, like the bird, endured great distances to achieve their goals.

The *haka* then moves into the story of the significant historical challenges that befell the tribe and likens them to a series of devastating tides, the first being the inter-tribal wars with Ngāti Toa and their leader Te Rauparaha. These wars saw significant numbers of the tribe in the northern half of the tribal territory being killed before the territory was able to be once again secured. The tribe was left in a compromised position to deal with the second tidal wave, this one being the encroaching tide of European migration into their lands and the failure of the Crown and settlers to uphold the promises in the Treaty and subsequent Kāi Tahu land sales.

Kāi Tahu's response to the actions of the Crown was to lodge their grievances in a Claim to the Crown that was affectionately referred to as *Te Kereme*, and would span seven generations of unbroken protest before reaching settlement in 1989. The fifth and sixth verses of the *haka* introduces Te Kereme and recognises the legacy of protest and

persistence of the Kāi Tahu fight against all odds, before moving on to the new fight for the language in the face of drastic language loss in verse seven, with the birth of the language strategy, KMK.

The final verse in the *haka* attempts to throw the communally heard taunts back at the accuser, using both the old belittling put downs for half-caste children; *utu pārara*, or 'paid for with a barrel of rum', and *utu pihikete*, or 'paid for with biscuits'; alongside the more current terms that refer to the European features. The *haka* concludes with a challenge to 'bring on the fight' and ends with the *pepeha*, *Aoraki matatū* to promote the collective strength and pride.

It was the desire of the group to provide other Kāi Tahu speakers with 'language tools' akin to ammunition that might be able to be used as a defence mechanism when confronted with the negativity often experienced, and to normalise a positive perception of the cultural self.

Whilst Aoraki Matatū is a singular example of a *haka* that directly speaks of the link between the language and identity and the impact that others' perceptions have on that identity, the role that *waiata*, *whakataukī*, *kīwaha* and *pepeha* have in establishing a strong base for cultural acceptance and identification needs to be highlighted.

The targeted initiatives like Pari Karakaraka, the Kāi Tahu Kura Reo, Kia Kurapa and a later programme aimed at teaching Kāi Tahu community language teachers, also named Aoraki Matatū, have had a profound impact on the status of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu over the past fifteen years. We have moved from being an *iwi* that was only able to draw on a small handful of *waiata*, that were often not widely known and not always appropriate to the ceremony or occasion, to now being in a space where we could rally together two to three hundred people to perform a much larger repertoire of *waiata* across a number of genre.

The tribal sayings like *Aoraki Matatū* and *Kāi Tahu tītī ā kai, tītī ā manawa*, are now being used by other tribal speakers in the north when recognising Kāi Tahu people in their formal greetings and acknowledgements. There has now been a process of normalisation

of these sayings to the point that some now assume that they have always been around, and are not aware of the fact that they are comparatively newly formed sayings.

Within a Māori cultural context, these elements of cultural expression are highly valued and come with a significant amount of status attached. To be able to perform appropriate, well composed *waiata* and *haka* as a group, is a crucial element of most Māori rituals, and Kāi Tahu are now in a position where we are able to more confidently participate in such an arena. Although we are still far from a position of strength when compared to many northern *iwi*, we are dramatically further ahead of the position we were in as a tribe at the launch of the KMK strategy.

Over the past 10 years, as the small numbers of Kāi Tahu speakers have grown, both in terms of quantity and proficiency, combined with the growth of culturally appropriate Kāi Tahu material in *te reo*, we have also seen a visible change in the levels of active affiliation amongst Kāi Tahu *taiohi*. *Kua huri te tai* – an important changing of the tide. This is perhaps the greatest evidence of the relationship of language and cultural identity and how language strength can help build a more positive base for the expression of cultural identity.

The transition has been quite dramatic, when we consider in 2016 we had a number of Kāi Tahu contestants competing in the national Manu Kōrero speech competitions who strongly articulated their Kāi Tahu heritage, with some even choosing to deliver their speech in the dialect, even though this is not their dominant dialect in the home. We also have had a growing number of Te Waipounamu based *kapa haka* groups use Kāi Tahu dialect in their compositions in the regional and national competitions; again something that was uncommon 15 years ago.

These examples show a tendency to be more accepting and positive of an affiliation to a Kāi Tahu cultural identity when the position and status of the language has been improved and provided more opportunities for cultural expression for the collective.

Establishing an aspirational position from an historical narrative

Although I have not been able to successfully source traditional or post-colonial narratives of native speaking Kāi Tahu *tīpuna* from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries that

directly identify the link between culture, identity and our language, and the importance of that relationship, I am able to provide evidence of an indirect link that is based on the use of language to convey important cultural messages.

On the 26th of February 1948, a group of Kāi Tahu *kaumātua* from Moeraki were interviewed by the mobile recording unit of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service. The whole recording can be found in the archives of Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision and is about 120 minutes long. Over the duration of the interview the Pākehā interviewer engages the group of *kaumātua* in discussions ranging from traditional food gathering practices, rock art, songs, memories of childhood and recollections of individual tipuna, to old time art and traditions of the Māori people. Other than for a few songs and phrases, which are duly translated, the bulk of the recording is in English.

One section however, stands out. It is when the interviewer asks these *kaumātua* to 'leave a message for future generations for the future descendants of Moeraki'. At this point, the tone in their voices notably changes and importantly, so does the language of transmission. They turn to *te reo Māori*, for the only substantial time during the two hour interview, to convey their important messages, their *ōhākī* (parting instruction) for the future generations of Moeraki. The first speaker is Tatene Tipene Hampsted, and his message is this,

Tēnā koutou, e ngā mōrehu o tēnā kāinga o ēnā kāinga. Tēnei ahau, Tātene Tipene Hampsted, me ētahi atu o mātou kei konei, arā ngā kaumātua, Kara Tipa, Hastings Tipa, me Hone Tipene. Hiahia ana mātou kia whakaroko mai koutou, ki ngā kōrero e hiahia ana mātou te whakapuagi i waiata nei ki ō koutou marae, tō tātou marae anō hoki.

To all of you, the survivors of the many villages, I greet you. I am Tātene Tipene Hampsted, and I am here along with other elders, they being Kara Tipa, Hastings Tipa and Hone Tipene. We would like you to listen to these words that we wish to share, that they be retold and sung on your marae, and on our marae as well.

Tēnei āhuatanga, ko mōhio koutou, ko pae ō tātou pakeke ki te kōpū o te whenua, ko wai o tātou o ngā tamariki i ruka i te mata o te whenua, whakahaere ai te āhuatanga o te tauiwi?
To mātou hiahia i tēnei rā, he āwhinatia kā āhuataka waiho ake ai i ō tātou mātua ki a tātou.

This situation that you are all aware of, our elders have been lost to the womb of the land, who out of us the children are now left upon the face of the land, following the ways of the tauiwi? What we are wanting on this day, is to help instead those aspects that have been left for us by our

Tēnā kaua e wareware, koiara tēnei: whākana i te manuhiri ki tō kainga, ko te whakarakatira anō hoki taua tangata.

forefathers. So, never forget this instruction: Give full attention to the guests in your home, and make sure you duly honour them.

Me ētahi āhuatanga atu, te manaaki te tangata i roto i tō marae. Kaua e wareware te watua tētahi kōrero nei ki mua i a ia, kia noho ai ia waenganui i tō marae, tēnā hoki, me koe, me au me tēnā i roto i ō tātou marae.

Not to mention some other tasks, to always show hospitality to those in your marae. Never forget to present before them appropriate speeches, so that they may stay at ease within your marae, and that should be the way in which you, and I behave in all of our marae.
(Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, 2016).

The next *kaumātua* follows a similar theme, of instructing their descendants as to what cultural expressions should be sought after and upheld. Importantly, he pleads with the future listeners to become 'Māori' once again, and to learn again, the ways of being Māori, to keep the culture and identity alive.

Tēnā koutou e te iwi. Kia ora. Kia kaha. Tēnei tētahi o Moeraki. Kei te karanga atu ki kā kainga kia mau tō tāua āhua i waiho ai e ō tātou kaumātua. Ko tēnei: Kaua e wareware tō tāua āhua i te mahi i ruka i te tika. E pērā rā ō tātou kaumātua.

To the people, I greet you. Have strength. This is one of Moeraki, calling out to all the villages to hold on to our ways that have been left us by our elders. And that is this: Don't forget our ways of behaving based upon what is right. That was what our kaumātua did.

Kāti, ki kā tamariki, kia mau ki tō tāua āhua Māori. Ko Pākehāhia tāua i tēnei rā. Pākehā tēnei rā, he Māori tomoro.

Enough, to the children, hold on to our Māori ways. We have become as Pākehā is these days. We are Pākehā today, we must be Māori tomorrow.

Kāti, e te iwi, kia haere i ruka, tohutohutia ā tāua tamariki, kaua e wareware i tō rātou āhua Māori. Aua ki te Pākehā, kei roto i te Pākehā e noho ana. Haere i te tika, te kaha, te ora. Kia ora.

So in conclusion, my people, go forth, instruct our children not to forget their Māoriness. Never mind the Pākehā, it will live on in the Pākehā. Go forth in what's right, in strength, in life. Kia ora.
(Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, 2016).

These messages remained unspoken and unheard for the best part of the 80 years that followed. When I first heard them, over 20 years ago now, my excitement was first around hearing the actual voices of some of our Moeraki *kaumātua* – speaking Māori. I was fascinated to hear them mumbling to themselves in the Kāi Tahu dialect, and then when

it came time to the recording, to see how they mainly switched to the more standard northern Māori form.

I was overjoyed to be able to prove that my people 'did speak Māori', albeit many moons ago. But it was later, some eight years later that I actually sat down to listen to the messages. It was at that point that I sat in wonder at their foresight. They must have known and seen the challenges and the changes for their people that lay ahead. They must have been acutely aware of what that might mean for the ways they had been bequeathed; their Māori ways. Of all their other *kōrero* (speeches) that day, they chose, when requested to pass down their thoughts to future generations, to leave those messages in Māori, even though they were already referring to the cultural loss that had befallen their people. Their strategy, for that reason alone, was a great success.

Hungry for my own language and the identity that they were pleading with us to hold on to, I found their words, their *ōhākī*, compelling because it was in '*Māori*'. The fact that these *kaumātua* deliberately used the Māori language to speak of the importance of cultural regeneration and survival is evidence that they saw the two inextricably tied, that language was fundamental to a strong cultural identity.

Conclusion

The examples in this chapter can show that the two may exist independently from each other, but not optimally so. It is possible for people to have a Māori identity that is not centred on language knowledge or proficiency, but still based on an understanding of a shared cultural identity that may be a combination of culturally persistent identity markers or the shared experience of the ethnic collective. Likewise, it is possible for people to have a level of proficiency in *te reo*, but not necessarily have the cultural knowledge or practice that might have been traditionally recognised as being indicative of that language. They might be 'speaking Māori, but having nothing Māori to say', or failing to act in a traditionally appropriate Māori way.

For the former group, history would tell us, that without the language, and with the passing of more and more time since the cultural traditions were a part of the collective memory and consciousness, the greater the distance between the cultural practice and the diminishing members of the communities struggling to hold on to them. Likewise for the

language speaker, if there are not the cultural drivers and experiences for the language to be upheld, find place and flourish, then it fails to find a place where it can be celebrated, nourished and used in a culturally meaningful way.

The optimal position, therefore, is arguably one where the two co-exist and are intertwined in a strong mutually beneficial relationship. Where the language can be seen as a key tool to support the development and on-going sustainability of a positive cultural identity, and that identity is also associated with a positive sense of the cultural self, whether that be as Kāi Tahu, as Māori, or other Indigenous communities.

By acknowledging the pivotal relationship between the two, and understanding the historical dynamic that used the language as a tool to destroy the cultural worth of the Indigenous peoples, we are able to map a path of reclamation of positive cultural identity by reclaiming the language as our own tool.

No doubt any transition will be difficult, as a change also requires an acceptance that there is a need to change. Re-establishing community responsibility and accountabilities in a society that has taken these responsibilities away, is unlikely to be an easy transition. Moving communities away from a mode of self-preservation and personal responsibility to one where we need to take cognisance of others will take generations to achieve – and perhaps we are going to be forced to prioritise the investment of our efforts in certain sections of our community when considering the transmission of core cultural knowledge and practices.

I can appreciate that the question of how we build critical mass of Māori language speakers from within Māori communities does not seem like a priority focus when so many are dealing with a high level of dysfunction - and yet I believe that the models of what is 'Māori' are evident in the *whakataukī* and *kupu whakarite* (similes) of our *tīpuna* and can be accessed through the *reo*. They clearly identify ethics, values and aspirations that are all at the core of 'being Māori' in a traditional sense. Inherent in them are notions of reciprocity, responsibility and accountabilities back to community and culture.

If we are able to focus on those messages and use *reo* to promote them, then perhaps we can present a 'kind of Māori' that people will want to associate with, that they can be proud of, and that gives hope and meaning to cultural engagement in the future.

To return again to the words of my Moeraki *tīpuna*, who saw that the culture of the people and the associated beliefs were changing. They knew that their *mokopuna* (grandchildren) might not have at their disposal the cultural heritage that they had bequeathed to them, and they knew they needed to leave the message behind to encourage their descendants to think of themselves as Māori. I was seized by the fact that when they were asked to articulate their message, their *ōhākī*, to the succeeding generations, they moved seamlessly from articulate English, into liquid Māori. When they were asked to leave the essential message of their culture, they walked in off the street, into the chapel in which their values were most securely housed.

'kia haere i ruka, tohutohutia ā tāua tamariki,
kaua e wareware i tō rātou āhua Māori'
go forth, instruct our children not to forget their Māoriness

Our great challenge is to persuade our people of the continuing relevance of our culture as a fundamental component of our identity. That is the first pre-requisite of developing a hunger for this treasured *hākari* (traditional feast). Without the relevance there will be no hunger; without the hunger there will be no learning.

All of this means, we should no longer accept all of the negative behaviours and characteristics as 'Māori'. That we might get to the point that the majority of our people believe that our language is worth fighting for, making the commitment to, reviving and enhancing and, that when we get to that point, there will be a critical mass, a people, who have 'something Māori to say'.

Ūpoko 4 - Chapter 4

Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata – A Thousand Homes, a Thousand Dreams

Whakatikahia te whare o Tahu,
Kauraka ko te pā takitaki
Kua paia te tatau
Mū i te ao, mū i te pō

Fix up the house of Tahu
But do not make it a gated pā
With its door blocked shut
Silent in the day, silent in the night

Introduction

A language revitalisation strategy emerges from a situation where a language is found to be in a position of vulnerability and endangerment, and that is certainly the Kāi Tahu experience. The status of *te reo* within Kāi Tahu is indicative of the effect that the social and physical fragmentation of the *iwi* in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries has had on Kāi Tahu culture. Although it could be argued that these pressures were not significantly different from those experienced in the North Island, the distinguishing factor was the rate at which colonisation in the South Island took place and the comparative ease with which the communities were displaced.

The combination of the assimilative pressures that Kāi Tahu were subjected to, coupled with a high rate of intermarriage between Māori and non-Māori, served to advance the rate of language loss within the Kāi Tahu communities. Language loss within Kāi Tahu was such that by the 1940s many parents were no longer fluent in *te reo* and those who were raised with *te reo* as their first language were not likely to use it beyond schooling age (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002:4).

For those working in the area of *te reo Māori* in Kāi Tahu in the 1980s and 1990s the enormity of language loss was blatantly evident. In a national Māori context, Kāi Tahu were often subjected to ridicule and mockery by speakers of other dialects for their language inadequacies and associated perceived cultural loss, whilst on the home front, most struggled to perform the basic customs and traditions that required a basic level of

te reo Māori competency. Such loss is especially felt in the context of takiaue (funerals) and other formal tribal occasions.

Throughout the age of protest of the 1960s and 70s, *te reo Māori* came to be associated with Māori ethnic authenticity. Consequently, for many Kāi Tahu not being able to speak the language resulted in a sense of inadequacy and shame. At the individual level, it meant people were often unable to participate meaningfully in cultural activities or rituals; to understand what others were saying and respond accordingly, and therefore, they experienced a painful sense of exclusion from their own culture (O'Regan, 2001:139-143).

An attempt to halt the receding tide
The Kāi Tahu language revitalisation story starts in the time of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and really only starts to gain momentum in 1993. From the 1970s, the Trust Board had been actively supporting the language by way of financial support for a number of tribal members to attend a six week Māori language programme at the Polytechnic in Wellington. Even when the Trust Board was at its financial limit and needed to claw back on other grants and scholarships as it funded the tribal fight against the Crown for Te Kereme, it maintained its support of the language initiative.

Some may reflect on this investment as scant and insufficient as there was not a longer term engagement plan for the participants to continue their language development on return to Te Waipounamu, and the numbers attending were too few to create a sustainable pull of language speakers. The initiative did, however, help to build the competence and confidence of a small number of Kāi Tahu people who were able to support the core cultural practices on a number of the tribal *marae*. As such, it provided a small reprieve in the face of otherwise significant cultural loss.

It is important when reflecting on such initiatives, to consider the scarcity of other options at the time, especially in Te Waipounamu. Beyond the formal classroom learning environments offered at some polytechnics and universities and the areas lucky enough to have Te Ātaarangi classes available, there were little other language learning options for adult learners.

The turnaround for Kāi Tahu happened in 1993 when Tahu Pōtiki started attending an immersion language programme affiliated with Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Levin. Pōtiki would return to Te Waipounamu and start lobbying the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board to look at investing and supporting the development of a similar model for Kāi Tahu. In his initial letter to the Trust Board seeking support, Pōtiki went to some lengths to describe to the Board the benefits of the model that he had experienced. He wrote,

> I have done polytech courses, individual tutoring, atarangi [sic] and have also taught myself at different times over the last 6 or so years but this was by far the most successful method for developing my confidence and my ability to whakarongo and korero in te reo Maori (Pōtiki, 1993:1).

Pōtiki informed the Board of how the Raukawa model which was started in 1984, had already achieved the establishment of a pool of committed language teachers in a ten year period. There was a core base of over 150 fluent speakers under the age of 35 years, with 40 of them now actively involved in the teaching programmes. The significance of this achievement was explained in the context of Raukawa having identified only one fluent speaker under the age of 20 in an earlier census done in 1978 (Pōtiki, 1993:1).

In this initial communication to the Trust Board, Pōtiki requested financial support to send himself and a small group of other Kāi Tahu to a further five *hui* in Raukawa in 1994, so that they could develop their teaching skills with the goal of returning home to establish a similar programme for Kāi Tahu in 1995. Pōtiki changed his mind to instead look at replicating a South Island hui and this was met with support from the Trust Board who committed to supporting Pōtiki's initiative financially and through their communications with the *iwi*.

Pōtiki had succeeded in providing an achievable model that was evidenced-based to the Trust Board to invest in, that would contribute to their aspirations in the language. It was decided that the first Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki* would be held in Taumutu at the *marae* of Ngāti Moki. It would draw on teachers experienced in immersion teaching from the north and potential future tutors from across Te Waipounamu to support the programme. Koa Marshall (nee Mantell) sent out the first *pānui* to all *Papatipu Rūnanka* (traditional community council) on the 17 of March 1994,

Image 4: Letter from the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board to *Papatipu Rūnaka* promoting the first *Reo Rumaki*

NGAI TAHU MAORI TRUST BOARD
2nd LEVEL, TE WAIPOUNAMU HOUSE,
127 ARMAGH STREET, TELEPHONE (03) 366-4344.
P.O. BOX 13-046, CHRISTCHURCH 1.
Fax No. (03) 365-4424.

DATE: 17 MARCH 1994

MEMO TO: TO ALL RUNANGA

FROM: KOA MARSHALL

SUBJECT: TOTAL IMMERSION CLASSES - TE REO

Tenei te karaka atu ki a koutou, ka runaka, ka marae, ka hapu o te iwi whanui a Kai Tahu, Kati Mamoe, Waitaha.   Whakaroko mai ra ki tenei kupu panuitaka. Ka whakaturia, e matou, ka hui rumaki i te reo Maori i roto rawa i to tatou rohe potae. Nau mai, haere mai, tauti mai ra i ruka rawa tenei kaupapa whakahirahira.

Some of you may already know that we have been planning towards total immersion Te Reo Maori wanaka being run here in the Kai Tahu rohe. This year our aim is to build up a pool of resource people from around the island so we are in a position to run our own at the beginning of 1995, Te Tau O Te Reo Maori.

From MAY 15-21 1994 at Taumutu there will be a Te Reo Maori wanaka run in conjunction with other groups keen to learn in a total immersion environment. There are 40 places in all, 25 of which are reserved strictly for Kai Tahu.   WE ARE ASKING EACH RUNAKA TO PUT FORWARD ONE PERSON and for other interested people to apply for the remaining positions. All fees and koha for the Kai Tahu tauira will be met by the iwi although they are required to make their own travel arrangements to Taumutu.

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

The letter clearly established expectations for participants for the immersion language environment that they were to experience and the kind of people they were hoping *rūnaka* would nominate. Mantell also explained in her letter the proposed future developments,

> Our intention is that these who attend the hui this year will go on to become kaiako and resource people for Kāi Tahu's own total immersion programme beginning next year… The question that will be asked in making the selection is "How will Kāi Tahu benefit from your being involved in the Wanaka?" However, keep in mind that this is just the first total immersion course and that it is a time to experiment and look at our own resources in order that we are in a position to run our own at the beginning of 1995, Te Tau O Te Reo Māori" (Marshall, 1994:2).

Image 5: Flyer for the first *Reo Rumaki* held in Taumutu, 1994
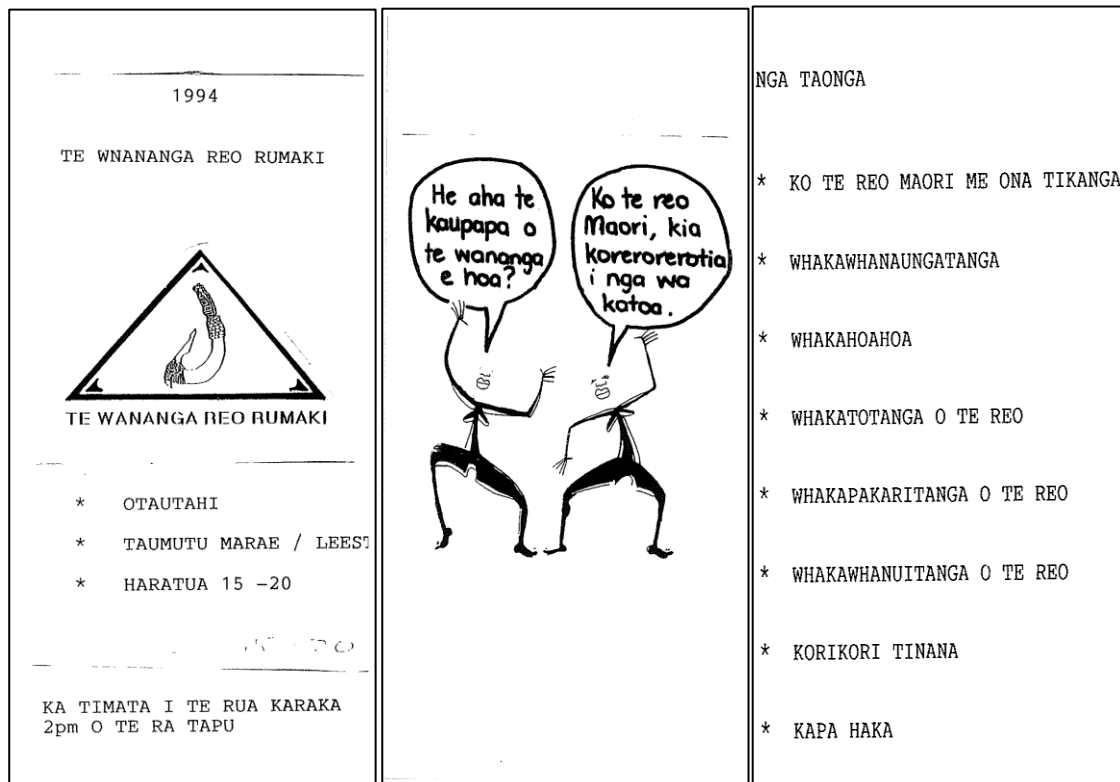
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Pōtiki and the team he had rallied around him to support the first *Reo Rumaki* reported back to the Trust Board after the *hui* and identified a number of positive outcomes alongside areas for future improvement (Pōtiki, 1994:1). Pōtiki had hoped to enlist 50 participants however only 35 managed to committ to the entire *wānaka*.

> We had particuarly targeted people from within Kai Tahu Runaka and managed to attract a good representation, from secondary school students to Kaumatua. There were also many from Mataa Waka, particularly Kaiako, involved in the hui (Pōtiki, 1994:1).

Pōtiki went on to talk about some of the challenges, in particular the lack of sufficient numbers of fluent *kaumātua* (elders) who attended that might have been able to support the *kaupapa*. The team informed the Trust Board that this would be addressed in time for the next *hui* that had been planned for Ōtākou and also proposed a relationship with the Māori Department at Otago University that would allow staff to be released in order to teach on the programme there (Pōtiki, 1994:1).

The Chair of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, Tipene O'Regan, obliged by writing to the Head of the Māori Studies Department, Godfrey Pōhatu, on the 11th of July 1994 asking for his support. Within a fortnight the reply was received confirming the Department's release of the nominated Māori language teachers to assist in the teaching of the Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki*. This was a significant boost in support of Pōtiki and his team as it provided some certainty around the availability of *kaiako* (teachers) and helped to reduce the financial costs of the *hui*.

Over the following months and years, Pōtiki would work closely with Koa Marshall (nee Mantell) who held the position of Executive Officer, Social Development in the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, to drive the initiative through the Board and with the Papatipu Rūnanka. Pōtiki engaged a team of teachers from Otago University and elsewhere in Dunedin who would go on to form a core group of *kaiako* to support the Kāi Tahu *wānaka* that would be run three times a year in the school holidays for the next four years.

Image 6: Letter from Godfrey Pōhatu to the Chairman of the Ngāi tahu Māori Trust Board
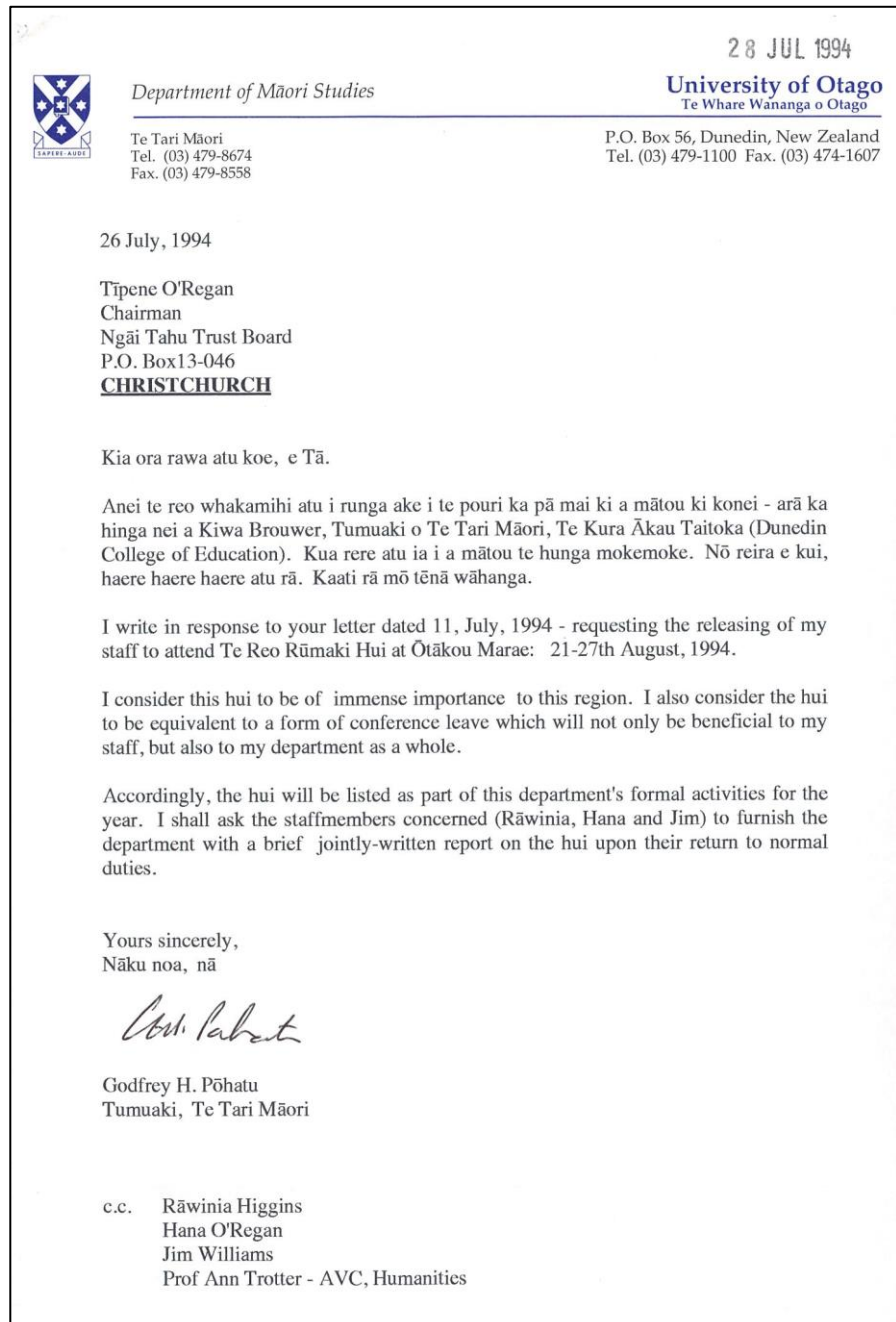
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Pōtiki succeeded in getting further financial support from the Ngāi Tahu Trust Board to also hold a *hui* in 1995 that was aimed at developing the *kaiako* in the methods of immersion teaching, using the Te Ātaarangi method of language acquisition. This *hui* was held at Wairewa *Marae* on Banks Peninsula and was the first exposure for a number of *kaiako* to this teaching method.,

Image 7: Kaiako and Wairewa *whānau* at the *Reo Rumaki*, displaying the local tuna (eel) delicacy

(Source: O'Regan, 1995, personal collection)

Image 8: Kāi Tahu Kaiako at the Wairewa *Reo Rumaki*, being taught to use the Ataarangi teaching method

(Source: O'Regan, 1995, personal collection)

From the very first *Reo Rumaki* at Taumutu *marae*, the Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki* sought support from native speakers of other *iwi* to assist in the delivery of the *wānaka*. Some were brought in as *kaumātua* to simply 'be around' as language speakers to model natural day-to-day language during the *hui*. Others were brought in to run specific teaching

sessions on anything from Māori musical instruments and *mahika kai* practices to traditional string games of the Māori, taught by the late Te Arawa kaumātua, Toby Rikihana, who was based in Christchurch at the time.

Image 9: Kaumātua Toby Rikihana of Te Arawa at the Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki* at Puketeraki

(Source: O'Regan, 1995, personal collection)

Another strategy of the committee was to invite those Kāi Tahu *kaumātua* of dual tribal affiliation who had been raised with their northern Māori kin in *te reo* and, therefore, native speakers of *te reo*, such as Iwikātea Nicholson of Kāi Tahu and Raukawa, or Kiwa Hutchins and Te Keepa Stirling of Kāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau a Apanui.

Image 10: Iwikātea Nicholson, Ngāi Tahu/ Ngāti Raukawa native speaker of *te reo*, Puketeraki *Reo Rumaki*

(Source: O'Regan, 1995, personal collection)

Even though these *kaumātua* had not been raised in the *Kāi Tahu mita*, they provided important modelling of intergenerational transmission of the language whilst also being able to build on the kinship connections through their Kāi Tahu *whakapapa*. The two kaumātua who were native speakers of the Kai Tahu dialect that we were able to participate and support a number of the later *Reo Rumaki* were the late Kera Daphne Browne and Jacko Reihana from Arowhenua. As *kaiako*, we were incredibly lucky to have had the time with both of these *kaumātua* in a language learning environment and were able to receive first hand from them a number of Kāi Tahu *kīwaha*, *whakataukī* and unique vocabulary.

Although a number of locals would always participate at each of the *marae* that the *Reo Rumaki* was held at, on the whole the *kaupapa* succeeded in building up a small but committed following that would follow the *Reo Rumaki* around the *rohe* as we went about support in the various *marae* to host the week long immersion *wānaka*. The *wānaka* participants would be split into levels of proficiency; from beginners and intermediate to advanced intermediate.

Image 11: Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki whānau* at Puketeraki

(Source: O'Regan, 1995, personal collection)

Image 12: Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki* at Te Pā of Te Wera

(Source: O'Regan, 1995, personal collection)

The relationship between language and identity: a personal account

As the *wānaka* continued, the *kaiwhakahaere* group (the programme facilitators) were able to refine the week long programme and develop a more informed curriculum that included formal language acquisition classes covering grammar and functional language, discussions of custom and protocol, historical narratives, Kāi Tahu *whakataukī*, *kīwaha* and *kupu hōu* (new words) and *waiata*. The sessions would be broken up by games and walks, historical site visits and entertainment.

Image 13: Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki whānau* in class at Lake Kaniere lodge, Te Tai Poutini, West Coast

(Source: O'Regan, 1996, personal collection)

Image 14: Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki* learning *waiata* at Lake Kaniere lodge, Te Tai Poutini, West Coast

(Source: O'Regan, 1996, personal collection)

Image 15: Kāi Tahu *Reo Rumaki* at Rapaki marae, Canterbury, playing games in *te reo*

(Source: O'Regan, 1996, personal collection)

Image 16: *Waiata* session at *Reo Rumaki*, Rapaki marae

(Source: O'Regan, 1996, personal collection)

Image 17: *Whānau* at Rapaki *Reo Rumaki* learning about the area from Taua Te Whē Phillips, Rapaki

(Source: O'Regan, 1996, personal collection)

Setting a vision beyond the shore

After three years of running the *wānaka* it became apparent that many of the regular participants were not choosing to move up the levels, instead remaining in their language 'safe-zone'. In the programme evaluations, the students would speak positively of the classes and language opportunities whilst also highlighting the benefits of re-connecting with their *Kāi Tahutaka* and learning tribal stories.

Although it was considered a positive outcome for the *Reo Rumaki* to be seen as a safe-place for *whānau* to re-engage and enhance their identity, these were not the primary drivers of the initiative. Pōtiki was concerned that we were not attracting sufficient numbers of learners and increasing their rate of proficiency enough to contribute to the ground swell that would affect change in terms of the position of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu.

In 1997 Pōtiki called a three day meeting to try to map a pathway forward by creating a language strategy. Those invited included the *Reo Rumaki* kaiako; Tahu Pōtiki, Hana O'Regan, Toni Torepe, Alva Kapa and Jim Williams, and Suzanne Ellison representing the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board. Pōtiki also invited two people who had been researching language planning in a national and international context, Stephen Chrisp of Te Puni Kōkiri and Rangi Nicholson who was also of Kāi Tahu descent. The group was given the name the *Ngāi Tahu Te Reo Māori Working Group* and met at the Otago University Executive Residence from the 22nd to the 24th of May, 1997 (Pōtiki, 1997:1).

Until this time, the majority of the group had only limited knowledge about the world of language revitalisation and associated theories. This was to change as Chrisp and Nicholson introduced the group to the work of the world-renowned expert, Joshua Fishman and his research; and specifically, his analysis of the *te reo Māori* situation (O'Regan, 2009:190).

Fishman (1991) had developed a way of rating the health of a language that allowed people to assess the level of language endangerment or sustainability depending on the status, use and environment of the language. The system was named the Generational Index Disruption Scale (GIDS) and provided a continuum that spanned eight stages of language loss. The group learnt that Fishman had placed *te reo Māori* at the eighth level on the scale which meant that urgent intervention was required in order to secure its survival (O'Regan, 2009:190).

Fishman's GIDS had been presented to the *hui* participants by Chrisp and Nicholson in a digestible form that did not require any prior knowledge of the research. This was an empowering approach that not only allowed the language group to grapple with the new content but also grasp the knowledge and apply it immediately to their own situation. The eight stages in reversing language shift were summarised in the notes of the *hui* in this way:

1) Education, work sphere, mass media etc. at higher and national levels
2) Mass media / government services
3) Workplace
4) Schooling – under Māori control
5) Schooling for literacy (developing literacy in the target language)
6) Home/family/neighbourhood/community (you must master this stage)

7) Cultural interaction
8) Reconstruction and adult acquisition (Pōtiki, 1997:5).

On day one of the *hui*, Chrisp asked the group to detail a demographic, socio-economic picture of the tribe. In the notes of the meeting that were later provided by Pōtiki to the Trust Board, the group recorded their initial analysis,

- Ngai Tahu are identified as 30,000 at 1996 census
- A pyramid population with a young base
- Around 50 – 50 split of female/male
- Around 65% of Ngai Tahu living in the South Island
- They are dispersed between urban and rural centres
- There are some concentrations of Ngai Tahu in particular areas
- predominantly an urban concentration (Pōtiki, 1997:3).

In terms of the numbers of native or fluent speakers known to the group, the figures were alarming:

- Native speakers of Ngai Tahu dialect   0-5
- Native/Fluent of other dialect   ?-100
- Fluent second language speakers   ?-1000
                                                    (Pōtiki, 1997:3).

The group also looked at the domains in which Kāi Tahu people interacted with other Kāi Tahu people so as to understand where language initiatives might best be targeted.

Kāi Tahu	**Other N.Zer's**
Hui A Tau *(Tribal Annual General Meeting)*	Within Family
Within families	Sport
Takihaka *(Funerals)*	Pub
Runaka-Marae *(Villages/ meeting houses)*	Workplace
MWWL *(Māori Women's Welfare League)*	Shopping
Titi *(times of mutton bird harvesting)*	
Land *(meeting about the land)*	
Sport	
Varsity/ Educational Institutions.	
	(Pōtiki, 1997:3-4).

In the absence of empirical data for the tribe, we were left to pull together our anecdotal knowledge of language use and status based on what we knew. Even though this was a crude analysis, we were more concerned at that stage with establishing a collective understanding of the language that we could use to set some tribal goals, rather than focussing on the accuracy of a statistical position. We discussed possible critiques of this

approach from a research perspective and were collectively confident, that even if statistical data were to come to light that showed a dramatically different picture in terms of the numbers of speakers in the tribe and their levels of proficiency; it was not reflected in our lived reality. That is to say, if there were more Kāi Tahu actively using the language in the tribe or native speakers still remaining beyond those we were able to identify, they were not actively engaging in the language revitalisation efforts of the tribe in a way that would make their existence relevant to our cause.

Once we completed collating our environmental data, the enormity of the challenge in front of us became chillingly evident as I later described in this publication on the health of *te reo* in Te Waipounamu published by Te Puni Kōkiri in 2002:

> We had three native speakers of Kāi Tahu reo still alive, none of whom were still speaking te reo at that time. Te reo had not been the language of communication within Kāi Tahu whānui for 50 years, and intergenerational transmission of te reo within whānau had not occurred for 80 years and exceeding 130 years in some areas. Less than 1% of Kāi Tahu were known to be fluent speakers of te reo (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002:18).

The group realised that our tribal situation did not succeed in making the criteria that would have positioned us alongside the broader *te reo Māori* grouping at stage eight of Fishman's GIDS. Although overwhelmed with this finding, we were not prepared to categorise our language health as 'dead'. Instead, we preferred to consider a ninth category for those languages that were still holding on to the hope of achieving a revitalised state despite their current predicament (O'Regan, 2009:190).

With the full picture of the future challenge in view, the group turned their attentions to the development of a language revitalisation strategy. Many examples of research had been provided to the group during the course of the *hui* that supported Fishman's focus on the importance of intergenerational transmission of the language in the home as a key strategy for language revival and sustainability:

> He logically located the key to minority-language preservation in the intergenerational transmission of the language in the home by families, not in government policies and laws (Reyhner and Tennant, 1995:283).

The areas of critical intervention were discussed at length by the group who were unanimous in supporting Fishman's guiding approach of ensuring that the focus for the Kāi Tahu language strategy be on language in the home. The last entry of the *hui* notes for the second day of the *hui* accordingly reads:

> Stage six is the key. The intergenerational transmission of the mother tongue is absolutely crucial. Very clearly returning Maori to the home is imperative ... Depending on the extent or the model to be adopted for revitalisation serious consideration needs to be given to the question of returning te reo Maori to Ngai Tahu homes. Perhaps there is a package of incremental introduction of Maori into the home. 5.00pm stop for the day (Pōtiki, 2009:5).

At the end of the second day, the group had agreed that the strategy would be centred on returning the language to Kāi Tahu homes and were challenged to think of an appropriate vision statement to guide a 25 year strategy, aiming for a generational shift in the status of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu by 2025.

A vision is born

Day three of the *hui* started with a newfound enthusiasm and Rangi Nicholson excitedly reported on the *whakataukī* that had come to him in the early hours of the morning. His thoughts were recorded in the *hui* notes in the following way,

<div align="center">

Kotahi Mano Kaika
"One Thousand Homes"

</div>

> The vision is to see Māori spoken in one thousand Ngai Tahu homes by the year 2025.
>
> Rangi went on further to explain that the pathways to achieving this were many and therefore required a number of initiatives. But once again he returned to Fishman's comment "***To achieve this a few crucial things must be done early and well.***" We need to consider the many domains that we must encourage Maori to be spoken in and that language will always only be one element of an overall process … In keeping with the theme Rangi suggested the phrase **Kotahi Mano Wawata** as each home has their own wawata or desires and needs. Therefore policy and resources need to be targeted to meet individual needs at the Micro implementation or flax roots level (Pōtiki, 1997:6).

Nicholson's suggestion was accepted wholeheartedly by the group and a mission statement was confirmed*, "*To promote actively and with vigour the use of the Māori language in Ngai Tahu homes and other Ngai Tahu domains" (Pōtiki, 1997:6). The

remainder of the *hui* concentrated on the articulation of specific objectives that would help realise the vision. Four key goals were identified by the rōpū,

1). To increase the use of Māori language by increasing access to critical domains;
2). To increase awareness amongst Kāi Tahu about KMK through a well-planned marketing campaign,
3). To increase the quality of Māori language spoken by Kāi Tahu whānui, and;
4) Increase the support systems to support Kāi Tahu involved in the process (Pōtiki, 1997:6).

The *hui* concluded with members taking on the new name of the *Kotahi Mano Kāika Working Party* and being delegated with a series of tasks with the key one being a *hui* to bring key Kāi Tahu political leaders up to speed with the vision and secure buy-in from the political structure (Pōtiki, 1997:9).

From that point on, the focus was on establishing the vision of KMK in the minds and hearts of the people, and importantly, the leadership. The aim was to get a 'foot in the door' and from there build out to create a strong position for the *reo* in the tribal operations and strategic leadership. By 1998 Te Rūnanga agreed to commit to the vision of KMK in principle and supported the establishment of a designated position for *te reo* in the education team within the Development Corporation, the social service delivery arm of the tribal organisation. In 1998, Mason Ngāwhika was the first to be employed into this position. Kotahi Mano Kāika had succeeded in gaining a step up towards the 'GIDS ladder' and even though Ngāwhika was a solitary voice for *te reo* in the Development Corporation, his presence alone sent a message that there was the place for *te reo* in the tribal development landscape of the future.

Now in the door the KMK Working Party, under Pōtiki's leadership, continued to lobby the tribe to extend the commitment to *te reo* and raise its status in the organisation. Within a year, the *Working Party* had been extended to include more language revitalisation experts and was renamed the Kotahi Mano Kāika Advisory Committee. Further lobbying of the tribe succeeded in securing a designated management position for *te reo* in the Development Corporation in 1999 and Lynne-Harata Te Aika took up the position of Te Reo Manager in January 2000 (O'Regan, 2009: 191).

The momentum for KMK continued to build with each key milestone being achieved. It was an exciting time for those engaged as the building blocks of the vision started to be realised. With committed positions now working full time to develop the *kaupapa*, the *Working Party* was able to take more of a strategic position and could step back to some degree from the daily operations and having to organise and run the *wānaka* and other events whilst also being the teachers and strategic leaders themselves. A logo for KMK was developed to help with the goal of raising awareness of the strategy and a socialisation process of the KMK symbol was initiated.

Image 18: The original KMK logo

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2000)

By 2000, Te Aika had managed to secure the investment from the Ministry of Education for two key programmes to be developed to support Māori teacher's language proficiency and language teaching pedagogy. Te Whakapiki Reo was an intensive 10 week course, and the second was a full year immersion programme; both programmes would be run through the Teacher's College at the University of Canterbury. This was a significant step towards increasing the opportunities for Kāi Tahu children to be supported in their language at school (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016c:1).

Kāi Tahu would also host their first national Kura Reo run under the leadership of Tīmoti Kāretu and funded through Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, The Māori Language Commission. Kāretu had been challenged at a Kura Reo in Paeroa the year prior as to why the Kura Reo was never held in the South Island. When he replied saying the request had never been presented to them, a *tono* (invitation) was immediately extended. He arrived with his party of expert teachers and leaders to run the first Te Waipounamu *Kura Reo* at the *marae* in Onuku on the Banks Peninsula in 2000.

Support from afar – Fishman helps to refocus the strategy

In that same year the Working Party was to hear of the visit to New Zealand of Joshua Fishman and his wife Gella to attend a conference in the North Island. Nicholson, who had previously met Fishman personally in New York, was asked by the group to contact him to see if he would consider extending his trip to spend some time with the *Working Party* and present to our inaugural Kāi Tahu language revitalisation conference planned for that year. Although we believed that there was little chance of this eventuating, we were delighted to hear that the invitation was accepted and Fishman and his wife were hosted by Kāi Tahu for a week in Christchurch (O'Regan, 2009:191).

The *Working Party* had the opportunity for a two-day intensive workshop with Fishman where we discussed at length the challenges and issues facing the tribe. The following vision was presented to him. We were able to outline our activities and developments in the three years since the strategy framework had been conceived in 1997. Fishman was generally supportive and empathetic to the situation that Kāi Tahu was in, but he also did not hold back in directly challenging the group to look carefully at our process of prioritisation.

Figure 5: A vision for Kāi Tahu, Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata

A vision For Kāi Tahu

Kotahi Mano Kāika Kotahi Mano Wawata

By the year 2025, Te Reo Māori will be spoken in one thousand Kāi Tahu households. An accumulation of 1000 dreams and aspirations

Kāi Tahu Tīkaka and values

Goal 1
To ensure te reo is accessible to Kāi Tahu whānui thereby creating more opportunities for Kāi Tahu whānui to learn

Goal 2
To increase the number of Kāi Tahu speakers to a critical mass necessary for a self-sustaining language

To increase each speakers proficiency in te reo Māori

Goal 3
To raise the profile and status of te reo Māori within TRoNT, Rūnaka, Kāi Tahu communities and other Tribal activities

To promote the use of te reo Māori, and increase the situations for te reo to be spoken

Goal 4
To continue research into the dialectual diversity of the Kāi Tahu language

To increase the opportunity for Ngāi Tahu whānui to access examples of Kāi Tahu literature

(Source: Adapted from Kotahi Mano Kāika, 2004)

Although we had been running the *Reo Rumaki* and had started delivering Kia Kurapa, weekend-long bilingual *wānaka* aimed at developing the beginner language learner to cope in the immersion context, we had not sufficiently prioritised the language in the home in terms of our interventions, yet this was our stated singular most important goal.

> It was a timely reality check as it became evident that we had failed to develop strategies that would ensure the sustainability of the language within the families and the tribe. Although we had provided a number of opportunities for people to engage in Te Reo activities and learning experiences, they were still largely based on formal language learning models with little opportunity to practice and develop language appropriate for everyday communication (O'Regan, 2009:191-192).

We were also challenged on a very personal level by both Joshua and his wife, Gella. This excerpt from the recorded dialogue of the meeting was a direct challenge to those of us present, to walk the talk ourselves:

> I think whatever you do you start with yourself you cannot go around telling parents to do something when you don't. You need to be honest – really committed. The first thing to ask; 'am I using Māori'? – that's on an individual basis. Then you have to ask, when we are not here and among yourselves … how much of the language are you really using yourselves? … Take yourselves out of the committee and home – what are you doing with the language in your own homes? I don't think that any of this can be successful unless you do it yourselves (Fishman, G., 2000: personal communication).

Joshua and Gella's critiques over the course of the two days were hard hitting but on point and helped to reinvigorate and re-focus the group to concentrate on doing 'a few crucial things well and early'. The KMK committee was left on a high after Fishman's visit, feeling very privileged to have had the critique, praise and input into our tribal strategy of one of the 'founding fathers' of international minority language revitalisation.

Image 19: KMK *hui* with Joshua Fishman and his wife Gella, Christchurch

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2000)

Image 20: Joshua Fishman speaking at the KMK Language Revitalisation Symposium, Te Puna Wānaka

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2000)

Image 21: Members of the audience at the KMK Language Revitalisation Symposium, Te Puna Wānaka

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2000)

By 2001, the number of staff designated to *te reo* working in the tribal organisation had grown to four. The first crucial intervention that had been agreed upon was to raise critical awareness about the health of the language and the strategic direction. The language unit established a research relationship with The Māori Language Commission and formally launched the KMK strategic document which set out specific outputs to be achieved in order to achieve the goal of 1000 homes speaking *te reo* by 2025.

Another key external relationship at the time was through a group of *iwi* that had established agreements with the Ministry of Education (MOE) and formed a collective known as the Iwi Partners. *Iwi* with these formal memorandums of understanding with MOE were able to bid for financial support to advance their language strategies under a fund named the Community Based Language Initiatives (CBLI). As the co-managers of the Kāi Tahu language unit at the time, Charisma and myself were able to attend regular *hui* with the Ministry and these other *iwi* and share our respective developments and resources. This was an exciting opportunity for us both, who initially were two of the youngest in the group that was dominated by *kaumātua* and *pakeke* from around the country with many more years' experience than ourselves. The excitement was derived from a sense of solidarity in the fight for our language within our respective tribes and the ability to share ideas and thinking around language revitalisation with people outside of Te Waipounamu and KMK.

As the language unit set about delivering the objectives identified, more staff were brought on to support the goals. As each year passed, the tribal capacity in *te reo* continued to increase and more initiatives were introduced into the community. The first Māori language text books with audio (tapes and then compact discs) specifically focused on intergenerational language for the home and in the Kāi Tahu dialect were written and distributed to all registered KMK families in 2002, with a further two texts launched the following year. The vocabulary and grammar focus in the books were aligned to functional home language and these were supported with specific kīwaha or colloquialisms to support natural language engagement.

Table 3: The content and language domains in the KMK reo publication series for language in the home

Te Hū o Moho Book	Targeted audience	Domains / targeted language areas
1. KA IPOIPO TE MANU	• Beginners of *te reo* wanting to introduce the language in to the home • Parents with young babies and children	• Breakfast time • Bath time • Getting dressed • Play time • Bed time • Greetings and general phrases • family relationship terms • instructional kīwaha
2. TE PAE KŌHAKA	• Babies and primary school age children	• Setting the table • Food time • Changing baby • Travelling in the car • Counting • terms of endearment • telling the time • cultural introductions
3. KA WHĀNAU MAI TE HUA	• Primary school children and teenagers	• Going to the shop • Going visiting relations • Washing clothes • kīwaha for arguing, cursing and questioning behaviour • developed questioning
4. TE PĪRERE	• Teenagers • Parent to teen interaction	• Speaking on the phone • Engaging on technology • Praising skills and people's character • Going out to the movies

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

These resources were then supported by other targeted home-language resources such as wall posters for parts of the body and clothing and bilingual labels to help introduce more vocabulary around the home. The KMK logo was actively promoted on a range of merchandise in 2002. The goal was to enlist the support of all of Kāi Tahu, even if they were not in a position to commit to being one of the thousand families, they could still actively be engaged as supporters and promoters of the *kaupapa*.

Image 22: KMK posters for the children's rooms
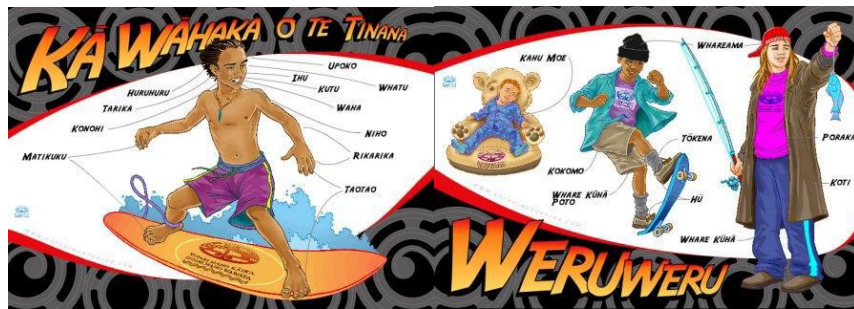
(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

An immediate but positive challenge experienced by the language team was the sheer demand for engagement. We had aimed to have one hundred families registered by the end of 2002 but instead over five hundred families had signed up. We employed an Information Technology project manager to support the team to engage in the technology platforms and he developed a registration database to help manage our *whānau* engagement.

Building the momentum and broadening the reach

By 2003, we were in the position to launch our website and had developed language planning guides to support the *rūnaka* to develop their own language plans. By now we had a number of initiatives targeted at families with young children such as summer holiday camps and *whānau* events, but we had limited success at engaging the teenage market. In order to influence this next wave of parents of Kāi Tahu *tamariki*, we looked to develop a range of fun initiatives that would increase the popularity of the KMK events and activities within this audience and that included the production of a modern music album, *Tēnei te Ruru.* A group of young singers and composers were brought together to compose songs for the album that crossed multiple genre.

Image 23: Tēnei te Ruru modern Māori music resource produced

(Source: O'Regan, 2003, personal collection)

The KMK team was extended in 2004 to 13 staff members to support the establishment of regional based language planning facilitators to work with families. This was one of the crucial interventions that had been recommended by Fishman in 2000. A family-based language planning tool, named *He Arataki*, was written for the specific purpose of supporting KMK families to achieve their family language aspirations and was launched in Māori Language week that year in the presence of guests from the Māori Language Commission.

Image 24: Hana O'Regan presenting at the launch of He Arataki: the first Ngāi Tahu Family Language Planning tool, Te Waipounamu House, Christchurch

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

Image 25: The launch of He Arataki; Te Waipounamu House, Christchurch

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

Image 26: The He Arataki Resource folder; a family language planning resource guide
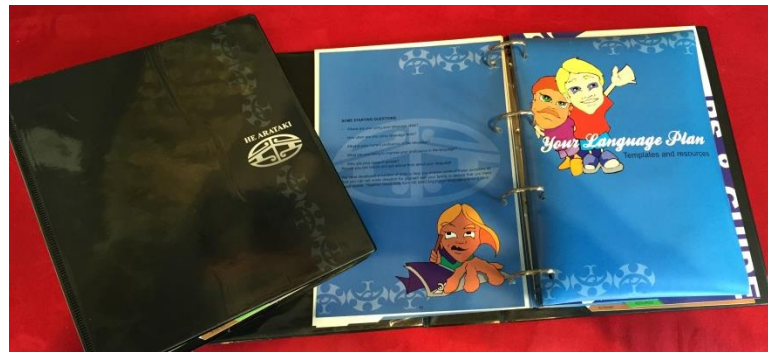
(Source: O'Regan, personal collection)

The language unit now had 13 staff dedicated to the *reo* working across the Kāi Tahu *rohe*. With over 960 families equating to over 4200 individuals registered, the KMK *kaupapa* was going from strength to strength and was started to gain national recognition.

With the regional facilitators helping to cluster families in similar geographic areas, more and more *whānau*-focused language initiatives began to pop up, from early childhood play groups and language sports teams, pot-luck (shared food) language evenings and picnics, to homework centres and *reo* café sessions. An on-line proficiency tool to help KMK registered members assess their proficiency and track their progress against their stated aspirations was developed and launched. Unfortunately, this would not be accessed

by the membership due to the internal tribal political changes that would take place shortly after its development.

Despite the milestones that had been achieved and the recognition received from national language bodies such as Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, the tribal political landscape was shifting and this would have a dramatic impact on the KMK pathway ahead. After an internal restructure of the tribal organisation in 2005 where the Development Corporation which housed the language unit was disestablished, the language arm was temporarily transferred over to the Office of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu which assumed the responsibility for the delivery of services to the tribe. By the end of 2005, the language unit, *Te Waka Reo,* was disestablished and the responsibility for *te reo* shifted to a newly established position, Toitū te Iwi which included the broader fields of culture and identity with five staff to cover the whole scope.

The rationale given to the team by management for the disestablishment was the failure to deliver sufficient numbers of proficient speakers in the five years since the strategy was launched. Despite the initial governance support of an intergenerational approach, it was believed that outcomes needed to be achieved sooner rather than later. In order to do this, a new direction was proposed that concentrated on the development of a highly proficient core that could then be used to support the next level of development, rather than focusing on the engagement of the masses and spreading the limited resource too thinly across the tribe. Both Charisma Rangipunga and I, the co-managers of the language unit at the time, chose to leave the tribal organisation at that time, both sharing significant concerns about the future of the KMK *kaupapa.*

Changing of the guard – A new direction set
In 2006 there was, accordingly, a changing of the guard and the new and passionate Eruera Tarena took the helm. Despite the political shift, Tarena sought the support of the former guard to help him lead the new direction of KMK and this was duly provided. Tarena provided a new energy to the *kaupapa* that helped the transition for those that had been involved with the *kaupapa* previously. Now with only five staff shared across the culture and identity spectrum, Tarena set about establishing a targeted pipeline of proficient Kāi Tahu speakers and developed specific contestable funds to support their language development.

Te Tihi o Aoraki (which would later become known as the Kā Manukura fund) would support individuals who were already capable speakers to extend their language ability. Three Kāi Tahu would use this avenue in 2006 to support their participation in Te Panekiretanga. The *Kāika Reo* fund was established to support whole families to engage in language events and activities and the broader Ngāi Tahu fund was a broader contestable fund to support cultural development and engagement, of which *te reo* could be an outcome.

Figure 6: Contestable tribal fund pools to support language development

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

Tarena hosted a Reo Summit in 2006 and launched a new movement to support KMK, called *Generation Reo*. The idea was informed by comments made to Tarena by Sir Tipene O'Regan around the Ngāi Tahu Claim; that 'every generation needs a fight, something to unite themselves against a common enemy'. The Claim had served that purpose for the tribe for seven generations and now the challenge was to position the fight for the revitalisation of the language in the same way.

Image 27: Marketing material for Generation Reo Campaign

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

People were encouraged to see themselves as warriors of the language, protesting against the language domination of the majority language and helping to 'raise the flag' for *te reo*,

Image 28: Marketing material for Generation Reo Campaign

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

In 2007, a five year implementation plan was released that set out six key targets stating Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu will:

- raise the critical awareness of the importance of te reo to Ngāi Tahu identity
- increase the numbers of fluent Ngāi Tahu reo speakers
- support Ngāi Tahu reo leaders to drive the revitalisation of te reo Māori within their Ngāi Tahu communities
- increase the pool of fluent speakers to fulfil the tikanga rituals on our papatipu *marae*
- support Ngāi Tahu whānau to use te reo as a communicative everyday language
- promote the value and appreciation of Ngāi Tahu specific sentence structures, sayings and unique language characteristics (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2007:2)

Even though the engagement strategy with registered families had changed with the disestablishment of the language unit in 2005, which meant registrations were no longer being received or managed, the language team continued to produce language resources and language acquisition opportunities that were openly accessible to all via the website.

In 2007, a series of four interactive bilingual books were launched that allowed children to personalise their books to place themselves in the stories which could then be printed

off at low cost by families. A later development allowed for the audio to be played when the books were being reviewed online;

Image 29: KMK on-line interactive bilingual children's books

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

Wānaka were also set up to support advanced speakers of the *reo* develop their understanding of Kāi Tahu traditional stories and dialect. Named *Kā Parikarakaraka*, these *hui* would support the participants to compose collective *waiata* that could then be taught across the tribe. This initiative would continue for a number of years and the practice of collective composition would assist in providing Kāi Tahu with a new repertoire of *waiata* to support their ability to confidently perform their cultural practices at home and across the country.

This strategy of supporting collective composition of *hui* participants was a practice that I had adopted in 1995 while teaching creative writing at The University of Otago. Although the outcome at that early stage was purely a learning tool for the students, it later became a deliberate strategy on my part to shift the focus from the composer to the collective, thereby supporting collective ownership of the *waiata* or creative piece. This also served to combat the antagonism heard at times on the tribal '*kumara* vine' or gossip channels, about the small numbers of language leaders who were seen to be making the *kaupapa* 'all about themselves'. Because of the status in Māori society often attributed

to composers, this action helped to uplift others while still achieving the desired goal of producing new material in the language that could support the tribal cultural expression.

Two *waiata* would be composed in 2009 using this method at the inaugural Kāi Tahu Kura Reo in Awarua - Bluff with both the beginner's language class and the intermediate class; *Ko te Kōpū Uriuri* and *Ka Tū te Tītī*. The latter, composed by the beginners group, became well known quite quickly and was able to be used in formal *pōwhiri* and other situations to show support for a speaker. Its simplicity in terms of its message, length and tune meant the *waiata* was immediately accessible to all language learners.

Ka tū te tītī tautahi	*The lonely tītī chick stands*
I te ao hurihuri	*In the changing world*
E te kiaka wania a Rehua, Āraiteuru	*Fledgling, seek the guiding starts of*
	Rehua and Araiteuru
Whakatopa ō parirau	*Let your wings soar*
I kā piki , i kā heke e i…	*Through the highs and lows*
Hokia ki tō mauka	*Return to your mountain*
Hei whakatipu, hei whakaora	*To regenerate and develop*
Mau ki te manawa tītī	*Be strong of heart, hold strong*
Mau ki te manawa whenua … i	*Hold on to the mana of our land*
Hoki mai, hoki mai	*Return, return*
Kia whitia ai	*That the sun may shine upon you*
Kia mau ki te aroha e	*Be caring of others*
Mau kaha, tūkaha	*Hold fast, stand strong*
Aoraki Matatū e i…	*Aoraki stands resolute.*
	(Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2015:17)

The first Kāi Tahu Kura Reo was significant for another reason; it was marked as an occasion in my memory as being the first sizable *hui* where three generations of Kāi Tahu, from the elders through to the young children, were actively engaging in the *marae* lifestyle in a Māori language immersion environment. With approximately 80 participants, it was an uplifting experience to hear some of our native speaking elders who had learnt their language in the north, speak in amazement about these young Kāi Tahu children running around playing, arguing, moaning and joking in the language.

The elation felt was due to the fact that it was not merely the children of the language leaders who were speaking *te reo* as their first language; there was instead, a new generation albeit still a small group – but a small Kāi Tahu group nevertheless, who were all speaking *te reo* normally and with ease in the environment. It was a scene out of the

Working Parties' vision statement from the *hui* in 1997. There was, however, still no room for complacency given the numbers that had achieved this result and the overwhelming majority who had not yet engaged in the *reo kaupapa*.

Image 30: Native speaking kaumātua, Kukupa Tirakatene and Kiwa Hutchins, inaugural Kāi Tahu Kura Reo 2009, Awarua - Bluff, New Zealand.

(Source: O'Regan, 2009, personal collection)

Image 31: Native speaking kaumātua, the late Murihaere Stirling with Kukupa Tirakatene and Kiwa Hutchins 2009, Awarua - Bluff, New Zealand.

(Source: O'Regan, 2009, personal collection)

Image 32: Three generations in an immersion environment

(Source: O'Regan, 2009, personal collection)

Images 33: *Whānau* in Te Rau Aroha dining hall at the inaugural Kāi Tahu Kura Reo

(Source: O'Regan, 2009, personal collection)

Images 34: Intergenerational learning; tamariki engaging in the class exercises

(Source: O'Regan, 2009, personal collection)

Image 35: Kai tahi – eating together in *te reo*, Kāi Tahu Kura Reo

(Source: O'Regan, 2009, personal collection)

In 2009, Charisma Rangipunga who had returned to the tribal organisation when Tarena had moved on as the manager of the language and cultural arm, initiated a series of workshops around the Kāi Tahu *rohe* on raising bilingual *tamariki*. Although the DVD resource had been developed and distributed the year before, it was felt that more hands on support and guidance to parents was required in order to talk through strategies and techniques with *whānau*. Rangipunga enlisted my support on many of these workshops

and we would travel around, often with our own bilingual *tamariki* in tow, trying to encourage parents to introduce *te reo* into their homes. It was often necessary to start these sessions by debasing the myths around bilingualism and *te reo Māori* which I will discuss further in chapters 6 and 8.

Rangipunga was an exemplar of raising bilingual children as she had been one of the early Kāi Tahu pioneers to do so in Te Waipounamu. Her eldest, Te Aotahi was already nine years old at that time and had been a toddler at the time of the launch of KMK in 2001. Growing up with his mother as one of the key leaders of the KMK strategy meant that he was also able to be the living example of what was possible with the combination of second language speaking parents and the commitment to raise their son bilingually. These workshops were a continuation of what had been a consistent and concerted effort to promote the benefits of bilingualism in the home; each time the team looking to find new ways to promote the same message and *kaupapa*.

10 years of KMK

In 2010, a series of events was coordinated over three days to mark the 10 year milestone since the launch of KMK. The goal was to provide an opportunity for reflection, review, celebration and importantly to get input from a wide range of people who had been directly or indirectly engaged in the *kaupapa*. One of the key events to be held was a language symposium that sought to include a diverse range of perspectives on the KMK strategy from within the tribe and external to it. Key language experts and revitalisationists from around the country as well as *taiohi* or youth representatives were invited to participate, along with those that had been involved with the development and implementation of the strategy over the years.

Image 36: Tīmoti Kāretu and Ruakere Hond, listening to the ten year KMK symposium

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

Image 37: Language experts and kaumātua in the audience, KMK symposium

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

Image 38: Henare Te Aika speaking with the taiohi *(youth)* panel, KMK symposium

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

The three day event incorporated a children's party with Māori language television celebrities hosting the event that was aimed to promote the efforts made by Kāi Tahu

families at raising their children with *te reo* as their first language, whilst promoting to the wider tribe that the goal was also an achievable one.

Image 39: KMK tamariki party with celebrity hosts, Pūkana, Te Puna Wānaka
marae

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

The final day of the symposium concluded with the inaugural Ngāi Tahu Language Awards, held at Ngā Hau e Whā *marae* in Christchurch. The awards sought to build on the concept of the national Māori Language Awards run by the Māori Language Commission, and provide an *iwi* focus that celebrated the efforts made at the *marae* and *whānau* levels to support *te reo* in Kāi Tahu and in our *takiwā* (tribal district).

The Aoraki Matatū award for lifetime commitment to *te reo* in Kāi Tahu, was presented to Te Ruahine Crofts, composer, second language learner and teacher, and advocate for language and culture. She was to pass away that evening as she was being driven away from the event, just after receiving the honour.

Image 40: Presentation of the Aoraki Matatū lifetime award for commitment to *te reo*

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

A 10 year review of the KMK Strategy, commissioned by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and conducted by Mere Skerrett, was also launched at the symposium. Whilst the review highlighted achievements that had been made over the decade, it also reinforced the continued vulnerability and critical state of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu. Skerrett suggested that considerable investment and leadership was still required to help achieve the strategic goals and that there was still work to do in educating the leadership about the strategic position of the *kaupapa*,

> It was noted on the one hand, that some members of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu may lack an understanding of the processes involved in second language learning. This means they may create unrealistic expectations and pressures for the proponents of KMK, and either fail to see the transformation needed at the structural level (through policy and supports) or simply abdicate responsibility (Skerrett, 2010:3).

One major finding of the review was the positive impact that the strategy and associated initiatives had had on those *whānau* who had actively engaged citing the following direct benefits,

- as a catalyst for bringing whānau together on marae;
- as a means of providing intended and unintended benefits for our marae (including revitalising our tikanga) and in our homes;
- as a vehicle for providing cultural identifiers;
- as the archive of our knowledge;
- as the medium for providing identity markers;
- as a mechanism for invigorating our histories, our stories, our lives;
- as a unifier;
- as a matter of pride; and
- as an important vehicle to move into the future (Skerrett, 2010:3).

Skerrett described the excitement of engaged *whānau* in the KMK *kaupapa* but went on to highlight the gaps in terms of those that had not taken up the opportunities and challenges to support the revitalisation of *te reo* in the *iwi*,

> For many the wider commitment was just not evident. To revitalise our Ngāi Tahu reo it is necessary for the wider tribal leadership and membership to value the language and actively support a positive linguistic environment, rather than just paying *lip-service* to the *idea*, as some suggested happens (Skerrett, 2010:3).

Skerrett's review proposed seven recommendations to the KMK advisory group and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu,

1. Raising the value of te reo amongst Ngāi Tahu

2. Increasing te reo o Ngāi Tahu speaking domains
3. Formulate a Research Strategy
4. Commitment to resourcing
5. Widen the networks to other iwi Māori and Indigenous Peoples
6. Rethink educational relationships
7. Making Visible the Leadership and Succession Planning (Skerrett, 2010: 4-5).

Most of the recommendations were not new in themselves and had been consistently reflected in the approach to KMK since its inception. There were, however, two that stood out in terms of providing a potentially new focus for the *kaupapa* and they were Recommendations three and seven. Although there had been elements of research occurring from the time that Pōtiki first brought the group together in 1997 around language revitalisation theory, teaching pedagogy, the Kāi Tahu dialect and supporting bilingual environments, there had not been a single strategy that tied these activities together and supported their alignment. It had been done in an adjunct way, often sporadic when those involved had the time to spare, and the findings were not always presented in a way that would maximise their digestion with the target audience, that is, the Kāi Tahu *whānau*.

The seventh recommendation on leadership was again not new, but a timely reminder of the continued need to educate and engage the tribal leadership in the *kaupapa* if it was to be a success. Insofar as the other recommendations were concerned, they did serve to affirm the thrust and direction of KMK and made the language leaders look at further ways to extend their existing approaches to achieve broader outcomes.

The KMK logo was to undergo a facelift as part of this repositioning or rebranding exercise, and a more modern and versatile logo was created for the purpose. Importantly, the letters KMK which the Strategy had affectionately come to be known as, found form in the new image,

Image 41: The original and new logo designed in 2010

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

As a result of the 10 year review and the issues presented at the symposium, a new five year implementation plan was developed by KMK to help refocus the *kaupapa* in line with the findings. Three main goals identified in the plan were,

> Goal 1: Magnetising the core
> Goal 2: Mobilising the masses
> Goal 3: Advocating for Influence, Cohesion and Coordination Objectives
> (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011:2-3)

The first goal was concerned increasing the value proposition and attraction of *te reo* in order to draw people in to the core group of the families committed to intergenerational transmission of *te reo*. Whilst this had been a key driver in previous marketing campaigns for KMK, the review had shown that they had failed to create significant movement of *whānau* into the core group. Previous efforts had focussed on evidence from research and international experiences on the benefits of raising bilingual children and creating homes where intergenerational transmission of the heritage language had occurred. The new focus chose to look at the examples closer to home and celebrate the tangible successes of KMK *whānau* themselves.

This was a bold move on part of the KMK leaders at the time as it challenged an ingrained cultural value and behaviour exemplified in these two whakataukī; *'kāore te kūmara e korero ana mō tōna reka -* the kumara does not speak of its own sweetness', and '*waiho mā te takata koe e mihi -* leave it to others to sing your praises'. The value being espoused in these *whakataukī* is humility. As such, it is often frowned upon in a Māori context if you promote your own achievements or abilities. This is based on the belief that achievements, if they are to warrant acknowledgement, will be rightly valued and

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recognised by others. This new approach by KMK was a step away, to some degree, from this position, instead deciding that humility would need to take the back seat for a while in order to show the tribe what had been actually achieved by their own kin. By doing so, the tribe would also be shown that the goal was a tangible and achievable one in their own space and not just theoretical outcome discussed in research.

> By valuing those core whānau who have made the highest level of commitment and using these whānau as positive role models for others, we aim to showcase this lifestyle choice to the wider Ngāi Tahu populace as the 'preferred' Ngāi Tahu exemplar as a way of drawing people in and encouraging others to follow by example (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011:2).

The second goal was targeted at enabling access to *te reo* acquisition opportunities for two main groups; the majority of the tribal membership who had not yet engaged in the *kaupapa*, and those that had committed but needed to continue to develop their proficiency. There had been a number of shifts between these two strategic focus areas over the history of KMK. The initial thrust had been towards the macro engagement target and then the political shift in 2005 influenced a shift to proficiency developed of the committed few to become the core of experts.

Figure 7: Concentric circles illustrating levels of engagement in the KMK *kaupapa* from the 2011-2015 five year KMK implementation plan
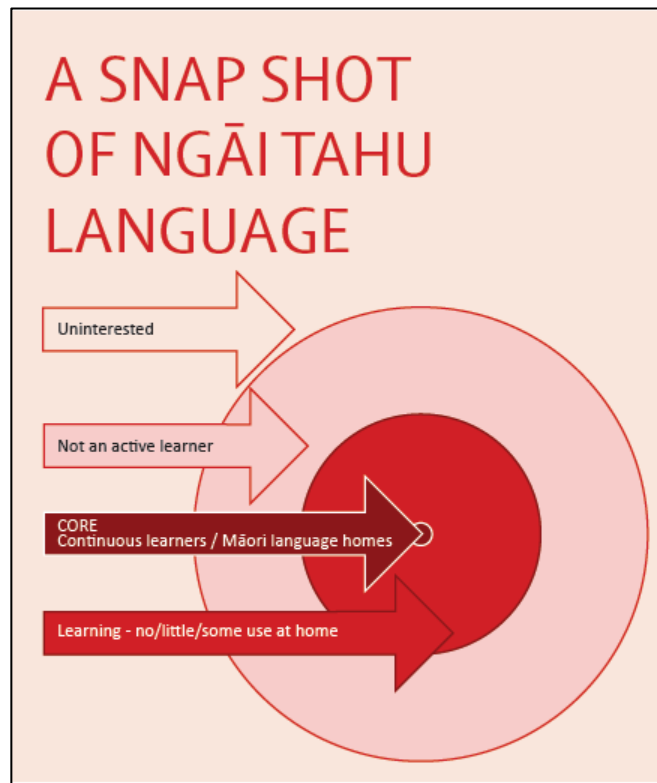
(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011:2)

This new approach looked to develop initiatives the addressed the two foci areas simultaneously.

> To ensure that the language is sustainable and survives for future generations we need to create a critical mass of speakers who support intergenerational transmission within their homes and provide them with a greater number of domains in which they are able to use and develop their reo … The majority of this potential talent comes from those who are either not yet engaged in learning the language or who are learning but who are only intermittently using te reo Māori within their homes (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011:2).

The third goal addressed the issue of strategic leadership highlighted by Skerrett in the review of the strategy and the need to be more proactive about maximising the effectiveness of the limited resources dedicated to language revitalisation in Te Waipounamu. The need for *te reo* champions across all spheres of the Ngāi Tahu political and cultural landscape was supported as a way to drive the cultural shift required to commit to the KMK *kaupapa* and to ensure the reo was being advocated at every point and in every institution.

> We are however short internally of KMK advocates and champions who are able to encourage tribal leadership both at the iwi level and rūnanga level to commit further to investment in reo revitalisation and who are able to drive language initiatives at all levels. Supporting and growing champions is a priority area as these people will not only help provide leadership to the cause but also serve to help rally the masses to participate in language revitalisation efforts and furthermore contribute to succession planning for KMK leadership into the future (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2011:3).

Since the review was conducted in 2010, the KMK *kaupapa* has continued to grow, develop and revamp resources to support *whānau* achieve their language goals. Initiatives like the Kura Reo Kāi Tahu are oversubscribed on a yearly basis with more demand to attend than beds to host the participants at the *marae*. The Kia Kurapa *hui* for beginners of *te reo* are held twice a year and these support a number of *marae*-led language *wānaka* funded centrally by the tribe across the *rohe*. The language team also regularly facilitate a number of *whānau* centred holidays and trips that are sponsored by the tribe. These include trips to the alpine regions to visit the tribal mountain Aoraki and study the stars at the observatory, to attending key sports events with a large group of other *whānau* committed to using the reo in these public domains.

The KMK language team have continued to work with Te Taura Whiri i te Reo to deliver the Te Waipounamu Kura Reo on a yearly basis which provides much valued professional development opportunities for Kāi Tahu and non-Kāi Tahu in the South, to learn from some of the leading language teachers in the country. We have also continued to publically celebrate the language through the Ngāi Tahu language awards on a biannual basis, with the second held at Ōtakou *Marae* in 2013 and then in 2015 alongside the *hui-ā-Iwi*, the biannual tribal cultural festival in Dunedin in 2015.

Image 42: Sir Tipene O'Regan congratulating the winner of the rakatahi award, Henare Te Aika-Puanaki of Ngāi Tuahuriri, Ngai Tahu Reo Awards, Dunedin

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2013)

Image 43: Thomas Aerepō-Morgan of Awarua in Dunedin 2015

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2015)

The KMK website now provides access to an extensive array of resources targeted at language in the family domain, with multiple downloadable *waiata* or music audio and associated resources. The tool, *Destination Reo,* links to Google maps and allows people to search for places to learn *te reo*, shop in *te reo* or promote entertainment opportunities in *te reo*.

Figure 8: Picture of Destination Reo Website
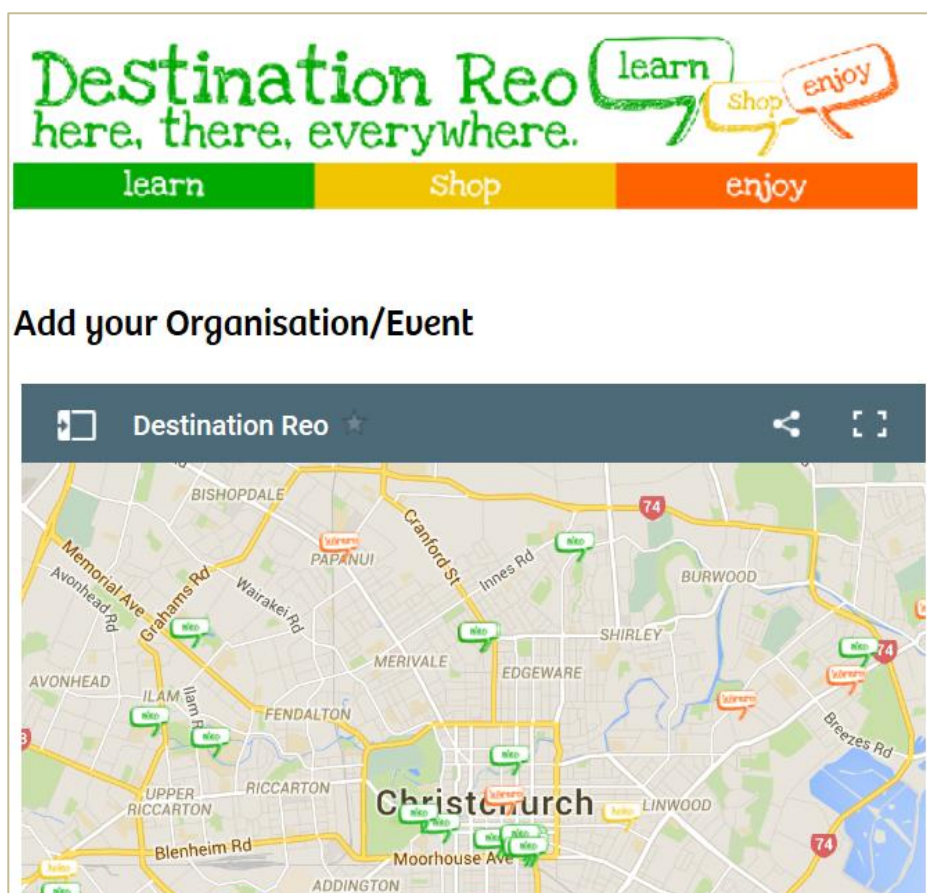
(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016)

Whānau are able to download resources that provide grammar structures, *kīwaha* and vocabulary for a wide range of *whānau* based activities such as picnics, sports games, gardening, cooking and looking after family pets.

A number of specific initiatives aligned to Skerett's recommendations in the 10 year review would take shape in the following years. Lynne-Harata Te Aika and I established *Aoraki Matatū* workshops aimed at succession planning for community-based language teachers in 2010. The workshops engaged fluent Kāi Tahu speakers who were then supported to develop their curriculum development and immersion teaching skills. The students would then take the role of *kaiako* or teachers at the Kia Kurapa *hui*, with me and Lynne as *pouārahi* or mentors who could provide feedback on their delivery. With three Aoraki Matatū workshops held a year for the next five years, a core group of language teachers were able to take over the core teaching roles of the older teachers at these basic *hui* before then moving on to take up teaching roles at the week-long immersion *hui* in 2015.

These programmes would move through a natural transition once the outcomes had been met or the demand for them subsided. In 2015, Aoraki Matatū transformed from a focus on building teaching capability to researching old Kāi Tahu manuscripts. Fluent Kāi Tahu speakers would be brought together over a year to review, translate and analyse traditional manuscripts and identify historical narratives, grammar patterns and examples of Kāi Tahu dialect that could then be used to support the curriculum in the Kāi Tahu *wānaka reo*.

A greater focus on the provision of youth orientated programmes has also been a priority from 2014 with specific Kura Reo for Kāi Tahu youth in High School established and a week-long cultural leadership programme, Manawa Hou, being delivered a number of times on a yearly basis.

Conclusion

As we cross over the 15 year threshold, there have been many milestones achieved that can help us as we position ourselves for the next 10 years of the 25 year strategy. Although most tribal members when questioned, will confirm that they see the language as important to their cultural identity and declare a desire to learn it, on the whole, this commitment is not reflected in the rates of participation when the opportunity to learn is presented to many of them. In many cases, however, *te reo* inevitably continues to take a back seat to the multitude of other everyday pressures and commitments of life, including work, children, sports, housework, and so on.

What is still largely under-estimated by many Māori and non-Māori alike is the sheer effort and time that is required to become a competent speaker in Māori as a second language. It is crucial, however, that we succeed in gaining the commitment of a substantial number of tribal members to ensure the critical mass is established to allow for sustainable language growth. The strategies employed to achieve this must be bold, they must be far reaching across all sectors of society, and they must be implemented fast. The more generations that are forced to go without quality and meaningful language opportunities, the harder it will be for future generations to claw back any ground of language loss.

Embodied in the vision of KMK is the hope that we can achieve language shift and change the tide of language loss within our people. It was this hope that I drew on in 2014 when I was given a special opportunity to again meet Joshua at a symposium held in his honour in New York. I was lucky to be able to convey my gratitude to him in person prior to his death in 2015, for the inspiration that he had provided those of us who were shaping the vision of KMK, from both his writings and the time he had shared directly with us in 2000. The poem below was part of a collection of pieces written for Joshua that were presented to him at the symposium:

Ki a Joshua Fishman	*To Joshua Fishman*
Ka oko rānei koe ki kā taki waitī o tō reo	*Do you hear the sweet sounds of your language*
I te tauka o tō mahuka ki tāna moe?	*as you lay your head to sleep?*
Ka miria rānei ō moemoeā	*Are your dreams caressed and nurtured*
e ōna kupu waiwaiā?	*with the beauty of its words?*
Me te whakahou i tō ao, ki tō te whatu kiteka	*Does it help your eyes see the world*
I te araka o Tamanui i tōna rua e?	*in a new way each day?*
Ā, ka pēhea rā kā mahara ki kā raro ko hori	*And touch the memories of past days*
Ka roko me he pirika ki tō kiri tou e?	*in a way you feel it close?*
Nōhou rā te rika tohu i a mātou	*Yours was the hand that guided*
Nōhou rā te kākau ārahi i te iwi	*Yours was the mind that led*
Nāhau hoki kā kupu whakawana, whakaihi	*Yours were the words that inspired us*
Kia tirohia ki tua i te rereka o roimata	*To look beyond the tears*
Kia rakona kā reo ki tua o Taki	*To hear beyond the cries*
Kia takataka te tinana ko roa e mamae ana	*To feel beyond the pain so long endured*
I te riroka o tōna reo i tōna waha e.	*Of a language lost.*
Ahakoa kāore i roko tana taki huri noa	*I may not yet hear its sound at every point I turn*
Ahakoa kāore e rere kau i kā kutu o te haka	*I may not yet hear it flow effortlessly from our lips*
Ka kite rānei i tōna tū i a Uruhau, i a Kata	*I may not see it take its place in joy and in laughter*
Ekari ia ko rakona te oreore i tōna taharaki	*But I felt its future dancing*
Ko roko i āna waiata i tōna pae tawhiti	*I have heard its future singing*
Ko kitea tōna tūāpae e ariari ana	*I have seen its future shining*
I roto i kā āwhero o āku pēpi e.	*In my babies' dreams.*

(Te Ipukārea & Te Whare o Rongomaurikura, 2012).

The next phase of the KMK journey and a proposed approach for the next 10 years will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

On Monday 15 August 2016, the preliminary findings of a report commissioned by Te Taumatua, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu called *A Fifteen-Year Review of Kotahi Mano Kāika*

was produced. This preliminary report was released to the KMK Advisory group and to Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu for comment. The report proposes four recommendations and calls for a redevelopment of the tribe's *reo* strategy moving it into the future including succession planning and continued participation in the national arena regarding language planning. It also proposes the development of a comprehensive research plan with provision for continued development of Kāi Tahu corpus and use of quantitative and qualitative methods to obtain data to show measurable outcomes in language development.

This thesis therefore, is timely in that it can contribute and inform both the redevelopment of the proposed reo strategy and the research plan as discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

Ūpoko 5 - Chapter 5
He honoka kaupapa, he honoka takata – A connection of ideas, a binding of people

Ka noho kā Tatau-o-te-whare-o-Māui
Uhuka reo kore tō mutu e...i

Left only as a house for the Daddy-long-legs
Your funeral will be one of no voice

Introduction

Understanding what percentage of the population might speak a language does not in itself provide a judgment on the health of that language and whether or not the language is in future or imminent danger. In order to achieve such an understanding, it is necessary to understand the wider context of language endangerment, the many varied factors that may influence it and the responses to it, that is, language revitalisation.

Hinton and Hale (2001) provide an excellent analysis of the broader issues involved in language revitalisation in *The Green Book of Language Revitalisation in Practice*. The 'Green Book' was compiled as a response to *The Red Book on Endangered Languages*, an electronic resource compiled in 1993 by UNESCO that identified languages at risk of extinction (UNESCO 1993:3). Hinton and Hale provide practical solutions that may be transferable across different language groups to assist in the planning and implementation of language revitalisation initiatives.

Hinton also proposes a specific model of language revitalisation in *How to Keep Your Language Alive – A common sense Approach to One-on-one Language Learning* (2002), for language communities with only limited native speakers left to support intergenerational transmission of their language. In this work, Hinton presents the reader with step-by-step suggestions on language mentoring using the 'Master-Apprentice Language Learning Programme'. This approach will be analysed in more detail further on in this chapter (Hinton, 2002: 11-21).

Endangered Languages – Current issues and future prospects, by Grenoble and Whaley (1998) is another valuable resource that investigates the factors influencing language loss and general issues pertaining to language endangerment. Part II of this book focuses on

specific community responses to language loss, and strategies being employed in diverse parts of the world to reverse language shift. Likewise, *Bringing Our Languages Home* by Leanne Hinton (2013) provides the researcher with another collection of current revitalisation strategies in practise from around the world, but importantly, for the purposes of this research and the relationship to the KMK strategy, this book is directly related to families revitalising the language in the home.

There are also a number of currently unpublished doctoral and masters theses on the *kaupapa* of Māori language revitalisation. Joseph Maclean (2012) presents an interesting model for *hapū* language revitalisation in his Master of Arts thesis; *He rāngai maomao he iti pioke Te Mauri o Pūheke.* He uses the framework of the *wheke* or octopus to identify the parts necessary to revitalise the *reo* of the *hapū*. Ian Christiansen's doctoral thesis titled, *Ko te whare whakamana: Māori language revitalisation* (2001) provides another *Kaupapa Māori* framework for language revitalisation within the New Zealand context that is based on the concepts of *mana Māori* (control and responsibility), *mana tangata* (personal empowerment), and *tūhonotanga* (interconnectedness) striving for language revitalisation (Christensen, 2001).

Although other language communities in New Zealand and around the World can draw many similarities to the Kāi Tahu situation from the experiences of language loss and strategic responses to that loss, the quantum of literature available that relates more specifically to the Kāi Tahu situation is significantly less. When factors such as numbers of tribal members, the percentage of second language speakers available and engaged, the geography, and the practise of intergenerational transmission are considered, there are limited published examples of similar current language revitalisation practice. This is even more so the case when we focus on groups attempting to revitalise a language without a generation of native speakers; instead, relying on a comparatively small group of second language speakers to drive, re-construct and reverse language shift.

For this reason, the book *Revitalising Indigenous Languages – How to Recreate a Lost Generation* is a welcome addition to the literature. In this book, Olthuis, Kivela and Skutnabb-Kangas (2003) document the implementation of the Aanaar Saami language revitalisation strategy. The authors propose a positive position on languages in situations similar to Kāi Tahu's – that it can be done,

> Instead of people just stating that a language is extremely endangered and feeling sad about it, or merely working to describe and archive it, the language can be given new life! New first- as well as second language speakers and new environments where languages can be used can emerge (Olthuis, Kivela & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003:29).

With only 350 speakers within the language community, the book suggests that other groups who represent numerically small languages may become inspired, and the results of their interventions may well have just that effect.

Some international models for consideration

I have identified three international case studies of community language revitalisation initiatives to review for the purposes of this research. The three have been chosen because of their applicability to the Kāi Tahu situation, thereby providing an opportunity to reflect on the KMK strategy and make comparisons that may inform potential areas of future focus. It is not the intent of this research to do a full analysis of these case studies, but rather to explain the context from which they have emerged and identify some of the challenges that they have attempted to address lessons learnt from the experiences. The three *kaupapa* are,

- The Master Apprentice Programme (MAP); as a model of immersion language learning where few speakers of the heritage language remain;
- The Breath of Life programme; as a model of language revitalisation where the language may no longer be spoken, and;
- The Wampanoag experience; where a language no longer spoken has been revived and a new community of language speakers created.

Another factor in common with these three *kaupapa*, is they have all had an influence on my own thinking about language revitalisation and KMK over the past few years either directly or indirectly, as I have been formulating my ideas on this research project, and therefore have been a part of my own language journey.

Master Apprentice Programme

The connection of this programme to my language journey has taken a long time to realise and is a narrative in itself. When researching the historical documents related to the history of KMK as part of this research, the notes from a *hui* held with the KMK Working Party and Joshua Fishman and his wife Gella in 2000, resurfaced from my personal archives. The notes were dictated from a recording of the discussion where we were asking Fishman to critique our strategy and provide guidance for our future direction. The notes are incomplete, insofar as they only represent sixteen pages of a recording which equate to part of one of the days of the *hui*. But importantly for this research, what popped out immediately to me from the transcript was the name of a linguist and the model of language revitalisation that she had developed. Fishman at the time was encouraging those of us in the KMK language group to look at the work of this linguist to help our revitalisation cause.

The linguist's name was Leanne Hinton, although her first name had been recorded incorrectly in this transcript. Fishman said,

> I am sure that some of you must have heard of Leanne Hinton's programme in California which is called the Mentor Project in which graduate students of linguistics with a particular interest in now vanishing languages in California are sent off for a year to live with a native speaker. With the one native speaker at least so that one young person with many years of life ahead can learn by living with that person for a year the repertoire of that person's language. That gives one life-time framework for learning language (Fishman, J., 2000:personal communication).

The notes record that Fishman then continued on explaining the dynamics of this programme model and suggested that we should write to her and read one of her recent publications where she outlines the steps they go through in working with severely endangered languages. Fishman was extremely positive about Hinton's approach for language in this predicament stating, *"It is not impossible to buy another generation of time"* (Fishman, J., 2000:personal communication).

What is interesting about this discussion was the fact that those of us that made up the KMK language group at the time did not register the importance of his advice to us on this particular matter. Most of us were still new at that time to language planning and revitalisation theory and were limited in our knowledge of literature on the matter

including the key players who were working in the area internationally. Whilst many shifts in KMK policy and activity emerged from the *hui* with Fishman in 2000, the notes from this particular part of the discussion would be filed away and not resurface again until this current wave of research gave me cause to sift through the older records relating to the *kaupapa*.

When doing so, the irony of this finding was that we had indeed had the opportunity to contact and meet with Hinton, but not for another 15 or so years and in fact, by chance. When I was contacted by Hinton in 2010 and invited to contribute to the book she was writing on family language revitalisation initiatives around the world, *Bringing our Languages Home – Language Revitalization for Families,* I did not make the connection then that she was the person who Fishman had recommended to us all those years ago. Moreover, it would be a further three years that would pass before I started hearing more and more about the Master Apprentice Programme (MAP). Even when I was to contact her in 2015 and invite her to New Zealand to discuss her programme with the KMK committee who was about to embark on the 15 year review of our strategy, in much the same way as we had done with Fishman in 2000, we remained oblivious to the historic connection.

I had instead become excited by the Master Apprentice model and had started to think about how it might be adapted to suit a Kāi Tahu environment, an idea that is explored in Chapter 10. By chance we were fortunate enough to be able to link in with a trip she was planning to Australia, and my approach to Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu to seek funding to bring her to Christchurch as part of the trip was accepted. I hosted Hinton at my house for a week and had the opportunity to meet with the rest of the KMK committee to discuss in-depth, the programmes that she had developed and helped nurture, that were now found in action in many parts of the world.

It would not be until July 2016, however, that the link would be made, from the transcript of the uncovered notes of the *hui* in 2000, between these two linguists who unknowingly connected to each other by a mutual action of support, spanning 15 years. Both had donated their time and answered the request made to them by this southern-most tribe in the southern most place at the bottom of the Pacific.

On reflection, it is easy to become annoyed with oneself that this opportunity was not taken up earlier, as it had become apparent that Hinton's model, as Fishman had suggested in 2000, had a direct correlation to the Kāi Tahu situation. He was able to see the synergies back then, and we had completely missed that element of his advice. The reality, however, is that the timing was probably not right for us at that time anyway. We were still consumed by the challenge of achieving critical awareness of the *kaupapa* amongst our people and were focused on trying to engage the wider collective rather than strategies that would develop a few individuals to a higher level. As discussed in 2000, the time would come for that approach, but Fishman's advice came to our door at a stage when we were unable to comprehend what it was that we were seeing.

It would be 15 years later when the lens on our tribal vision would be corrected and the myopia addressed. It is easy to see now, why Fishman was so positive about the MA model.

About the Master Apprentice Model

The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Method is a model of language learning that came into being at the first language conference for Native Californian's in 1992. It was the brain child of leading linguist, Leanne Hinton, who facilitated a key conversation with conference participants based on an idea an acquaintance of hers, Julian Lang, had shared some weeks previous about funding a language dyad consisting of a native speaker and language learner as a revitalisation initiative. The idea of a targeted language mentor programme continued to be developed and evolved into the Master Apprentice Programme (MAP) which is currently found in over 20 countries, supporting over forty languages (Hinton, 2002:ix).

The Master Apprentice Programme was initially designed as a response to the endangered languages of the First Nations people in California. The model provided an opportunity for those people who had access to a native speaker of a language, but did not necessarily have access to more modern formal language acquisition opportunities such as language learning classes in their immediate locality. The model was importantly not reliant on the existence of a community of speakers to work, needing only a singular native speaker to take the role of the mentor, and, therefore, was suitable for those languages where only a few or an individual native speaker of the language was remaining (Hinton, 2002:xiii).

There are many elements to this programme that are attractive to this research largely because of the principals at the core of the initiative, which strive to empower the language group or individuals to grasp, adapt and change the ideas housed within the language programme framework to suit their own needs and language aspirations. The programme itself draws from a number of different models that are morphed into a flexible, adaptable and dynamic package that supports the language learner to take control of their learning in a way that will lead to the most beneficial learning environment for them.

I am particularly drawn to this model of language acquisition as it encourages a sense of ownership of the programme by participants of *Kura Reo*, where they are themselves meant to figure out the solutions and what works best for them, as opposed to a more structured formal language learning process where the learner is more passive in their language role and expects to be 'fed' the required knowledge. In this model the students are encouraged to take the role of the 'language hunter' and are provided with tools to help them in the 'hunting process' in an immersion environment, whereby they are empowered to be active in the language acquisition process.

Another positive feature of the MA model is that it does not require the participation of linguists and trained teachers in order to succeed. Instead, it conversely positions the learner and mentor at the centre of the learner as 'experts' themselves about their own needs and what tools or processes are going to work best. The MA model is based on an immersion learning philosophy that requires the mentor and apprentice to engage in an interactive language environment for between 10 and 20 hours a week (Hinton, 2002:xiv).

Hinton describes the MA model as a package that incorporates elements from a number of other key models of learning, that are then brought together to create a programme that can respond to the needs of this particular language need and situation. I will return to this practice of mixing and matching relevant elements of a range of theories and programmes to provide innovative and responsive initiatives when discussing a new proposed approach for the Kāi Tahu language strategy in Chapter 9.

There are five key theories that have been used and adapted for the MA model,

1. Stephen Krashen's input hypothesis which is based on the belief that people learn language by understanding what is being said in a language through contextual interactions and experiences (Hinton, 2002:xiv);

2. Total Physical Response (TPR) method that is based again on exposure to contextual language that is produced in association with actions or physical movement, where the content of the language associated with that movement is modelled by the teacher through action (Hinton, 2002:xv);

3. Linguistic elicitation – where the learner is given the linguistic tools and strategies to be able to ask the mentor what they need to know in the language, therefore guiding the language learning content to best meet their needs. (Hinton, 2002:xv);

4. Communicative competence - which is a model that ties the language to cultural and traditional practices and the kind of language required to perform and engage in those cultural ceremonies and activities where possible, both in terms of traditional practices, and those that have been adapted to modern environments and activities (Hinton, 2002:xvi); and

5. A practice that provides the language teams (mentors and apprentices) with the tools to create their own ways of language learning and transmission, relevant to their specific contexts (Hinton, 2002: xvii).

The MA model is an immersion learning model. This means the master and learner engage with each other only using the language being learnt and do not flick back to the majority language to convey a point or explain something. This is the same way that a child learns language, by simply being immersed in it in everyday normal contexts. A parent does not have the option when modelling a first language to a child, of switching to another language to explain something to them. Instead, they must find ways in that first language to express their point, model the desired action, and support their language development (Hinton, 2002:7).

A child also is not expected to perfect that language the first time they hear it. At one year, two years or three years old, a child is also not expected to be able to break down the grammar and reproduce the language perfectly. It is understood that the mastery of the language will be something that takes a great deal of time and will be a cumulative process of experiment, modelling, practice and refinement. This is also how immersion language learning works with adults.

The programme supports the notion that as learners of endangered languages, we do not have the benefit of time, and therefore we should not become pre-occupied with the notion that we must wait until we have a high level of proficiency before we start to teach others. What is instead encouraged by those involved in the MAP, is an approach where the learners are expected to impart what they know to others, and in time, take on the role of mentors themselves thereby growing the base of learners.

> The apprentice should take on just one responsibility beyond learning the language: **teach whatever you learn to someone else!** Darrell Kipp, A Blackfeet language educator, admonishes language learners not to wait until they know the language well before trying to teach it; if you learned two words today, he says, knock on your neighbor's door and say, "Turn of the TV! Get the kids! I have two new words!" (Hinton, 2002:xvii).

For the Kāi Tahu language situation and the goal of encouraging parents to use the language that they have with their children in the home environment, this approach is ideal. Too often those of us engaged in the KMK *kaupapa* come across parents who are language learners and are reluctant to use the language for fear of transmitting poor quality language or simply because they are *whakamā* or embarrassed, about how little they know. The KMK mantra has been similar to Hinton's position, in that we advocate the goal of including any words, phrases or songs into the natural home environment as much as possible so that those elements of the language become normalised.

The argument we present to parents, is that every word of *te reo* that your child learns naturally as they grow, is one less word that they will actively have to learn in the future. Their 'language bank' will naturally occur a healthy deposit just from having that language around them, and that will ultimately reduce the size of the 'language mortgage' later on in their lives.

In her book, *How to Keep Your Language Alive – A Common Sense Approach to One-on-One Language Learning* (2002)*,* Hinton sets about providing a practical guide for people wanting to use the MA model to learn endangered languages. The resource is written in an accessible way that explains the principles and methods of immersion teaching to people who have not been formally trained as teachers. Chapter 1 deals with the important task of critical awareness around language and works to deconstruct commonly held myths about language learning and immersion learning. These often serve to mislead

learners and teachers alike as to what can be achieved and how things should be done. The key myths that are disputed and presented as un-truths by Hinton are,

- You need a classroom, books, and a professionally trained teacher to learn a second language;
- It is best to learn language through writing;
- Grammar needs to be explained before you can learn the language
- Translation is essential in order to teach someone a language
- Adults can't learn languages
- You need money to do language teaching and learning
- You need community support to learn the language

<div align="right">(Hinton, 2002:1-5).</div>

Chapter Two of Hinton's guide to the MAP provides the language teams with a wide range of practical strategies, tips, and learning techniques to go about setting up an immersion learning environment. Chapter Three then focuses on setting goals for your language learning and helps to establish realistic language proficiency outcomes and expectations based on the time invested and the situation you are in (Hinton, 2002:21).

Chapters Four to Eleven provide specific suggestions of what might be able to be incorporated into the learning sessions although they are by no means presented as being prescriptive. Instead, they offer suggestions for the building blocks for language learning that are born from exemplars where the method has been tried and been successful.

The last chapter in the book confronts head-on one of the biggest obstacles to successful language learning, and that is finding ways to overcome the challenges when things get hard. Under the title 'Problems and Plateaus in Language Learning', Hinton sets about reassuring the readers that these obstacles are a natural part of the language learning journey and encourages them to persevere; again to be realistic about their expectations, re-set their goals and to stay positive. Her last word on the matter reads,

> Get to the point where you feel uncomfortable again. Welcome the discomfort. See it as a sign that you are being challenged – and that you are venturing into new territory (Hinton, 2002:89).

The book concludes with a step-by-step guide in the appendices of how to establish a MAP in a community and how it might be able to be adapted to a classroom environment.

The process of establishing a programme and identifying the order and strategies for key interventions is helpful when compared to the Kāi Tahu situation and our history of developing and implementing initiatives. In terms of the teaching methods, although we may not have been aware of the names of the theoretical approaches at the time, we had actually applied many of the principles when delivering our own tribal immersion-based learning programmes. What is new about the MA model for us, is the focus on empowering the learner to be the hunter of the language and the creation of a special and much personalised relationship between the mentor and the apprentice. The idea of targeting an individual learner to become, in turn, another master, is a refreshing approach that I can see could have benefits for Kāi Tahu if we were able to focus on examples of the language for intergenerational transmission in the home.

The Breath of Life

My exposure to the Breath of Life programme is another narrative and again illustrates a personal pattern where I was not immediately able to link the dots of what I was hearing until a number of years later. In 2012, I had the opportunity to participate in a symposium in New York at New York University and the Smithsonian Institute where I had the privilege of hearing from a number of people who were actively involved in revitalising endangered Indigenous languages around the world. A First Nation's American woman by the name of jessie little doe baird spoke about her experiences revitalising her heritage language, the Wampanaog language that had been dormant for over a 100 years. She made particular mention of the rich written material that she had access to from which she had retrieved and built her language knowledge on, and talked about how prolific her people had been at committing their language, cultural and historical knowledge to text.

I immediately drew comparisons with the Kāi Tahu experience in terms of no longer having native speakers of our dialect available but still having a rich resource of historical texts in the dialect that we were able to use to help research the dialect and its features. Although I was able to make these comparisons of experience with the situation that jessie spoke of, the nature of the experiences and challenges associated with revitalising them were significantly different. Unlike in the Wampanaog situation, the Kāi Tahu dialect had native speakers of it that I had known in my lifetime, albeit in small numbers, and we also had the wider pool of Māori language speakers that we were able to use as a resource because the dialectal differences were only minor in comparison. Nevertheless,

I was personally inspired by jessie's presentation, as her journey was an exemplar for what I wanted to achieve for our Kāi Tahu *mita*; to return it from its dormant state to become once again a living, spoken dialect.

By chance, she returned after her speech to sit by me in the audience and after a brief discussion, she suggested I look at a programme named the Breath of Life. I duly wrote the name down on my notes, where it remained for another three years.

The *Breath of Life/ Silent No More* was a workshop that was initiated by Leanne Hinton and Frank Manriquez in 1996 at the University of California, Berkeley, that was designed to provide researchers of endangered languages, the tools and training to retrieve and decipher key information about languages that were no longer spoken or endangered. The aim was for this information to be used to help construct a knowledge base so that the language would then be able to be taught again, thus helping it to transition once again to a spoken language.

> Twenty California Indians participated in this workshop. They were introduced to materials in the various archives at the Berkley campus, and shown ways to work with those materials. The key goal of the workshop was to show the participants how to extract useful language from these old field notes and tapes and publications (Hinton, 2012b:8).

The 'useful language' referred to by Hinton, was language that could be used in everyday communication as a living language. The goal here, was not just research the language for academic merit, but to instead, seek those elements that would help to restore the language to the communities from which they came. The approach helped to lift the control of language knowledge away from the academic institutions and linguists, and back into the hands and mouths of ordinary people, thus empowering them to own the process and outcome of the research. What I found inspiring, was that this approach was being driven by the linguists themselves, and not merely for the purpose of creating language teaching resources to support linguistic programmes of study, but with a focus on returning the language to the homes and communities as a language of intergenerational transmission. This sentiment is echoed in some of the lines of a poem by one of the Indigenous researchers that inspired the first workshop, Linda Yamane,

New friends guide us to the tools we seek - giving freely of themselves, encircling us with their knowledge, supporting us in our journey to rebuild the languages of our past. In return, we bring our living connection, breathing life into the walls and halls of this academic institution. We are living people. Silent no more (Yamane, 2012:8).

I recall the first time I encountered the copy of Matiaha Tiramōrehu's hand written diary entry about his wife's suicide and the wave of emotions that I experienced when I considered the time and situation this incredible Kāi Tahu ancestor must have been in when he committed his thoughts to paper. For a man who had not grown up with the written word, what then compelled him to invest what would become significant energies into recording his experiences, his plights and historical tribal narratives? Did he envisage a time that his words might be researched and used as valuable keys to unlocking the dialect and language of his heritage? These same questions must be common place for the linguists and students engaged in the Breath of Life workshops, as they set about unlocking the messages of past ancestors and generations.

Jeannine Gender compiled and edited the presentations made at the workshop by linguists Leanne Hinton, Kathryn Klar, and Martha Marci, and produced a manual that was published by the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival. The manual was then updated and made available as a PDF in 2012 by Matthew Vestuto.

The manual opens with a poignant poem by Hinton titled, *To the Lonely Hearts Language Club,* that speaks of the dedication and the rewards experienced by the researchers engaged in the important task of bringing back to life silenced languages. The second verse of the poem reads,

She holds in her hands the pages
on which rest spidery symbols
of sounds whispered by dying grandmothers
and written down by a crazed linguist, long dead too,
of words spoken for the final time generations ago,
entombed now in perpetual silence,
the last sound waves decayed into carbon traces
in a paper monument of the passing of language from this earth
(Gendar, 2012:7).

Hinton introduces the manual as a resource for a wide audience that may themselves have a number of different drivers; to revive a dead language; to support the language

programmes in a language that is already established, but lacks a breadth of corpus and exemplars in the language; or perhaps to retrieve cultural content knowledge from historical records. Whatever the motivating factor, one cannot help but be drawn into the passion for the survival of the Indigenous languages that emanate from this programme.

Much like Hinton's step by step approach for establishing a Master Apprentice Programme in a community, she again lays out a clear path in the manual for Breath of Life that helps the students set realistic goals and targets their energies effectively to achieve their desired goal.

Step one is concerned with locating the language sources that can be used for the research and those resources that might contain information about languages closely related to the one being researched. Step two involves learning the skills required to read or listen to the materials noting that the skills needed might vary across different language sources and range from understand phonetics to being able to identify particular and writing styles and script, or the subtleties of pronunciation from one speaker to another. Step three is the first stage of language learning; where students would hunt out important key words, phrases or songs for example; and familiarise themselves with them, and achieving a command of them (Hinton, 2012c:11-12).

Hinton explains that an important part of this third stage is the process of recording your own language, even though you may still be at the basic level of language command. The benefit of recording the oral production of the language examples, is that it supports further language dissemination and provides important examples of spoken language for others or future researchers. Early access to information that has been retrieved from historical records has played an important role in the revival of the Kāi Tahu dialect by applying this approach.

For those of us who have been driving the dialect usage in the *iwi* through KMK, as soon as we have come across unique Kāi Tahu words or phrases, we have looked to find ways that we can teach them to a wider language learning audience. At times this has meant we have had to go back and correct terms that we have later learnt were used in different contexts, or where other sources have challenged the definition we first believed to be the case; but these events have been comparatively small in comparison to the many

contributions we have made to the spoken dialect today. If we had not applied this approach, instead, choosing to wait until we had a fully comprehensive view of the dialect from the breadth of historical information available, then we would still be waiting today, two decades on from the birth of the tribal revitalisation movement.

Step four and step five involve an extension beyond vocabulary and phrases, to being able to identify simple sentence patterns and grammar rules that would allow for a more a wider base of language production, and then to continue to build up the level of complexity in terms of grammar and the expression of cultural content. Hinton describes the sixth step as the point where new language is created from the base that you have established; where you have reached a level of understanding of the language rules that allows you to manipulate them and come up with new expressions (Hinton, 2012c:12).

In the context of Kāi Tahu language development, this stage would be akin to the point where we start to compose our own new *whakataukī* or proverbs and *kīwaha* or idioms, using the vocabulary and language models from the literature we have researched. This is an exciting stage for a second language learner, as they are able to get a taste for unfamiliar language expression and start to feel more confident when engaging in unfamiliar or unpredictable language contexts.

Step seven involves a move beyond composition and creative language expression that uses defined structure and form to say new things, to a stage where the foundational knowledge of the language is built on to create new language and is seen as the development stage (Hinton, 212:13).

Hinton suggests that this development phase may result in the development of transliterations or the construction of completely new words that are influenced by the cultural worldview. An example of this in Kāi Tahu word be an old term for the white people when they first arrived on southern shores, *takata pora*. The term *takata* means people, but the term *pora* is a large sea-going canoe. The white people were thus described as the 'boat people'; those that arrived on the big ships. Another early example was a derogatory term for a half-caste child; *utu pārara*. Literally this would be translated as the 'cost of a barrel', which referred to a barrel of rum, and implied the child had been the result of an alcohol transaction. These examples however, are from a time of linguistic

strength in Kāi Tahu, when the language was simply adapting to the new world that the white people brought with them.

To look at an example of current language development that my family now use on a daily basis, is the term '*pūrere horoi weruweru*' for washing machine. *Pūrere* is now common term for 'appliance' that was developed by the Māori language commission. *Horoi* is a generic term for 'wash'. The term *weruweru,* however, is a term unique to Kāi Tahu for 'clothes'; and when combined, we produce a modern Kāi Tahu term for a modern appliance. In generic Māori, another example might be the word that was developed for the computer; *rorohiko,* which translates as electric brain. The term *hiko* itself was an adaptation from the traditional word for lightning that was then used to describe electricity.

A key principle in the Breath of Life approach is based on the importance of imparting what knowledge has been constructed and established about the language at every step of its restoration, in order to increase its reach and chance of survival. As language features are identified or new words coined, they need to be given voice and used as much as possible.

Some sanguine advice given to people engaged in the Breath of Life programme is the freedom to be creative and importantly, take risks.

> Once you have exhausted the potential of the available materials on your language, you will have to break out on your own, and just try to make up some things. Your evolving language will have important differences from the old language, but if you want it to be a complete language of communication, that will have to happen (Hinton, 2012c:14).

The Breath of Life programme and associated resources provide valuable insight into strategies of language revitalisation that have been taken beyond the theoretical and applied, teased, adapted and refined. The stories of participants of the programme provide real-life examples of what can be achieved when the right focus, processes and commitment is applied to the task of language restoration. For the purpose of this research and the relationship back to the revitalisation of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu and in particular, the Kāi Tahu dialect, the Breath of Life approach is a potential model that can be explored in

order to develop a stronger understanding of the dialect, as well as a way of supporting its continued development into new domains.

Even if we find that there is not the inclination or desire of the current generation of Kai Tahu to revitalise *te mita o Kāi Tahu*, Hinton suggests that by engaging in this approach, there could still hold some future hope for the dialect.

> If nobody wants to learn it, then figure out some way to record it so that the next generation that comes along will (Hinton, 2012c:11).

Wampanoag – A language restored

As I mentioned earlier I was inspired by jessie little doe when she first spoke to me about the Breath of Life Model. Her story was a tangible example of what could be achieved by an individual who was driven and believed in what they needed to achieve. I had felt proud, on a personal level, about having raised my children (then aged seven and eight), with *te reo Māori* as their first language, when it had not been spoken in our family for at least four generations; a story that will be elaborated on in Chapter 6. But upon hearing about jessie's story, the enormity of the challenge that she faced seemed daunting even for me on the outside. When I considered that she did not have access to any oral recordings of the language, and no native role models of the language or those most closely related to it, I was humbled and in awe. Unlike with the Kāi Tahu situation, jessie had the added challenge of initially not having a wider group of potential language supports, who were able to drive the *kaupapa* collectively. At least in our case, we were able to access native speakers and teachers of *te reo Māori* and even had limited audio examples of the dialect available to us.

In her chapter titled, *How did this happen to my language* in *Bringing Our Languages Home* (Hinton ed., 2013), jessie talks of the journey of the language of her people from its state of dormancy, through to the significant milestone of learning the language to a point where she could raise her youngest child raised in Wampanaog as her first language.

For jessie's people, the first attack on the language came with the devastating impact of yellow fever, brought to her ancestral lands by the white man from 1616 to 1619 and that killed two thirds of her people. As was the case with most Indigenous populations that

were to suffer colonisation around the world, these imported diseases more often than not acted as a clearing ground for the subsequent waves of attack through war, land and resource alienation and then there were the assimilative destructive forces of religion and education as was the case with Kāi Tahu in Te Waipounamu.

The language of the Wampanaog did not survive these colonising forces beyond 1860 and the language would remain dormant and considered a dead language until efforts to reclaim it back from the archival historical records where it lay, were initiated in the 1990s (baird, 2013:19). In her language story in *Bringing Our Languages Home* (2013)*;* jessie talks about the establishment of the Wampanaog Language Reclamation Project (WLRP) where different *hapū* or bands of Wampanaog joined together for this common goal of bringing their language back to life. What is not recorded in this part of her story was retold by her in her presentation at New York University back in 2012, about her own role in this reclamation process.

From first having the vision that something needed to be done and without any formal training in language reclamation or linguistics, jessie, as a mature student, set about forging a path that would connect her back to the historical records of her ancestors. With the help of a linguist, Professor Kenneth Hale, she was able to start to develop the orthographic conventions that would help to give voice again to the words and messages of her people that had been recorded. Consistent with the approach encouraged by the Breath of Life programme, jessie was not possessive with this new information and maintained a generosity in sharing the gifts that she had uncovered; instead she set about teaching and sharing her knowledge (baird, 2013:22). There was a recognised reciprocal benefit in this approach, as she spoke of her students as being a significant factor in her own language development,

> i think that some of the most effective learning aids i had, and still have, are my student speakers. Teaching something to others helps me to understand the "whys" and "hows" of my language. i have been teaching for fifteen years now, and i have new questions from new speakers every single year (baird, 2013:22).

Image 44: Jessie little doe baird teaching the Wampanaog language to a group of students

(Source: Baird, 2016)

Jessie and her husband, who she had met in language class, decided that they would take the next step with their language with the birth of their youngest daughter and raise her in the Wampanaog language. They did this knowing that she would, at least for a time, be the only child with this ability and command of the language and was aware of many of the challenges that they would likely face. Nevertheless, they persisted and her daughter became the first native speaker of Wampanaog in over 150 years.

Image 45: Jessie little doe baird with her daughter Mae, the first native speaker of Wampanaog language in over 150 years

(Source: baird, 2016)

In her story of her language journey, jessie traces the highs and lows as well as suggesting strategies for people who want to achieve the goal of bringing a silenced language back in to the home and eventually, the wider community. Using cultural drivers such as the composition of new songs for ceremonies and engaging those passionate about particular cultural practices, to reintroduce the language into these domains, the language is now increasingly heard in multiple domains outside of jessie's home and the language classes where it was reborn (baird, 2013:26).

They have also managed to develop a curriculum for a Wampanaog immersion school that was established in 2015, where children are now able to receive an education, imbued with their culture and values and in their heritage language. This is no mean feat when one considers that last time there was an immersion classroom in Wampanaog was in the 1630s. There are numerous complexities evident in the Wampanaog situation that make the language revitalisation milestones achieved even more admirable. The small number of tribal membership and therefore the challenges inherent in achieving a critical mass of speakers, the length of time since the language had been spoken, the difficulties in having

to establish new orthographic conventions and socialising a new generation with the new language forms, the lack of models of intergenerational transmission; and all this on top of the usual pressures and struggles of learning and maintaining a minority language as a second language learner in your community.

For these reasons, the story is even more inspiring for myself as an advocate for *te reo* and *te mita o Kāi Tahu*. One cannot help but be motivated by this story and believe that, if it can be done there, then surely we can achieve the same here in Kāi Tahu.

When speaking of the resistance from some among her own people to her speaking Wampanaog, jessie gave sage advice for language advocates and pioneers,

> Sometimes, when i was speaking only Wampanaog, people became visibly disturbed by my refusal to use English. i think this had to be expected and ignored. If we are using our language around non-speakers, it can cause our People to feel a wide range of emotions, not at least of which are shame, inadequacy, fear of the unknown, and frustration. Eventually, these folks will learn to accept it and move on (baird, 2013:27).

Conclusion

The MA and Breath of Life programmes both provide examples of models of language revitalisation that have been developed to support languages that no longer have any speakers or where speakers are few in numbers. Although te reo Māori is not currently at the critical stage of endangerment as is the case with many of the languages of the native American tribes that the programmes were developed to assist, the strategies are transferable to te reo and in particular the Kāi Tahu language situation.   The step-by-step approach to revitalising a language with limited people and resources available, provide practical ways to tackle some of the challenges facing *te mita o Kāi Tahu* and *te reo* in the tribe. The MA programme exemplifies a pro-active approach that focuses on what can be achieved by a small number of committed individuals, to buy a 'generation of time' for the language concerned. The Breath of Life programme, on the other hand, presents a model that can be used to research and revive the Kāi Tahu dialect from historical records in the absence of surviving native speakers of the *mita*.

The third case study explored in this chapter, the Wamponaog language revitalisation experience, brings these two models together as an example of the theory in action. Here,

jessie little doe and her language team have been able to give breath and voice to their language that had been silenced for many generations through the application of sound research practice, vision, commitment and strong mentorship. To be able to move the status of a language from dead to living with such few people and resources to assist in the revitalisation process, is remarkable and helps to create a platform of hope and possibility for the language within Kāi Tahu and the unique Kāi Tahu dialect.

Ūpoko 6 - Chapter 6
He reo tuku iho - An intergenerational language journey

Kai hea rā aku manukura
I te āwhiotaka o te wā
Kai te kotiti te āwhā
Kai te ua te āwhā

Where are my leaders
In the height of the storm
A driving storm
With pelting rain

Introduction

This chapter will look at the task of raising bilingual children in a minority language context using the personal narrative approach. The aim is to create a narrative that moves beyond the theory of minority language bilingualism, through the experiences and challenges of my own family's language journey within the unique context of the modern Kāi Tahu language environment. The validity of the personal narrative approach here is supported by the fact that there have been no other published accounts to date of this situation.

This insider analysis, will extend beyond the somewhat impersonal layer of tribal statistics, to focus on the more personal realities faced at the *whānau* level, of attempting to raise children to speak Māori here in Te Waipounamu, in Ōtautahi, Christchurch, in my own home.

I do not use the word *attempt* here lightly. I would love to be able to say I am successfully doing it and have achieved the task of raising my children as fluent, confident bilinguals of both Māori and English. But the reality is that each day challenges that at many levels and, as a consequence, certainty remains thus far out of reach.

Most of us who have committed to acquiring a second or further language will be familiar with the challenges inherent in the journey. The path often travelled will most likely have its fair share of invigorating highs where you might find yourself sitting in wonder of the view you have just achieved, only to be followed by big lows where you

realise the desert, that seems to be never-ending, remains all around you, challenging your very desire to carry on.

It is at times like those that you desperately try and recall the vistas of hope and promise, where you could simply find the words you wished to say without the aid of a dictionary and to do so in 'real time'. The very ordinary and normal challenges of language acquisition become even more intense however, when the language that you are committed to revitalising does not have the benefit of time and is the language upon which your children's identity has been built upon.

Understanding bilingualism

When analysing the journey towards bilingualism and raising bilingual children in the Kāi Tahu context, it is important to understand how we are applying the concept of bilingualism and, therefore, what it is that we are hoping to achieve. Bilingualism can be used to describe the ability of a person to speak two languages, but as a high level statement, it remains ambiguous as to the extent of a person's ability in those languages.

> A person may be able to speak two languages, but tends only to speak one language in practice. Alternatively, the individual may regularly speak two languages, but competence in one language may be limited. Another person will use one language for conversation and another for writing and reading. The essential distinction is therefore between language ability and language use (Baker, 2001:3).

A great deal of attention has been paid to the dimensions of bilingualism and the classification of bilinguals into various groups depending on age, a person's language ability in one or both of the languages, their use of the languages and the reasons driving their bilingual behaviour and practice. As it is common for people to move between and across these classifications depending on their own individual situation at a given time, it is not always appropriate to ascribe a single classification to a person's 'bilingual state', but rather see it as an indicator of the factors influencing their language use and choice in their particular context.

Baker (2001:3) in his book *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism,* provides a helpful platform to start looking at types of bilingualism we may commonly come across, referring to Valdés and Figueroa's (1994) six classifications of bilinguals.

The first classification is *age*, and specifically whether someone has been raised with two languages simultaneously or sequentially. The second classification is based on a person's *ability* in the languages and whether they might be considered; *emerging* in their language; a *receptive bilingual*, that is someone who may be able to understand or comprehend the language but not necessary be able to speak it themselves; or a *productive bilingual* who is able to *produce* the language.

The next two classifications relate to the *balance* of a person's two languages and their respective ability in both, and the status of their language's *development*; whether the languages are ascending and strengthening or decreasing in ability and use. The fifth classification refers to the various *contexts* that the language is used in, or language domains. The last classification is based on the level of choice an individual has around their bilingual state; whether they have had to learn a second language because of *circumstance* as a necessity for their survival, or if they have *elected* to learn the language because of some other motivation (Baker, 2001:3).

Understanding the difference between these last two is important for the Kāi Tahu language context and other Indigenous minority languages, as the non-essential perception is often closely tied to people's perceptions of language value and relevance in the modern world.

> Elective bilingualism is about choice. Circumstantial bilingualism is often about survival with little or no choice. The difference between elective and circumstantial bilingualism is thus valuable because it immediately raises differences of prestige and status, politics and power among bilinguals (Baker, 2001:4).

When tracing the language story of my family through its decline and later ascension, we are also able to look at the shifts in bilingualism through this lens. Initially my *tīpuna* were 'elective bilinguals', electing to learn English because of the benefits that they saw it brought with it in the written word, religion and trade. In those early stages of contact in the early to mid-1800s, the English language was still a choice, as *te reo* was still the dominant language in Te Waipounamu, and this was evidenced by the number of early European settlers and traders who became 'circumstantial bilinguals' of Māori.

The point at which my *tīpuna* shifted from being elective to circumstantial bilinguals in English was when English became the dominant political and economic language in society and they were increasingly being pressured to leave their Indigenous language behind and raise their children only in English – the language which was seen as the key to education and thus, advancement. That power dynamic has continued through to today, meaning that it is no longer a necessity for survival's sake to be able to speak Māori. It is incredibly difficult however, for anyone living in New Zealand not to have a functional ability in English. Bilingual speakers of Māori in New Zealand are now elective bilinguals, thereby needing to source drivers other than survival, to motivate their continued bilingual status.

Across all of the classifications of bilingualism, a value judgement is made as to whether or not people may be referred to as 'bilingual'. There is of course a multiplicity of views on this that range from a more open and accepting view of bilingual ability, to the other end of the spectrum which is highly prescriptive and narrower in its application. These two approaches to bilingual ascription are referred to by Baker (2001) as 'Minimal' and 'Maximum Bilingualism'.

Minimal bilingualism allows the term bilingual to be ascribed to someone who has some ability in two languages, even if the second language is only limited and developing. A beginning second language learner of Māori who is able to hold a basic conversation, might therefore be considered to be bilingual. Maximum Bilingualism dictates that the person must be equally proficient in both languages to a near native degree. Although there may be some allowance made for language preference of an individual across specific language domains, the speaker would still be able to use either language if required (Baker, 2001:6).

Although the goal of bilingualism that is often articulated within the KMK strategy leans towards an 'ideal' of achieving Maximum bilingualism, the reality is that this more a long term aspiration rather than a near reality for our people. For the purposes of this research, I will apply the inclusive approach of minimal bilingualism to measure and discuss bilingual development and proficiency.

The historical context

In order to understand the journey that my family has taken to establish a platform for intergenerational transmission of *te reo Māori* in our home environment, it is necessary to understand the historical circumstances that have led to this current context we find ourselves in. The hope is that there will be lessons learned from such an historical analysis, in terms of influencers that caused language shift either for or against *te reo*, indicators of shift and what to watch for, and strategies that may be identified as either positive or unsuccessful that again might be able to guide or influence future efforts.

My Māori great-grandfather, known as both Captain Charles William Bradshaw and Taare Bradshaw, and my Māori great-grandmother, Rena Harawata or Ellen Harwood, lived in our *marae* community of Awarua or Bluff. They were both native speakers of *te reo Māori*, and it is understood by the family that they were speakers of the Kāi Tahu dialect. Although their actual birthdates are unknown, they were born in the 1880s and both had died in the late 1940s and mid-1950s respectively. We are not sure of the exact point at which language shift happened for them, whether they were raised bilingually by their respective parents, my great, great-grandparents, or whether *te reo* was the only language in the home and they learnt English formally at school. As both sets of great-great grandparents were engaged in farming and trading enterprises it seems reasonable to assume fluency and capacity in English as the language of commerce.

We can assume that they had bilingual capacity from an early age as that was certainly the case for most Kāi Tahu throughout the rohe by the 1880s. We also know that they maintained fluency in Māori well into adulthood, as my father can recall hearing his *taua* (grandmother) speaking at length in Māori to her daughter-in-law from the northern Te Arawa tribe, when he was still a child. Although we cannot pin-point a time when they themselves transitioned from a Māori dominant language world to a bilingual one, we know that they made a definite transition in terms of language in the home, when they came to have their own children, and proceeded to use English as the language of intergenerational transmission.

My taua, Rena Ruiha was born in 1900 and was the eldest of six children. Along with her five younger siblings, she was not raised in their heritage language. The most significant language shift in my family away from *te reo*, therefore took place over 116 years ago.

This is not to say that the home environment was devoid of any *te reo*. My father recalls his grandparents using common phrases and commands on a regular basis, they maintained native pronunciation in *te reo*, used Māori names for their children, sung songs in *te reo* and engaged in cultural activities like the traditional *tītī* (mutton bird) harvesting which used a high level of Māori vocabulary throughout the activities, but English was the dominant language in the home and other Māori communities in Te Waipounamu (O'Regan, 2010:93).

Many Māori find it hard to comprehend the extent of language decline within Kāi Tahu and even harder to imagine Māori being born over 100 years ago were not being born into Māori language homes. This was, however, the reality for many Kāi Tahu families living in Te Waipounamu, and for some, the time gap extends beyond 150 years (O'Regan, 2010:94).

Genealogy 1: The whakapapa of language shift in our family

Rena Harawata / Taare Bradshaw : Native speakers of Kāi Tahu reo (born in 1880s)

Rena Ruiha Bradshaw Born 1900 : non-speaker of the language

Had son Tipene O'Regan in 1939

Tipene learnt te reo as second language from the age of 20, but did not pass it on. Had Hana in 1973. Hana started learning at High School (at 13 years old)

Hana had Manuhaea in 2003 and Te Rautawhiri in 2004 and has raised them with Māori as their first language.

(Source: O'Regan, 2010, personal collection)

My *taua* was therefore a 'rememberer of the language'; that is someone who could remember it being around and used in different domains. She would likely have had a level of receptive bilingualism insofar as being able to comprehend the gist of what might have been said, knowing a range of commands and sayings and being able to use these in her everyday language where appropriate. The functional ability in *te reo* of her and her

siblings however, was limited because of the lack of exposure to it. Thus the decline of language within our *whānau* continued with the passing of time.

Taua grew up in Awarua before leaving for Wellington to train as a nurse. It was there that she met my Pākehā grandfather, Rolland O'Regan, who was a house surgeon at Wellington Hospital at the time. They married in 1931 and after a decade trying to have children, finally produced my father, Stephen O'Regan in 1939.

My father was raised in Wellington with his parents and later his two siblings Gabriel and Richard, in the English language, but his mother continued to use her limited Māori with her son and would call him Tipene, the Māori transliteration for Stephen. Other than the odd command and Māori words known to her, English remained the language of intergenerational transmission in his home and the wider *whānau* domain. Even when he was sent down south to Bluff to stay with his Kāi Tahu *whānau* and his *taua*, English was the language of communication although there was the odd occasion where he recalls people speaking Māori as a child.

In the context of a family endeavouring to revitalise the language and re-establish *te reo* as an intergenerational language within the family, a history of generational language loss stretching this far back poses significant challenges.

> When the heritage language has not been a part of the family's inherited legacies for so many generations, a person cannot simply delve delving back into the recent catalogue of memories and experiences to retrieve it. The linguistic memories in or about that language of surviving generations, do not actually exist (O'Regan, 2010:94).

In such cases, it is the very ordinary language of everyday communication which is least accessible. In Māori, this language has been recently described as, *te reo o te kāuta*, or the language of the kitchen, which is used to represent the body of more informal language typical in familial interactions. These aspects of a language are what bring a language to life. It embodies the humour through jokes and colloquialisms and embodies affection and emotion through terms of endearment and idioms. Although it is possible to learn the grammar and vocabulary of a language that has not been spoken in your family for generations, and to become functionally fluent in that language, it is much harder to become competently fluent in these informal familial contexts when you have no models

of that language being shared with you and guiding your language use (O'Regan, 2010:94).

The guiding *language maps* for the new language user, detailing everything from pronunciation, the application of words in different contexts, the rules around formal and informal language and rules for particular domains, all have to be redrawn and tested. The new learner is left not only to navigate these language maps, but to survey them themselves, to the best of their ability, even though most are not trained in the art of surveying.

Although Kāi Tahu generally have been lucky that our *tīpuna* showed the foresight to record a lot of important information in the written word, thereby creating a rich corpus of *te reo Māori* literature that can be explored and used to support our revitalisation efforts, there are very few sources that record any examples of informal reo, or *te reo o te kāuta* (O'Regan, 2010:94).

Within my own immediate *whānau*, we are yet to find any written record in *te reo Māori*, informal or otherwise, and are therefore limited to the examples we may be able to source from other Kāi Tahu *whānau* records of the time. If there were any family sayings in *te reo*, like the ones I might think of my parents saying to me as we were growing up, the favourite catch phrases and so forth, then they went to sleep when *te reo* went to sleep as the language of communication in our family in the late 1800s.

> For the descendant of a language silent for generations, nothing comes easily or naturally. Everything must be sought, everything must be learnt and these are often combined with a great deal of speculation, conjecture and assumption on the part of the language reviver (O'Regan, 2010: 94).

The reversing of language shift in my *whānau* started in the late 1950s when my father started to learn *te reo Māori* as a second language. The timing was right in that it coincided with the age of protest that sought to raise the status of *te reo* in New Zealand. As a child, he had been guided by his Pākehā father to have a deep appreciation for history, geology and geography, but he was also encouraged to research and explore Māori naming systems for flora, fauna and place names. This passion continued to grow as a

young adult and he continued to explore Māori history and culture, which led him to embarking on his own language acquisition journey.

My father married my mother, Sandra O'Regan in 1963 and a year later they had their first daughter, Rena, who was followed a year later by a second daughter, Taone. Over the next eight years they would have three more children, Gerard, Miria and lastly me, Hana Merenea, born in 1973.

Genealogy 2: Hana O'Regan's family tree:1

Tipene = Sandra

Rena   Taone   Gerard   Miria   Hana
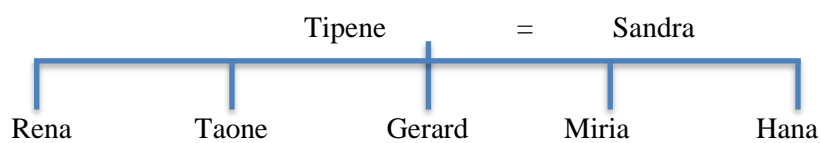
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Through his formal studies my father achieved an *intermediate* proficiency in *te reo*, and before long, now as a young parent, found himself teaching Māori Studies and New Zealand History as a lecturer at Wellington College of Education. His position required him to develop ability in formal Māori language speaking so that he could uphold the cultural expectations and rituals of *karakia* (prayer) and *whaikōrero* (formal oratory). These forms of language application, at the most basic of levels, are able to be rote learnt, although not ideally so, as they would ultimately be performed by those with a level of fluency who are able to respond to unpredictable language situations and engage in proper two-way conversations during the rituals.

My father's Māori language world had grown and he was being exposed to more Māori language speakers than he had during his childhood. His colleagues at the College of Education and his Māori mentors, who hailed from a number of northern *iwi* and who took him under their wings, all contributed to expanding his knowledge of the reo and the world that it housed.

His children were also to benefit from this increased exposure to the Māori language, through association with his Māori language speaking contemporaries, through participation in the College's Māori cultural club and *waiata* and games that were played

there, and by having the opportunity to experience numerous trips away to other *marae* and Māori communities in the course of the *marae* restoration work in which he began to engage in association with the artist and carver, Cliff Whiting.

As children we were given the opportunity to learn basic Māori songs and commands which were regularly used in the home environment. All children learnt how to say an appropriate *karakia* for food, and although this was not something that was done at every meal, it became a ritual for the main evening meal and when guests came to visit. We could count in Māori, although we had not really tested ourselves beyond twenty, and we knew our colours and basic parts of the body.

Our limited knowledge of the language was also helpful in family situations when something needed to be communicated in secret when in the presence of others. Even within the context of our limitations, the combination of tone and the fact that the *reo* was being used, was often enough to indicate that a reaction or action was required.

In the mid-1970s and 1980s, there was limited *te reo Māori* in the schools that the O'Regan children attended in Wellington. Even with the limited proficiency we had, we were still likely to be more advanced in terms of *te reo* capability than our teachers and other children at the school. As such, we increasingly found ourselves being looked upon in the classroom environment to support any attempt to introduce Māori content in to the curriculum delivery. A shift towards a push for increased biculturalism in the early 1980s resulted in the introduction of the Taha Māori programme, where greater expectations in terms of Māori cultural expressions in songs, games and language was expected across the compulsory primary sector. These opportunities helped to reinforce the language that we had acquired from home, but failed to extend it.

Only the last three of the five children had the opportunity to study *te reo Māori* at secondary school, and two went on to sit national examinations in *te reo*. Even though the reo was not a dominant part of our family environment, it had been attributed a high value status by everyone in our family. We never heard any derogatory comments about the language in our home and we were encouraged to use what we knew. As the youngest of the five children, I was lucky enough to have born in the time when the language revolution was taking place in New Zealand in the mid-1970s. This meant that I was

literally able to ride the wave of increased awareness around the value of the language, increased pressure to make the language available to more people, and increased opportunity to be exposed to the language in mainstream society.

I also had the added benefit of having a close friend of my parents, Te Aue Davis, a Ngāti Maniapoto *tohuka raraka* (master weaver) from the Waikato Tainui people, take an active interest in me from the age of six. This relationship was to be a significant one through my formative years, and my parents supported me to spend most of my holiday times with her as she engaged in *hui* and taught weaving across the country. My love for the language and commitment to learn it at secondary school, was something that my Pākehā mother strongly encouraged, and this was a significant factor in the decision to send me to a Māori boarding school in Auckland. There were, at the time, four Māori girls boarding schools operating in New Zealand, and the Māori language and culture was a dominant component of the curriculum in all of them.

When starting at Māori boarding school at the age of 13, I had based my assessment of my proficiency in *te reo* on the environments that I had historically engaged in, which had been largely English language dominant environments. Because my *reo* had usually been more advanced than those around me, I had an inflated view of my own ability, even if assessing it from a position of minimal bilingualism. This was to be quickly dispelled when I found myself in amongst a group of other thirteen year old girls, some of whom had come from Māori language speaking homes, and could actually speak in whole sentences, something quite foreign to me. I had, up until that point, never measured my fluency in *te reo* against my fluency in English (O'Regan, 2010:95).

There are many factors that influence the assessment of language proficiency and for emerging or aspiring bilinguals and this can present a significant challenge in terms of understanding where you might be placed at any one time along the spectrum of bilingualism.

By the mid-1980s, all of the five O'Regan children had developed some Māori language skills, however it is challenging to attribute a definitive proficiency level to each of the children's bilingual ability. This challenge is not unique to the O'Regan family situation. Ellen Bialystok, in her book *Bilingualism in Development* (2001), discusses the

complexities of assessing proficiency of second language speakers across multiple domains, highlighting the fact that people might score differently on a proficiency scale in different language domains. She suggests an approach that recognises different concurrent levels of proficiency across a range of domains:

> ... A more differentiated approach to explaining proficiency would allow us to say what it would mean to function like a native speaker across several domains and then to evaluate the success with which language learners approximate those performances (Bialystok, 2001:18).

Bialystok looks at three primary domains of language use; *metalinguistic*, *literate* and *oral*, and uses these as a base to measure a person's proficiency by their ability to control and analyse language in different contexts,

Figure 9: Three domains of language use indicating values on analysis and control
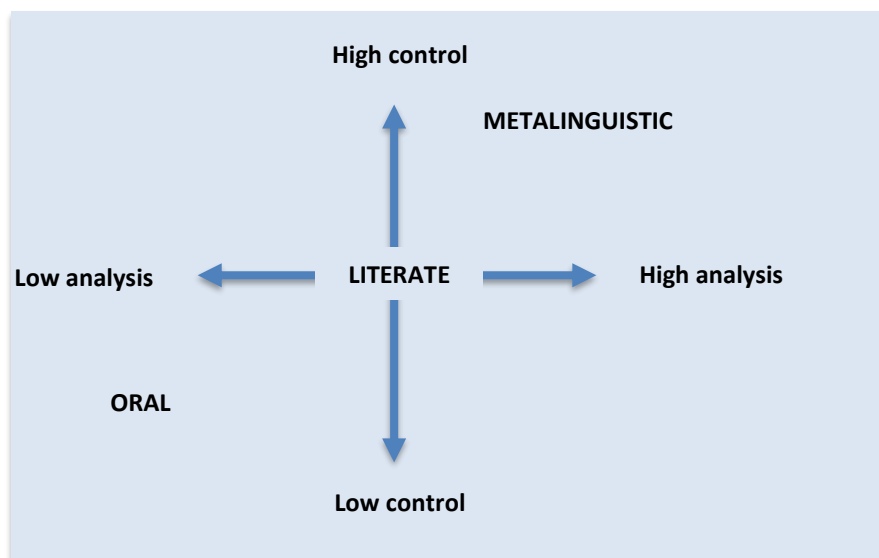
(Source: Bialystok, 2001:16).

Using the above diagram as a rough guide, our family's language proficiency might have been able to be plotted across the lower left quadrant, with two of the siblings moving closer to the left top quadrant through their teens. However, this would only have been the case in very limited language contexts. Bialystok goes on to highlight the difficulty in attributing a single proficiency level to a person's language ability because of the varied language skills that might be required by someone in one language context, which might not be reflective of their ability in another context, as indicated in her following diagram,

Figure 10: Tasks included in oral uses of language indicating their demands for analysis and control
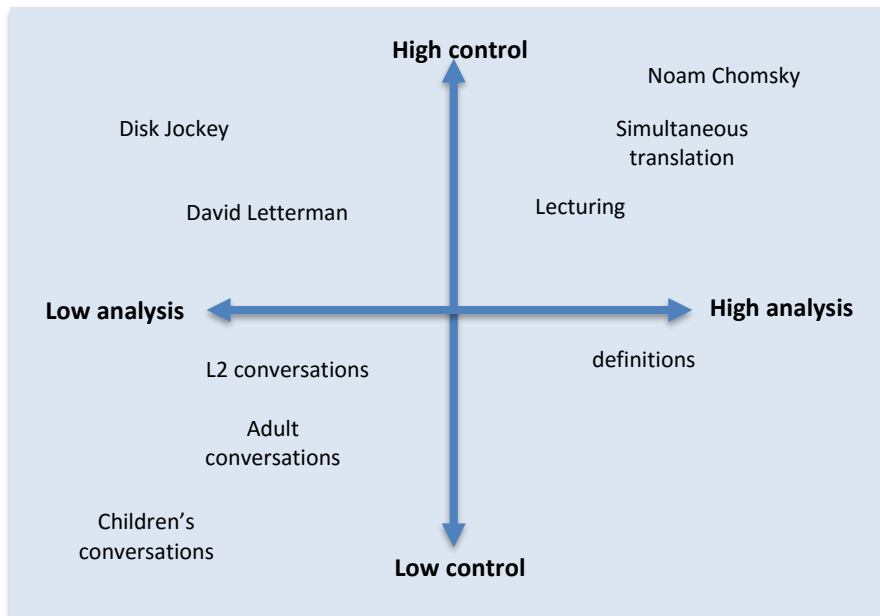
(Source: Bialystok, 2001:16)

For second language learners of *te reo Māori*, it could be quite feasible to be placed in the top left and right quadrants after a number of years of formal study, where you might have developed a high level of control and analysis in the language in both oral and written formal and informal contexts. However, if you have not been exposed to intergenerational language in the home, you might have extremely limited ability to effectively engage in those activities represented in the lower left quadrant, for example, child conversations. Understanding the differences of language form and uses in different contexts, is a key element of successful bilingualism or language acquisition for the learner who is committed to intergenerational transmission in the home.

This dynamic has been a common one experienced by second language learners of my generation who have been challenged in their language acquisition to find people and places to practise their conversational language, as discussed by Joseph Te Rito in his book *Pukapuka Kōrero Tahi* (2015),

> It is my firm contention that the absence of such conversational material by native speakers from Māori language classrooms in the last 30 years has been a major missing link in the efforts to produce speakers of Māori language that sound natural, euphonic, rhythmical, and as grammatically correct as possible when conversing (Te Rito, 2015:8).

This has also been a lesson learnt in my own language learning journey, after pursuing what I believed to be a high level of proficiency that would place me in the top right hand quadrant of Bialystok's diagram, only to learn that the most essential skills that would assist intergenerational transmission of the language, were more likely to be represented in the two left quadrants (O'Regan, 2010:97).

What is reassuring to know, is that this dynamic is not uncommon for bilingual speakers and is merely a reflection of the specific domains that my language acquisition has taken place in and been nurtured. My limited ability to cope in certain language domains more commonly associated with family life, is because I have not been regularly exposed to language use in those particular domains.

> Bilinguals use their two languages with different people, in different contexts and for different purposes. Levels of proficiency in a language may depend on which context (e.g. street and home) and how often that language is used. Communicative competence in one of a bilingual's two languages may be stronger in some domains than in others. This is natural and to be expected (Baker, 2001:9).

This understanding is helpful when we consider how to provide the optimum environment to support parents to raise bilingual children in Māori in their homes, as it leads us to creating language learning opportunities that are specifically aimed at developing a person's bilingual competence in 'home domains' as opposed to the more traditional formal classroom domains, such as the home, the playground and the supermarket.

Tracking the intersections of language shift

As a starting point to illustrate the reversal of the language shift in our *whānau* over time, I will use my own basic proficiency scale that looks to show the transition of second language (SL) speaking through to native language (NL) proficiency in a language revitalisation context. At this stage, I will not look at assessing proficiency across the three language domains identified by Bialystok, but instead, will describe the very high level language capability that might be expected of a speaker at each level.

For the purpose of this analysis I will use a scale of *1 - 8*, with *1* being an introductory understanding of the language, and *8* being native proficiency. Even within a proficiency scale, it can be helpful to distinguish between the proficiency of a second language

speaker, for which purpose I will use the abbreviation of SL, and a native speaker (NL), that is someone whose first language has been Māori from birth. It is necessary to make this distinction within my own family context, when considering my own children whose native proficiency has been imparted to them by a second language speaker:

Table 4: Proficiency scale for the families engaged in the reversal of language shift

Level	Te Taumata / Proficiency level	Description of level
1	SL Introductory	Knows basic vocabulary, e.g.: colours, basic counting (1-20), parts of the body, a few songs or cultural expressions and basic commands
2	SL Basic	Confident with all language in level 1, and also knows an extended vocabulary that includes a wider range of nouns for simple objects, e.g.: household items; knows basic concepts of time and days of the week, vocab for a limited range of emotions, and is able to ask basic questions and answers about location and names.
3	SL Intermediate	Confident with all language in level 1 & 2, and also knows an extended vocabulary of nouns, verbs and adjectives. Is able to formulate basic active and negative sentences and can engage in non-predictable language engagements at an intermediate level. Can perform basic rituals including *pepeha* (tribal sayings) and *mihi* (greetings) and has a small range of *whakataukī* and *kīwaha* at their disposal.
4	SL Intermediate-advanced	Confident with all language in level 1-3, and also knows a wider range of grammar structures including passives, imperatives and negatives, and structures relating to time. They are able to engage more confidently in unfamiliar contexts and can speak in the language on unfamiliar content. They are able to perform a wider range of ritual practice and can respond in impromptu contexts with a higher level of accuracy.
5	SL Advanced	Confident with all language in level 1-4 and has an ability to show creativity in a language with more confidence in unfamiliar contexts. Can cope well in immersion language environments and can use language known to them to investigate and engage with unfamiliar language. They are able to engage with limited confidence in the intergenerational transmission of language but have limited access to exemplars to model off.
6	SL Expert	Confident with all language in level 1-4 and near native proficiency. Despite not having been raised in the language, their proficiency means that they are able to engage with more confidence in the intergenerational transmission of language and have the resources to navigate unfamiliar domains in the home environment.
7	NL first generation	They have been raised with Māori as their first language but have been raised by a SL speaker. Their base of proficiency is greater than that of their SL parents, but is still limited by the language of their parents. They have had intergenerational

		language modelled to them and are likely to exceed their parent's proficiency well before adulthood and therefore achieve a higher level of reo before they have children.
8	NL second generation	They have been raised by NL7 speakers and therefore have native proficiency in the language.

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Using this proficiency scale, our 'family language tree' in the mid-1980s, can be depicted in the chart below:

Genealogy 3: Level of the O'Regan family language proficiency in 1986

Tipene (SL.3)   =   Sandra (0-1)

Rena (SL.2)   Taone (SL.1)   Gerard (SL.2)   Miria (SL.1)   Hana (SL.2)
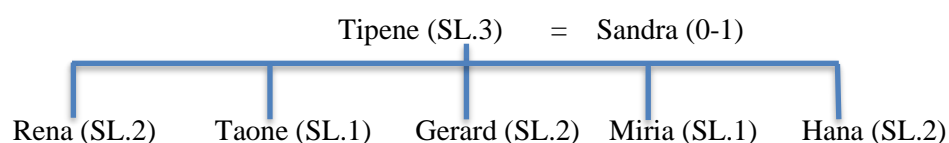
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

The date of 1986 has been used as a marker, as it was the first year of my high school. The reason I have attributed level 0-1 for our mother, is because of her use and understanding of Māori vocabulary in our home environment. Rena's language had progressed primarily as a result of the language curriculum in her teacher education programme. She continued to model the language and stretch herself as a primary school teacher after graduating, gaining confidence at the SL2 level over a four year period, before leaving to teach in Asia where she has spent the last twenty five plus years.

Taone also left New Zealand to live overseas, but would later re-engage with the language after having her children in London where she would take her children when they were young to the Kōhanga Reo at New Zealand house to learn Māori language and *waiata*. Like Rena, Gerard studied *te reo* for a number of years during his undergraduate studies, and because he was living within the tribal *rohe*, was also increasingly called upon to participate in the cultural practices at our *marae* in Moeraki, thereby giving him opportunity to develop and use his language in those formal contexts. Miria studied *te reo* for her first two years at high school but chose not to pursue this further and was not in a situation where she was around other speakers of the language, so remained at SL1 level of proficiency.

When I started my secondary schooling, my ability in the Māori language was actually severely limited to a beginning SL2 level. But in the absence of Māori language speakers around me, I had lead myself to believe, that being able to speak Māori, did not require the same level of expertise as if you were to speak English. Māori had subconsciously been placed in my mind as a language of limited cultural expression, as opposed to a language of ordinary communication. I was able very quickly to move past my initial whakamā or embarrassment at what I 'did not know', and committed myself to developing my proficiency to a higher level.

My love for the language had continued to grow while I was at secondary school, but it was also motivated by another set of experiences that I had during that time. I had become acutely aware of the negative way that my tribe of Kāi Tahu was perceived by those around me in the north. As discussed in Chapter 3, the negative stereotypes that were being associated with a Kāi Tahu identification were becoming increasingly vocalised within the context of the wider Māori political movements. This also coincided with my own father's growing public profile in the Treaty politics debate and in our own Ngāi Tahu Claim activities. I was perhaps the fairest of all of the girls at the school, in a city that was the furthest away from my Kāi Tahu tribal territory than any other Māori boarding school, and living with a group of girls who had very little knowledge about the South Island or Kāi Tahu.

I found myself having conversations where I would need to defend comments like, *"I went to the South Island and never even saw a Māori"*, or "How can you be Māori when you are so white", "You say you are Māori from the South Island but there aren't even any Māori in the South Island", and perhaps the most cutting for me personally, *"I heard that the Māori down south don't even know their culture and can't speak the language"*. Even though most of the other girls in my year at high school weren't fluent in *te reo*, most still had family members that were able to speak, and therefore a belief that the language was still alive in their families.

After two years at high school, I decided that I would commit to doing something about the stereotypes. I believed that I could change and influence these, and that I would do everything to help my people find their voice again in the Māori language world. I saw clearly how proficiency in *te reo* could help establish credibility of a person's identity in

Māoridom, and I wanted that for Kāi Tahu. It was also at that point that I started to make the shift from using the northern dialect of Māori, to what I understood the Kāi Tahu dialect to be. This was an assertion of my identity in the face of the critiques and put-down's I was experiencing. I was determined to etch out a place for my identity; to stand with strength in amongst the other tribal identities of the north, and acquisition of the language was the tool that I believed would help me to achieve it.

At the end of our final year at Māori boarding school, we had an incredible opportunity to travel to North America, Hawai'i and Canada, where we were hosted by the Indigenous people in Kauai - Hawai'i, San Francisco, Tuba City - Phoenix, San Diego and Victoria on Vancouver Island – Canada. This experience opened my 16 year old eyes to the challenges that other Indigenous people were having with their language and cultural retention, and I became even more resolute to support a language revitalisation goal within Kāi Tahu (O'Regan, 2013:86).

After four years of tuition in a formal classroom bilingual language learning environment, I had achieved around a SL3 level of language competency. I spent my last year of secondary school as an exchange student in Thailand where I was immersed in the Thai language, a language that I had no prior capacity in. After four months in Thailand, my Thai language proficiency was at a similar level to my Māori proficiency that had taken four years of intensive development. I was starting to understand more about how languages were learnt and how bilingualism works in action. By learning Thai, I started to understand more about Māori grammar and my general English improved as well.

I did not suffer a significant 'language slide' or decline, of my Māori proficiency on account of not having anyone to talk to over that time. Instead, I was able to maintain my SL3 ability, largely because of the language development that was happening through my Thai language acquisition and my own translation of this to my Māori language knowledge. I found the similarities in language structure and pronunciation fascinating, not understanding at that point, that both languages belonged to the same Austronesian language family, and therefore were linguistically related.

I continued my formal training in *te reo* on my return to New Zealand in 1991, with my undergraduate studies at university in Wellington. I had developed plausible

metalinguistic skills by the completion of my undergraduate studies and had achieved a level of proficiency where I was able to take on part-time tutoring roles for those in the years below me at the university. My undergraduate years saw me move through the SL4: Intermediate - advanced band of language proficiency, by which time, I had enough language to enable me to engage with Māori language scripts across multiple genre, from creative writing to political narratives, Nineteenth Century Māori newspapers to modern education publications, and also have a medium level of comprehension in Māori language immersion environments. These skills were enough to secure a lecturing position in the Māori language at Otago University (O'Regan, 2010:95).

Over the next six years my language would continue to develop as a language teacher of adults, and therefore, developing greater understanding about language structure and patterns of use, as well as a greater exposure to my own Kāi Tahu dialect examples. As a learner, my language was supported through my participation in the national Māori Language Commission sponsored language proficiency immersion programmes. These activities helped to strengthen my formal capacity in the language; largely creative expression, use of idiom and metaphor and formal ritual language for the *marae*.

By 1996, 10 years since first engaging in formal language learning, I had moved through to SL5 – a Second Language Learner at an advanced stage, with the caveat, that the proficiency was still largely limited to the domains outside of the home, and therefore limited in terms of supporting intergenerational transmission in the minority heritage language. Despite my years engaging in *te reo*, I had never, for any sustained period, had to talk with children in *te reo Māori* and had limited knowledge of the appropriate language for the domains that one might expect to engage with children in (O'Regan, 2010:97).

When I considered the broader set of domains of families across different age groups; babies, young children, teenagers and so forth, I found myself even further out of my comfort zone:

Figure 11: Language for intergenerational transmission of the language
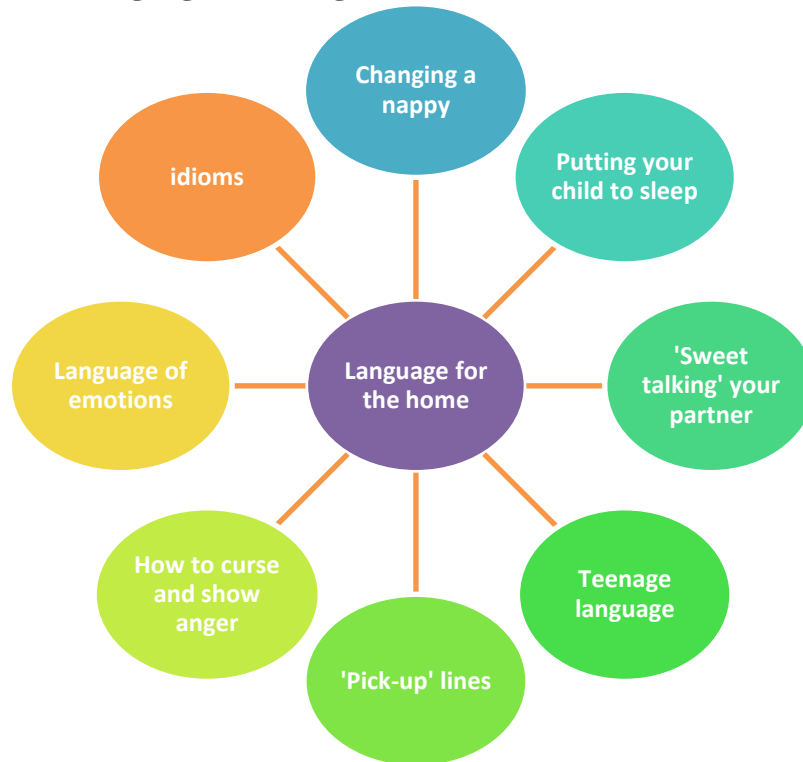
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

These kinds of language examples, not surprisingly, were rarely introduced into the formal language classroom. Although I am now more practiced engaging in informal adult conversations in unpredictable language contexts, I am still often confronted with my limitations in *te reo* as a second language learner. My ability to converse with adults was however more practiced on account of the majority of my language acquisition having been during the periods of my late teens and adulthood. In contrast, I had not had the opportunity of having natural intergenerational language modelled to me.

In 2003 my eldest child, Manuhaea, was born and her younger brother, Te Rautāwhiri, was born a year later in 2004. In an article titled *Resisting language death – A Personal Exploration* (2010), I wrote of the personal motivations that lead me to commit to establishing a Māori language home environment for my children,

> I made a pledge to myself and each of my two beautiful new-born babies as I cradled them in my arms. I promised that I would raise them in Māori and that their Māori language would not be something they had to fight for and struggle to learn. I did not want my children to have to deal with the kinds of identity conflicts and struggles that I myself have had to confront. I was

determined that for them it would be a normal part of who they were, it would
be natural and it would be theirs (O'Regan, 2010:97).

The children's father was not a speaker of Māori and, therefore, was reliant on English as the medium of communication with the children. As I had committed to only speaking Māori with the children, we had unknowingly adopted the One Parent One Language (OPOL) strategy in raising the children. It was a number of years after our children were born that I came to learn about OPOL and its existence as a strategy to support bilingualism in the home. Because of the amount of language being spoken on a daily basis, and a short engagement in formal language learning, their father did achieve a SL1 proficiency, and would use what words and phrases he had with them. He was unable to sustain a sufficient level of language engagement with the children beyond their first year and therefore upheld the role of the English speaking parent.

In her book *One Parent One Language – An interactional approach,* Döpke (1992) defines OPOL as the practice of raising children in a bilingual environment where one parent speaks one language to the children and another language is transmitted by someone else. The way in which the practice or principle of OPOL is applied varies considerably, as do the levels of bilingualism achieved (Döpke, 1992:1).

Most of the examples of home bilingualism presented in the literature, are related to parents who are transmitting their heritage language in a bilingual context, having been raised themselves in their heritage language. There are limited examples of where OPOL has been applied and achieved in the context of a second language speaker being the primary transmitter of the language, as is more likely to be the case in the Kāi Tahu language revitalisation context. This is especially the case when they are second language speakers of a minority language. Although it is not uncommon for groups of people such as immigrants or Indigenous communities who have been discouraged from speaking their languages, to use their second language to raise their children, as was the case of my own great-grandparents. As *circumstantial bilinguals,* they are usually still switching to the majority language spoken in the community.

While the boundaries between the various classifications of models of home bilingualism in the literature may be clearly defined, their application in reality is not, as many families

cross over multiple classifications to accurately represent their model of bilingualism. This point can be illustrated by applying Romaine's (1995) guide for 'types of home bilingualism' discussed by Bialystok (2001), that uses criteria based on the social and linguistic input received by the child being raised in a bilingual home,

Type 1: one person, one language
Type 2: non-dominant home language/one language one environment
Type 3: non-dominant home language without community support
Type 4: double non-dominant home language without community support
Type 5: non-native parents
Type 6: mixed languages

(Bialystok, 2001:3)

For the first seven and eight years of my children's lives, we would have been able to tick three types of home bilingualism for our family situation, based on Romaine's criteria;

- Type 1: one person, one language

- Type 3: non-dominant home language without community support; and;

- Type 5: non-native parents

Our family's linguistic characteristics for the first seven and eight years of my children's lives were presented in *Resisting Language Death* (O'Regan 2010:98-99), and can be expanded here to provide a more detailed context;

One parent (mother) mL (minority language) speaker
- Mother : second language speaker of minority language
- One parent (father) ML (majority language) speaker
- Father has 30% shared care of two older teenage children, ML speakers
- Mother and father have two children together, born 2003 and 2004
- Children's first words and sentences were in Māori (mL)
- Language of communication / relationship language between the two children in and outside of the home : mL
- Language of communication / relationship language between the two children with their older brothers : ML
- Language of communication / relationship language between parents : ML

This diagram presents the familial relationship languages of my children in the home environment for their first five years, their father's older children depicted in the lower right of the diagram:

Figure 12: Minority and Majority Language relationships in the family
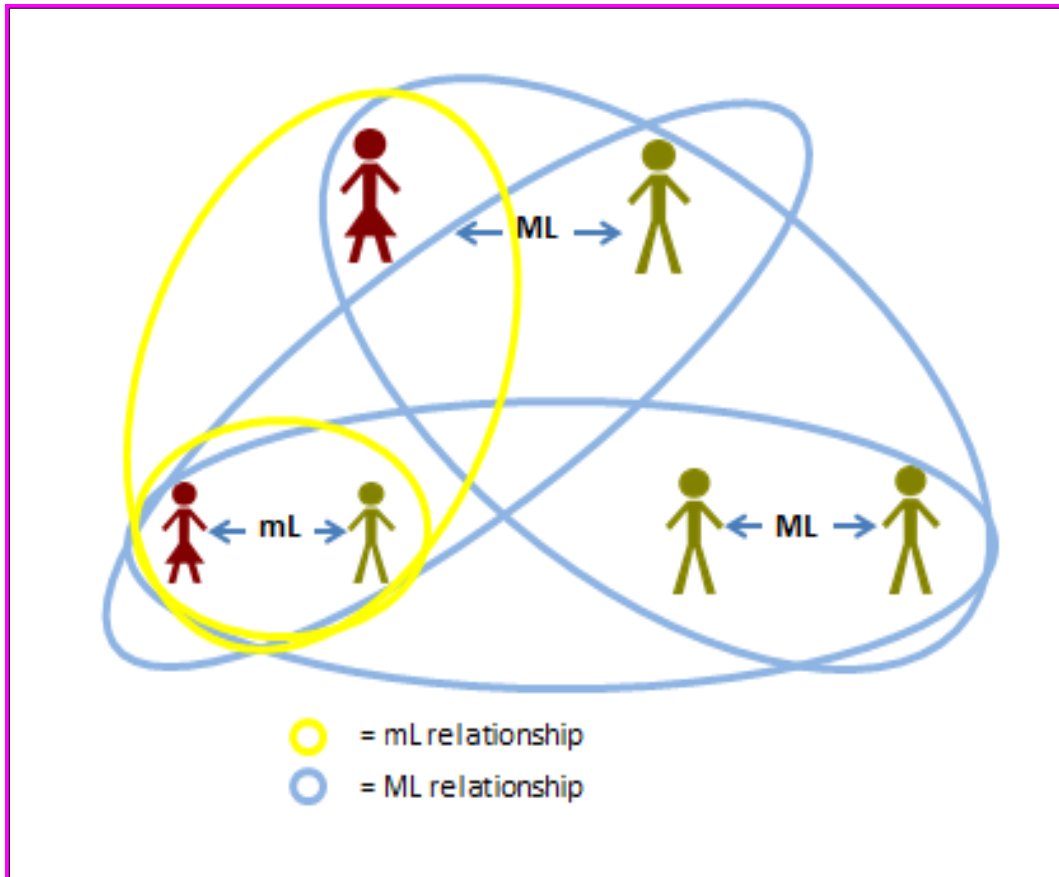
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Their older brothers would come to spend less time in the family home from the time the children were nearing three and four, and this coincided with the addition of another teenager, our close friend's daughter, Reremoana, into the family home as a *whākai* or foster daughter. Reremoana had a SL3 level of language after being raised in Kōhanga and then bilingual education for the duration of her formal schooling. She came to live with us when she was eighteen to undertake an undergraduate degree in *te reo* in Christchurch. The relationship language between Reremoana and the children was initially English dominated, but as her language ability increased through her studies, Māori was increasingly used.

Both Manuhaea and Te Rautāwhiri attended a bilingual early-learning centre from six months of age, but there were only a few other children at the centre who were fluent in Māori and who were being raised in Māori at home. From three and a half years of age Manuhaea started Kōhanga Reo for two days a week, and Te Rautāwhiri started six months later at age three. Both children continued to attend the bilingual and immersion language centres together until Manuhaea started school at age five. At that point Te Rau continued to attend the bilingual centre on a full-time basis until he turned five, and then joined his sister in a Māori bilingual unit within a mainstream primary school.

To those assessing the factors present in our family language context, it would seem that there were sufficient essential elements present to support a positive bilingual environment to raise competently bilingual children. I was aware however, that for Māori to remain the main language of communication between the two children and myself, I would have to work harder on account of the amount of English being spoken around them and by more people. Although initially three of us were able to speak Māori, all six members of the family were able to speak English, thereby placing Māori at risk of being usurped by the more commonly known language.

I was acutely aware of the balance of language engagement of my children in the home and the impact that is was likely to have on their own language development as well as on the likelihood of future use and retention of *te reo*. The challenge of maintaining home bilingualism in our situation was exacerbated by the nature of the inter-language relationship of my children's parents, and the changing domestic environment over time. Baker (2001) refers to inter-language marriages as being one of the significant factors that influence home bilingualism.

> In such marriages, the higher status language will usually have the best chance of survival as the home language. With inter-language marriages specifically, and with language minority communities in general, there is likely to be movement across generations… this highlights the vital importance of languages in the home as a major direct cause in the decline, revival or maintenance of a minority language. Language reproduction in the young is a crucial part of language vitality (Baker, 2001: 70-71).

It is possible to represent this imbalance in a graphic form, as presented below.

Figure 13: mL *imbalance* in the home and community domains
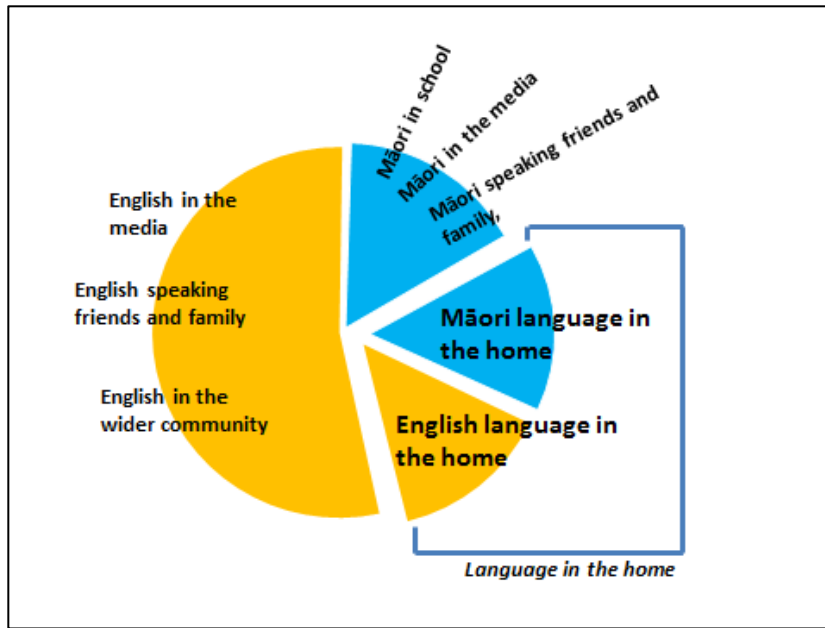
(Source:O'Regan, 2016)

In contrast, if Māori is the only language spoken in the home, the overall percentage of Māori language that the children are exposed to increases so that it is on more of an equal footing with the percentage of English language exposure, even though it remains a minority language, as depicted in following graphic,

Figure 14: mL *balance* in the home and community domains
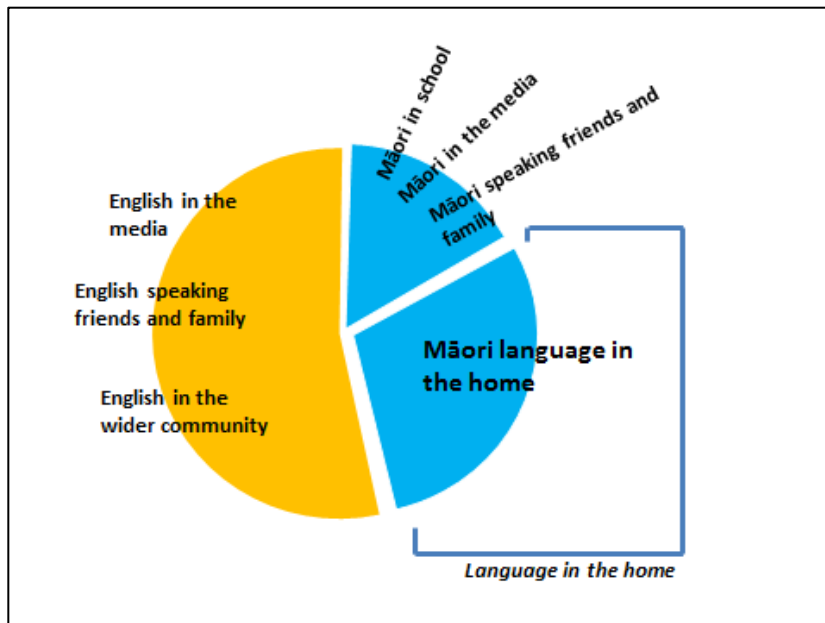
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

This dynamic was something that I became a passionate advocate for when my children were in their early years. I became convinced that the production of bilingual children required an mL dominance in the home environment to counter-act the ML dominance everywhere else. If the mL and ML languages were spoken equally in the homes, this would in fact mean the children were getting less mL exposure and therefore would not achieve equal proficiency.

Relationship Language

Despite the challenges of English language dominance all around, the strategy of establishing *te reo* as the relationship language between the maternal parent and the two children themselves was successful insofar as it remained resilient until the eldest, Manuhaea, started primary school. It was at that point that she started to use more English in communication with her brother, especially if I was not around or they did not realise that I was around. If I was to enter into their physical space, they would consciously or sub-consciously, which one I cannot be certain of, switch back into Māori, sometimes reverting again to English when I left the room again. Other than the use of the odd English word however, they continued to use only Māori with me.

The family dynamic was to change significantly when I separated from the children's father when Manuhaea was eight and Te Rautāwhiri was seven years old. Although the children still spent the majority of their time, around two thirds, with me and, therefore, in a mL home environment, they spent the remainder of their time with their father in a ML environment with no *te reo*. This situation resulted in the frequency of ML use between the siblings increasing dramatically, even within the mL home environment.

The overall natural-language exposure to *te reo Māori* decreased with the new living arrangements by approximately a third. Although their father would still encourage them to speak Māori to each other, they were not hearing the language from anyone else around them in the home environment during those times. Reverting to English was, by that time, not an uncommon experience for the siblings in itself, but what was significant was the rate of language shift that had happened in a comparatively short period of time.

I had identified the occurrence of language mixing taking place with my daughter from the age of three and a half. She had started to increasingly use an English word when she

does not know its Māori equivalent when speaking with other Māori language speakers. It appeared that she had more 'language blocks' when using Māori with me and was increasing struggling to articulate herself, often choosing to give up on account of not knowing how to say it. This was a concerning phase to go through, as I had no desire to stifle my daughter's ability to convey her thoughts and ideas. However, it seemed as if by failing to provide her with the breadth of language she required to do so in Māori, I was doing just that.

I found this particular age of the children perhaps the most testing as a second language speaker raising my children in Māori, largely due to the phenomenal speed at which the three year old mind can spit out questions in completely new language domains. The three year old mind isn't content with knowing what something is, but instead embarks on a never ending list of questions inquiring as to the 'why' things happen, and 'how' things work. I was challenged at keeping up with her rate of language growth in areas that I had no foundation in.

Not only was I being tested on such things as the science behind the life-cycle of the butterfly, I now needed to explain it in Māori. Likewise the challenge of finding the noun for the button on the toilet to flush the waste, or the verb for 'flush' to describe what was happening, or indeed the explanation of where it goes when it leaves the toilet and how, were all questions that catapulted me out of my language comfort zone.

I recorded many of these challenges over time in personal diaries as a way of trying to understand the dynamic I was facing. One such example was when Manuhaea had used an English word in a sentence when playing with a plastic toy. She had squeezed it so the stomach bubbled out, and proceeded to say;

Manuhaea: "Titiro ki te bubble māmā" – *look at the bubble Māmā.*

Before I could stop myself, the well recited line slipped from my mouth,

Māmā: "Me kōrero Māori Haea" – *speak Māori Haea.*
Manuhaea: "Kāo Māmā, titiro ki te bubble māmā" – *no māmā, look at the bubble*"
Māmā: "He aha te kupu Māori mō bubble Haea?" - *what's the Māori word for bubble Haea?"*

There was a blank look on her face, and an even blanker one on mine. I could tell she knew the words at her disposal were not quite right. The word for soapy bubbles in the air or bath is *mirumiru*, and she knew bubbling or boiling water or liquid like in a spa pool, was *koropupū*, or *pupū* or hū for bubbling up. But this was different, like the bubble when you blow with bubble gum.

By challenging my daughter to only speak Māori, I had forced her to think about the options, and of course she resorted to referring back to me:

"He aha te kupu Māori Māmā?" – what's the Māori word Māmā".

The problem is that I also had no idea of what the word was. I thought momentarily about how I might describe it before the moment was lost, and she lost all interest and moved on to the next question. As a mother, passionate about imparting quality language exemplars to her children, this felt like another failure. Yet this was another time I had been unable to answer her question, extend her language and help her explore new experiences! Of course I could have easily achieved it all in my mother tongue, English. But that is just the point, English is easy and Māori, for me, is the harder option.

The *butterfly life cycle* or *bubble* experiences are examples of English word that I struggled to find the Māori equivalent for, but they form an equally long list of new Māori words that I would come across on Māori television or in books that were also foreign to me. My journals record lists of words from the video of Little Red Riding Hood in Māori or the word for the collective of sharks in the Māori version of the Disney book "Finding Nemo" – *pioke* – or the new word learnt from the same book for 'jelly fish, *petipeti moana*. Incorporating these new words into conversation is added to the list of those words and structures that I had been using for a period, only to later learn that I had been using them incorrectly. As the person responsible for ensuring the children's Māori language is given every chance to develop successfully, the level of anxiety at the idea of 'not getting it right' inevitably increases.

> In this instance, one becomes concerned about the integrity and perception of integrity from the child's perspective of the language being transmitted when the proverbial 'goal posts' are prone to shifting or sometimes collapsing altogether. These dilemmas and tests tease and taunt the mind of the second language speaker on a daily, even hourly basis (O'Regan, 2010:100).

Although I feel these pressures on a very personal level, I must remain cognisant of the fact that I am one of a small number of Kāi Tahu, who have had the opportunity to develop my language to my level of proficiency, and that most others in the tribe who are also endeavouring to raise their children in Māori or even increase the level of Māori language proficiency of their children, are doing so with less language accessible to them than me (O'Regan, 2010:100).

Despite the differences in proficiency and the challenges inherent in the transmission of a language that is not your native language, those Kāi Tahu who are committed to raising bilinguals in the home, are likely to share common challenges with other people around the world who are also raising bilinguals, especially with those who are doing so in a minority language context.

The shared challenges of raising bilingual children

Perhaps one of the greatest challenges of encouraging tribal members to commit to raising bilingual children in *te reo*, lies in the sheer size of the task itself. Even with all of the passion, resolve and commitment to take on the challenge, there is no denying the day to day pressures that are experienced by parents committed to intergenerational transmission of a minority language in the home. All that is challenge enough without the added challenge of oneself being a second language learner in the minority language. The reality is, that learning a minority language as a second language is hard. It is even more so if one's own language acquisition commences in adulthood. The challenge inherent in transferring that language over into the world of raising children in all of its many facets, is doubly daunting.

This sentiment is articulated in *A Parents' and Teachers' guide to bilingualism,* by Colin Baker (2000) in reference to the development of minority language bilingualism in children,

> ... this will be a challenge and a constant journey that moves across bright
> mountain tops and dark valleys. ... Determined parents should not be deterred
> by their language being an island in the home (Baker, 2000:18).

Even once the hurdle of commitment to the long term endurance marathon of raising children in *te reo* in the home has been achieved, and parents are committed and engaged,

they are often still left with significant concerns around the quality of the interactions they might be having with their children. This is not unlike the *bubble* or *butterfly* references previously mentioned. The question might rightly be asked; if we encourage second language learners with limited language proficiency in *te reo*, to raise their children in the language, are we in fact doing a disservice to those *tamariki*? I make this point in relation to the Kāi Tahu context in *Resisting Language Death: A Personal Exploration,*

> Whilst we desperately need more *whānau* committed to raising their children in te reo Māori homes in order to achieve a critical mass of competent bilinguals, we also need to make sure that we are not limiting Kāi Tahu children because of the quality of language of the parents, and, therefore, the quality of interaction the children engage in (O'Regan, 2011:102-103).

Baker (2000) actively discourages those parents who do not have a good command of a language and, therefore, may be a bad role model of that language, from using it as the language of intergenerational transmission with their children. He suggests that doing so will limit the parent's ability to fully engage with their child in a way that might maximize their opportunities for development.

> If you are a bad model of language for your child, you should not speak that language to the child. If a child begins to learn incorrect linguistic structures or inexact expression from you speaking a second language, you may be undermining rather than helping the child's language development. Instead consider speaking the first language to your child knowing that many skills and competencies learned in the first language (e.g. ideas, meanings, concepts) transfer easily to the second language (Baker, 2000:86).

Although Baker does proceed to suggest that it is possible for a parent who is actively engaging in concurrent language revitalisation themselves, to keep up with their child's linguistic development, he goes on to emphasise the limitations inherent in a second-language learner's proficiency. He makes the assertion that the parent's heritage is best transmitted in their mother tongue,

> The reality is that it is very difficult for most mothers (and fathers) to speak a second language to their child. It feels restrictive and frustrating. The wealth of wise colloquial sayings, family stories, local jokes and colourful tales, are all stored and can only be authentically conveyed in the first or mother tongue (Baker, 2000:86).

For Kāi Tahu parents, however, and other Indigenous minority second language speakers, the heritage language that we are committed to conveying belongs to the language that we are endeavouring to transmit. A counter argument might then be proposed, that the heritage might not be adequately conveyed to the child if the non-heritage language is used to transmit it. By using the native tongue of the parent, in our case, the dominant language of English, we would then be denying the child access to their heritage language. In our situation, there isn't the *choice* of that child being able to learn the language from another source. In our context, the only possible transmitters of the language are second language speakers. Although it might be argued that this means the language being transmitted is non-native or artificial, it is either up to us, the second language speaker, or no one at all.

In his book *Foundations of Bilingual education and bilingualism,* Baker (2001) speaks of the experience and harm associated with language loss of heritage language in children, but conversely to the Kāi Tahu situation, he is referencing situations where the minority language is the native tongue of the parents,

> …a loss on minority language may have social, emotional, cognitive and educational consequences for a child… as Wong Fillmore (1991a: 343) argues: 'What is lost is no less than the means by which parents socialize their children: When parents are unable to talk to their children, they cannot easily convey to them their values, beliefs, understandings, or wisdom about how to cope with their experiences'… When the child loses the home language, the parent can no longer offer this language education to the child. The necessary cognitive scaffolding is stifled (Baker, 2001:93).

We are then left to weigh up the 'cost' of second language transmission of the heritage language and its relationship to the 'overall development' of the bilingual child when the language of the parent is not at a high proficiency level. The cost needs to be measured alongside the cost to the child's identity development and cultural self-esteem if they are not to be given the opportunity to have access to their heritage language as their native tongue.

If I return to the language development of my own children, I am aware of the limitations in the quality and breadth of the language transmission in our relationship, but perhaps because of that awareness, I have sought to actively look for ways to mitigate my own limits. For those people who share a similar predicament to Kāi Tahu, where those

committed to re-introducing the heritage language into the homes are second language speakers themselves, it is possible to take a proactive approach to filling the language gaps that might otherwise be able to be provided by a native speaking parent.

This is not to suggest that the result would be the same as if the parent transmitting the language was a quality native language speaker, but it does serve to help balance out the gaps and support the overall language development of the child. For my children, the strategies that I have used include:

- The establishment of a family language plan where key language speakers were requested to maintain Māori- only relationships with the children
- The deliberate and consistent exposure to a wide range of native speaker language examples through audio recordings; songs, audio stories, Māori language radio and television
- The deliberate facilitation of language communities and groups where other examples of intergenerational transmission were experienced
- Active engagement in bilingual and immersion education settings
- Maintaining a variety of Māori language-only domains outside of the home
- Actively teaching language genre that support the development of creative language expression such as *whakataukī* and *kīwaha*, and supporting the children to experiment in their own compositions from an early age
- Providing language rich experiences for the children to develop their cognitive abilities in both Māori and English.

At 11 and 12 years of age, the children are competently bilingual, and may be considered to be NL7 on the proficiency scale used earlier in this chapter. Whilst I maintain a broader knowledge of vocabulary and grammar in *te reo*, this would be expected of any adult – child relationship, and does not detract from the level of proficiency that might be expected of a native speaker in any language at their age. The current proficiency in *te reo* is greater than my own proficiency when I started lecturing in the language at university at age 21. They have a wider range of grammatical structures at their disposal than I did at that stage, and engage more confidently than I did across a much wider range of language domains and situations. They are also confident speakers of English as their

metalinguistic skills have continued to be developed through their English language interactions.

Although it is still true that the quality of their language would have likely been more enhanced if I had have been a native speaker of *te reo*, what they have had transmitted to them has allowed for a positive language development coupled with a strong cultural identity and sense of connection to their heritage language and culture. Any negative 'cost' of having a second language speaker as the transmitter of the first language, could therefore be argued to be an acceptable one, given the other cultural and identity benefits received and the overall positive cognitive development of the children.

On reflection, when looking at the generational rate of language shift reversal in my family, it is easy to understand why it is purported to take *at least* three generations to bring a language back to 'life'. While there are branches in the family tree that have metaphorically *fruited*, there are still others that are *yet to blossom*, and even that is assuming that there will exist the desire or inclination to pursue the language at all.

What is positive, however, is that there has been an element of linguistic persistence, albeit with the language represented in the Level 1 proficiency group, from the grandfather through to all of the grandchildren. Even though my father was at Level 3 when he had his children, he did not use all of the language he knew with his children, imparting only the language in the introductory level. However, all of my siblings have managed to impart that minimum to their children, along with a positive appreciation of the language.

Genealogy 4: Level of the O'Regan family language proficiency in 2016 showing language shift over 30 years

Tipene (SL.3) = Sandra (0-1)

Rena (SL.1)   Taone (SL.1)   Gerard (SL.2)   Miria (SL.1)   Hana (SL.6)

(SL.1) (SL.1)   (SL.3-4)(SL.1)(SL.1)   (SL.1-2)(SL.1)(SL.1)   (SL.1-2) (SL.1) (SL.1)   (NL.7)   (NL.7)
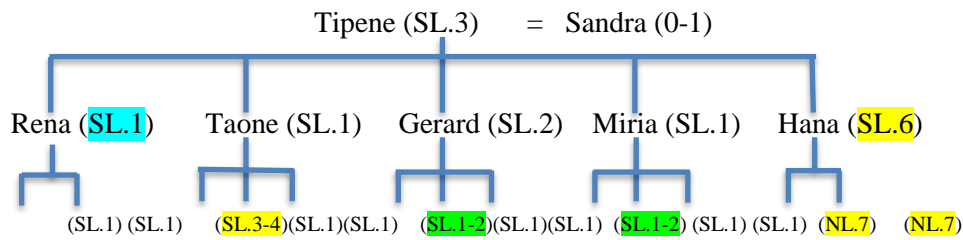
Key: ( ) = an increase in proficiency of more than one level
      ( ) = an increase in proficiency of one level
      ( ) = a decrease in proficiency of one level

(Source: O'Regan:2016)

There has been a degree of fluctuation between the levels of language in my own generation, and to a lesser degree in that of our children's generation over the past thirty years, as people have found themselves in situations where they can use the language or start to learn it again, and then move away from language acquisition and use as circumstances have changed. On a lineal graph, it would look more like a roller coaster than a straight line, but this also reflects the importance of continued use of the language by second language learners in order to avoid the language slide.

The real test will be seen in the proficiency of the next generation. The hope is that, as long as they continue to develop and strengthen their Māori language proficiency, then, when they have their own children, the language of intergenerational transmission will be of a significantly higher quality than what they themselves received and fewer compromises should have to be made.

Thirteen years on – the intergenerational transmission of guilt
The emotional investment in successful intergenerational language transmission may be argued to be greater when the language that is being transmitted is endangered, on account of the fact that there is much more to lose. Although the personal aspirations in achieving bilingual children might be similar, for language speakers of non-threatened or endangered languages, they do not have to carry the added pressure that if they do not succeed, their language might fade from existence. Even if the ML is the heritage language of the person and they are living in a foreign land, for example a native speaker of French raising their children in New Zealand, and the intergenerational transmission of

French is disrupted; there is still the possibility of that child or family returning to France or another French speaking country and immersing themselves in the language at some later point. Minority endangered languages however, do not share the same luxury.

This can create a significant burden for those engaged in language revitalisation, and despite being aware of positive child rearing practices, this pressure may be imposed on the younger children in who the hope for the language's survival is placed. I coin the term here, the 'intergenerational transmission of *guilt'*.

There have been times where those of us engaged in the KMK strategy have tried to use the 'guilt card' with the wider Kāi Tahu *iwi*, as a way of pressuring them in to action from a position of apathy, with messages like,

- There may never be another opportunity to save our language;
- To not do something about your language now, will mean your grandchildren may never have the option to learn it;
- If you fail to take the necessary steps now, you need to be ready to tell your grandchildren why you did nothing when you had the chance, and agreed to let the language die.

I am personally guilty of delivering such emotionally charged rhetoric on various occasions over the last 20 years of the KMK journey, with varied success. I am able to identify a number of occasions where the 'scare and guilt tactic' has resulted in the desired outcome, one of them being to move one of our language speakers over to the *Kāi Tahu dialect camp*, and away from the generic northern language that she was using and had acquired the language in. In that example, pleading the case of the vulnerability of the dialect and lamenting the fact that most seemed prepared to let it die, was enough for her to commit to using it. She is now one of the dialect's strongest exponents. I am aware of a number of other examples as well that have spurred people on to engaging in language acquisition, however, the known actual numbers are low – even though I may have personally felt better for the emotional download!

It is another challenge, however, to return to the discussion of raising bilingual children, that when one uses a guilt strategy, to ensure that the mL is used in the family domain by the children. The pressure of being an active party to dialectal death is transmitted to the children. Such events in a mother's memory are not often found in the pool of her proudest moments. On the contrary, I feel an intense mix of shame, guilt and anxiety when I reflect on the measure to which I have done this. I am at the same time, though, conflicted with the feelings of desperation and empathy for the emotion.

Even though I know the behaviour would not be held up as a positive one, I can recall not knowing what else to do or say when hearing the children leave *te reo Māori* and opt to speak in English to each other or with other people who are known to be speakers of the language. The tiring role of being the language police and repeating the same encouraging phrases to use the language over and over again, that are delivered in less and less encouraging tones throughout the day, as they move into more scolding expressions, is simply tiring. It seems comparatively easy in such contexts, to slip into your 'lower self' and spurt out threats and guilt trips,

- "Ki te kore koe e kōrero ana i tō tātou reo, ka mate te reo" – *if you don't speak in our language, our language will die;*
- "Ka mate tō tātou mita i a koe" – *you are killing our dialect;*
- "Ka mate tō tātou reo i tō kore kōrero" – *you are killing our language by not speaking it.*

As mentioned earlier, I am not suggesting that I am proud of imposing such pressure on my young children or indeed suggesting that the strategy is one that works. Instead, I recall the events as a way of highlighting the position that I found myself in as a mother desperately trying to maintain an endangered language in a mL context. The reaction is fed by a number of different elements; at its heart, there is the fear of the children turning their back on the language and choosing the easier option of using the ML English. There is the fear that the children, who have not known what it is like to not be able to speak *te reo Māori* or have it around them, may take their language for granted and not see the value in it. Understandably, not be able to comprehend what life would be without it, and therefore not attribute the same value to its sustainability in the home environment.

There is also the very selfish fear, that all of the effort that you have invested in its transmission and preservation, may have gone to waste and have been for no reason. From this selfish perspective, it is easy to get frustrated at the time spent worrying about *butterflies* and *bubbles* that could have been spent on other things if the desired goal was known to be unachievable.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of this burden I have placed on my children can best be illustrated by the interactions I had with them during one of the most traumatic events in our lives, that is the Christchurch earthquakes of 2010 and 2011-14. For any parent who finds themselves in the throes of a natural or man-made disaster, you may find yourself acting in a way that you might normally not expect to act. There were two significant aspects of our interactions that, upon reflection at a later – more stable time, were of significant interest to me.

The first reflection was how the children viewed the world around them and their relationship to it, and how the earthquakes highlighted to me, how different it was to my own worldview and perceptions of my place in it. At the time of greatest of stress, they saw their world and what was happening to it from a worldview constructed and understood through their language. The beliefs about the natural world, Māori cosmology and gods and their interplays, were not something that had been learnt and studied as had been my situation – for them it was their world.

Living at the beach, my first thought when the first big 7.2 earthquake struck at 4 o'clock in the morning on September the 10th 2014, was about the potential threat of a tsunami. I had prepared prior to the event, my emergency tsunami pack, and wanted the house to stop violently shaking so that I could fetch it and get the kid's lifejackets. My children, then aged seven and eight, had different ideas. Whilst sheltering under the door frame in the bathroom, my son repeatedly asked me to pray to Ruaumoko, God of earthquakes.

"Tukuna te karakia ki a Ruaumoko Māmā! Karakia ki a Ruaumoko ināianei Māmā kia mutu ia" – *Send a prayer to Ruaumoko Māmā! Pray to Ruaumoko now so he will stop.*

This was of course that last thing on my mind and certainly not my priority as it did not bring the Tsunami pack any closer to my hands. He was insistent, crying and pulling on my top pleading me to pray to Ruaumoko, who in Māori belief, is the unborn baby trapped in the stomach of Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, and the cause of earthquakes.

Having grown up with English as my first language, and learnt about the traditions of the Māori gods in much the same way as I had learnt about the Greek gods, I was far more concerned with my Western Science understanding of earthquakes and the possibility of a Tsunami than I was about the Māori worldview. For my children however, that world was their scientific reality.

I decided, awash with emotion and a sense of fate, that given the size of the earthquake, that if a Tsunami were to occur, we would not stand a chance given our proximity to the coast, so I decided that the very least I could do was to attempt to calm my children and do as they had asked. I held them close and we prayed to Ruaumoko. Although I knew that earthquakes only last for a certain time before subsiding, in my son's mind, the *karakia* achieved the desired result. Their language was intrinsic to them and was what they both sought for comfort. I will return shortly to explore the 'comfort factor' of the language as the language of security for the native language speaking children, but for the moment I will return to the second point made about the intergenerational transmission of guilt.

Within minutes of the first major quake, the aftershocks were coming thick and fast. It was still pitch black and my attentions turned to getting the torches so we had some light. I put the children in my bed with Reremoana, my 18 year old *whākai*, and went to go and find the torches. My departure was met by howls from my son, who, as I attempted to reassure him started crying to me,
"Māmā, e mōhio ana ahau he aha i pēnei ai" – Māmā, I know why this has happened.

My reaction was to ask him to be brave so I could go and get the torches, but he was persistent,

"Kāo Māmā, e mōhio ana ahau he aha i penei ai" – no Māmā, I know why this has happened.

I replied by saying that I did not understand what he was trying to say, and then he sobbed and spurted out,

"Kāo Māmā, nōku te hē, i te kōrero Pākehā māua ko Manuhaea" – No Māmā, it is my fault, Manuhaea and I have been speaking English with each other.

It struck me at that moment that my children believed that the single most terrifying event that they had ever experienced, could have been the result of them speaking English to each other, instead of *te reo Māori*. My immediate response was to comfort my sobbing child by reassuring him that it was not anything to do with him and that he had not caused the earthquake to happen. But even at that moment in amongst all of the drama, I couldn't help myself but add,

"Ehara i a koe e te tau, ehara i te mea nāhau tēnei āhuataka. Ekari he tika tō whakaaro, me kōrero Māori kōrua ki a kōrua" – No it's not because of you honey, it is not because of anything you have done. But you are right in your thinking; you two should be speaking Māori to each other.

Even at that most desperate time, when it was obvious that the burden of guilt at not having maintained a Māori-only conversation with his sister, was making my son believe he caused the earthquake - I still was not able to simply reassure him, and had to instead reiterate my desire for them to only speak Māori to each other.

I have also found myself using the language as a weapon when in the 'lower-self' mode; again something I do not reflect proudly on. I had experienced a reaction from the children later on in the year of the more devastating Christchurch quake of 22 February 2011, when I lost my self-control after a very tense situation where the children insisted on giving their father a Māori book to read, against my advice, and proceeded to complain to me in Māori, as he was reading, about his language ability. I was equally frustrated with all concerned at agreeing to the Māori language option as I was only asking their father to assist me as I was rushing to pack their bags.

As the nice evening event started to turn septic with complaints and moaning I lost it and cursed in English, saying that I was fed up and they all deserved what they got. I left the room and retreated to calm down. When I returned to the room the children were crying, and I proceeded to apologise for swearing – something I had never done to them before. However, I was interrupted by my daughter crying and saying,

"I kōrero Pākehā mai koe ki a māua!" – *You spoke English to us.*

I paused as I realised, that for them, worse than swearing and yelling, was the fact that I had cursed in English. I proceeded to try and divert the issue by suggesting that I was not speaking to them but to their father, but apologised nevertheless that they had to hear me use those words.

In the following five years since that event, I have resorted to speaking English around four times when everything else seems to have failed and my lower-self has been in full swing. Every time this has happened, my children have pleaded with me to speak Māori and have been visibly upset by me speaking English to them. My response at one stage was to retaliate by saying to them in English, *"Well what's the point? Why should I work so hard at trying to keep our language alive when you can't even be bothered using it?"*

I am not attempting here, by sharing my lower-self moments, to present my response as a positive strategy for raising bilingual children. I am by no means proud of this personal behaviour. But it does serve the purpose of highlighting the power that the language can have in the context of the relationship and the expectations around engagement between the parents and children in a context such as ours.

There was some distorted satisfaction for me in knowing that my children have associated my use of English with the emotion of anger, in contrast to the situation often recorded by first generation speakers of English who would recall their parents only using Māori with them when they were angry or yelling commands at them. I was able to reflect on my own situation and see the correlation in that people seem more likely to revert to the native language in times of stress, perhaps because of the sheer amount of effort required to stay in their non-dominant language.

This behaviour was also something I had identified with my children, as with the earthquake example, but in other times of stress like illness. On a number of occasions when my daughter was little and needed medical attention, she would answer the doctor's or nurses' questions 'through me' in Māori, even though she was fully competent in English and had all of the language at her disposal to answer them directly. Even when I would encourage her to respond directly, she would usually insist on telling me in Māori what the issue was so that I could pass the message on.

More recently this behaviour has become more challenging, when the medical professionals obviously expect more detail about the conditions from a child who is notably older, and therefore, usually able to give more information about their pain or circumstance. When taking my daughter to the medical centre with suspected Strep Throat, at the age of 12, she point-blank refused to tell the doctor what the issue was, insisting I communicate the issue. Even when I made the point to her that I could not explain her pain in terms of severity or location because I was not feeling it, she stubbornly proceeded to tell me in Māori so that I would translate for her.

While this situation may be frustrating for me as her mother, there is also a deferred sense of satisfaction knowing that *te reo Māori* is her language of security, and house of her 'lower-self'. When she does not have the energy or is not in a positive emotional space to display positive social behaviours that might normally be expected, she retreats to her first-language as the default safe-place, and that default language is, at least for the moment, Māori.

There are no guarantees, however, that this aspect of her relationship with *te reo Māori* will stand the test of time. As we have seen with language loss world-wide, many have chosen or have been forced to part with their native language for a multiplicity of reasons, and we know that transition can take place over a short period of time. It is reassuring therefore, that Manuhaea is still displaying such a strong emotional connection to *te reo* as she enters into her teenage years, a time often discussed as a crucial time of language shift.

What I am hopeful of is, that having had *te reo* modelled to her as the language of intergenerational transmission, it will be natural for her to use *te reo* when the time comes

to have her own children. There are positive signs for this when we have had the opportunity to have other babies around us in our home, and both children naturally engage with them in *te reo*.

I am working on the assumption, that the more positive the relationship that the child has with the language, the more likely they are to use this as their own default language of intergenerational transmission. This strategy has been one that we have actively supported within KMK, becoming active proponents of positive language relationships between family members and in creating positive family memories in the language. For the onlooker, this may seem like a contrived situation that is unnatural and staged, and it is. Certainly for me as a second language learner of *te reo*, there is nothing natural about teaching my children to bake in the language, or taking them skiing or swimming in the language. Every new activity requires a level of research and preparation so that I will have sufficient language to support positive engagement in *te reo*. But it is a *deliberate* attempt to make the times of positive childhood memories associated with *te reo*.

This approach means that the special times, the most fun and exciting times that the children are likely to recall fondly later on in life, are linked either consciously or sub-consciously with *te reo Māori* experiences in their memory bank. It is fair to say that these events and activities are the domains that we are able to exert some control over by deliberately manufacturing the experience. It does somewhat limit one's spontaneity, but the hope is that what needs to be deliberate action in this generation, will in time become normalised for the next.

Establishing relationship language

The concept of 'relationship language' was one first introduced to the KMK language team in 2000 by Joshua Fishman. He discussed the importance of establishing a relationship in *te reo* at the time that the relationship is initiated, explaining how much harder it is to change the language of interaction after the relationship has already been established. We were able to empathise with this situation when discussing the way in which we engaged with each other as a group.

All of us had become friends and colleagues in the medium of English, therefore English was the language that we got to know each other in and in which our relationship had

evolved. Although we all had a high level of proficiency in *te reo*, and would spend our days encouraging others to 'kōrero Māori i kā wā katoa, i kā wāhi katoa' – speak Māori at all times and in all places, we found ourselves regularly reverting to English to talk to each other. English was our natural language of interaction.

In contrast, some of us had started a few years prior, to attend the national Māori language immersion camps in the North Island, and had developed strong friendships with people we had met on those programmes. With those people, we had only ever spoken Māori to, and therefore, when we found ourselves in situations where others could not speak Māori and we needed to speak English, we found it unnatural to do so with each other. We were able to draw on first hand experiences of relationship language and the importance of establishing Māori language relationships at the beginning.

With the help of Fishman's advice, the KMK team started to advise *whānau* around implementing family language strategies based on the creation of *te reo* as the relationship language. Acknowledging how difficult it was to change the relationship language after the fact, we proposed a strategy that offered two approaches to create a reo Māori language relationship in the *whānau*:

1. The whole *whānau* and extended *whānau* to establish a Māori language relationship with a new born baby, irrespective of the language of communication with other members;
2. Creating *reo* Māori only domains such as specific times of the day or family activities that were to be only done in *te reo*.

The second option, in hindsight, was flawed, insofar as it did not actually work on the principle of relationship language, as it was centred on people identifying an activity and then changing the language that they would have usually used in order to achieve the activity. This is perhaps the reason that so many people reported struggling with the second approach, citing examples where they started off positively, using only *te reo Māori* when sharing meals for example, but that sustaining it proved too hard for most. As soon as energy levels dropped or the conversations that people wanted to engage in stretched beyond the language capacity of the *whānau*, they would slip back into English.

The examples that people said did work were ones where a new behaviour or practice was introduced into the activity and that practice was delivered in the language. Saying grace for food, for example, when the practice of saying grace had not previously been done, or introducing a new game in *te reo*, that was not simply translating an existing game into the language. I have now come to refer to this approach as establishing 'new rituals of behaviour' which is more consistent with the idea of forming a relationship language within the context of an activity.

The first approach, centred on new born babies, was a way in which we believed the language of the whole family could benefit from focusing on one consistent goal based on the following assumptions:

1. Second language learners would feel less threatened 'practicing their language' with a baby who was yet to develop their language, and would take some time to do so

2. It provided a timeframe for people to set goals for their language acquisition, to keep themselves a step ahead of the baby

3. All other siblings and *whānau* members would, by default, be exposed to more language on a regular basis and therefore, assist their language acquisition

4. When a child is born, parents and family members are more likely to commit to making changes and make personal sacrifices than any other time.

With these ideas in mind, and influenced by the thinking of Döpke in her book on OPOL that spoke of the idea of language mentors, we promoted to our KMK *whānau* a strategy that married the two together, whereby those *whānau* who had young babies or were about to have young babies, set about creating the environment that would nurture a positive reo Māori relationship language in the home.

Figure 15: A strategic approach to establishing an OPOL home for KMK *whānau*

1	• call a familiy meeting of the key people to be involved in baby's life, as close to the birth as possible (preferrably before birth)
2	• clearly explain to all present what you aim to achieve, to raise the child in the language, and discuss what this will mean for everybody
3	• Elicit the *whānau* support, taking the time to deconstruct negative language myths and fears about language exclusion for the non-speakers.
4	• assign roles to different family members and set expectations; for speaker have the expectation that they will support an immersion relationship in the language; for learners of the language- they will use all of the words they know.
5	• To support bilingualism, identify a 'mentor' in the family that can take the responsibility of modelling quality ML language to the child.

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

When I found out I was pregnant with my own daughter, I was able to put my strategy into action with my own *whānau*. I asked my father, who was a second language speaker with intermediate proficiency to only speak Māori to her, and asked my mother to be her English language mentor. I then set about 'constructing a language family' for my daughter and later son, identifying friends and relations, whist not being immediate family, who could take on roles of 'Aunties and Uncles' for my children.

We deliberately planned outings, dinners and events where we would come together so that the children had greater exposure to others using the language. Everything from '*Reo* Māori birthday parties' to holidays and camping trips with other Māori language *whānau*' were deliberately planned in order to provide multiple and diverse domains where the children's language could be supported.

The mentor approach proved successful as well, when later questions around the quality of the children's English language were asked, I was able to reinforce the role of the mentor to actively look for strategies to address it, thereby ensuring my Māori-only language relationship could be maintained.

Figure 16: Establishing expectations for a family language plan

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Figure 17: Applying the OPOL strategic approach for our family

1 • Before my daughter was born I held a meeting and told my family I wanted to raise her in Māori – and explained why

2 • I asigned roles to family members and asked them to support me in setting some expectations

3 • I found her 'Māori language Aunts and Uncles' and asked them to commit to only speaking Māori with her
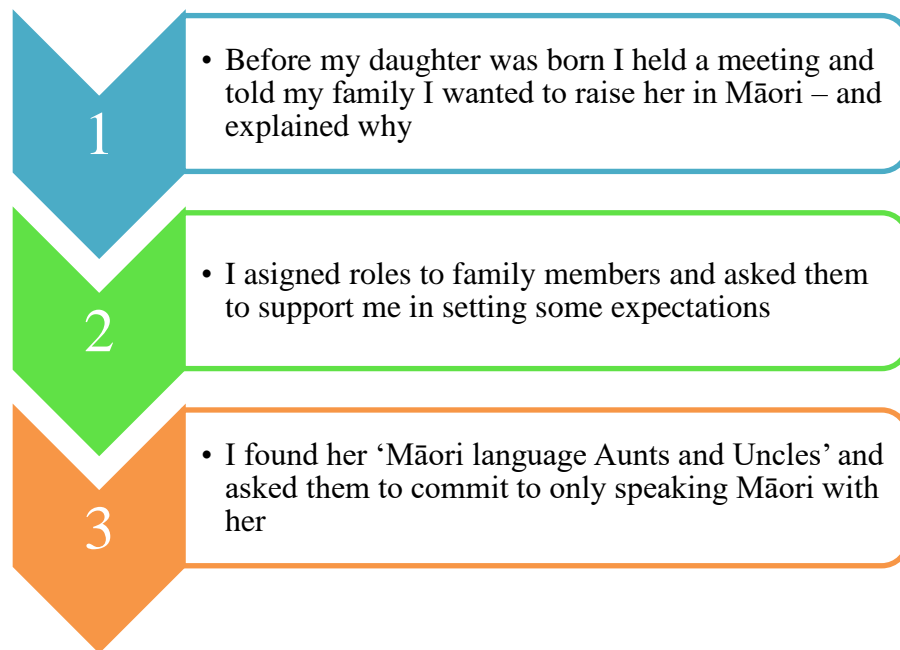
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Lessons learned

After 13 years of implementing my own family language plan, I am able to present examples of intergenerational transmission that have been successful and other strategies, that with the benefit of hindsight, were not as successful. Importantly, we are able to provide an example within the Kāi Tahu context of intergenerational language shift being able to be achieved, whereby for the first time in five generations over 120 years after the last native speakers were born in our family, we can re-establish a generation of native speakers of *te reo*.

We can see the example of a native speaking grandfather (Taare Bradshaw) shifting away from *te reo* as the intergenerational language of transmission with his grandson (Tipene O'Regan), and then how that grandson (Tipene O'Regan) can learn the language in adulthood and make the commitment to speak to his own grandson (Te Rautāwhiri Mahaki Mamaru-O'Regan) in *te reo*.

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Image 46: Creating generational shift

| Native speaking grandfather with his baby grandson – did not use the language with his mokopuna / grandchild | *Creating generational shift* | Second-language speaking grandfather (basic fluency) with his baby grandson – only used the language with his mokopuna / grandchild for the first 4 years |
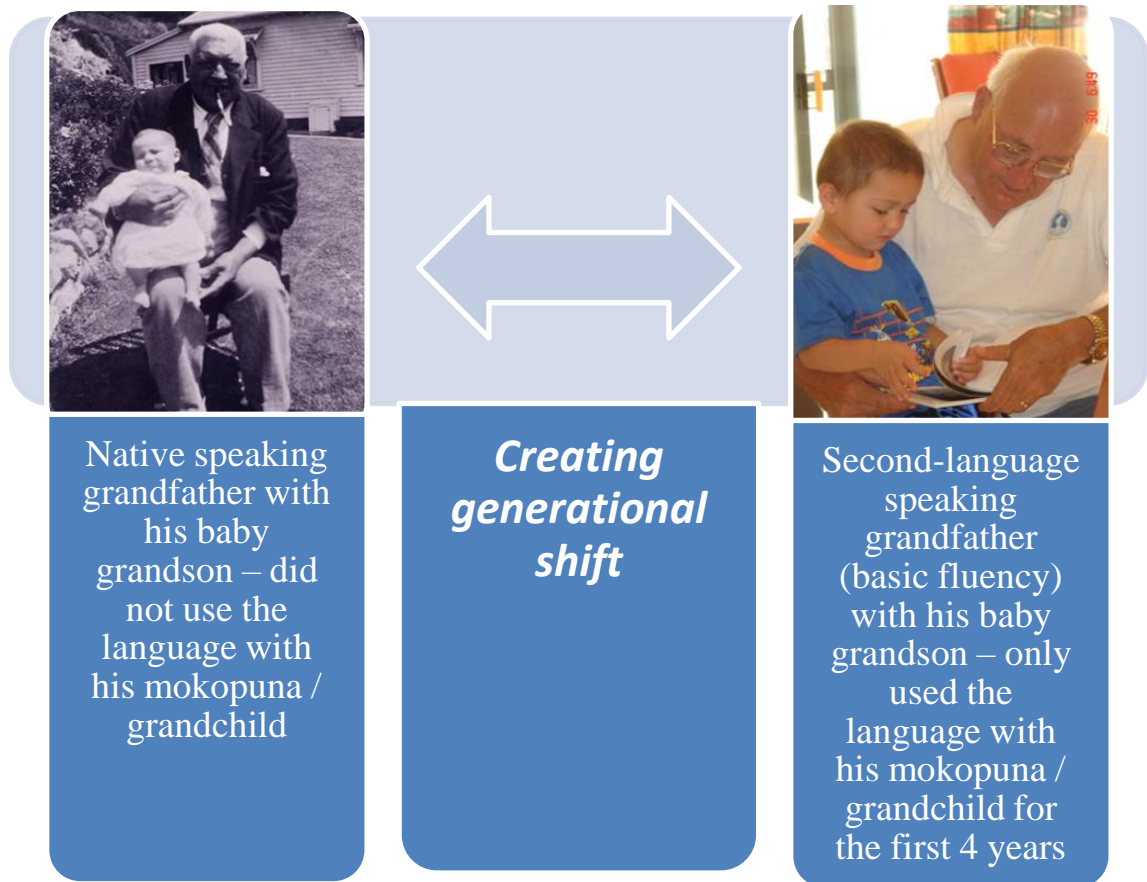
(Source: O'Regan, 2016, personal collection)

The first significant lesson learnt over my language journey has been around the appreciation of time and its relationship to expectations of proficiency. I have completely different expectations about my own level of language proficiency now than I did when I started to learn the language. As a second language speaker who has had limited exposure to a wide range of quality domains where the language has been used, I no longer expect to achieve native proficiency in the language. My goal is instead to continue to develop my language to be as 'near-to-native' as possible.

I must also recognise that my children's proficiency in the language will be compromised on account of them having a second language speaking mother. I must be prepared to actively and deliberately find ways to extend their language diet with other reo exemplars and experiences in order to support their language to be the best it can be (O'Regan, 2011:104). Acknowledging the sheer amount of time involved in re-introducing a language back into a family or community is an important lesson to help people make

realistic plans about their revitalisation journey. If the expectations about the speed of language development are realistic, then you are more likely to be able to celebrate the important milestones, and not fall into depression with a sense of failure when things do not happen as you thought they were going to.

The second lesson learnt is the need to be planned and deliberate in your language acquisition and revitalisation. An essential element of this is understanding and planning for the type of language you need to be learning and using and targeting your energies accordingly. Simply put, if your goal is the re-introduction of intergenerational language into the home, then you need to be learning and using relevant intergenerational language.

> I am more convinced now than ever that if Kāi Tahu wants to once again normalise *Te Reo* and have a people that truly own and give life to their language, then it is not sufficient to merely look at investing in the development of proficiency. There must be a recognition that what we need is targeted proficiency and the most crucial domain where targeting is required, is in the home (O'Regan, 2011:104).

Related to this focus of deliberate and targeted language planning is the third lesson learnt, a further acknowledgement of the challenges inherent in revitalising a minority indigenous language. During my four years as co-leader of the Kāi Tahu language strategy I did not for a moment consider how difficult giving effect to the strategy was actually going to be. Even though we have set a generational vision of 25 years and were talking about needing three generations to bring the language back, I had still not fully comprehended that those first 25 years would only be the first step and that so few would be proficient enough to take it in a sustainable way. I simply had no idea, how hard it was going to be, least of all for me.

The fourth lesson has been around the need to promote the fundamental relationship between culture, identity and language and not just assume that these connections are made in the minds of those we want to engage. Because of the time that our people have been dislocated from our heritage language, there is a need to re-educate around the role that language plays or should play, in who we are as Kāi Tahu. In doing so, the people on the ground in the *whānau* and communities, as well as the political influencers and decision makers of the tribe, may be able to more readily understand the potentiality of

the language to enhance our cultural-selves and self-concept as a people, and conversely, what we lose as a people if we fail to do so.

> We then run the risk of losing the language altogether as a marker of our culture and identity. If that happens, then we will arguably be seriously compromised in our ability to assert our collective cultural Kai Tahu-ness, as so much of our historical cultural knowledge and practice will have become increasingly beyond our collective grasp (O'Regan, 2011:105).

Conclusion

A saying commonly used by language communities engaged in revitalisation efforts around the world, was coined by Joshua Fishman who was also primarily responsible for guiding the Kāi Tahu language strategy in to the area of intergenerational transmission of the language and focusing it in the homes, 'it takes one generation to lose a language, and three generations to get it back' (Te Ataarangi, 2016:1).

My family's language journey has certainly proven the first part of that equation correct with the loss of *te reo* as the language of intergenerational transmission in the family occurring when my great-grandparents Taare and Rena Bradshaw did not pass the language down to my grandmother Rena Ruiha when she was born in 1900. It would be two generations later, that the first small steps towards reversing language shift would start to occur with my father learning the language and modelling a commitment and love for the language as a second language speaker. It was then one more generation before the language would be learnt to a higher level and that commitment and love for *te reo* extended to become the language of transmission in the home for my children.

My family is now in our third generation of language acquisition and first generation of intergenerational transmission. The reality for us is that it will likely be another generation at least, on the proviso that my children continue to develop and extend their language depth and breadth and raise their children in *te reo*, before we will be able to be in a position where we can say, 'we have got it back'.

What will be helpful for them to achieve that goal, will be an understanding of the lessons we have learnt, and those that have been learnt by others along the language revitalisation highway. Knowing the route taken by preceding generations will help them understand

the map ahead of them; what roads are likely to be dead-ends, what roads are navigable, and what short-cuts can be taken to help get them to their destination quicker and in good health and spirits.

The final lesson to share, is the importance of my children and their counterparts knowing that they have to be in the driving seat. They have to drive their language development themselves and do so with as much commitment and planning as the previous generation. If they leave it on auto-pilot or for someone else to drive, then history and international experience shows that the language, as a minority Indigenous language, is unlikely to survive and prevail by itself. Each generation must reset their GPS's and plan their route. Each generation must use the language and commit to it.   Failure to do so, will simply take us back to the beginning of Fishman's whakatauāki, 'it takes one generation to lose a language', and the *whānau* will be taken back 116 years to 1900 to start the journey again.

Ūpoko 7 - Chapter 7
He aha kai muri i te awe kāpara? Ko ahau, ko Kāi Tahu! - Who is behind this pale face? Tis I, Kāi Tahu!

Huruhuru hinamoki, ahakoa kure mai
Me aropapaki, koi tai rere e...i

To the silver haired, no matter the wrinkles
You must persevere, lest the tide be spent

Introduction

The language revitalisation journey is understandably a diverse one with many languages experiencing a wide range of influencing factors both contributing to and limiting or damaging its growth and revitalisation. This includes different environmental, economic and political factors, social and historic circumstances and issues relating to demography and cultural appetite for the respective languages. But even for those supporting the same language, the personal experiences, stories and views on that journey will likely be diverse in nature.

It was, a goal of this research to include the narratives of people who had been connected to the KMK, about their own journeys and associated views and experiences of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu and *te mita o Kāi Tahu*.

Interviews were not designed to provide a comprehensive insight into Kāi Tahu perceptions of language and dialect vitality, revitalisation and future sustainability. The goal was instead, to test some of my own assumptions on these matters against the perceptions and beliefs of significant people around me who had all engaged with the *kaupapa* to some degree. It was therefore necessary to ensure that the participants were drawn from different profile sets that would potentially offer some diversity in their responses.

For this reason the broad profile groups were broken into the three following categories,

- Kāi Tahu speakers of the language;
- Kāi Tahu who were not daily speakers of the language;
- Non-Kāi Tahu experts of the language with a relationship to Kāi Tahu language initiatives.

A cross section of age groups and geographical locations for both groups was also a consideration in the selection of participants in order to ascertain whether or not affiliation to location or specific *hapū* or intergenerational perceptions of language were an influencing factor in their responses. The participants fitted into three main age groups:

- *Taiohi* / Youth (under 25)
- *Pakeke* / Parents
- *Kaumātua* / elders

For the cohort of Kāi Tahu participants, the criteria used for selection was those who have Kāi Tahu *whakapapa* and who are actively engaged within the activities of the *iwi* although the way in which the individuals could be deemed to be actively engaged could vary greatly. All Kāi Tahu participants were identified as having a strong sense of tribal identity and readily recognised by others as being 'Kāi Tahu' even though they might have multiple tribal affiliations which were the case for 13 of the 17 Kāi Tahu interviewees who self-identified dual or multiple tribal *whakapapa* connections in their introductions.

The majority of interviewees were Kāi Tahu speakers of the *reo*, all of whom I have had connection with through the development and implementation of the KMK strategic initiatives and who use *te reo Māori* in their daily lives and in their homes. The three interviewees who were identified as non-speakers of *te reo*, all still had a level of functional language ability in *te reo* and often participate in cultural events and activities where language is around. However, they were classified as non-speakers for the purposes of this research as they were recognised as not being fluent speakers who use *te reo* as the vernacular on an everyday basis.

In this case, the intent was to compare the perceptions of *te reo* in the Kāi Tahu tribe by those that had developed their proficiency to a high level and were committed to its daily use, with those who maintained a strong Kāi Tahu identity, but who had not achieved the same level of proficiency. Of the Kāi Tahu participants interviewed, three resided outside of the tribal *rohe* in the North Island whilst still maintaining active engagement, and the rest live in the two main city centres in the South Island, Christchurch and Dunedin, but

affiliate to a range of *hapū* across the *rohe*. A total of twenty one qualitative interviews were conducted.

Map 1: Map showing rūnaka affiliations of the Kāi Tahu interviewees
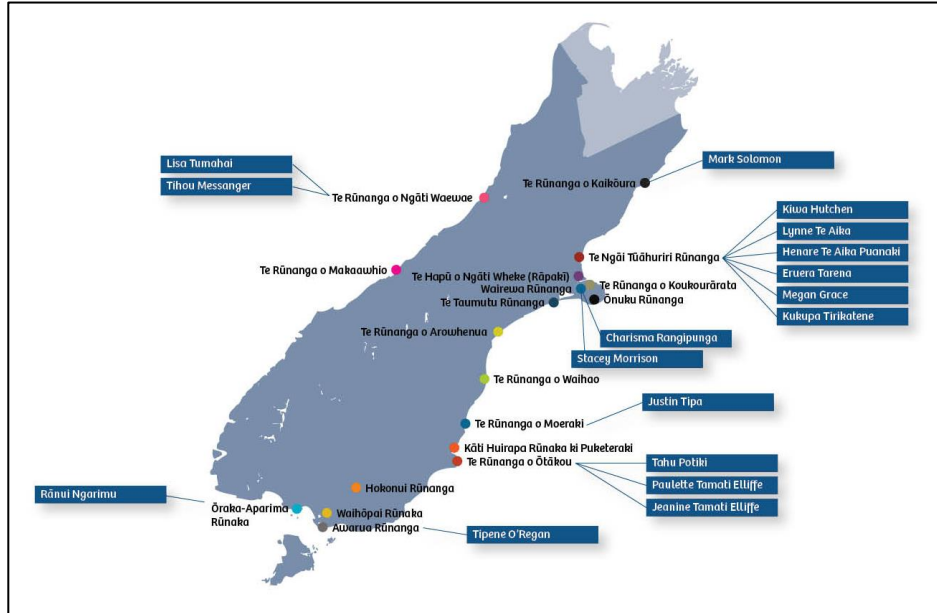
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

The motivation to also include non Kāi Tahu participants was to provide an opportunity to compare the way in which our own tribal members perceived our situation and efforts and the way in which these were also perceived by those belonging to different *iwi*, but still with an understanding of the Kāi Tahu situation. For this reason, the four non Kāi Tahu consisted of a small group of language teachers and mentors who have been actively engaged in Kāi Tahu language initiatives over the last 12 years, and who were able to provide an informed external perspective of Kāi Tahu language health and revitalisation efforts.

The interviews focused on the linguistic experiences and motivations of the participants and their perspectives on key essential elements for language sustainability and development within the wider tribal membership. The interviews also explored the participant's view of the Kāi Tahu dialect, their relationship to it, and their aspirations and future predictions for the *mita*.

The rationale behind the questions

The questions for the interviews were grouped into two main themes, the first regarding the participant's perceptions on language vitality in Kāi Tahu, and the factors influencing language acquisition or reasons for not acquiring the language. The second set of questions relate to the participant's perceptions on the Kāi Tahu dialect and its future. The base set of questions were asked of all participants, with the Kāi Tahu members being asked to reflect on their personal experiences and choices around language acquisition and engagement. The non-Kāi Tahu participants were asked to reflect on their overall perceptions and experiences through their time working with Kāi Tahu and the various language initiatives.

The motivation behind researching into the perceptions held by external participants on the status and future of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu and Kāi Tahu *reo*, was to present an opportunity to challenge or critique Kāi Tahu's own perception, so as to ensure Kāi Tahu were not being unnecessarily critical or alternatively insular in their approach to their self-evaluation.

When evaluating tribal language vitality, it is possible to ascertain an indicative picture of the health of the language in the tribe, by comparing it to other tribes in New Zealand. Certainly this is the common practice when analysing statistical data on language use and proficiency in the national surveys. The challenge with this approach however, is that vitality may be judged in relation to the status of other tribal situations purely on a quantum basis, instead of being assessed on key factors that assess its long-term sustainability and likelihood of intergenerational transmission within a particular tribe or language group. I would argue that those key factors are significantly influenced by a people's perceptions of the value of their language, and therefore, how strongly they relate to, believe in and are committed to their language revitalisation and survival. To follow this approach, it would then be arguably more important to ascertain that people had a strong commitment and emotional attachment to the language, that they cared about its existence and saw the future value proposition of the language, than to have a greater number of people who might speak the language, but not share the same level of personal investment in it.

The former group might be more likely to understand what is at stake in terms of language loss and associated cultural deprivation than the latter group, who may take the language for granted or not see it as in a perilous state. The danger of assessing vitality by numbers, is in the historical experience of language loss that it can be lost as quickly as a single generation if the understanding and commitment is not there to retain and transmit the language.

If we were to apply these measures of language vitality, to the Kāi Tahu tribal situation, we may conclude that we might be in a better position to have a smaller number of people who were passionate about the language and the tribal language strategy, who had a high level of awareness around language revitalisation and language policy and committed to intergenerational language transmission, than to have great numbers of speakers who were not active in intergenerational language transmission in their own homes, or aware of their language vulnerability.

I acknowledge that this perspective of language vitality may be biased, in that such a position may be argued is required to be held, if one is to believe that there is any hope for *te reo* in Kāi Tahu and its unique dialect, given the current state of language health by quantum and levels of proficiency in comparison to the rest of the country. Whilst I acknowledge my own emotional attachment to such a belief, I also find support for such a position from other research on the factors influencing language survival and health. The EGIDS certainly identifies this as a significant indicator of language health.

The value then, of understanding what other people's views of Kāi Tahu language health are and what the motivations were that precipitated their own language acquisition journeys or alternatively, why they did not chose a language learning pathway, may provide valuable insights into potential strategies and approaches for future Kāi Tahu tribal revitalisation efforts.

Participants were asked the following questions according to their respective groups:

Table 5: Kā pātai – The questions

Speakers	Non-Speakers	Non-Kāi Tahu	Kā Pātai – The Questions
✓	✓	✓	How would you define the state of *te reo* within Kāi Tahu today?
✓			What was your driver for learning the language?
	✓		Why haven't you learnt *te reo*?
✓			What was your language learning experience/s like?
	✓		How do you feel about not being able to speak the language?
✓			What was the most beneficial language learning experience you had?
✓	✓	✓	What do you believe are the drivers behind motivating language change?
✓	✓	✓	What do you think needs to be done on various levels (personal through to tribal and government levels) to revitalise Kāi Tahu *reo*?
✓	✓	✓	What do you believe would help to motivate those tribal members who do not speak *te reo,* or are not making an attempt to learn?
✓	✓		What are your language aspirations for your *tamariki* / children and *mokopuna* /grandchildren?
✓	✓	✓	Is it important from your perspective for our people to speak *te reo*; personally, collectively and culturally?
		✓	How is *te reo* within Kāi Tahu perceived by other *iwi*?
✓	✓	✓	What do you understand Kāi Tahu dialect to be?
✓	✓	✓	What are your personal feelings on the dialect?
✓	✓	✓	What are the factors that influence dialect choice?
✓	✓	✓	Do you think the dialect needs to be protected?
✓	✓	✓	What do you think will happen to the Kāi Tahu dialect in the future?
✓	✓	✓	Do you think dual *iwi* affiliation impact upon people's dialect choice?
✓	✓		Do you use Kai Tahu *reo*?
		✓	Would you promote the use of Kai Tahu *reo*?

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Analysis of responses – Language Vitality in Kāi Tahu

How would you define the state of *te reo* within Kāi Tahu today?

When asking the question about the state of *te reo* within Kāi Tahu today, all the respondents immediately recognised that progress had been made over the last 15 to 20 years. There was, however, quite a wide range of variation in terms of how well people perceived that we had come over that time and where on a vitality scale we might be assessed at currently sitting. When looking at the responses from the *kaumātua*, they tended to be more generous in terms of progress than those of the younger generation, perhaps reflecting the marked change that they identified having occurred over the past few decades in comparison with the periods associated with their own youth,

> I would say it is very weak but it is far, far stronger than it's ever been in my lifetime and probably stronger than it was in the generation before me (O'Regan, 2012: personal communication).

For *kaumātua* Kukupa Tirakatene, there was an added level of excitement in his response that emanated from an experience at the first Kāi Tahu Kura Reo in Awarua, upon hearing a Kāi Tahu child speak *te reo*, something he had not expected from Kāi Tahu *tamariki* of this generation.

> What I've experienced, especially at these kura reo, that's in a great state. It's in a great state when a person of four years old can understand the complexity of *te reo*. My thoughts go back to the time two years ago. Piri Sciascia asked this little girl; '*hara mai pēpi*' – *Come here baby*, and this girl replied '*ehara au i te pepi*!- *E whā kē aku tau*!' *I'm not a baby. I'm four years old!* When I heard that I thought we're in a great state! (Tirakatene, 2014: personal communication).

In a similar vein, *taua* Mereana Hutchins spoke with pride about how some of her *whānau* from the north were pleasantly shocked when they heard Kāi Tahu speaking *te reo*, having believed that the tribe no longer had such capacity,

> Kāore pea i ora i te wā – e titiro ana au ināianei, tumeke ana ngā iwi o tērā motu! Ka mau te wehi o tō tātou iwi o Ngāi Tahu. Whakarongo atu ki tō rātou reo. Kāore mātou i te mōhio kai te mōhio tonu ki te kōrero … Hika! Kāore rātou i mōhio he reo anō o Ngāi Tahu.
>
> *It wasn't very healthy before – but when I look at it now, those other tribes of the north are shocked! 'Our relations of Ngāi Tahu are doing awesome. Listen to their language! We didn't know they still knew how to speak! Gosh!' They didn't know that Ngāi Tahu had the language.* (Hutchin, 2013: personal communication).

It is possible to provide a guide to the range of responses by considering the language used to describe the state of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu by the respondents and then plotting them on a vitality scale, as provided in the diagram below. The first red vertical arrow to the left, while still acknowledging progress, suggests that the progress has only been limited and still places the health of the language in an endangered position. The third red arrow on the right, suggests that we are further along the journey to achieving a position of language health, albeit with much more work required before reaching a positive state of language vitality.

Figure 18: Showing respondents responses on the state of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu today
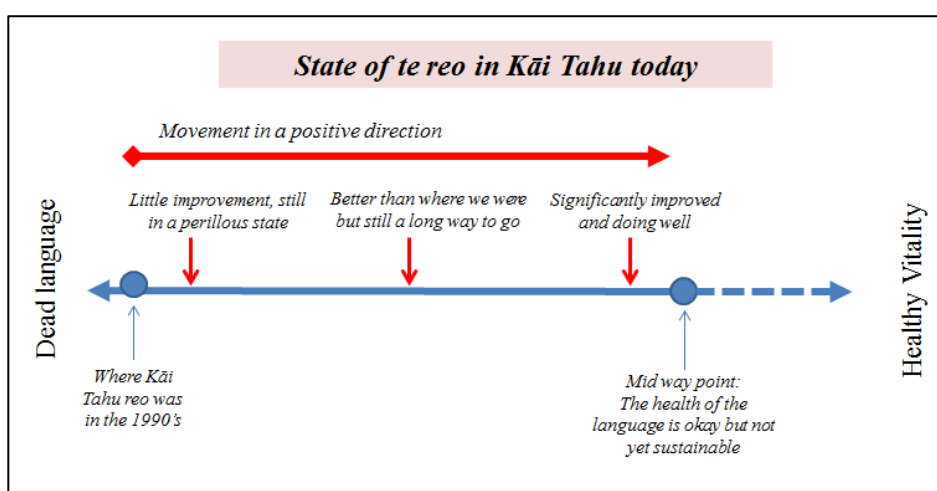
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Using this diagram, the *kaumātua* interviewed seemed to view the progress that had been achieved in a more favourable light than some of the other respondents.

This was also true of the non-Ngāi Tahu group, who were also comparatively generous in their responses. It should be noted here that generosity is likely to have been influenced by the fact that they were being asked to review a tribe other than their own, and therefore more sensitive about levelling criticism at another. Perhaps the greatest level of excitement and optimism about the Kāi Tahu position was articulated by Wharehuia, who focused on acknowledging the enormity of the effort that had already been made, thereby creating real hope of being in a position to achieve the greater goal,

> Your aspirations; what used to appear to be a very *Everest* kind of task to do, has now become just an *Aoraki*. But then even Aoraki has had its difficulty. People who thought they could climb have fallen off. But in essence the

mountain is much easier to climb now than in the past. In fact you can all stand on the Aoraki *o te reo*, and say 'we're there! And we got it up to the top, and we've got our mokopuna's engaged in it' (Milroy, 2014:personal communication).

The existence of 'hope of the Kāi Tahu cause' as a result of the advancements made over the past few decades, was a common theme across all of the non-Kāi Tahu respondents who all indicated a position somewhere between the second and third red arrow on the above diagram, as expressed by Tīmoti is his response:

I think that there is a glimmer on the horizon that is a positive glimmer. And while there might only be a dedicated few - rather better to have a dedicated few than a lot who really just pay lip service to the whole issue (Kāretu, 2014: personal communication).

Although the words used to describe the state of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu differed across the remaining respondents irrespective of the demographics, the core sentiments remained consistent, with most suggesting a position on the vitality scale in between the first red arrow and the second. Most freely spoke of their concerns around the small numbers committing to the language and concerns over the high level of apathy towards the language in the tribe, while still highlighting a degree of satisfaction and sense of accomplishment at the milestones achieved. The apathy of the majority of Kāi Tahu towards the *reo* was a consistent theme across the respondents,

I think in general you haven't seen a huge shift in commitment to the language. You've probably seen more maintenance of the status quo in terms of a largely superficial commitment to the language (Tarena, 2012: personal communication).

There were a number of responses that focused on the state of *reo* in specific areas that deserve mention. Both Tihou Messenger and Lisa Tumahai spoke of the poor state of *te reo* in the *rohe* of Kāti Waewae on the West Coast, even when being compared with the rest of Kāi Tahu, suggesting that a blanket assessment of language vitality of Kāi Tahu could be misleading. Another focus area for this group was the fact that we now have a generation of children who are being raised in *te reo* as their first language for the first time in many generations in the tribe. Although most still voiced their concerns around the size of this group, it was still acknowledged as a significant milestone and a move in the right direction, taking the *reo* from a position of near death to a path of recovery.

> I think it's coming through from a state of being almost obsolete to now we're seeing an increase in numbers of the current generation, younger generations using *te reo*. So I think it's grown …There's still a lot of work to be done. I wouldn't say it's in a healthy state as yet; still unhealthy, but I see there have been some gains since my time of being involved with *iwi te reo* initiatives (Tamati-Elliffe, P., 2012: personal communication).

Mark Solomon gave an example of his experience in 1998 when Jenny Shipley, the former Prime Minister of New Zealand, arrived at Onuku marae to perform the formal apology to Ngāi Tahu as part of the Ngāi Tahu Settlement. He reflected on the new-found commitment to *te reo* in the younger generation displayed at the event when he heard 10 to 15 young Ngāi Tahu speaking in the meeting house together, all in *te reo* for the best part of an hour.

> That was my biggest buzz! Far better than the apology. Because I looked at these young ones, and they seemed to have more of a hunger for it than my generation. It made me think – hey, we've got a chance at getting it back! And I see it in a lot of the young ones. They seem to be more hungry for it than we are – of my generation (Solomon, 2013:personal communication).

Another acknowledgement worth mentioning was in the area of cultural capacity. Again, even though the numbers concerned remain small, Justin Tipa spoke of our growth over the past 12 years in the numbers of speakers who have developed a high level of fluency and are able to perform the cultural rituals in *te reo* on our *marae*.

> If you look at the quality of the language and the quality of our *pae karanga* and *pae kōrero* – through the participation of *kaupapa* like Te Panekiretanga, we've seen a number of graduates from the South Island and that's had a direct influence on the quality of the language spoken. Most of the people who have come through Te Panekiretanga are involved in their respective communities – and it does have a ripple flow on effect (Tipa, 2012:personal communication).

Three of the participants provided responses that positioned them closer to the far left on the vitality scale, declaring their distress at the little progress that had been made. Although initially I considered that the likelihood of such a response was related to how close the respondent was to the responsibility of driving KMK, the more closely associated the more negative the perception, this assumption was not conclusive. Charisma Rangipunga was one of those who had led the language team for a number of years and at the time of the interview held the position of General Manager responsible

for KMK. She provided an impassioned response when asked to reflect on the state of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu,

> Shocking! That's my synopsis of the whole situation. In the 10 years that I've been there - there have been improvements, but why I say shocking, when we look at it over all we still suffer a lack of proficient *kaikōrero*, *(ceremonial speakers)* and *kaikaranga (ceremonial callers)*. We don't have a huge group of *kaitito (composers)* coming through. And we have very limited participation or commitment to the normalisation of *te reo Maori* within our homes (Rangipunga, 2012:personal communication).

Like Charisma, Megan Grace held a high level of anxiety about the state of the language. She spoke of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu as still being in a state of decline and proposed the position that immediate intervention was required or the language would die,

> Kai te mate haere. Torutoru noa iho tātou o Kai Tahu kai te kawe tonu ana i te reo ki ō tātou tamariki mokopuna. Nā reira, kare e kore ki te kore e whai oranga ki te whakarauora, ka mate atu.
>
> *It is continuing to die. There are too few Kāi Tahu who are carrying the language to our children and grandchildren. Therefore, it is without a doubt if we do not bring the revitalisation efforts alive, it will die* (Grace, 2012:personal communication).

Another person intimately close to the KMK *kaupapa* and the one responsible for driving the initial revitalisation effort, Tahu Pōtiki, was also less sanguine about state of *te reo* in the *iwi*:

> (its) better than it was but perilous. You know, we're lucky we've got a small group that's sustaining some semblance of language but if it's left to its own devices it's all over, pretty much (Pōtiki, 2014:personal communication).

What was your driver for learning the language?
The key common drivers identified by those respondents who answered this question included;

- *Whānau* - parents and grandparents encouraging them to speak;
- Watching parents learn the language themselves,
- having significant people in their lives show value and love for the language, and;

- Having access to positive language mentors and role models inside and outside of the family.

Despite the commonality across the above mentioned themes, overwhelmingly the most common driver of the *pakeke* generation was having children. Respondents identified having children themselves as a significant catalyst in their language acquisition. They highlighted their desire for their children to be raised in *te reo* without having to experience the challenges and stresses that they had experienced as a key influencer in pursuing the *reo* for the respondents. Many linked the provision of *te reo* to their children with the development of a strong cultural identity as Māori and as Kāi Tahu.

> I just saw it as an opportunity to give them a head start in life, and earlier the better … I'd had to wait until I was 11 until I got any exposure to learning. So I wanted them to feel more confident and competent, have a stronger sense of identity than we ever did, yeah. And thought, well, *te reo* is going to be one of the building blocks for that (Tamati-Elliffe, P., 2012: personal communication).

The connection of *reo* to cultural identification was also cited as a driver by Justin Tipa for his language acquisition. Justin spoke of the perceptions that he and others had of him on account of his skin colour, and how *te reo* helped him gain confidence in being able to claim his identity as Māori,

> I've always been passionate about *te reo*. I think on a deeper level it was coming from quite a strong family, and a lot of my relations are visibly Māori – where I'm quite fair. So by being able to speak Māori and participate culturally gave me a lot more confidence in myself – to be myself. Although having children was definitively a huge catalyst in speeding up that process (Tipa, 2012:personal communication).

It was the lack of cultural capacity in the tribe to uphold the cultural traditions and practices that Tahu Pōtiki accredited as being his key driver to learn *te reo*. He was witnessing first-hand the struggle at the *marae* and tribal level to maintain and sustain the cultural responsibilities that required a level of *te reo*, and wanted to find a way to address the gap.

> I think it was about being able to maintain and sustain the sort of cultural institutions that make up the *iwi*. I was concerned that we are less able to hold our own if we didn't have people that could speak (Pōtiki, 2014:personal communication).

One interesting reflection of a driver made by Paulette, was the experience of being exposed to other second language learners who provided real life and relevant exemplars of how *te reo* could be lived and brought back into the homes,

> I think there's a bit of a revolution happened in my mind when I met Te Aotahi … and asking Charisma which *kōhanga* he went to. She said 'no, he doesn't go to *kōhanga'*. Amazed I said 'well where does he learn *te reo*?' I was still in that mind-set that kids have to learn and be taught, rather than catch it just as a way of life. So when she told me that's what they did, it just instilled a little bit more hope (Tamati-Elliffe, P., 2012:personal communication).

Another unique driver for language acquisition was offered by Stacey, who cited her experience as an American Field Scholar Exchange Student in Japan as a key motivator to learn the language. Stacey spoke of the sense of loss experienced when she learnt how to speak Japanese and realised how much of the cultural knowledge was unlocked to her once she had a grasp of that language,

> …that's when it struck me that it was odd to be able to speak someone else's language before I could speak my own. And I had felt a sense of loss and *mamae* that I couldn't speak Māori – I felt *whakamā* in certain environments … in the sense that it felt like something was missing. And it became very tangible once I could speak Japanese and I understood more about what a language gives you about a culture – and I thought I needed to have that journey in my own language (Morrison, 2013:personal communciation).

Why haven't you learnt *te reo* and how does it feel not being able to speak fluently?
For those respondents who did not speak *te reo* in their everyday lives, the question was asked of them, why they had not learnt the language or pursued it to a higher degree in order to see if there was a factor that might have encouraged them to do so. All three of the respondents spoke of having invested time into learning the language formally on more than one occasion. Despite the efforts to learn, all three respondents spoke of the other pressures that ended up diverting them away from the language, requiring them to focus their attentions instead on work commitments, tribal politics and family obligations.

Tipene O'Regan explained how he continued to maintain his language, just not as a vernacular. Instead he invested his time into researching the lexicology of the language. He had a developed interest in the traditions of naming across flora, fauna and landscapes and associated features that had been nurtured by his father in his youth. He continued to develop his Māori language knowledge in these domains through his own research and

study and became an authority in the area. Tipene spoke of the importance of understanding the cultural basis of the language, the traditions, origins and unique characteristics associated with the landscape so that people had something 'Māori to say' when speaking Māori. A position proposed to him by the late John Rangihau of Tuhoe.

> I was diverted by my career, by the other work I was doing, and it was a bit like the conversation as we've discussed many times that I had with Te Rangihau, when he said 'there's more and more people speaking more and more Māori with less and less Māori to talk about'. I have always been interested in the content (O'Regan, 2012: personal communication).

Both Lisa Tumahai and Mark Solomon spoke of their desire to continue to pursue a language acquisition path when time and opportunity allowed. Although Lisa mentioned a degree of apprehension associated with language environments, this did not deter her from wanting to strengthen her *reo* in the future,

> I don't struggle with the language, I *shy* away from the language I think. I'm starting to try and use it more when I'm in a formal setting – if I'm at a *hui*, and at the lunch table, I'll try and use it as much as I can – but then I get really nervous – I'm frightened that the person sitting beside me will think I can speak it fluently (Tumahai, 2013:personal communication).

When asked about how they feel not being fluent speakers of the language, the responses were mixed. All three respondents in this group either held or currently hold significant leadership positions in the tribe, and, therefore have considerable political and leadership responsibilities to uphold. Tipene presented a view that was positive about what he had been able to achieve and a reluctance to focus on what might have been if history had been different, whilst still acknowledging in an ideal situation, compromise would not have been required.

> You've got to appreciate I'm in my early 70s now ... I can look back and say I would love to have been bilingual, but if I had have focused to the degree necessary to become bilingual I would not have driven the Ngāi Tahu claim. I wouldn't have done the sort of stuff I'd done. I wouldn't have this encyclopaedic knowledge that I've developed in the geographic name sector (O'Regan, 2012: personal communication).

Although both Mark and Lisa spoke of times where their lack of *te reo* had left them feeling embarrassed, especially in situations with other tribes, they had managed to see

this in the context of the other skills they brought to the roles and the wider picture of their support of the language and culture.

What was the most beneficial language learning experience you had?
All of the Kāi Tahu speakers of *te reo* were asked to reflect on their most beneficial language learning experiences. Although the actual programmes attended differed slightly across the group, all of the respondents were unanimous in identifying immersion language opportunities as the most positive and beneficial for their language development.

Of the programmes identified, the national Kura Reo, the Kāi Tahu Kura Reo and *Reo Rumaki* and other immersion *wānaka* like Pari Karakaraka and Panekiretanga featured on the list of positive language learning experiences. Two respondents also cited their time at Te Wananga o Raukawa immersion programmes in the 1980s and 1990s as being their launching pads into later immersion programmes. Te Ataarangi language programmes, which are also delivered entirely in an immersion context, were mentioned specifically by two respondents (Ngarimu, 2013:personal communication).

The benefits referred to by the respondents were not just limited to the immersion teaching environments, but also included the positive outcomes associated with exposure to quality language teachers in these environments and the ability to establish social networks where *te reo* was the relationship language and was used in everyday language contexts, as suggested by Henare Te Aika-Puanaki in reference to the Kāi Tahu Kura Reo,

> I don't think you can beat anything like Kura Reo … I think the authentic conversations and actually just trying to normalise it in that week that you have that Kura Reo Kāi Tahu is very special; and also connecting with your *whānau*, with likeminded people (Te Aika-Puanaki, 2014:personal communication).

Paulette Tamati-Elliffe also identified the national Kura Reo as her best learning experience, drawing on the social connections that emerge from the programmes. She spoke of the combination of excitement and nervousness when first venturing into these immersion language environments because of the expectations of the tutors and the quality of language being spoken around her,

> (Kura reo)… Just plunging into that unknown depth, and having to tread to keep your head above water. Yeah the total immersion environments (were the best), where not only are you in a learning space but you have to socialise with others (Tamati-Elliffe, P., 2012: personal communication).

The 'sink or swim' metaphor was also coincidently used by a number of other respondents when referring to the Kura Reo and immersion programmes, and this was seen as a positive feature of their language experiences, especially when they succeeded in 'swimming'. Charisma Rangipunga spoke of the excitement inherent in the challenges that the immersion Kura Reo provided, that encouraged participants to better themselves and increase their proficiency levels at every *wānaka* attended.

> And I say that because they give you floaties – they give you a paddleboard, but they put others around you… and they put the sharks in the water! But it's a challenge! And it actually drives your hunger to want to graduate and rise up through the levels (Rangipunga, 2012: personal communication).

The benefits of these kind of *wānaka* were further enhanced, according to Justin Tipa, when they occurred in the natural environments of the *marae* and away from the traditional language classroom, living together in an authentic context for a numbers of days on end,

> So it was those immersion environments, where you were there for a period of time … having the opportunity of being immersed in *te reo*. For me it's either you sink or you swim – just having it all around you; having access to people like yourself and Charisma and those members of our tribe who have attained a level of excellence in *te reo*, and to be in that environment where its fostered in a holistic environment I guess – rather than in a classroom (Tipa, 2012: personal communication).

Despite the variation of the programme themselves, the respondents to this question unanimously support immersion learning as their best learning experiences, especially when supported by quality language teachers and where the content incorporated *tikaka* or customs and key cultural knowledge as well as language.

What do you believe are the drivers behind motivating language change?

The question regarding the drivers behind motivating language change, was unintentionally ambiguous and therefore was not responded to in a consistent way. Some of the respondents responded from a personal perspective, while others focused on what potential drivers others may see as motivators to engage in language acquisition.

One consistent theme identified in the responses, irrespective of the afore mentioned ambiguity, was an identification that there would be different drivers for different age groups, and these would present as significant influencers in any decision to learn the language over a lifetime.

The main drivers highlighted by the respondents can be categorised into the following five main groups;

- identity and cultural affiliation,
- the desire to raise children in *te reo*,
- the opportunity to access fun and relevant language learning opportunities,
- and the fulfilment of cultural obligations, and
- the existence of positive and inspiring role models.

The first driver; connection to identity, cultural affiliation and *whakapapa* was considered an important draw card for language learners. It was suggested that Māori could be drawn into the language through their desire to connect culturally with their identity as Māori, as well as those already culturally engaged feeling the need to develop their language to strengthen that cultural connection. Wharehuia made the point that he perceived that it was easier for Kāi Tahu to identify as Māori now than was the case historically, because of the milestones achieved over the last few decades, and this new positive association with being Kāi Tahu, could act as a motivating factor for people to reconnect and learn *te reo* (Milroy, 2014:personal communication).

> From an outsider looking in, I think there's a much greater appreciation if you like, of the growing Kāi Tahu identity taking place. So my first driver would be that more people are becoming aware that there is a Kāi Tahu identity and they can be part of that identity. And that they can participate in it without feeling out of place (Milroy, 2014: personal communication).

The driver of having children and wanting to provide opportunities for their children that they did not necessarily have themselves, was an overwhelmingly significant driver for all respondents in the *pakeke* group. A number of respondents spoke of the time of having their own children as the single biggest factor that encouraged them to step up their game and develop their own language.

Mereana Mokikiwa emphasied the importance of making the language fun if you wanted people to learn it and therefore ensuring that the whole learning experience was enjoyable and engaging,

> I think one of the things that our people are very good at – is they love singing, they love making up their own songs about events happening. And we also enjoy having fun. So like, learning can be difficult – but it can be fun! It can also be made simpler. Keep it simple. Where people can learn in their time – but also enjoy it. You can enjoy stories that make you smile and make you laugh (Hutchin, 2013: personal communication).

This sentiment was supported by another *kaumātua*, Tipene O'Regan when discussing the question of what might need to happen to positively engage people in *te reo* learning,

> …where you come down to the projects and the devices, the more you can do it around what I would call loosely 'fun', the more you're going to penetrate, the more you can function so that people find the acquisition of a language a pleasurable and exciting thing and enjoyable. The more you socialise it rather than make it an exercise in pedagogy. I think that's a big, a big plus if you can manage that (O'Regan, 2012: personal communication).

Tahu Pōtiki and Justin Tipa both talked about their desire to fulfil the cultural expectations on the *marae* as drivers for their language acquisition and this was tied in to a greater desire to maintain a level of cultural integrity for their people that required a higher level of proficiency in *te reo* (Tipa, 2012 & Pōtiki, 2014: personal communication).

A third of the respondents talked about the impact that positive role models of *te reo* play, especially those that have successfully reintroduced the language into their homes. These people could have significant influence on people believing that they too could achieve Māori language speaking homes. In the absence of such role models, it was believed that many would believe that the task of raising children in the minority language would simply be unachieveable and too challenging for a second language learner to achieve. When asked what might motivate *whānau* to make the change to pursue *te reo*, Charisma reiterated the importance of role models that were stunning, impassioned and vibrant,

> … because they act as a stimulus for movement and motivation of others. And they show people that it's not only achievable – but they act as a network of support. But if I think of my own personal experience in terms of pride and confidence and identity – if you see people who are like that – you are instantly

drawn to them. You just want to emulate them (Rangipunga, 2012: personal communication).

The need to model energy and positivity was also a theme in Pania Papa's response. She spoke about the need to keep the language fun and relevant to the younger generations that were essential to engage if you wanted the language to be sustainable. This meant reaching beyond traditional modes of language acquisition and breaking new ground for the language in the world of technology and in domains that it might not previously have existed,

> I think an openness to use the language creatively in new contexts. So moving with the technology - coming up with new words…. *Kīwaha* I think is key - in terms of making the language - sexy as well - for the young ones. Keeping it up with the times. So maybe moving away from a focus on formal language for the young ones, and bringing in much more everyday contextual language, that suits them and their needs. It's a fast paced world, and our kids need words fast - and often we can't come up with it that fast (Papa, 2014: personal communication).

Tīmoti spoke of the love of the language as a driver that is, "The desire for that language to continue to exist", as being a motivating factor to learn *te reo* (Kāretu, 2014:personal communication). Leon Blake and Tihou Messenger proposed a different approach centred on economic factors as potential drivers to entice people into Māori language learning because of the primary driver of survival and needing to provide for your *whānau*,

> I suspect that money has a lot to do with it. Money, which translates to the value of something, some people don't see value in *te reo* Māori because they perceive that they can't get anything from it. Doesn't have a fiscal value, and that's hard to convince some people when all they know is that (Leon Blake, 2015: personal communication).

Other factors signalled by the group included the following,

- Keeping it creative and sexy, and fun as a language to learn;
- *Whānau* valuing it;
- Money / incentives to learn
- Having employment opportunities in the language; and

- Having greater access to literature and resources through being able to speak the language

What do you think needs to be done on various levels (personal through to tribal and government levels) to revitalise Kāi Tahu *reo*

For the non-Ngāi Tahu respondents, the areas that were perceived as requiring attention in order to strengthen the language position of the tribe were largely focussed on developing the corpus and ensuring that the tribe had the right kind of people and enough of them to drive the revitalisation movement and teach *te reo* to the next generation. Again, perhaps because of the sensitivities involved for those outside of the *iwi* to criticise the tribal position, the suggestions were on the whole generic in nature and applicable to the whole of Māoridom; more quality teachers, more language advocates, and greater access to quality resources.

For the Kāi Tahu respondents, both those living inside and outside of the *rohe*, the responses were much more targeted. The greatest accountability was levelled at the tribal membership itself, suggesting that the apathy towards the language was a significant determinant in the survival or otherwise of the language.

There was a tone of frustration for some of the respondents when answering this question, as they reflected on the levels of apathy in the tribe and spoke of the hard work that goes in to learning the language and the need of more people to show some commitment to do likewise. Justin Tipa proposed that tribal members simply needed to make the personal sacrifices required to learn to *reo* and have a willingness to 'do the grind' (Tipa, 2012: personal communication). This sentiment was reinforced by Eruera Tarena who saw the biggest enemy to our languages survival being the apathy of the tribe (Tarena, 2012: personal communication).

The commitment that was suggested by the respondents as being required to revitalise the language was significant in terms of effort and time, and as Charisma Rangipunga suggested, intergenerational,

> … you've got to convince the rest of the tribe that there's value and we need
> their commitment - or at least their kid's commitment, in what we are doing.
> And the fact that the solution doesn't come over-night – they may not even

see the real fruits in our lifetime. But they need to commit (Rangipunga, 2012: personal communication).

Related to the tone of frustration around the tribal apathy, was the feeling of resentment that was experienced by a few of the respondents with regards to people presenting those that spoke the language as 'elite or lucky', therefore dismissing the amount of effort that they had had to invest in their language development to achieve a level of proficiency. Jeanine likened the journey of committing to raising children in her second language and continuing to maintain and strengthen her reo, as equating with having another child in the family,

> They think that it's magically appeared in their mouths, and don't realise how hard and how much commitment they've put in. You know it's like having another kid! That's like having *te reo* – it's like – that's how much effort it taken - and forever! It's always an infant cause you're always trying to look after it. If you let it slide for even 6 months – *you* feel it – then it feels like you've neglected something (Tamati-Elliffe, J., 2013: personal communication).

Beyond the responsibility of the tribal membership to break from their state of apathy, the Ngāi Tahu respondents across all demographic groups were consistent in their perceptions of the responsibilities of the tribal leadership to lead by example in support of language revitalisation. This was also the case for those respondents who held positions of leadership on the tribal council themselves. The Chair of the tribal governance, Mark Solomon proposed a response of more targeted and consistent investment into *te reo* development was what the governance needed to commit to,

> I think te reo needs to become a priority delivery. Something that we dedicate resources to on a constant manner – that there's no chopping and changing. This is what we want to aim for – just go ahead and do it! And have funding dedicated every year that we're building on it (Solomon, 2013: personal communication).

This view was supported by *kaumātua* Tipene O'Regan, who had himself lead the tribe for more than three decades as a member and then Chair of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, as well as a number of subsequent leadership roles.

> There's an operational thing for us at a tribal level, I think we've just got to make the investment and you keep doing it, and you keep doing it, and you keep doing it. And you do it through generations (O'Regan, 2012: personal communication).

Deputy Kaiwhakahaere, Lisa Tumahai, spoke of her own journey in understanding the KMK *kaupapa* and how she had changed completely in her view about the need to invest in *te reo* initiatives. The turning point for her was when she attended one of the language *wānaka* with her family and witnessed first-hand the amount of work and investment that was required to run the *hui* and the hugely beneficial opportunities that participants got to experience. She returned to the governance board after this experience, promoting the position that all decision makers should experience the programmes first, before they made a call on investments in the future (Tumahai, 2013:personal communication).

Commitment and positive modelling by the leadership was seen as an essential criterion for the success of the *kaupapa* by the respondents. *Kaumātua* Rānui Ngārimu spoke strongly of her belief that more was required from the governance to show others that the language was valued and important to the people,

> What we need is commitment from the Table. Total commitment from Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, from each and every one of those members (Ngarimu, 2013: personal communication).

Two respondents iterated a level of disappointment at the lack of value exhibited by many of the governors in terms of their use and leadership in language matters. Justin who spoke of the disappointment experienced when the leadership did not make the effort to uphold the language when practising the cultural activities such as *pōwhiri*, where some would turn to English or not even attempt to speak in the language (Tipa, 2012:personal communication). Lynne-Harata Te Aika also disclosed her sense of a lack of support from the leadership,

> They nod with their head that it's a good idea; but actually implementing and supporting and advocating is another level that we haven't got that full support of the 18 representatives at our tribal governance. (Te Aika, 2012:personal communication).

One of the strongest responses on this *kaupapa* was provided by Jeanine Tamati-Elliffe who presented the view that we critically needed to identify language advocates and champions on the tribal governance who would commit to driving the language focus for the tribe,

> Champions man! We need two or three people sitting on that Board on Te Rūnanga that are *champions*, like *true ones*. That not just 'walk the talk' but that actually feel similarly to the rest of us who are trying to grow the *reo* in our own homes. We need people in there who either understand that process and understand how passionate we are about it and how we value it. I know there are other issues going on at a tribal level – but I think it's not critical enough at that level. All that other political stuff just seems to consume them (Tamati-Elliffe, J., 2013:personal communication).

Paulette Tamati-Elliffee went a step further and suggested that *te reo* speakers would ideally be the ones in the positions of leadership, thereby actively modelling the value of the language to the greater tribal constituency (Tamati-Elliffe, P., 2012:personal communication).

Beyond the need to target apathy and encourage the tribal leadership to lead by example, there were a number of suggestions from the respondents as to other areas of potential action across the tribal levels in order to support the revitalisation of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu, namely:

- interventions targeted at those already engaged to develop their proficieny further;
- more initiatives and targeted financial investment into the next generation of parents who will be the role models for the tribe; and
- the creation of a *reo*-buddy system where people with like interests can build language relationships across multiple domains.

What do you believe would help to motivate those tribal members who do not speak *te reo*, or are not making an attempt to learn?
When asked to consider what might be the factors that would change people from their position of apathy to start to acquire the language, the responses ranged from a view that suggested we need not waste our time with those who cannot be bothered, to a view that we needed to do all we could to try and entice them to learn. For those who responded with a more inclusive approach, there was an appreciation of the struggles experienced by many Māori *whānau* to simply exist in the face of generational poverty and cultural dislocation, which inevitably meant the *reo* was not a prioritised focus,

> The majority of our people are poor, and worrying about where their next *kai* is coming from, or paying their bills - and yet language regeneration is just not on the list of survival things for them (Papa, 2014:personal communication).

Kaumātua and teacher, Kukupa Tirakatene, suggested an approach based on nurturing and respect was required to motivate people to learn and to minimise the effects of *whakamā* or embarrasment and fear that many had, due to their lack of language (Tirakatene, 2014:personal communication).

A number of respondents returned to the re-occurring theme of parenthood as being a key motivator, and suggested that more needed to be done to educate parents-to-be about the cultural and cognitive benefits of bilingualism in their heritage language and inspire them to raise their children as bilingual in the homes.

> … (when) you're still *hapū* and you've still got time to think – 6 or 8 weeks before baby was due – to think about what you wanted for that baby … I reckon that's the approach that we need to take with our up and coming parents or even our Māmā who are *hapū*. To get them thinking about it right then and there (Tamati-Elliffe, J., 2013: personal communication).

One unique approach considered by Stacey Morrison was for people who wanted to receive something by way of a benefit from the tribe could need to show a reciprocal contribution to the language and committ to learning it themselves, even if just at an introductory level (Morrison, 2013:personal communcation). Megan Grace suggested something along the same lines that mirrored an experience that she had had when her daughter attended a total immersion school, "me kirimana a Kāi Tahu i a rātou" – *Kāi Tahu needs to contract them* (Grace, 2012:personal communication).

Tahu Pōtiki and Justin Tipa both considered an approach that was centred on drawing people in to the language through engaging them in things that they were interested in like their hobbies, pastimes or likeminded goals such as to develop their formal speaking abilities on the *marae*.

Overall there was still a sense of hope amongst the respondents that there was, in fact, more that could be done in order to engage or re-engage people and motivate them to learn the language. The contrast was perhaps this singular comment made by Charisma Rangipunga that spoke possibly more of someone who had spent years at the coal-face of the *kaupapa* leading the KMK strategy, and who was understandably frustrated with the continued level of apathy she experienced of her fellow tribal members. Charisma suggested that there were no longer the excuses not to learn that might have been the case

in yesteryear, and the only real issue was the people still did not value the language enough to learn it. In terms of strategies to turn that tide, she suggested that most avenues promoting critical awareness and trying to get people to understand the benefits of bilingualism in *te reo* had already been explored and energies exhausted addressing this battle,

> We've tried the; 'your child will be a better communicator; will have more job prospects; their critical thinking levels are going to be improve; their ability to pick up other languages is going to be improved; its proven in Europe, dual/ multilingualism is of benefit to your kids'; it doesn't seem to work (Rangipunga, 2012: personal communication).

What are your language aspirations for your *tamariki* / children and *mokopuna* / grandchildren?

Without exception, all of the Kāi Tahu respondents of this question answered by saying they would like their *tamariki* and *mokopuna* to be speakers of *te reo* who used it in their everyday lives. It was a common theme that they wanted the language spoken by their children and grandchildren to be authentic and relevant to their interests and activities. For those *kaumātua* who had already moved through the phase of raising children and who did not do so in *te reo*, there was a reflective response that would have ideally liked to have raised their *tamariki* with the language, but were now looking towards the next generation. Tipene O'Regan spoke of his aspirations to have his *mokopuna* being bilingual in *te reo* and with a strong cultural knowledge base to inform that language,

> I would have loved my children to have been more fluent and more confident. I would have loved to have my *mokopuna* bilingual. I'm a firm believer that being bilingual is one of the most powerfully empowering gifts that an individual can have - the bilingual or tri/multilingual person has an enormous enlargement of capacity to communicate but there is also the task of making sure you've actually got something to communicate (O'Regan, 2012: personal communication).

The importance of the language spoken by their *tamariki* and *mokopuna* being rich in cultural context and knowledge was beautifully articulated by Lynne Te Aika as she spoke about the language she desired for her *mokopuna*. She introduced her point by saying ideally they would not have to leave their home places to learn the language, instead having it normalised within their home and *marae* environment to a high standard and the language reflecting the richness of that environment,

> ... And the same for the *mokopuna* that they can access it easily and readily, and not just be speakers of the language but well informed about their tribal *hapū, rūnanga, whānau* roots and the cultural and the environmental landscape … Knowledgeable about their homes, their cultural homes as well as their cultural *rohe*. Their *rohe* that actually has shaped their thinking and my thinking. You know, (the knowledge) that's been handed down over time (Te Aika, 2012: personal communication).

Similar views were expressed by a number of respondents who made the point that it was not good enough to just have their *tamariki* and *mokopuna* as *reo* speakers, but talked about the importance of ensuring that the language was of a high quality. Charisma was perhaps a little too self-critical as she spoke affectionately about her expectations for her sons and future *mokopuna* while confessing that she will remain a back seat critic if their language was anything less than spectacular!

> I'm a horrible mother – and yes you can transcribe that – in that my expectations for my kids are probably not appropriate because they're too high! And it sets them up to fail – so … if I look at *te reo* in general; I would love for my kids to be completely confident and competent when they get to an adult stage of being able to stand on a *paepae* – and do it where their mother is not rolling her eyes from the back row. That's what I mean about unrealistic expectations! (Rangipunga, 2012: personal communication).

Stacey Morrison saw her *tamariki* as 'global citizens' who are strong in *reo* and *tikaka* and could confidently take it as a natural part of them no matter where they went in the world. She talked about wanting her children to be lovers of the language who were generous with their knoweldge and advocates for it, whilst not wanting to necessarily burden them with the full weight of the language's survival.

> … to be little *reo* warriors, but then again I don't actually think that it's fair to make them six year old professors either. I just really want them to have what we consider their birth right – without all the effort that we had to put in (Morrison, 2013: personal communcication).

Another common theme across all groups was a genuine desire by the respondents for their children to in turn become the role models and make the commitment to raise their own grandchildren in *te reo*, embedding it as the language of intergenerational transmission for their *whānau* for generations to come.

Despite the overall optimism about the future, there was also an air of concern expressed by a few people who had raised their children speaking the language and were anxious

about what the future had in stall for the language in their own families because of the fact that their own children had not had to struggle and fight to learn the language as they had done.

> I'm afraid that they're going to go; 'well *reo* doesn't actually require that much effort cause it's my first language, or I'm fluent in it' or whatever. And I'm worried that they don't feel as passionate for it as we do, cause we've been shoving it down their throats. (Tamati-Elliffe, J., 2013:personal communication).

The anxiety emanated from a fear that their children might not appreciate how easily the language can be lost, or for that matter what it would mean if that became the case, as they had no concept of ever having been without the language. This concern had cemented a belief that it was important for this new generation of Kāi Tahu language speakers to understand the history of the language revitalisation movement as well as the language itself (Tamati-Elliffe, J., 2013:personal communication).

Is it important from your perspective for our people to speak *te reo*; personally, collectively and culturally?

In hindsight, this question was not a well-designed question as it proved to be confusing for the respondents in terms of the multiple elements it contained. I believe the quality of the question compromised the responses with people focusing often on one or another of the areas, therefore making it difficult to achieve a comprehensive comparison across the group. It could be also accused of being leading in nature given the subject matter and the people selected for interviewing. With these caveats in mind, there were two main themes that were consistently expressed by the wider group. The first was a unanimous position on *te reo* being an important aspect of who we needed to be at all levels.

Over and over again the respondents spoke of *te reo* as a fundamental criterion of the cultural identity as Kāi Tahu and as Māori. Although this view was not presented in a way that would categorise those without *te reo* currently as being devoid of culture, it was put forward in a way that suggested that the true articulation of cultural strength and dynamism would require capacity in *te reo* and that aspiration needed to be a goal for our people. Those respondents who expanded on this view, raised the question as to what we would be culturally if *te reo* was not part of the equation, suggesting that we would lose our position of cultural strength and cohesion,

Because we're bereft culturally with a lot of our members, one of the things that always concerns me is about our tribal membership. That you know we've got x number of members and that's fantastic, but are they culturally 'us'? You know, and that worries me (Ngarimu, 2013:personal communication).

Mark Solomon presented his view that an understanding and capacity in the language was essential if you wanted to develop a depth of culture (Solomon, 2013:personal communication). This point was more assertively reflected by Eruera Tarena who suggested that the culture simply could not exist with any integrity without the language, and that to think for a minute that it was possible to do so, was an illusion,

It's like we give ourselves a false illusion that there's a choice…that we have the choice of speaking a language or not which I think is a falsehood. I think the culture is dead without a living language. It might take fifty years, it might take a hundred, but if you think; 'Yeah! In order for a culture to remain relevant it must be able to articulate itself in a unique way and it must be able to evolve". So you know, when the first Kāi Tahu person lands on the moon you have to be able to compose a *haka* to reflect that event rather than just regurgitating one that's a thousand years old. (Without the *reo*) you would question; well why would we maintain as a collective, we'd just be a bunch of shareholders and that leads down an entirely different path as well (Tarena, 2012:personal communication).

The concerns around the idea that as Kāi Tahu or as Māori we could remain culturally viable without the language was also strongly contested by Charisma who referred to *te reo* as the fundamental basis of everything Māori outside of *whakapapa*,

... if its not about the intergenerational protection of those characteristics that distinguish us and make us unique – and those characteristics, practices and knowledge handed down by our *tīpuna* – you may as well just end it all now! Hand out the dividend – yes you've got a *whakapapa* right! But beyond that – what's it meant to be? What's it meant to be generating? It's not about the economic benefit for me, its about the security of our identity, and *te reo* is a core part of that (Rangipunga, 2012:personal communication).

Justin made the suggestion, that even if you were not prepared to learn the *reo* yourself, it was still necessary for the cultural integrity of the tribe that you support others in your *whānau* to do so,

Without the *reo* – it may sound harsh – I know *whakapapa* is what makes us Ngāi Tahu; *whakapapa* is what makes us Māori – but really, without the *reo* – what does it mean? (Tipa, 2012:personal communication).

This view found support from Megan Grace as well who contested that you needed *te reo* to be able to stand culturally strong as Māori,

> Me reo Māori. He māmā noa iho te kī ana he Māori koe, engari ki te kore koe e reo Māori atu ana…he Māori aha? Ko tō reo me ōna tikanga – tō tū Māori atu. *You must speak te reo. It's easy as to call yourself a Māori, but if you are able to communicate it in Māori, what kind of Māori are you. It's the language and its associated customs that make you stand as a Māori* (Grace, 2012: personal communication).

The second common theme was around what a tribe speaking *te reo* might actually look like in terms of breadth and depth of language use and proficiency. Three respondents qualified their support of Kāi Tahu being a tribe that should aspire to speaking *te reo* with statements around how that might be affected in reality, suggesting that a level of capacity needed to be established, but that it would not be realistic to assume that every tribal member would achieve a high level of proficiency,

> Not everyone is going to be language experts. Not everyone's going to be fluent in the language. But we do need those who don't have those capabilities or that in all reality – aren't going to learn the language – that they support the language. So I think it's important that Ngāi Tahu is a tribe of Māori speakers – but it's not a fair thing that every single tribal member has to go and sign on to a bachelor of language or do a course (Tipa, 2012:personal communication).

What was suggested by these respondents was the essential existence of a core of people at every level who would be able to maintain the language and associated cultural knowledge and practices (Pōtiki, 2014:personal communication).

Analysis of responses – Perceptions of Kāi Tahu reo and its future

How is *te reo* within Kāi Tahu perceived by other *iwi*?

How other *iwi* perceived *te reo* within Kāi Tahu was a question asked of the non-Ngāi Tahu respondents, although a number of the Ngāi Tahu respondents mentioned their experiences in terms of being exposed to negative perceptions of Ngāi Tahu and *te reo* when answering other questions. Wharehuia Milroy suggested there had been a marked change in non-Ngāi Tahu perceptions because of how much more it was heard now in comparison to previous decades. He referred to the frequency of exposure to the Kāi Tahu dialect through the media, and how it had helped to normalise the dialect across the country,

> It's switching into a mode of easily translating if you like, or interpreting automatically without the previous sort of sense of strangeness about the language, it's the same as everyone else's except that it's got a *'k'* in it (Milroy, 2014:personal communication).

Wharehuia suggested that there was still a level of ignorance that prevailed elsewhere by some people who thought that the language was no longer spoken in Te Waipounamu, and that this fed a sense of superiority of some other Māori over Ngāi Tahu as a people devoid of language and cultural capacity (Milroy, 2014: personal communication).

This external view was not shared by the four non-Ngāi Tahu interviewees who had all been engaged in supporting the KMK initiatives over the previous decade and a half, and knew personally of a number of Kāi Tahu language speakers who would contradict that perception. Instead, Tīmoti Kāretu and the others, referred to a positive view held by some other *iwi*, resulting from the milestones that Kāi Tahu had achieved, from what was considered to be a point of no return,

> I think deep down there's an admiration for the small number who are fighting for the language that's not been spoken for a long time. And I think it's a deserved form of praise of the way you and your generation is fighting. (Kāretu, 2014:personal communication).

What do you understand Kāi Tahu dialect to be?

The second main focus area for the questions centred on the dialect and started by asking the respondents what they believed the Kāi Tahu dialect to be. The question elicited a number of different responses that ranged from the characteristics they recognised as belonging to *te mita o Kāi Tahu* through to their views on the dialect debate. The responses to this questions can be clustered into four themes:

- Features of the dialect;
- Locality used and by who;
- Its role as a unique identity marker; and
- Its existence and validity.

In terms of the features of the dialect that were identified all respondents extended beyond the commonly recognised use of the *'k'* instead of the *'ng'* in the northern form, to include

those features that were unique to Kāi Tahu and that served the purpose of being identity markers, including;

- *Kupu* (words) or tribally unique vocabulary, including those *kupu* that were also found in the north but used in a different way or for a different purpose in the south;
- *Whakataukī* or proverbs;
- *Kīwaha* or colloquialism; and
- Specific sentence structures.

The inclusion of the broader features of the dialect was a particularly strong point for a number of respondents, and this was partly due to a frustration experienced by people debating the dialect on the basis of the *'k'*,

> I understand Kai Tahu dialect to be a lot more than just changing the '*ng*' sound to a '*k*'. That seems to be the common misconception by a lot of our relations in the north and in the south too. I perceive the Kāi Tahu dialect to be all the attributes that make it up… There's so much more to it; the sentence structures, the *kīwaha*, the *whakataukī*, the *waiata* – our creation traditions, our *waka* traditions; it all makes up our language and our dialect (Tipa, 2012:personal communication).

Henare Te Aika explained this view of dialect as being the difference between a surface and in-depth understanding,

> The identifier of the dialect is its pronunciation, but the substance of it are those stories that sit behind it; those words, proverbs and idioms (Te Aika-Puanaki, 2014:personal communication).

Those unique expressions peculiar to Kāi Tahu were discussed by Tipene as having a direct relationship back to the unique southern environment in the Kāi Tahu *rohe* that they have emerged from, thereby supporting a closer understanding of that environment and our relationship to it (O'Regan, 2012: personal communication).

Some people made the distinction of the tribal influencers of dialect, being more aligned to Kāti Māmoe than Ngāi Tahu origins and locate the dialect more with place. For those who made the distinctions of the varying dialects spoken within the Kāi Tahu *rohe* and associated dialect with specific location and *hapū*, this was largely influenced by their

own personal experiences as to where they could remember it being spoken when they were young or not.

Rānui Ngarimu reflected on the language that she use to hear as a child around Rapaki and Tuahiwi and that the *'k'* aspect of dialect was not in use by most of the *kaumātua* then. An exception for her was Jane Manahi, a *taua* based in Christchurch who was very much a lone voice speaking in the dialect in her time. Other than the example of Jane Manahi, Rānui recalled that the dialect was only ever heard by her down south and considered that was because of the stronger Kāti Māmoe presence.

Lisa Tumahai talked about the debates she had heard on the West Coast on the issue of dialect and location, with people insisting that the dialect had never been spoken there, and yet there were identifiable examples of the dialect in the inscriptions in the *urupā* (Tumahai, 2013:personal communication).

The unique distinguishing features of the dialect that helped to set Kāi Tahu *reo* out from other tribal *reo*, was a dominant theme identified as being a source of tribal affiliation and pride,

> It's probably the thing that separates us and keeps us autonomous to who we are as Kāi Tahu… our 'ks' instead of the 'ngs', and some of our kupu – Kīwaha – all the things that make us completely different from others (Tamati-Elliffe, J., 2013:personal communication).

The nature of it's uniqueness and connection to tribal identity was an important factor that influenced kaumātua Mereana Hutchins view on the dialect, suggesting that it was an incredibly important thing to be proud of, even though she hadn't been raised in the dialect herself.

> I think that it is very different… But one of the things that's so important to be mindful of, mustn't ever lose your own dialect. That's yours, from many generations ago – so you should hang on to it – however hard that might be for others to understand it. If you go anywhere across the nation, you'll find they all have their own dialects – and we have to learn to live with all of them and understand it. And you know – get to know it – learn it! (Hutchin, 2013:personal communication).

On the issue of the validity of the dialect, there were two respondents, Tahu Pōtiki and Eruera Tarena, who exhibited a level of frustration at the fact that some members of the

tribe were still debating the right to have the *'k'* and other dialect features as a part of the language to be recognised and promoted within the tribe. The frustration emanated from the view that such debate was a waste of time and energy and diverted peoples attentions and energies away from the crucial issues of language revitalisation,

> I mean to be honest, I think largely the whole debate is just a load of crap. You know, if we can't be proud of our own language then who can? And again it comes back to that false choice - like we have a choice, where Tūhoe would not debate the validity of their dialect. They would just say this is our language and this is how we are (Tarena, 2012:personal communication).

What are your personal feelings on the dialect?

The next three questions around the dialect became quite integrated in terms of how people responded to them, so much so, that the cross overs made it difficult for the questions to be analysed separately.

It is important to note that none of the Kāi Tahu respondents identified themselves as consistent users of the dialect in their everyday lives, especially in regards to the *'k'*. However, for most, there would be times that they would move between the dialects and in some situations, would only ever use the specific Kāi Tahu *kupu* in their language, such as *pōua* and *tāua*, or *kīwaha* like *naia.* The most common domains for people in this category to switch into *Kāi Tahu mita* was in formal situations when representing the tribe and for ceremonial language such as *whaikōrero*, *karakia* and *karaka*. Charisma Rangipunga and Paulette Tamati-Elliffe also talked about their compositions and how they always tried to ensure *Kāi Tahu mita* was used. Over time this had become a natural process and was an important way they saw that they could contribute to the promotion of the dialect (Rangipunga, 2012:personal communication).

For the non-Kāi Tahu respondents, *te mita o Kāi Tahu* was still identified as being strange and different to them, especially in regards to the use of the *'k'*, on account of it not being so different to the other more commonly known and heard dialects. Adjectives such as 'harsh', 'sharp' and 'explosive' were used to describe the sound of the *mita* to them, although they all said they had become more used to it over the years because of their involvement with a few active users of the *mita*.

When the question was posed to Tīmoti Kāretu as to how he felt about the *Kai Tahu mita*, he was customarily honest in his response saying it was*, "*Ugly! We're used to you - but I think the general reaction is that it's a harsh dialect, only because of the *'k's'* being so violent" (Kāretu, 2014:personal communication). All of the non-Kāi Tahu respondents saw the *mita* as a strong identifier of tribal identity and saw value in it for those that wanted to use it, with one even suggesting that it had moved to a level of familiarity now where the differences were quite refreshing to his ear (Blake, 2015:personal communication).

For some of the Kāi Tahu respondents there was a feeling that more needed to be known about the dialect and its features so that it could be more strongly supported, and suggested that the lack of clarity around it contributed to some people's dislike of it (Rangipunga, 2012:personal communication).

Even for those people who did not actively use the dialect, there was still a strong belief that the *mita* was a strong tribal identifier and something to be proud of and were quite happy to have other people use it and promote it,

> When you listen to someone from another *iwi*, with '*w'anau*', and you listen to that and its identifiable, and it's beautiful. And you know immediately without them saying any more, where they're likely to be from. So I think there's a real beauty in Ngāi Tahu having this uniqueness about us (Tumahai, 2013:personal communication).

Lynne Te Aika supported this view highlighting the *mita* as an important part of our tribal heritage that deserved to be revived and developed for the next generation,

> It's actually important cause it's another piece to the puzzle of who we are, but it's also honouring and revering that knowledge that hasn't been successfully passed down through the generations and now we are trying to reclaim that (Te Aika, 2012:personal communication).

A consistent theme from the responses was the importance of the *reo* as a dominant driver over the dialect. That is, the most important thing to be able to do was seen to be speaking *te reo* and developing your proficiency in it. The dialect was something that was seen to embellish the language and provided desirable extras in terms of identity and history, but should not be supported at the cost of the language itself.

> … because of the way I have learnt *te reo* I am using '*ngā*' instead of '*kā*', but in terms of Kāi Tahu / Ngāi Tahu; either or is fine with me. I mean *he reo – ko te mea nui ko te reo (it's language – the main thing is the language)* (Ngarimu, 2013:personal communication).

Tahu Pōtiki believed that it was inevitable that the dialect would eventually be compromised and would fall away against the pressures of language standardisation and evolution as a result of the urbanisation of Māori. His reasoning for this was that the unique features of dialects were often the result of the unique cultural practices, including *mahika kai* and the physical environments that the people lived in. As people became urbanised and moved away from these customs and cultural activities, the relevance of the language associated with those practices declined. What would become more relevant to these new generations would be the customs and practices of the urban Māori which would likely have less regional distinction and, therefore, become more similar in nature (Pōtiki, 2014:personal communication).

Tīmoti Kāretu shared a similar view when asked about the future of the dialect, suggesting that it was ideally desirable to keep dialectal variations, but that the reality may not present the opportunities to do so.

> I think the harsh reality is that they are going to disappear. 100 years from now you'll probably be speaking a standard language of some sort - where all dialectal language variations will probably be an amalgam - in a melting pot (Kāretu, 2014:personal communication).

Leon Blake spoke of his own language as being a melting pot of a number of dialectal features, which would perhaps support Pōtiki's and Kāretu's view of language evolution. Like Pōtiki, Leon did not see this as something to be seen in the negative, but instead saw it as a response to a living language that was able to adapt to its new contexts,

> I've used the phrase *ehara taku reo i te reo takitahi, he reo takitini*. And basically what that means is that my language isn't confined to one *iwi*, to one tribe or to one *hapū* or anything like that. I've been very blessed in my journey in that I have been exposed to many speakers from all over the country, yourself included, where I'm able to now access words from here, words from there (Blake, 2015:personal communication).

While being positive about the future of the dialect and its evolution, Henare Te Aika suggested the real determiner will be the decisions made by our *tamariki* and *mokopuna*

and what they choose to do with it. With this view in mind, the responsibility of this generation who are driving the language currently, is to make sure the knowledge, history and understanding of the dialect is accessible to the next generation in a way that will hopefully mean they see the value in it and do something about it themselves,

> We just need to be strong about giving it and encourage them that *ko tēnei tō tātou mita, ānei ngā āhuatanga – kei a koutou*; *This is our dialect, these are its characteristics – it's up to you:* and trust that that continuation and that transmission of *te reo* is going to evolve and it's going to keep up with the times of the present (Te Aika-Puanaki, 2014:personal communication).

What are the factors that influence dialect choice?

Dual affiliation was certainly something that was believed to be a strong criterion of dialect choice for those people who had dual or multiple tribal affiliations. Issues of tribal loyalty and conflict, strength of connection and which tribe a speaker received most of their support from in terms of their language were all factors that influenced their own use of dialect.

Outside of dual tribal affiliation, the main factors identified by the respondents as affecting the dialect choice of speakers were as follows:

- Who their teachers and mentors were;
- What you were exposed to when growing up or the language they were raised in;
- The environment that they are living and working in now;
- The audience, that is, who they are speaking to;
- Location, that is, where you learnt the language and where you live;
- Those you share experiences with;
- Perceptions of *iwi* value and status; and
- Your desire to use dialect as an identity marker.

Kaumātua Mereana Hutchin presented a view that suggested people would tend to go with which ever dialect was the easiest to learn, choosing the lazy option over those options that would require more work, more debate and effort to learn and speak (Hutchin, 2013:personal communication). This is an interesting perspective as the challenges of committing to learning the language were commonaly discussed by the respondents as

being significant enough, without adding the extra pressure of committing to something that would require further effort and struggle.

In order to overcome those added obstacles, it is necessary to see the benefits to be gained as greater than the costs of achieving it. For Mark Solomon, the connection to identity was seen to be that overriding driver that could support people to make that leap in time,

> I think it's a pride in who you are. No Ngāti Porou wants to speak a Tūhoe dialect. And I don't think that Ngāi Tahu should just talk someone else's. I think it's important that we eventually get our dialect back. It is an identifier and that's important (Solomon, 2013:personal communication).

As more role models and exemplars of the dialect become accessible to Kāi Tahu people, as is the case with *te reo* in general, it was believed by some of the respondents that the use of the dialect would become more attractive to the next generation of Kāi Tahu people, and this was seen a positive shift,

> And I think for every individual – it will be factor, depending on where you grow up, who you've got the most association with – and who those role models are that impact on you the most. And I think if we've got an increasing number of Kāi Tahu *reo* role models out there – positive, vibrant, championing Kāi Tahu *reo* – then we will get a greater following of the dialect (Rangipunga, 2012:personal communication).

Do you think the dialect needs to be protected?

On the question of the need to protect the dialect, all respondents answered in the affirmative, although again the emphasis was on the need to ensure people could speak *te reo* first and then develop and protect the dialect. The idea that the dialect could be given up and not revitalised for some was a point of concern, likening such a view to the ability of giving up on *te reo Māori* per sé. Eruera Tarena returned to his view of this option being a 'false choice', when in reality the choice is not ours to make as we owe it to our children and *mokopuna* to do everything we can to protect this inherited *taoka* or treasure,

> Again it's a false choice! If you want to have a healthy culture then you need to protect it. I think the key thing is whether old people agree or not is irrelevant. Young people are going to want to use a Ngāi Tahu *reo* and so we've got to sort out what that is to lay the foundations for them to do so properly, cause if we don't you know someone else, some fraudster will come in and will do that for us. Then I think everything will change. We'll allow other *iwi* to tell us how to do it (Tarena, 2012:personal communication).

Interestingly, there was strong support for the protection of the dialect from the *kaumātua* respondents, even though the major drive for the promotion and use of *te mita o Kāi Tahu* has come over the last 20 years and has been by the *pakeke* generation. Tipene O'Regan talked about his own need to use it as much as possible and the power that it had to reinforce his identity as Kāi Tahu, especially when amongst other *iwi*,

> I have the complete belief - to the greatest possible extent, I should be asserting Kāi Tahu dialect as much as I can. And why? It is basically a mark of identity, it's a way of asserting where you're from. Just the fact that you go out there and say '*Karaka mai, karaka mai, karaka mai*'. You don't need to say, *ko Aoraki te mauka'*. You're basically saying, 'I'm Ngai Tahu' right from the start (O'Regan, 2012:personal communication).

Kaumātua Ranui Ngārimu was of a similar view, drawing again on the *mita* as an important marker of our identity,

> The dialect needs to be protected because that's what makes us unique, it's uniquely ours and while I have difficulty switching from it into the *'k'* for all my words, all the time; I still recognise it is our dialect. And the history that came with the *'k'*, that's the important part too, not to forget where it came from (Ngarimu, 2013:personal communication).

From the *kaumātua* view to that of one of the *taiohi*, Tihou Messenger, the desire to have *te mita o Kāi Tahu* as part of the future of Kāi Tahu and the need to fight to ensure it survives was a common theme,

> Yeah I think it's something that should be protected, I think it will be mean! Even though there's lots of things that say, 'as we become more global things will fade out and Māori will become Māori and so on'… but no - hold on to it! (Messenger, 2014: personal communication).

What do you think will happen to the Kāi Tahu dialect in the future?

On the future prospects for *te mita o Kāi Tahu*, most people felt positive about what might be able to be achieved if we are able to continue with the momentum of development and revitalisation of the *reo* that has been achieved over the past few decades.

One positive view from one of the *taiohi*, Henare Te Aika, was a view that its survival was inevitably going to be a part of the future of the *iwi*, although the nature of the dialect will naturally evolve and change, and might be quite different from what we consider to

be the dialect today. That sense of hope came from a belief in the level of support for the *kaupapa* from some of his fellow tribal members;

> I don't think it was ever going to die to be honest. I think the endangered part was the cultural side. But as long as there are people here pushing it *ahakoa ko wai, ahakoa tokohia*; *(no matter who and no matter how many)* it's never going to die (Te Aika-Puanaki, 2014:personal communication).

Messenger, suggested that the dialect needed to be returned to the *papa kāika* or home villages if there was a chance for its continued survival, and indicated that the journey would be a long one when thinking of his *papa kāika* on the West Coast – Te Tai o Poutini,

> … but I think if that's going to happen then *reo* needs to flourish back at like the *tūrangawaewae*. So I'm thinking about out the coast like you know all our, all our decent speakers learnt elsewhere, not on the coast - so the kids and stuff. If you want the dialect to be hard out, then I think what you need to do is get those kids who are more connected to their environment, to their *tūrangawaewae* and stuff like that (Messenger, 2014: personal communication).

This optimism was not confined to the youth view, but was also embraced by the *kaumātua* who saw the survival of the dialect and *te reo* in general as an essential part of who we needed to be in the future. In response to the question as to whether or not the Kāi Tahu dialect had a future, *kaumātua* Kukupa strongly made the point that it needed to be part of our future reality, although his focus was more on the *reo* for Kāi Tahu rather than the dialect in itself,

> It has to. *Te reo* is a part of us. Te reo is only the part of us and as long as we've got all those other features, te reo will survive (Tirakatene, 2014: personal communication).

Kaumātua Rānui Ngārimu echoed the optimistic view of the future of the dialect, attributing the success to the efforts that had been made in recent times to create the awareness of its plight and its value,

> *He tino taonga*. We mustn't lose it, and I don't think we will lose it, but we've got to work harder at retaining it, because it might only be left to us you know a few, to retain. But I think that your generation has done a wonderful job in reviving it, revitalising it (Ngarimu, 2013:personal communication).

When asked to talk about the future of the dialect and whether it needed to be protected, Tipene O'Regan provided an impassioned response about the language and culture being the essence of who we are tribally as a people. As someone who has devoted his life and career to forwarding the Ngāi Tahu Claim and seeking redress for the injustices inflicted on his people for over 150 years, Tipene was adamant that the fight was about the ability of his people to re-establish their cultural and linguistic *mana* and not just about re-establishing an economic base,

> The only rationale for the whole institutional structure of the tribe at the end of the day ultimately is the inter-generational maintenance of Ngāi Tahu culture and heritage. No other justification for it. Without that overall aim, all the other structures and efforts are a waste of time. We may as well just cash them up and forget them … it's a bit like that with the first requirement of identity after *ko wai koe* (who are you) is *nō hea koe* - where are you from? And how you state that is a fundamental part of who you are alright, otherwise you're just an ethnic statistic. Now if you're going to in that bundle of culture and heritage, which is the only rationale for the whole being, is that if we want 'to be', we need to know 'what we want to be' and I place dialect and te reo as a central component of that mix of things (O'Regan, 2012:personal communication).

Tipene went on to describe the future of the Kāi Tahu dialect and *reo* as needing to be articulated as a series of steps that needed to be achieved, clearly identifying the goals and foundations that needed to be prioritised in order to achieve the end position of a sustainable and vibrant language,

> … you've got to have some sort of articulated dream of what your horizon is, where you want to be, where you want to go. And I think we should look at Ngāi Tahu's forward movement in te reo as a series of steps. Our first aspiration should be a good command of situational *reo*. Then a more extended command … But building out to a horizon which has a good command of situational *te reo*. Then other situations, and then another phase, because what you've got to convey to those who are enlarging in their culture is the relevance of te *reo* to that process and you have to articulate that (O'Regan, 2012:personal communication).

Mark Solomon also suggested a staged approach, but one that maintained the ultimate vision as the goal that needed to be aspired to. His view was that Kāi Tahu would be again known as a tribe that was able to speak *te reo* and that in time, this would be extended to being a tribe that was also known for their unique dialect (Solomon, 2013:personal communication).

Eruera Tarena's view of the future of the dialect was empowered by his knowledge of the cultural confidence exuded by his children who they had raised with *te reo* as their first language. The competence and strong sense of identity displayed by his children gave him a sense of confidence that they would be strong in the decisions they made around their cultural expression and dialect, creating a language that was relevent to them and suited their needs. Although he was of the view that the numbers committed to *te mita o Kāi Tahu* may still be small in the decades to come, the passion and committment of those people involved would be at an even greater level than that of our current generation, and that provided some security for its maintenance (Tarena, 2012:personal communication).

This belief in the next generation was reinforced by Charisma Rangipunga

> I think you have to look at it as if 'well if we can do that in the first 10 years, starting from – zip – exponentially, we should be able to grow it'. Because we've got more people coming through who are like minded – which is a great thing – cause we are very much on the same *kaupapa*. And that has started from a small base of people who weren't too many in number in 1995 – to what, quadrupled that number of advocates would you say? That's a huge milestone! (Rangipunga, 2012:personal communication).

A less optimistic view was offered by Justin Tipa who believed that the dialect would be unlikely to survive unless we could create the opportunity for a community of speakers to live together, thereby creating a community where the dialect could be normalised and thrive in everyday life among generations of *reo* speakers,

> Honestly – I think at that stage its borderline. We've got a strong cohort of Ngāi Tahu speakers, but I'm not sure of the statistics, but anecdotally less than half of those are championing the Kāi Tahu dialect. I think if there's a very real chance of creating a community where those people are able to live together - there's a very real chance it will survive (Tipa, 2012:personal communication).

Wharehuia was particularly positive, again referring to the significant milestones that he had witnessed over the time he had been involved with Kāi Tahu,

> Ko tōku whakapono ā tōna wā, he aha rā te roa, engari ā tōna wā, kua horapa te reo o Ngāi Tahu ki nga tōpito o tēnei o ngā moutere. E whakapono noa ana ahau i roto i a au, he wā ka riro i ā koutou tamariki, te mahi ki te kawe i te reo o Kāi Tahu i roto i ngā rā kei te tū mai (Milroy, 2014: personal communication). *It is my belief that there will be a time, when the language of Ngāi Tahu will be spread across all the points of this island. I simply*

believe inside of me, the time will come for your children to carry the language
of Kāi Tahu into the future.

The fact that those driving the *kaupapa* of KMK did not have the benefit of a generation of native speakers who could directly instruct the younger ones on matters of dialect, was not considered to necessarily be a negative by Tīmoti Kāretu. Instead, he saw it as an opportunity to be creative and innovative. Whilst the responsibility should not be taken lightly and be informed by those historical materials available to those researching the dialect, it did nevertheless present a level of freedom to just charge ahead and progress the revitalisation agenda,

> I think the salient difference between you and the other tribes – is that it's your generation that's going to decide what your language is going to be. You've got no elders breathing down your necks saying, "it should be like this, it should be like that, it should be some other way!" And I think in some ways that's a blessing. But I think the fact that you use other tribes to help you out is also a positive (Kāretu, 2014: personal communication).

Tīmoti also complimented the drivers of KMK for not being insular in their approach, and utilising the resources available to them from other *iwi* who had a greater capacity in *te reo Māori*,

> While you may be quite insular in some aspects of your dialect - I think it's been a positive in the sense that you've asked others to come and help, and I think everybody's rallied to the cause, and I think the results are positive (Kāretu, 2014:personal communiction).

Leon Blake suggested that the dialect had a chance of survival if we were able to maintain the current energy and passion for its existence and development that he had himself witnessed in recent years,

> I believe that it will thrive in the future, if you're able to instil that passion that you have for it …and I believe if you can get that passion and somehow bottle it - Yeah patent it and try and feed that passion to others, then it will definitely thrive in the future (Blake, 2015:personal communication).

When looking to the future horizon, Wharehuia's words provide reassurance and hope for those engaged in the Kāi Tahu language revitalisation effort. For someone so revered in terms of the language nationally, and who is looking from the outside in, to be able to visualise a time where the Kāi Tahu *iwi* could once again be seen to be in a position of

language vitality and strength, is inspiring. His message to the current and future generations of Kāi Tahu was clear; it is up to us to ensure the survival of our reo and dialect and to keep our culture, traditions and beliefs alive for us and for future generations,

> Mā Kāi Tahu anake e whakakōrero ngā poupou kei roto i tōna whare. Ki te kore koutou, kua kore ngā whakairo e kōrero. Ka noho wahangū tonu mō te ake, ake. Ko ngā tāngata i roto i aua whare a taua wā, he pūngāwerewere anake… E kore e pūngāwerewere ō koutou whare nā te mea kei te hoki haere mai te reo o Kāi Tahu ki roto. Nā te mea e whakapono ana ētahi, ka ora taua reo. Ko au tētahi (Milroy, 2014: personal communication).
> *It it up to Kāi Tahu alone to give voice to the posts in its house. If it were not for you all, the carvings would not talk. They would be silenced for evermore. The only ones that are left in those houses at such times are the spiders ... Your houses will not be the houses of spiders because the Kāi Tahu language is increasingly returning in to them. And it is because some believe that language will survive. I am one of them.*

His view was informed by the growth in numbers of Kāi Tahu that had committed to the *reo* and the dialect that he had come across in the *kura* he had been teaching in and the levels of proficiency that many of those people had achieved in a comparatively short period of time. This was the source of his hope for *te reo o Kāi Tahu*.

> Kei te maha haere, me taku whakaaro, ka maha atu i roto i te tau tekau e tū mai nei. I tērā wā, i kite ahau, ka taea te whakakapi i ngā marae o Te Waipounamu nei ki te hunga e kōrero ana i te reo o Kāi Tahu. Ngā wāhine e karanga ana, ngā tāne e whakapuaki ana i ō rātou whakaaro i roto i tō koutou reo. Koira taku poropiti, taku matakite. (Milroy, 2014: personal communication).
> *There are many more, and I think that there will be further more in the ten years to come. At that time, I see that all of the marae across Te Waipounamu will be populated by people who are speaking the Kāi Tahu language. The women calling, the men conveying their thoughts in their speeches. That is my prophecy. My vision.*

Even if those close to the *kaupapa*, might struggle to see the reality of Wharehuia's vision coming to fruition in their lifetimes, much like the intergenerational commitment to Te Kerēme, the need to believe in an end goal that is positive, that it is a powerful driver and a neccesary vision to have.

Conclusion

In summary, there was a strong desire and hope from all of the respondents for a future where *te reo* would be normalised as a natural part of what it meant to be Kāi Tahu, and

that the dialect would become embedded as a normal part of that cultural expression. Everyone recognised that the journey required to achieve that goal was a long one and demanded significant effort on behalf of the Kāi Tahu tribal membership and the leadership to lead by example. The end result, however, would be the realisation of dreams of generations now past and the cultural ideals that they fought for in their time. To be culturally strong as Kāi Tahu, confident in our cultural customs, articulate in *te reo* and those features of our dialect that readily connected us to our history, ancestors and place, was an aspiration of those within the tribe, and of those outside of the tribe who wished for us the benefits of such success.

Ūpoko 8 - Chapter 8
He tūrakawaewae mō tōku reo – a place for my language to stand

Kia tama tāne ki te riri
Koi noho tō rahi hei tāwai
He puna raka e kore e whati

Stand bravely for the battle
Lest your people be left for ridicule
An agile wrist will not be broken

Introduction

This chapter will look specifically into the world of *te mita o Kāi Tahu* – the Kāi Tahu dialect. Although a summary will be made of the dialect's features and the literary sources from which the knowledge about the *mita* has been established, I will not attempt to provide a comprehensive analysis of these areas. The research will instead focus on the transformation of the dialect over time and the factors that have influenced dialect shift and its reversal. The influencers of dialect status and relationship will be discussed in order to understand the common arguments about its usage, validity and historical existence. The final focus will be on the future of the dialect within the *iwi* and its place in the wider language revitalisation goal of KMK.

Te ao o te mita o Kāi Tahu – the Kāi Tahu dialect world

There has been a long-standing debate within Kāi Tahu as to the validity, authenticity, existence and future of the dialect. Speakers and non-speakers of *te reo* alike often passionately engage in the dialect debate. I have personally experienced amongst my own people, speakers and non-speakers alike, a high level of anxiety around the use and promotion of *te mita o Kāi Tahu*. The reasons for this are varied and complex, some citing that the dialect sounds too 'foreign' and others suggesting that it will negatively make us 'stand out from other Māori'.

The debate about whether to use the *'k'* or the *'ng'* has taken place in many contexts, from the boardrooms of the Kāi Tahu governing bodies, The Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board and later Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, the *papatipu rūnaka* and *marae* and in various tribal and *whānau hui*. It has re-appeared as an issue in our tribal publications on a number of occasions, such as the article, 'K vs NG' in our tribal magazine *Te Karaka* in 2007, Kōanga /Spring, Issue 36*:*

Image 47: Article debating the validity of Kāi Tahu *mita* in the tribal magazine

(Source: *Te Karaka*, 2007)

The debate around the dialect within the tribe has coincided with the wider language revitalisation debate over the last 30 years. This is understandable when one considers the place that *te reo* has held within our communities and the dramatic language loss suffered by the tribe for the last 100-plus years. Without the parent Māori language being spoken or presenting as an issue of concern, there is little reason to debate the use of dialectal features. However, when you then shift into a position where you start to revitalise the language within the tribe, it is natural that positions start to be formulated as to what that language should be like and hence the emergence of the dialect debate.

This is not an easy debate to enter into when you are in the position of not having a pool of native speakers of the language or dialect, to support the revitalisation effort. It is even more complicated when you consider that even the elders are likely to be in a situation where they may not be the 'rememberers' of the language. The language revitalisationists are therefore left to tackle the challenges of perception, identification and authentication without the benefit of living native speaking authenticators to support one position or another. What we are then left to do, is to draw upon the next best set of resources we have at our disposal to determine our position, and in the Kāi Tahu case, we are lucky to

have access to an extensive repository of written records left by native speakers from the 1800s and early 1900s.

Nō hea tō tātou mōhiotaka – our sources of dialect knowledge

When investigating the literature concerned with the *Kāi Tahu mita*, significant primary and secondary sources of information exist that can be drawn upon to support the existence of the *Kāi Tahu mita*, its characteristics and the factors that influenced its decline.

> The written record of Kai Tahu language is quite extensive and extends back as far as Cook's early visits to the southern sounds in the late 18th Century and has continued in an unbroken chain through until modern times. Consistently these records have highlighted the differences evident in the Kai Tahu dialect (Pōtiki, 2001:7).

Although Pōtiki is yet to have his substantive research in this area published, his report by way of a *Decision to Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu* in 2001 (Pōtiki: 2001) provides a comprehensive analysis of the knowledge held at that time about the *Kāi Tahu mita* and significant resources of primary source materials exemplifying dialect use in the nineteenth and early twentieth Centuries. In his paper, Pōtiki provides an extensive annotated bibliography of significant bodies of work that this research will draw upon in reviewing the nature and characteristics of *Kāi Tahu mita*.

The texts that Pōtiki (2001) analyses in his paper range from the narrated stories and histories of Māori elders of the time that were told to their delegated scribes, the interviews and collections of information of Māori informants by early ethnographers and historians, the personal memoirs of native speakers, and the correspondence of Kāi Tahu elders to related and non-related parties at the time.

> The correspondence of the time between Kai Tahu leaders and Crown representatives is also an important chronicle of the Kai Tahu dialect. Letters such as the Topi Patuki letter to the Queen … record a number of dialectal features prior to the conformation that occurred over the subsequent half century (Pōtiki, 2001:7 -8).

These historic documents provide us with a snap-picture of the language world of the time. While they must be seen as isolated stories and records, and not a full

comprehensive picture of the language spoken across multiple domains in the everyday lives of people of that time, they can nevertheless provide a small window into that wider world and provide *te mita o Kāi Tahu* with a *tūrakawaewae*. That *tūrakawaewae* can help the dialect researcher establish some basic assumptions about that dialect, its features, its flexibility, its usage and its rise and fall over the years. Those assumptions can then be used to support a future position for the dialect.

An early important example of uniqueness of the *mita* can be seen in Harlow's (1994) description of Watkins's, *He Puka Ako i te Korero Maori* (Watkin, 1841) as the first book published in Otago. The significance for this research is not in the depth or amount of the material in the publication itself, but in the fact that it was needed at all. Harlow discusses the context that led to the missionary Rev. J. Watkin to request money to print some sayings, prayers and hymns in the southern dialect as the local Kāi Tahu were 'unable to understand' those written in the northern form that he had with him. This meant that Watkins not only had to learn and record a previously unwritten dialect in order to engage the community, but also had to produce new resources to support his Christian mission. Harlow (1985) records the letter Watkin wrote to Rev. J Buller in 1840 stating his position,

> I soon found that the dialect spoken here differs materially from that of your Island, and that the help I had hoped for from your books would be anything but what I had anticipated... I read to some of them out of the New Testament published at Paihia, but 'Kahore e matou' was the reply when I asked the question 'Do you understand?' I found I must have another alphabet to express correctly the sounds in this language... (Harlow, 1985: vi).

Watkin went on to make a substantial contribution to Kāi Tahu tribal dialect records with the wordlist he created that was later published by Harlow in 1985, *A Word-list of South Island Māori*. Watkin compiled the word list over the four years between 1840 and 1844 while living in Waikouaiti (Harlow, 1985:iii). Harlow makes mention of the fact that Watkin was not recording the dialect out of any emotional attachment to it and was actually quite scathing of the local language that he encountered,

> His dislike for Maori can be attributed to two fatcors; firstly, his general aversion to New Zealand work, and secondly, the considerable differences which he immediately perceived between the local dialect and the better known language of the far north (Harlow, 1985: vi).

Although a number of word-lists of Kāi Tahu *kupu* exist, such as Harlow's (1985) *Word-List of South Island Māori*, there remains no published dictionary of *Kāi Tahu mita*. This therefore, necessitates a wider comparative analysis of historical material available to gain a comprehensive view of the *mita*. The published works of John White in *The Ancient History of The Māori* (Volumes I, II, III & VI) and the significant contributions of Beattie that appear in fourteen parts of the Journal of the Polynesian Society under the title; *Traditions and Legends Collected from the Natives of Murihiku*, also provide useful examples of *Kāi Tahu mita* in practice. Beattie had followed in the footsteps of an earlier ethnographer, Edward Shortland, who published his work in *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (1851). Shortland had spent much time and effort researching the place names, histories and cultural practices of the southern Māori during his time as the Protector of Aborigines for the Colonial Government (Pōtiki, 2001:23).

In most of the examples provided, the main dominant feature of the Kāi Tahu dialect is the use of the consonant *'k'* where the *'ng'* would be placed in northern Māori. It must be noted, however, that the use of the *'k'* is only one feature of the dialect, and by no means should be seen as the only distinguishing marker. Other features of the dialect include specific idiom and turn of phrase, the unique application of words for things with a different meaning in the north, proverbs, pepeha and pronunciation. There is also the evidence of a more extended consonant variation beyond that of the commonly known *'k'.*

Reverend J.F.H Wholers was another significant contributor to the discourse on Kāi Tahu dialect and tribal narratives, many of which he later went on to publish. Wholers was a missionary for over 40 years in the isolated native community of Ruapuke Island in the Foveaux Straight from 1844 to 1885 where he recorded the unique southern pronunciation, including the use of *'l'* in the place of '*r*' and the '*b*' in place of the '*p*' as would be typical in northern Māori (Pōtiki, 2001:7).

There are also examples of the consonants *'g'* and *'v'* appearing in some early recording Kāi Tahu speakers, such as in Tikao's description of the rainbow below;

> I never heard the Maori history of the origin of the lovely rainbow, but it was beautiful in our eyes, and *Kahukura* is very high in *Gaitahu* (*Ngai Tahu*) estimation generally (Beattie, 1990:41).

In this example, the *'k'* is recorded as being used for *Kahukura*, and the *'g'* used in the same sentence for the name of the tribe; '*Gai Tahu'*, otherwise known as *Kāi Tahu*. Beattie makes reference to this in his footnote to the pronunciation stating, *"Gaitahu as well as Kaitahu is a common Southern pronunciation of Ngaitahu (tribe)"* (Beattie, 1990:50).

Pōtiki argues that the examples of these other consonants present in the narrated texts recorded by Pākehā and not the native sources themselves, suggesting an orthographic adaptation could have been made by the scribes, and therefore not a true reflection of the native pronunciation.

> I attempted to record the use of other non-standard phonemes such as **b**, **l**, **r** or **v**. There were no occurrences whatsoever implying that despite the possibility of other phonological variations the **k** was the only variation consistently appearing in written documentation. There is only minimal evidence of these other alternative phonemes in material actually written by Maori themselves. We see them represented much more frequently in non-Maori records (Pōtiki, 2001:11).

Teone Taare Tikao, a Kāti Irakehu *rakatita*, was born in 1850 and died in 1927 (Beattie, 1990 1-4). Before he died, he narrated a large collection of stories and histories to Herries Beattie, and these were later published in the book, *Tikao Talks. Kā Taoka o te Ao Kōhatu - Treasures from the ancient world of the Maori, Told by Teone Taare Tikao to Herries Beattie.* Tikao records his narrative in English, taking time to explain the Māori words he uses and the context that he uses them in. The use of the southern dialect is immediate in his first story of Māui and the recording of the names significant to this *whakapapa* (the Kāi Tahu dialect form is highlighted for emphasis),

> His maternal grandfather had a two-fold existence, being called *Mahuika* on land and *Muri-ra<u>k</u>a-whenua* at sea… He married *Hine-pu-nui-o-to<u>k</u>a* and they had a family of five girls named *Hine-arora<u>k</u>i, Hine-aroaro-pari, Hine-hauone, Hine-roriki* and *Hinerotia* (Beattie: 1990:10).

Tikao also uses the occasional *'l'* in his text, such as *pari kalakalaka*. Here the first *'r'* in *pari* is retained, but the *'l'* is used in place of the two *'r'*s in *karakaraka*,

> *Hine-aroaro-pari* has her work to do in holding and controlling what we call *pari-kalakalaka* (pari-karangaranga=echoes) on either inland or sea cliffs ... The only one of the family who remains on land is *Hine-aroraki,* whose name

denotes soaring, and who is the goddess controlling the flight of birds. She was the eldest of the five girls and she married a man named *Te Ranga* or *Te Raka* (Beattie, 1990:11).

With a few exceptions, Tikao uses the southern dialectal form throughout the narrative in reference to the traditional characters, sometimes providing the *'ng'* form to explain the name, as in the following examples,

…(which was known as *Raroheka* or *Rarohenga*) (Beattie, 1990:16);

She went to *Te Reinga* or *Te Reika,* where her name was changed to Hine-nui-o-te-po (Beattie, 1990:33);

…at the conclusion of the *Pō* ages, *Io*, the Supreme God, brought the sky (*Rangi-nui* or *Rangi*) and land (*Papa-tua-nuku* or *Papa*), into being… (Beattie, 1990:24);

,,,all the *Po* were *maku* (black or dark or night like) and at their conclusion a celestial being was named *Maku* because he came out of the thick darkness…(Beattie, 1990:24).

A clue to the choices made in the use of the dialect in the text of *Tikao Talks,* appears on page 37, and suggests that Tikao was conscious of an audience outside of his *iwi*, thereby offering the Northern equivalents in his speech,

A brother of *Tane* was called *Takaroa*, or *Tangaroa* in North Island talk, and was given the great work of looking after the ocean (Beattie, 1990:37).

The fact that Tikao specifically refers to the other form being '*North Island talk'* indicates an affiliation to the southern form as being of his own people's tongue. Beyond the ancestral names, Tikao also uses the southern dialect for nouns, verbs and adjectives, but at times also uses the northern form, which is consistent with the time in which he lived and the dialect shift. What would be interesting was to be able to see if this same transition was occurring in his spoken language at the time when only speaking Māori and not integrating Māori words into his English speech,

…finding *Irawaru* stretched out snoring he pulled the sleeping man's *tarika* (ear) into the shape of a dog's ear… (Beattie, 1990:29).

Other than the unique use of specific consonants in the southern dialect, they also shared dialectal features with the dialects of tribes from the East Coast of the North Island found

in the traditional manuscripts. These shared dialectal features provide linguistic evidence of the shared tribal origins of the Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu people, as expressed by Harlow (1985),

> Among these shared words are forms which so far as is known are features otherwise only of the East Coast dialects. The presence of these in W.'s list is the main linguistic evidence backing up traditional accounts of an East Coast origin for Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu. Among these are the forms: *kai* (for kei), and its use as a pseudo-verbal marker, *ratau* etc. (for *–tou*), *tou* (for *tonu*) *hakui* 'mother', *huanui* 'road' etc... (Harlow, 1985:XX-XXI).

Whilst it is not possible to say these linguistic features are unique to Kāi Tahu, neither is it necessary to do so in order for them to be considered as dialectal features. What needs to be assessed is the 'package' of features and the way in which they come together as the whole. The fact that the common Kāi Tahu term for grandmother; *taua,* might have also been used as reference to an old person on the East Coast, does not render it invalid as a 'Kāi Tahu' word. The use of *taua* in Kāi Tahu presents a picture of linguistic connection to our northern relations where the term has not persisted as part of the vernacular in contrast, to the southern position, where it has remained linguistically persistent as a term even throughout the period of language loss.

Where the mita was spoken – geographically

One commonly heard suggestion that has been made about the dialect is that it was geographically limited to the southern regions of the Kāi Tahu *rohe* (tribal territory). When presenting this argument the geographical feature of the Waitaki River is suggested as the dialect boundary marker with those residing south of the Waitaki River maintaining the southern form, and those north of the Waitaki maintaining the northern form. While it is understandable that such a belief can develop in the context of the Kāi Tahu language decline of the last one 100 years, there is sufficient historical evidence to refute this perception, as supported by Pōtiki (2001),

> … there is little evidence to support the argument that certain dialectal features such as the **k** for the **ng** were geographically specific. There is no doubt that there was some variation in vocabulary from hapu to hapu but the spread of dialectal shift does not follow the north to south pattern as implied by many. The letter from Topi Patuki of Ruapuke is no more Kai Tahu in its appearance than Te Wanikau's *History of Kati Kuri*. Equally Natanahira Waruwarutu and Taare Wetere Te Kaahu write in a vernacular firstly identifiable by the iwi characteristics and not by hapu regionalisation (Pōtiki, 2001:8).

I whānau au ki Kaiapoi – The story of Natanahira Waruwarutu as recorded by Thomas Green (Tau, 2011) is a remarkable account of Kāi Tahu history narrated by the elder who was born at Kaiapoi *pā* (traditional village) in the late 1820s. Waruwarutū's entire record is relayed to his scribe in the Kāi Tahu dialect. Although he does, at times, use the northern form for the prefixes of tribal names, '*Ngāi*' and '*Ngāti*' in reference to Kāi Tahu and northern *iwi*, the remaining text adheres to the southern dialectal form.

Waruwarutu's work is important, not only because of the rich historical knowledge contained within, but because it locates the *Kāi Tahu mita* in the spoken language of the elders of the Canterbury region throughout the 1800s, and certainly through until his death in 1895 (Tau, 2011:14). The use of the dialect in the wider Canterbury region is also supported by the narratives of Teone Taare Tikao from Te Horomaka or Banks Peninsula that were told to Herries Beattie (Beattie, 1990).

Herries Beattie's work is of particular interest here, as he travelled extensively across the tribal territory collecting a wide range of information from Kāi Tahu *tīpuna*, from traditional stories and histories, cultural practices, names of flora and fauna and place names and their associated meanings.

Beattie's vocabulary lists of familial relationship names found in *Traditional Lifeways of The Southern Māori*, edited by Atholl Anderson (1990) provide a good illustration of the geographical use of the Kāi Tahu dialect, as he gives examples of use from Southland through to North and mid-Canterbury.

Map 2: Places where Beattie collected familial terms from Kāi Tahu speakers
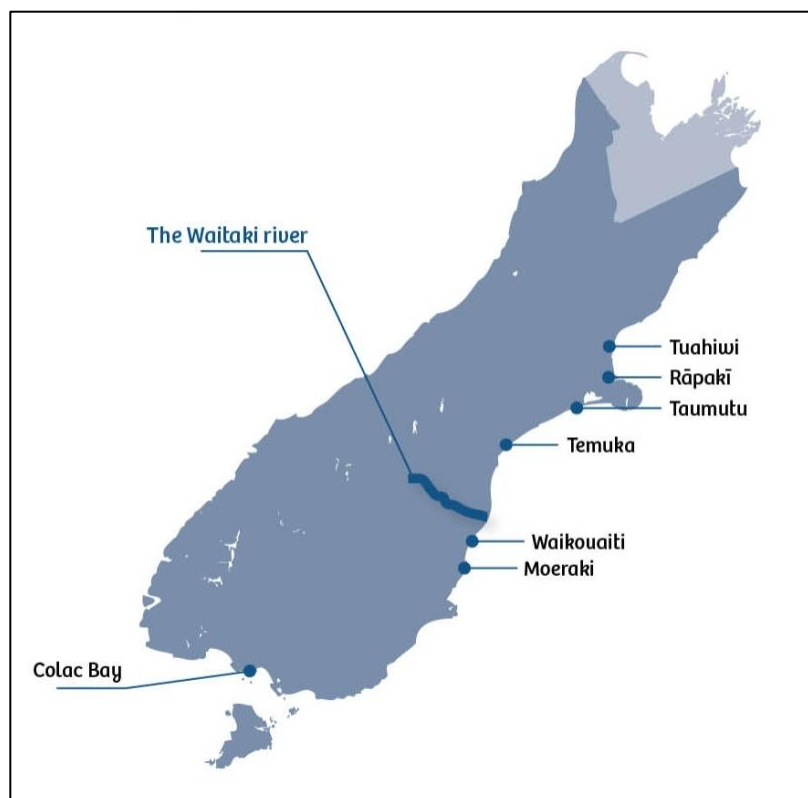
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

A selection of Beattie's collected examples have been presented in the table below, alongside one of the common northern terms identified in the far right column:

Table 6: Familial names used in Kāi Tahu collated from Beattie's word lists of names of relationships

Relationships	Moeraki and Waikouaiti	Temuka	Colac Bay	Rapaki	Tuahiwi	Taumutu	North Is.
Father	Hākoro	Hākoro or Matua hākoro	Hākoro	Hākoro, Matua	Matua, Hākoro	Hākoro	*Matua*
Mother	Hākui	Hakui	Hākui	Hākui, Whaea	Whaea, Hakui	Hākui	*Whaea, Koka*
Brother (of a female)	Tukāne	Tukāne	Tukāne	Tukāne	Tungāne, Tukāne	Tukāne	*Tungāne*
Father's father	Poua	Poua	Poua	Poua	Poua	Poua	*Koroua*
Father's mother	Taua	Taua	Taua	Taua	Taua	Taua	*Kuia*
Wife's father	Poupou or Matua Hukoi	Poupou or Matua Hukoi	Matua Hukoi	Matua hukoi or Poupou	Matua hukoi	Poupou	*Hungarei*

Son's wife	Hunoka	Hunoka	Hunoka	Hunoka wahine	Hunoka	Hunoka	*Hunaonga*
Daughter's husband	Hunoka	Hunoka	Hunoka	Hunoka tāne	Hunoka	Hunoka	

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

In conclusion, although there are examples of the northern dialect form being used by Kāi Tahu *tīpuna* across the Kāi Tahu *rohe* throughout the history of our tribal written records, this does not preclude the presence or existence of the southern form. Although we are able to illustrate some regional variation of the dialect across the Kāi Tahu territory, as evidenced in Beattie's word list for familial terms above, the differences are comparatively small and remain largely consistent, especially with key terms and the use of the *'k'*.

Importantly, we have sufficient evidence from the early missionary and settler accounts as well as the personal records of the native speakers themselves, of the southern *mita* existing and being used as the main dialect of communication by Kāi Tahu communities during early contact.

Recent tribal treatment of te reo

Pōtiki's paper to Te Rūnanga in 2001 mentioned previously, was a strategic move supported by the KMK committee, to provide the governance of the tribe with a comprehensive analysis of the dialect so that they could be in the position to make an informed decision on the tribe's position of the dialect. Up until that time, the KMK and dialect advocates had met numerous blocks when attempting to promote and revive the dialect, and had become increasingly frustrated with the lack of support and level of the arguments thrown against the *mita*.

Pōtiki positioned his case for *te mita o Kai Tahu* within the broader language revitalisation context and proposed an approach that linked dialect reclamation to a position of *rakatirataka* (self-determination). He asked the governance to start considering what kind of language they wanted the tribe to have, the domains they wished to have it in and how they saw it being used in the future,

> The challenge for Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu is to firstly decide the status goal
> for *te reo* within Kai Tahu i.e. home & community, official or ceremonial.
> And then secondly identify where on the above spectrum it believes our

> language planning and policy should be placed. A tendency towards **independence** would see language policy and plans that reflected a commitment to retaining dialectal features and a resistance to orthographic convention. A move towards **interdependence** would see policy that reflected a conscious effort to eliminate the unique characteristics of Kai Tahu dialect in favour of a generic Maori language that could interface with other international languages (Pōtiki, 2001:5).

Pōtiki tackled the dissenters of *Kāi Tahu mita* head on by presenting a meticulous analysis of a number of key historical texts that gave numerous examples of dialect form and use across a broad geographical reach of the Kāi Tahu *rohe*. He then went on to provide examples of *whakataukī*, *kīwaha* and a significant word list of Kāi Tahu words, citing also their shared usage by other tribal groups where necessary.

For those passionate about the *mita*, the paper was 40 pages of 'gold' and was the first time many of us had been able to access so much knowledge on the dialect in one consolidated resource. Although the paper was not published, Pōtiki made it widely accessible to KMK committee members and Kāi Tahu language advocates. The benefit of being able to access this information was almost immediately visible in the resources and programmes that were subsequently developed under the KMK *kaupapa*. This started what would become an increasing wave of exposure to *Kāi Tahu mita,* examples to those engaging in the tribal language acquisition opportunities.

Over and above the aim of educating the tribal leadership in the area of language revitalisation and the history of our dialect, the paper proposed two main recommendations, that,

1. Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu discuss, in a wānaka setting, the establishment of language status goals for Te Runanga O Ngai Tahu and the iwi
2. The author of this paper be invited to that wānaka to answer questions and to contribute to the discussion as appropriate (Pōtiki, 2001:2).

Although Pōtiki's paper and proposition to the tribal governance did not achieve all of its intended outcomes, he was successful in gaining a hearing by way of a *wānaka* to discuss the paper (Pōtiki, 2016. Personal communication). The tribal governance position at that time, and has remained the case until today, was to continue a ban on the use of the dialect in official Ngāi Tahu publications and branding of the name. There were, however three concessions made:

- KMK were allowed to continue to promote the *Kāi Tahu mita* in their publications and programmes;

- Where names had already been established in the dialect, then these were allowed to remain in the dialect,

- Employees, who wished to use the dialect in their own correspondence, were allowed to do so, as long as Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu official titles were not changed (Pōtiki, 2016. Personal communication).

While this was not the desired outcome sought by the KMK committee, it did allow a platform for the dialect supporters to start growing opportunities to teach and promote the dialect within the *iwi*, while also raising awareness of dialect health. Although the official governance position has not changed in the last 15 years, the tribal relationship to the language has shifted.

Relationship to Dialect

There are a number of specific challenges that the tribe is facing in developing a positive relationship to the *Kāi Tahu mita*. If *Kāi Tahu mita* is to have a place in our tribal future, then we need to be able to understand the origin and cause of the anxiety, dislike or distance that people have towards the *mita*. When considering the question of how you get to a point where a people might not like their own language or special linguistic characteristics, you can draw common parallels to the exact same processes that caused the dislocation of the wider Māori population from *te reo Māori*.

The generational attack on the use and status of the language combined with sustained negative stereotypes attributed to the language and the culture, served to dislocate and alienate the people from their heritage language. For speakers of the Kāi Tahu *reo*, these historical challenges were then combined by with the pressures of being a minority within a minority language, and one that sounded significantly different to other users of *te reo*. Their 'difference' was exacerbated.

One of those challenges is the small number of tribal members who use the dialect. This group is part of a small minority amongst an already small group of *te reo* speakers in the tribe. The numbers are more severe when we then consider who of the active users of the

dialect are committed to revitalising and using it as the language of intergenerational transmission in their homes.

It is necessary to acknowledge that there are different levels of dialect use and support and we can break these down in a similar way to the proficiency levels of bilingualism discussed earlier. At one end of the spectrum we have tribal members who do not support the use of the dialect. For those who have a more positive relationship to the dialect, at the minimal level there are people who support it but do not speak Māori, so therefore do not have the opportunity to use it. There will be people who might use specific Kāi Tahu *kupu* and integrate this in to the English or Māori language, but choose not to use the identifier of the *'k'*. Others might use features of the dialect in specific domains such as formal situations like *whaikōrero*, *karaka*, or in *waiata*, but not use it when they are engaging informally in the language. And finally there are those who use *te mita o Kāi Tahu* as their main dialect when speaking *te reo*.

These differences of relationship to *te mita o Kāi Tahu* can be depicted in the diagram below. Here the circles represent the proportions of tribal members that may have held to a particular position on the dialect in the early years of the KMK movement in the mid-1990s.

Figure 19: Assessment of levels of tribal member relationship to Kāi Tahu dialect

	Non-supporters of the dialect
	People who do not speak Māori or integrate features of the dialect into their everyday language but are supportive of others doing so
	People who do not speak Māori but integrate features of the dialect into their everyday language
	People who speak Māori but mainly use another dialect but have specific domains when they use Kāi Tahu mita
	Those who speak *te reo* and use Kāi Tahu *mita*
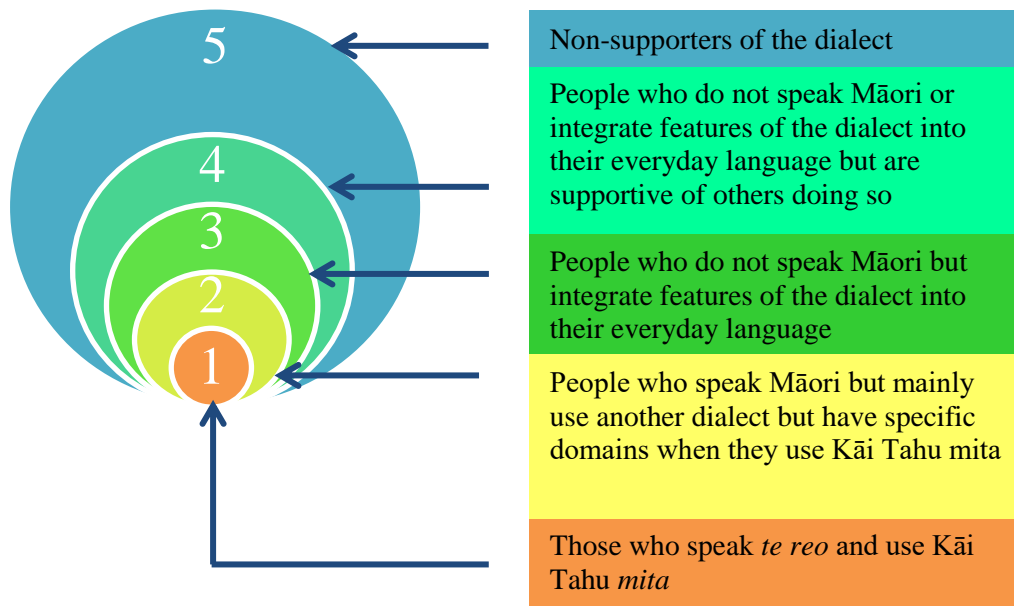
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

(Note this diagram is not actual percentages but a reflection of a general position).

Over the last 20 years of the Kāi Tahu language revitalisation movement, there has been a shift in the numbers of these groups. This shift can be represented in the following diagram that shows a growing number of speakers of the dialect at the core, as well as those in the second and third inner circles. This pattern therefore, has the flow-on effect of reducing the numbers represented in the dissenting circle.

Figure 20:   A shift in relationship to Kāi Tahu dialect showing a growth in numbers of users and supporters
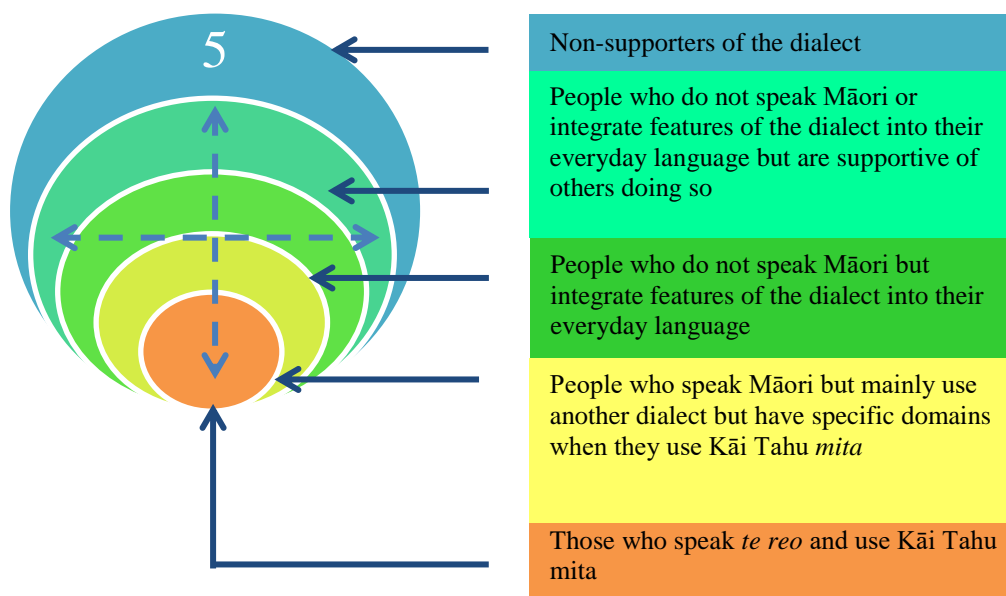
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

There have been a number of factors that have influenced the growth in numbers of tribal members represented in the inner three circles. While an increased promotion of the *mita* in Māori medium media has certainly played a role, I believe the largest set of influencers have resulted from the direct interventions through the KMK initiatives such as:

- Kā Mōteatea-a-kōrero / Pari Karakaraka (the immersion programmes for proficient Kāi Tahu speakers);

- Revitalisation of the traditional narratives using examples of texts in the *mita;*

- Regenerating Kāi Tahu word lists and *kīwaha / whakataukī* supporting features of the dialect;

- Composition of strategic *waiata* using *Kāi Tahu mita* that have been promoted as the Kāi Tahu national anthems and published on tape, CD and mp3 files and disseminated across the tribe;

- Production of texts aimed at language in the home that model *Kāi Tahu mita.*

In short, there are a significant greater amount of examples of the *mita* being modelled within the tribal space and access to dialect resources, than there were available 20 years ago. These developments have not occurred in the absence of the dissenters and critics

of the dialect, but have happened at the same time that those debates have been occurring, and at times in spite of them.

Where the real gains have been made, is in the fact that most of the teachers and language advocates that have been engaged in KMK over the last 20 years have been active promoters of the dialect. This group is represented by the second inner circle, that is not using the *mita* in their daily Māori conversational or written language, but consistently using it in specific domains and importantly, providing dialect examples in their teaching. Many of the current *waiata* now being sung widely by the tribe have also been composed by two of these KMK advocates who fall into this category; the prolific composers Charisma Rangipunga and Paulette Tamati-Elliffe.

For those members of the tribe who do not speak Māori but have been happy to learn or even listen to these *waiata*, they have been either consciously or subconsciously exposed to models of the Kāi Tahu dialect in quantities that have not been available for over 100 years. This is a transformational shift when one considers that the by-product of these initiatives will have created another generation of 'rememberers' of the *Kāi Tahu mita* in this century.

Another evolution in *Kāi Tahu mita* development in KMK has taken place in the last year (2015) with the initiative *Aoraki Matatū*. The programme Aoraki Matatū was established in (2013) with the initial purpose of training proficient Kāi Tahu language speakers in the skills of language teaching, in order for them to become the language teachers in the Kāi Tahu community language programme *Kia Kurapa,* and then the *Kāi Tahu Kura Reo* immersion programme. This was intended as a succession planning initiative to increase the numbers of community language teachers.

In 2015, Aoraki Matatū was reviewed, and a new focus on researching our traditional narratives and scripts was implemented as a way to develop the breadth and depth of language of these speakers. The *hui* were designed to support the collective analysis of these traditional texts so as to draw out material that could then be used in the teaching of the other language programmes. The objective was threefold,

- Support a collective understanding of the narrative being discussed so that there could be consistency in the revitalisation of this knowledge;

- Identify the dialectal features of *whakataukī*, *kīwaha* and *rereka kōrero* (sentence patterns) that could be re-introduced into the Kāi Tahu vernacular;

- Identify *kupu* or words and associated applications of these words that may be unique to Kāi Tahu so as to support the dialect development.

The outcomes of this initiative have already been seen in the 2016 Kāi Tahu Kura Reo where traditional narratives were used as the theme for the week long *wānaka*. By the end of the week the language learners were using *whakataukī* and vocabulary that had been highlighted in the text and these were already found their way into compositions and conversational language of the participants.

Understanding dialect shift

This was one of only a handful of examples, however, when efforts were made to produce text using the dialect for Kāi Tahu speakers by other writers or publishers. What we can gauge from our Kāi Tahu manuscripts over the next forty years, is a gradual and then dramatic decline of the use of the dialect in written Māori texts of Kāi Tahu speakers. What is fascinating is seeing the transition take place in the text themselves, as Kāi Tahu writers started to endeavour to conform and change to the orthographic norms.

In 1987, Manu van Ballekom and Ray Harlow published an edition and translation of an 1849 manuscript written by the Moeraki leader, Matiaha Tiramōrehu (van Ballekom and Harlow 1987). The manuscript is 49 pages long and talks of the beginnings of the world and associated events according to Kāi Tahu. On the whole, Matiaha writes in the *'ng'*. It is a unique document as we can see a linguistic shift occurring in his writing as he makes a concerted effort to move from his native southern dialect to the more orthographically accepted dialect of the Northern Māori tribes. In his introduction to the publication Harlow explains the orthographic conventions applied to the text, and writes,

> The reader will soon notice that Matiaha makes use of the diagraph *ng*. Nevertheless, he almost certainly spoke a variety of Māori which did not contain the sound usually written this way in the North ... That Matiaha uses *ng* is due rather to the fact that even at this early date there was some idea of a "right" way to spell Māori, probably based on biblical translations. Matiaha

was aware that when he said the *k*, this could be spelt either *ng* or *k*. Usually, he gets this "right", i.e. copies Northern forms, but very often South Island forms are used, e.g. *Raki*, and sometimes even forms which are wrong in any dialect, i.e. spellings with *ng* where even North Island dialects have *k* (van Ballekom and Harlow, 1987:vii).

The text referred to by Harlow (1989) is *Te Waiatatanga mai o te Atua*, the title of which was adapted for the title of this thesis. It is written as a formal record of Kāi Tahu cosmology and history. In the text there are examples where Matiaha has used the *'ng'* to replace the *'k'*, but in places that shouldn't have the *'ng'* and are instead meant to be *'k'* even in the northern form. The three common examples of this are for the words; *heart*, *custom* and the verb *to call*. The Kāi Tahu translation for *heart* is *kākau* or its northern form would be *ngākau*. Matiaha instead of transposing the first *'k'* in the word does so with the second, writing *kāngau*, which has no meaning in northern Māori. The other translations follow similar patterns,

Table 7: Matiaha's attempts of conforming to northern dialectal norm with the correct place for transposition in italics

English word	Kāi Tahu word	Northern Māori word	Matiaha's treatment in the text
heart	kākau	*ng*ākau	*k*āngau
custom	tikaka	tika*ng*a	tinga*k*a
call	karaka	kara*ng*a	ngara*k*a

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Another example of linguistic shift in Matiaha's written language can be seen in a much more personal record of his language written three years later in his journal. The entry was recorded as being written on the 2 of February, 1852 and is of considerable length, covering eight pages and a total of 3639 words. It is an intensely personal account by Matiaha of the suicide of his wife Pirihia, and the domestic arguments and events that led up to her taking her life. It includes his frustrations, their verbal attacks at each other and his laments. Here we can see further examples of the two dialectal forms clashing in his writing, sometimes in the same word,

Moeraki 28 Pepuere-1852

He karere Māori tēnei

He tohu hoki tēnei mō te matenga o Pirihira Pī

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I mate i **runga** *i te whakamomori nana anō i kaihere i a ia. Otirā i whakaaro au kāhore he wāhi, kāhore hoki he rawa, kāhore tahi hoki he take, kotahi tonu taku whakaaro; kei au tonu te take i whakamōmori ai a Pī. Kei taku kōrero ki a ia i tētahi 1851 i* **ngā** *tau kua pāhure ake nei, i kōrero atu au ki a ia "E Pī, kia* **rongo** *mai koe kei te tau ki tua nei, ka haere ahau ki Kaiapoi mō te tau ki te kana ka haere ahau ki tua ki Poutini", Nō reira a Pī i kī mai ai ki au "Me haere tonu hoki ahau", ka kī atu ahau ki a ia "E kore rawa a koe e tae i au,* **ekari** *ko koe te noho ki a Ripeka". Kātahi anō te waha a Pī ka kī mai ki au "He* **tingaka** *whakarere rāia tāhau e Matiaha i au". Ka kī atu ahau ki a ia "E kore rawa koe e tae i au,* **ekari** *me noho koe ki tō hākui. Nō konei i timatatia mai ai e Pī te kōrero he* **tingaka** *whakarere nāhaku i a ia. Ka kī atu au ki a ia ...* (Tiramōrehu, 1852:1)

Key:　　　　[   ] =　use of Kāi Tahu dialect
　　　　　　[   ] = use of northern form
　　　　　　[   ] = confused application of dialectal form

The uses of *matenga, runga, ngā* and *rongo* are examples of where Matiaha has transposed the *'k'* for the *'ng'*. For some reason however, he does not apply the same practice to the translation for *but,* and instead retains the Kāi Tahu application of *ekari*. As with the earlier example from *Te Waiatatanga mai o te Atua*, he transposes the *'ng'* in the wrong place in the word for *tingaka,* instead of either *tikaka* or *tikanga*.

Interestingly, as Matiaha continues to recall the tragedy of his wife's death and the events that precipitated it, he increasingly shifts in his treatment of the dialect from the beginning where he mainly uses the *'ng'* form with a few *'k'* slipping in, to a preference for the *'k'* as the story progresses, as can be seen in the following extract from the final page of the record,

He kōrero tēnei mō taku **pōraki** *ki au anō. Kei pōhōhē noa iho ai taku whakaaro i konei. Koi mamae mamae haere roa ai taku wairua i* **ruka** *i te hē. Otira, kāhore rawa he wahine o mua i pēnei me Pī.* **Ekari** *te* **tangata** *o mua, a* **kā** **tāngata** *Māori kia patua e te tāne te wahine. Ko reira tika ai ki te whakamomori. Ko tētahi* **tikanga** *ā* **kā** **tāngata** *Māori, he wāhine pūrua ka hoe tētahi wāhine ki tētahi wahine mō tā rāua tāne. Ka tūmou rawa atu ki tētahi wahine. Ko reira tētahi wahine whakamōmori ai. Ko te* **tikanga** *pono tēnei i mua. Tēnā ko tēnei kei a ia anō te take o taua wāhi i whakamōmori ai a Pī. Otirā tērā anō te tino wahine nui o mua ko Hineātauira, te* **ingoa** *nō muri iho i te* **waihakatanga** *a Tāne i te* **rangi**. *Nō reira i* **hanga** *ai a Tāne a Hineātauira, i noho tonu hoki i a tāne taua wahine. Nō Hineātauira ka* **rongo** *ko tōna matua* (Tiramōrehu, 1852:8).

Key:　　　　[ ] =　use of Kāi Tahu dialect
　　　　　　[ ] = use of northern form

It is evident from this and many more old texts, that Kāi Tahu have been battling a perception of the value of our dialect, or at least a perception of a need to conform, for over 150 years. Well before we started feeling the full effects of language loss from within our community, we were battling dialect shift in our speakers. It is no wonder then that we are now in a position where many people don't like it and feel that it's 'too different'. We have had over 150 years to cement that perception in the cultural prejudice of our people.

The pressure experienced by *tīpuna* like Tiramōrehu to conform to the common northern orthography is explained here by Pōtiki,

> As interaction increased between Kai Tahu, European and other iwi, and missionary driven education introduced a standardised Maori alphabet, the Kai Tahu dialect came under threat. Apart from Watkin's solitary publication all religious and educational material utilised by southern missionaries was printed using the standardised alphabet. This posed a peculiar problem for many Kai Tahu of the time as the common spoken language almost certainly differed from the written convention (Pōtiki, 2001:8).

In much the same way as a minority people experience cultural domination, so are traditional boundaries of Indigenous languages continuously being breeched by dominant, larger and more often than not, global languages.

> As the traditional fence posts are knocked down, the minority Indigenous languages are faced with increasing pressures that increase the level of difficulty of maintaining the language. Language mixing and notions of language inferiority or superiority then impact on perceptions of language value and merit (O'Regan, 2012:298).

Linguistic assimilation, however, is not always at the hands of the majority language of a power culture. The same principles and practices associated with linguistic assimilation may well be executed by those who share the same language, but a different 'version' of it, that is, another dialect as evidenced in Matiaha's manuscripts referred to above.

In these instances, one dialect may be chosen as a dominant and held up to be more desirable or *better* than the others. There might be many factors influencing the preferred choice; the dialect spoken by the majority of speakers of that language, the political domination of those *iwi* that speak that dialect, the extent of 'difference' of the less

favoured dialects from the preferred choice, or the familiarity of speakers generally to a given dialect.

Inevitably, what we are often left with is a stigma associated with the less dominant variations. We end up in a position where they have to fight for their right to exist, where the unique attributes are frowned upon rather than celebrated and their status minimised. We start to hear messages similar to those associated with critics of bilingualism in a minority language:

- speaking the dialect will make it harder for the children to learn the basics;
- there are not enough resources to support their language development;
- you are better off to use the majority dialect;
- it will make it hard for your children to fit in;
- using the minority dialect will confuse people, they will not be able to be understood.

Whilst most modern day language advocates of *te reo Māori* will be well prepared for the rebuttals of such comments when used to discourage bilingualism of Māori children with *te reo Māori*, we seem to allow the same messages to permeate discussions of dialect. By doing so there is almost a tacit consent in place, when we will fight to the end to oppose the assimilation of Māori language by the English speaking majority, but then we are prepared to sentence our respective dialects to the same unfair fate, using the same rationale as the agenda of the English speaking, assimilating majority.

If we are to go down this route, we need to ask the question, a) are we fully aware of the cost of language loss to a people, their culture, their sense of individual and collective self, their perception of place in their world and their worldview? b) What does dialect loss mean to the people who own that *part* of the language? c) What does it say about the status and value of their *iwi*, their cultural and linguistic heritage and their worth?

Some might say; 'well if Matiaha thought it was okay to change and leave his Kāi Tahu dialect behind in favour of the more common form, then so should we'. My response to that will be that within another generation, they also chose to leave the Māori language

behind in favour of the more commonly spoken and popular English, should we do that too and leave our Māori language behind for good?

The biggest argument I hear in favour of standardisation over promotion of dialectal variations, comes back to a call for a concentrated focus on 'language survival'. This position suggests that irrespective of the dialect spoken, the main thing is that the 'language' survives and is spoken and is nurtured to thrive. But is that really true? Would the same argument be equally supported if the decision was made to choose a dialect from one of the more distinctive *iwi* variations, to be the standard for all? If we were to decide upon the Taranaki dialect or the Tainui dialect as the one we should all conform to, would those of the bigger Ngā Puhi collective really think that that was an acceptable price to pay for the survival of the Māori language?

In reality what actually happens, just as with linguistic colonisation of minority peoples, is that those in the power majority require the minorities to conform to them as the norm or 'standard'. No matter what the name or argument is used to describe the process that fact is that national standardisation and the ease of language acquisition for learners or children or that dialect having the biggest repository of resources that may be available; the cost remains the same. The harsh reality is that the minority has to fight harder to retain their unique characteristics, and their right to be heard.

Unfortunately, as is the case within Kāi Tahu, we are not merely fighting for our right to survive with the other dialects. Most other *iwi* are now very accepting of our Kāi Tahu variation as they have had a couple of decades to get used to it. The biggest battle we are facing is instead with our own. This battle is compounded by another faction of *iwi* members who argue that the dialect, or perhaps the kind of dialect that we are using at the moment, did not exist or is inaccurate. The evidence of usage of the Kāi Tahu dialect exists from documents and records written by *tīpuna* as from far north as Kaikōura on the East Coast, the West Coast, from Canterbury and through to Southland. The *mita* is also expressed in our place names and *tīpuna* names from all over Te Waipounamu.

It is understandable that there are *whānau* who may say that 'my grandparents never used the dialect' or they cannot remember ever hearing it spoken when they were growing up. Given that Matiaha was changing his use of the written dialect as early as 1849, it is

absolutely plausible that this might have been the case. But it certainly was not the case for all regions and within all *whānau*. Just as in the case of *te reo Māori* itself there were some *whānau* who managed to hold on to it longer than others, who continued to raise their children in the language long after their peers had stopped doing so, and the same is the case for the *Kāi Tahu mita*.

The place of dialect in language revitalisation

Some may well ask the question, what hope is there left, or indeed, should we even be investing energy in the act of hoping? When the Māori language revival started in the late 1970s and early 1980s, most of the energy was exerted in trying to get as many people as possible to learn the language. It is often an afterthought for those people engaged in desperate attempts to keep their languages alive, to think about the 'kind of language' they want to have and that seemed to be the case for *te reo Māori*. Dialects were considered by many in those early stages as 'barriers' to language learning. Things to confuse the learner and make things harder for them.

This saw a big push to standardise the language and keep from it those aspects of certain dialects that were seen to be too different. *Te mita o Kāi Tahu* was potentially considered to be one of the most different of all the dialects in this regard. But it was not only the acceptance of dialects and the breadth of the language variations of *te reo* that was sacrificed in the name of language survival; language quality was also compromised.

Figure 21: Initial focus of language revitalisation

Language Depth

Numbers of speakers

Native Speakers remaining at the beginning of the Language revitalisation movement 1960s & 1970s

Focus on language aquisition and breadth of numbers of second language speakers from the 1980s

Numbers increase through language interventions; Te Ataarangi, Kohanga, Kura Kaupapa, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa
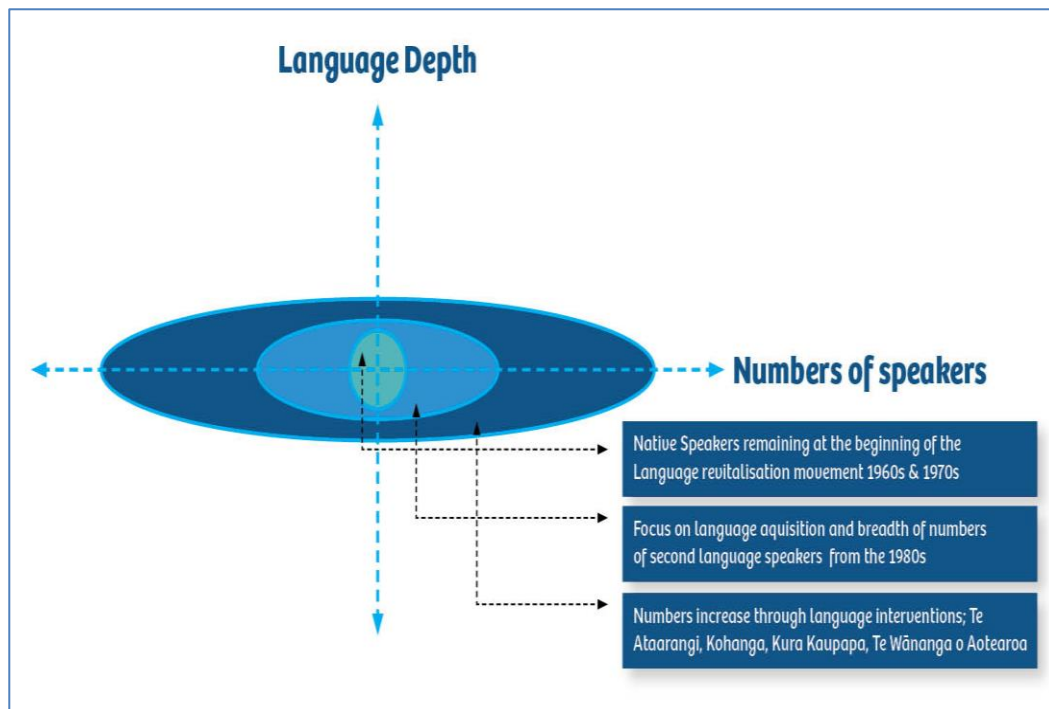
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

It is often an afterthought for those people engaged in desperate attempts to keep their languages alive to think about the 'kind of language' they want to have, as discussed in Chapter 6 on raising bilingual children. Within the *reo* Māori context there is a common catch cry, 'we need to speak Māori everywhere and at all times!' In the early stages, there was little discussion about the quality of the language and its depth, *te kounga o te reo* – all emphasis was instead put on getting as many people as we could learning *te reo* and establishing Māori medium education opportunities for a new generation of language speakers (refer to Chapter 2 on the history of *te reo*).

As time went on, another focus was added. It no longer seemed satisfactory to simply say the language needs to be spoken. That here also needed to be a focus on making sure you have something Māori to talk about and saying it well. Those passionate about the language revitalisation movement were so desperate to retrieve the *reo* from the grips of decline that language form and quality were a secondary consideration.

The response to this dynamic were those initiatives established to grow the depth of language such as the national Kura Reo of 1980s and 1990s, and a new focus on language creativity and the broadening of language domains. There was also a further focus on

language quality and the re-introduction of examples of dialectal variation in broadcasting and educational publications. This extension into the *kouka* or quality of the language, led into the emergence of Kura Reo-ā-iwi and Te Panekiretanga in the early 2000s, as can be depicted in the below diagram:

Figure 22: The development of language depth in the revitalisation process
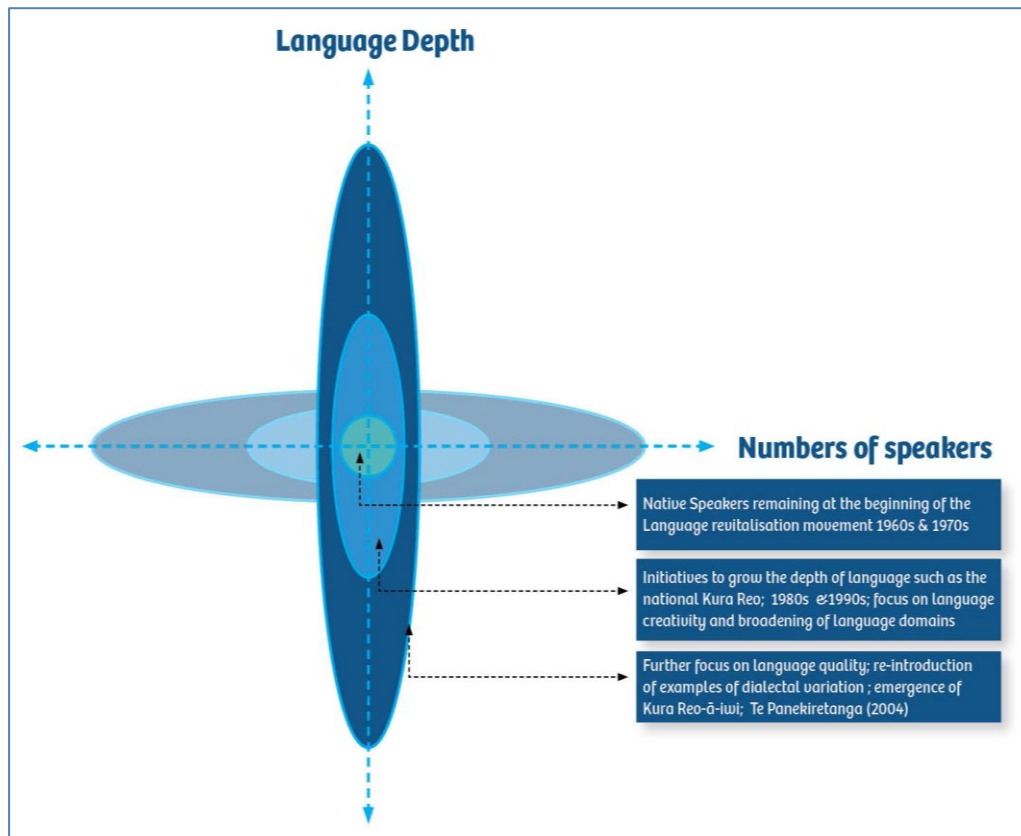
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

In the last decade we have refocused our catch-cries, and raised the expectations of language acquisition and use,

Ko te reo kia tika	*That the language be correct*
Ko te reo kia rere	*That the language flow*
Ko te reo kia Māori	*That the language be Māori*

Although this was not extended to, '*ko te reo kia Kāi Tahu*' (that the language be Kāi Tahu), one could argue that if the language is to be 'Māori' in thought and construct, then it would also naturally reflect the language history and characteristics of the speaker.

The last decade has seen resurgence in dialectal preference and calls for regional language preservation being echoed from the corners of the country. Some people who had witnessed the language shift in the previous two decades, had become increasingly concerned when seeing the quality of resources or hearing their grandchildren or children use another tribe's dialect. This often hit home the vulnerability of their own traditional language in a way that statistical data and decades of reports had been unable to do previously.

Fifteen years ago we started to see a resurgence in the demand for dialectal examples in the educational resources where a pro-dialect approach had started to gain momentum. Māori media also started to attempt a greater degree of regional language variation on radio and television. However, just because the desire to promote dialectal differences has risen again at the national policy level, this did not mean the owners of those heritage dialects felt the same connection to them or indeed, the desire to retain them at all.

The vulnerability of dialects in the modern era was discussed in the Waitangi Tribunal's pre-publication on Te Reo Māori (2010) highlighting the change in the language models of children today whose first language might be Māori, but does not necessarily reflect the traditional dialect of their *iwi* or region.

> In any language with faltering health – or, in this case, a faltering revival – its own variations must be its most vulnerable elements. This is the inevitable state of tribal dialects today, with some elements already all but gone and others clearly in peril. Unless dialects begin to be spoken more by younger Māori, their prospects beyond the next 20 years are obviously bleak (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010:41).

We are able to confidently state from private and public records that a unique Kāi Tahu dialect existed and that there is it evidence of it having existed across a broad geographical spread from Kaikōura, Canterbury to Murihiku. We are also able to utilise those same literary and later audio resources to track dialectal shifts across time. It is correct to say that we are currently unable to confidently detail all of the specific features and characteristics of the Kāi Tahu dialect on account of the limitations of the resources, and the fact that we do not have a surviving pool of native speakers. We are therefore unable to authenticate what the dialectal characteristics might have been in totality and across the various *hapū* and regions within the Kāi Tahu *rohe*. We are, however, able to make some

assumptions based on the historical documents that we do have access to, and what we know generally about language shift and its influencers, to suggest points in our history when the dialect transitioned along the dialect spectrum from the norms common in the North Island to the unique southern characteristics.

It is possible to take a chronological view of dialect shift and a more detailed view of those features of the dialect which have been linguistically persistent and in which domains this had been the case.

The first major wave of migration into the island was the Waitaha people about eight hundred years ago (Tau, 2008:20). The dominant *'k'* feature of the dialect can be traced back to these early settlers. We know this from the place names and stories associated with that *whakapapa* that have remained a feature of our physical and cultural landscape that have northern dialectal equivalents. For example:

Table 8: Examples of Kāi Tahu place names using the '*k'* feature and the northern equivalent.

Waitaha place names	*Northern equivalents*
*Ak*aroa	***Whang*aroa**
Moera*k*i	Moera*ng*i
Wāna*k*a	Wāna*ng*a
Waita*k*i	Waita*ng*i
Aora*k*i	Aora*ng*i

It should also be noted that there are also less common dialectal features found in some place names associated with the Waitaha era, such as the absence of the remedial *'h'* or *'wh'* and the use of *'v'* instead of *'w'*, or the *'l'* instead of *'r'*. However, we understand that these characteristics did not persist through subsequent migrations in the spoken language.

The next major wave of migration from the Kāti Māmoe people in the Bay of Plenty in the late Sixteenth Century, would have likely brought with them the linguistic features of their northern *reo*. What we also know is they had adopted the dialect of the Waitaha

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with whom they intermarried and were using the dominant feature of the *'k'* at the time that their Ngāi Tahu relations who started migrating into the tribal territory in about the late Seventeenth Century arrived (Tau, 2008:27). Again the intermarriage and battles that would see the *whakapapa* lines of Kāti Māmoe merge with Kāi Tahu, also impacted upon the later identification as the new merged *iwi* began to take a new shape in the 1700s.

Although there was still differentiation apparent in the identification of tribal members, as the way of determining rights to land, political position and resources, the term '*Ngāi Tahu whānui*' (the extended collective of Ngāi Tahu) or '*Kāi Tahu whānui*' started to be increasingly used from the 1970s to reflect the tribal collective that was made up of the three main *whakapapa* strands of Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu.

We know that those who were strongly connected with the latter migration of Kāi Tahu also used the southern dialectal form, as can be evidenced in the manuscripts of Hariata Pītini Mōrera of Kāikoura and Waruwarutū of Kaiapoi. Hariata was the granddaughter of the chief and tōhuka, Kaikōura Whakatau and while convalescing in hospital in 1930 she recorded stories and histories of Kāti Kurī, the hapū of the Kaikōura which is located in the north eastern end of the Kāi Tahu territory. There are many examples of the southern dialectal form throughout her writing as can be seen in this excerpt from her entry on the tribal history of Kāti Kurī from the *Ōaro Papers* (1978), that was transcribed by Tipene O'Regan in 1978. The following key is used to highlight the frequency of use of the dialectal forms,

> Key: [ ] = use of Kāi Tahu dialect
> [ ] = use of northern form

> Kati nō te [sic] rokoka o Maru kua tīmata te kino, ka haere ki roto ki a Kāti Kahukunu ki te tiki i ōna wāhine i a Te Waipua rāua ko Rongomaiwhaia, he tamāhine ēnei nā Te Ikararoa nā tētahi o ngā tino rakatira [sic] o Kāti Kahukunu (Morera, 1930:1).

What is interesting in this example is Hariata's use of the '*k*' form from the tribal name commonly known as *Ng*āti Kahu*ng*unu, whereas she uses the northern form in many more cases elsewhere in the text for names of people and tribes. She also goes on to record this same tribe as *Ng*āti Kahu*k*unu, mixing the two forms in the one name.

Kāti, nō te mutuka o te whawhai – ka taute a Kāti Kurī i āna mea mō te kai, ka titiro a Maru ki tōna Matua hukoi ki a Te Ikaraeroa e noho ana. Kāore hoki ā rātau takatā, i patua. I tū tonu ake a Maru – ka tapaetia kā rakatira [sic] o Kāti Kurī a Mareinaka rāua ko Kahumataroa ki a Ngāti Kahukunu … (Morera, 1930:1).

These examples of changes in the recorded historical narratives are examples of dialect levelling and transformation over time. Dialect levelling is the social process where dialectal variations between speakers reduce over time as result of different dialects coming into contact with each other (About.com, 2016). In the Kāi Tahu situation, the adoption of a more generic *'ng'* in written records of the later contact periods or the inclusion of northern Māori patterns of speech like *tātau* and rātau, or *koi* instead of *kei* into a language that maintains its other features such as the *'k'*, exemplifies a merging of dialectal features with some becoming linguistically persistent and others given away.

As we continue to move across the timeline, we can start to identify significant touch points in history that we can assume impacted upon the dialect and influenced people's relationship to it as illustrated in the timeline below. It is important to note that this timeline is not intended to be chronologically precise, but rather indicative of a generational timeframe to illustrate the relationship between the dialect and key influencers. The curving line below indicates the points in Kāi Tahu history where the language might have moved from a unique southern dialect (the left axis positioning the *Kāi Tahu mita* above the line) into a northern influenced dialect (represented below the line).

Figure 23: Timeline showing points and influences of dialect shift in the Kāi Tahu dialect
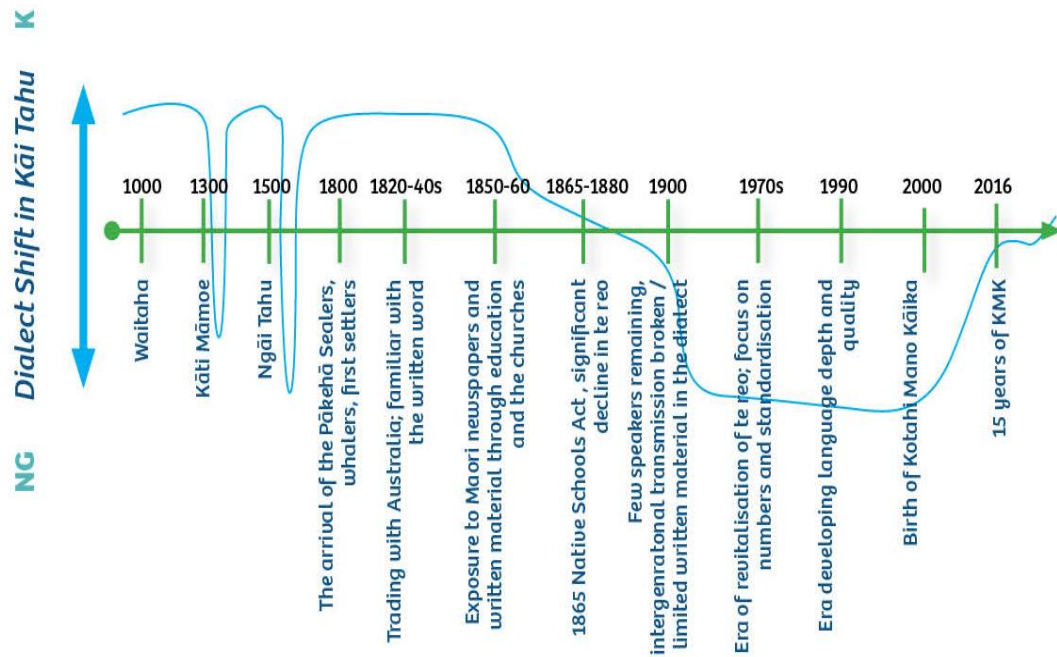
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

If we accept that the notion of dialectal shift occurred in Kāi Tahu history, even if we debate the points at which it occurred or the factors that may have influenced it, we are able to rebut the claims that the dialect has not existed; was not right, was written down incorrectly, was not spoken by Ngāti Māmoe or Ngāi Tahu as they came from the north anyway, and so forth.

Reversing dialect shift

Where we get to in this debate is a new starting point, where we acknowledge that the dialect has shifted over time and that we are now in a position, on account of having largely lost our language and now engaged in revitalisation, of re-establishing a new dialectal position.

We need to be conscious of what language it is that we want to revive, and in the case of Kāi Tahu, where we do not have any native speakers of *Kāi Tahu mita* surviving, then we do need to put a post in the ground and pick a time that best reflects the language characteristics we want to revive.

Figure 24: Timeline showing points and influences of dialect shift in the Kāi Tahu dialect that can be used as an influencer of form for dialect revitalisation
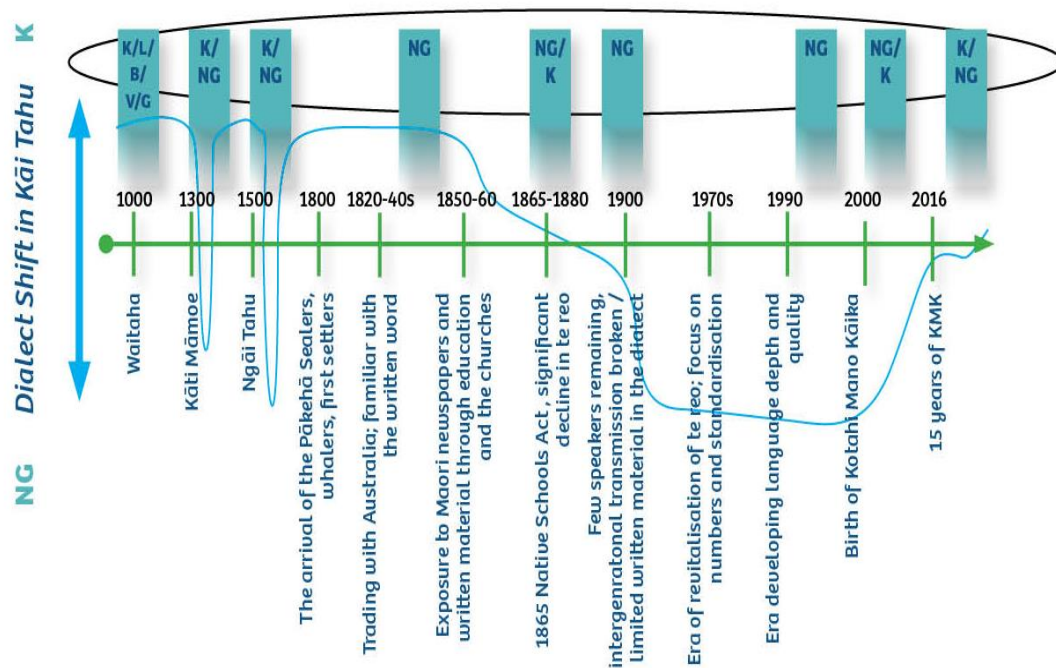
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Currently, most of my contemporaries seem to be choosing the time that the majority of surviving speakers had transitioned to the northern norm. My stake or point on the timeline, and those of a very small group of my peers, goes further back on the timeline of our *reo*. I choose to use the language that was in use at the time when we were still in control of our world, when we still owned our lands, when we controlled our economies and we did not question the validity of our cultural practices or our language. That was the time when our people knew who we were and what defined us and our language health was not in question.

This is a subjective decision that is laden with value judgements that emanate from a perception about what is right and authentic. The reality is that the authenticity argument has validity no matter where you choose to place your stake on the timeline, as long as you acknowledge that the language you are choosing to use is representative of that point in time. It is incorrect to say that there has been only one way of speaking or one form of the language over the lifetime of that language. I accept that the '*ng*' has been a feature

of *te reo* in the history of our Kāi Tahu people at multiple points over our language life-cycle.

There are multiple influencing factors that have led me to place my stake on a part of the timeline that supports the use of the distinctive Kāi Tahu dialect, or at least my current understanding of the features associated with that dialect. My choices have been influenced by my desire to use my language as a clear identity marker of my tribal identity; that is, to use a dialect synonymous with Kāi Tahu identity. This is important to me in terms of how others identify me, but also because I see it as a direct connection to my *tūrakawaewae* and my *tīpuna* and a way of recognising the richness of that linguistic legacy. I also personally support the development of language breadth and depth, therefore celebrating the ability to draw upon wider variations and understanding of the language.

That is not to say I believe others who choose not to support the dialect are wrong, or if they inhabit the groups two or three represented in the inner circles; that they are somehow less connected to their *tūrakawaewae* or their *tīpuna*. On the contrary, the process of dialect relationship is a continually evolving and changing landscape, as is cultural identification. The dialect cannot be used as a single element to determine the intensity of connection and affiliation. Every individual will have other connectors and drivers, for example *mahika kai*; engagement in their *marae* or with their relations, or other cultural practices such as weaving or *kapa haka*. All connectors and drivers are valid in terms of being relevant to that person's identity, and likewise for the dialect.

My motivation to promote and use *te mita o Kāi Tahu*, is not because I believe that it will make a person more Kāi Tahu, but because I believe it is a *taoka* that is an important element to who we are as a people and how we understand ourselves and our history. I believe the linguistic landscape and our cultural landscape as Kāi Tahu will be richer for it as it reflects and reinforces our unique historical record.

In the previous chapter on the relationship between language and identity, the cultural loss as Māori that was eroded as our language slipped away, was discussed. So would we not apply the same lessons learnt to the status of our dialects? As with the macro language, the dialect represents the unique linguistic characteristics that help tie people to place, to

ancestral homelands, historical migrations and events. *Te mita o Kāi Tahu* speaks of a people who had developed their culture in unison with those lands and waters, and whose language has been shaped and moulded by those same elements.

If we are unable to increase the numbers of people committed to the dialect across the groups representing positive identification to it, *te mita o Kāi Tahu* is unlikely to survive another generation. If that is to be the case, the hope is that we will still be working towards reversing language-shift with more of our people speaking better quality *te reo Māori*. This is still a better outcome than not being able to speak Māori, but we must then also acknowledge that we will not, at that point be speaking a unique Kāi Tahu reo. It will be *te reo Māori* with potentially a Kāi Tahu *flavour* added.

Where should our focus lie?

I know that the fate of the language in terms of its survival or otherwise, is almost completely dependent on its relationship to the linguistic aspirations of the people. If they are not interested in its preservation in any form, it will not survive. To those that argue that it is sufficient to use parts of the dialect; to use it in *waiata* and in some *kīwaha*, some distinctive vocabulary but to not use it as the main language of communication when speaking *te reo* – I would say, it is not enough to ensure its survival. Would the old adage, 'a little bit is better than nothing at all' really apply in such a situation?

The same tools used to assess language proficiency can be used to assess dialect proficiency. Within Kāi Tahu many people say they promote the Kai Tahu dialect but just don't use the *'k'* in their everyday speech. They might use the *'k'* in songs and compositions, use phrases and idiom, but do not use the dialect in their conversational language. The same applies to many people who speak predominantly in English but integrate a high usage of Māori words in to their speech. It might be commonly known words like; *whānau* (family), *tama* (boy or son), *kōtiro* (girl), *puku* (stomach), *mimi* (urine or urinate), *haere mai* (come here), *e noho* (sit down), *waiho* (leave it), and *kai* (food or eat).

Regularly using Māori words within your English speech is positive in terms of promoting the value of the language but it still does not mean you are speaking '*te reo*'. You are speaking English with regular use of Māori words or catch phrases. Such is the case with

Kāi Tahu dialect that using key high frequency words and singing songs in the dialect, does not equate to speaking the Kāi Tahu dialect. For example, *poua* (grandfather), *taua* (grandmother), *hākui* (mother), and *hākoro* (father); or *kīwaha* that we can identify as Kāi Tahu such as, *wananei* (awesome), *nāia* (here it is), *hauata* (never mind, it is just an accident).

What is achieved by this practice can be referred to as "incremental shift" where there might be an incremental increased exposure of the dialect to tribal members, which over time will have a beneficial impact in terms of status, dialectal relationship and identity. The difficulty with an incremental approach is seen when the rate of language decline overall happens at a faster rate than the area of growth, thereby counteracting any positive benefits that would contribute to the sustainability of the dialect or language.

We therefore need to use the similar proficiency tests applied to general language use, to the specifics relating to dialect use. If you are interspersing Kāi Tahu *kupu* into generic main language of everyday communication – you are not 'speaking *te mita o Kāi Tahu*', you are speaking Māori with some Kāi Tahu *kupu* or using some dialectal features. If we are to learn from that practice in the wider Māori society, that usage runs the risk of lessening if it occurs on the downside of language shift and will become less and less in every generation unless there is a concerted effort to do otherwise. If it occurs on the upside of language shift, that is when language is moving in a positive direction, it will increase the status and value of the language for future generations.

I would suggest that being contented with 'a little bit' is agreeing to leave the dialect in a vulnerable state and is simply drawing out the time of the *poroporoakī* or final farewell to the Kāi Tahu dialect. Like having the benefit of a little more time with someone before they die, so you can say your final farewells, tell them how much you loved them and relish in their company one last time. I can appreciate that having that little more time with our heritage language might help soothe the heart temporarily; but the end is still imminent and the grief at the imminent loss will still be intense.

Whilst 'a little bit is better than nothing at all' is okay and appropriate when considering instructions to always take a little food with you when visiting, it cannot be confused with a strategy to sustainably support a family on the brink of starvation. Likewise, it is not

appropriate for the *reo*. We need to accept that that approach is simply a prolonged death as opposed to an immediate one.

That is not to say that those who are starting to learn the *mita* and who might only have a little under their belt need get depressed at it not being good enough to help the revitalisation effort. In the same way that we promote kapa haka as a way of promoting *te reo Māori* value and acquisition amongst our people, so too will the use of dialectal features have a positive benefit. It is not correct however, to assume that the Māori language will survive by singing *waiata* and doing *kapa haka* alone and neither will the *Kāi Tahu mita* survive if it is only relegated to restricted domains and usage.

What is needed for the dialect mirrors the required elements for the parent language, *te reo Māori* to survive and be sustainable. It is the simultaneous development of higher proficiency; language competency that has depth and breadth and that can be creative, scientific, poetic and political. The ultimate goal must therefore be one where both aims are achieved; greater numbers of speakers who are developing their language ability from basic competency, and greater numbers of those who are developing the quality and breadth of the language.

It may be suggested that language sustainability occurs when these two parts of the revitalisation movement converge and there are examples of both quality and quantity of speakers and language use, as depicted in the diagram below.

Figure 25: A language revitalisation goal where depth and breadth of the language has been achieved

Language Depth

Language revitalisation goal:
To continue to grow the
numbers of speakers a t the
same time grow the language
quality and breadth

Numbers of speakers
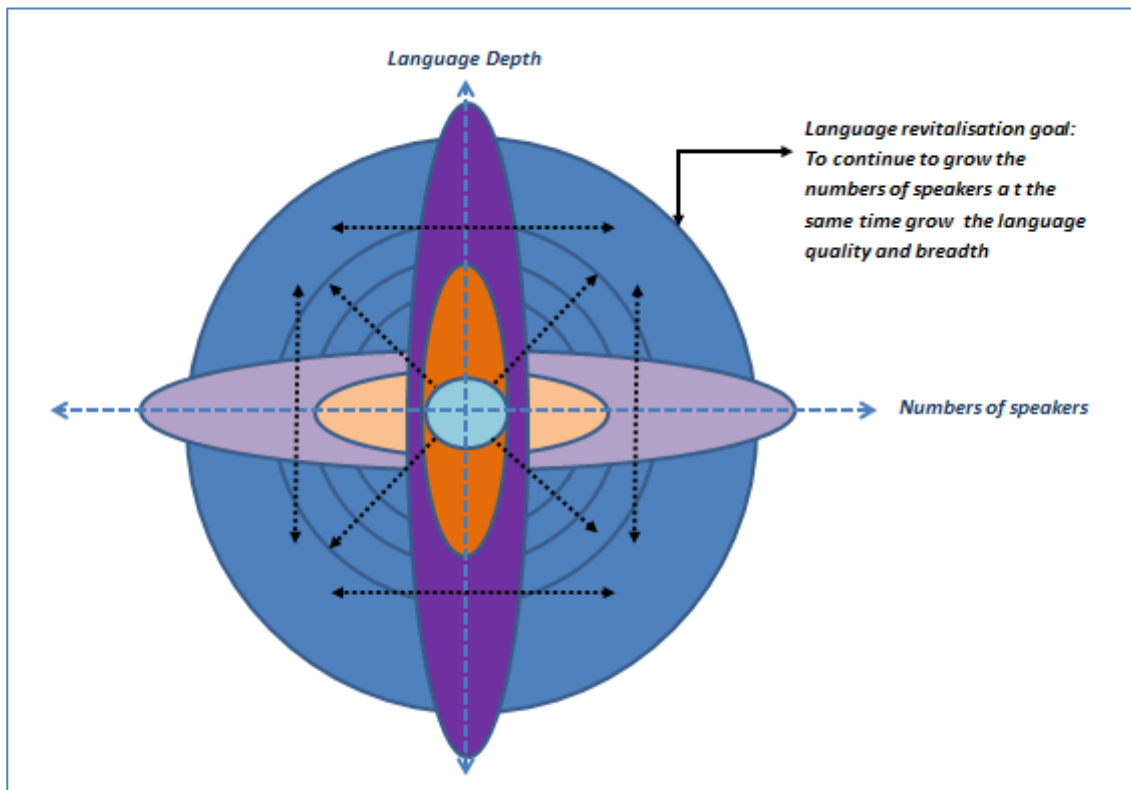
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

In order to achieve this goal we must first establish it as a desired outcome in the minds and hearts of the people by addressing the perceptions and status of the Kāi Tahu dialect itself within the tribe.

These are indeed challenging questions for a tribe engaged in language revitalisation, as those who are the most appropriate ones to be answering and debating these very questions, are also the group who are no longer with us, they being the native Kāi Tahu speakers of our *reo* here in Te Waipounamu. We are also challenged to be able to call on the 'rememberers' of the language because of the sheer amount of time that has transpired since *te reo* has been the vernacular within our Kāi Tahu homes and communities. For those that are still able to recall the language being spoken in various domains, their recollections are likely to have been influenced by their own proficiency and understanding of the language which may impact on the accuracy of the recollection.

Establishing a place for te mita o Kāi Tahu

Unfortunately for those that are committed to the revitalisation of our Kāi Tahu dialect, we have had a direct obstacle that has emerged over the last 25 years that has historically threatened, and continues to threaten the position of the dialect within the tribe, and that has been the presence of 'language inventors' who purport to hold traditional dialectal knowledge that is highly questionable to other language speakers.

Such people, while still small in numbers, have a profound impact on the position of the dialect as they often are active in the area of language dissemination, supporting those people hungry to learn about their language and culture to engage in language learning using the questionable language examples. Because of the support base that some of these people have, the numbers who are influenced are not insignificant. Although the levels of their proficiency may be at a level we would otherwise be able to utilise within the space of the tribal language initiatives, to do so would challenge the integrity of the language being taught, and may serve to further alienate current and future learners.

In the cases that the Kotahi Mano Kāika advisory group are aware of, we know that these people are known to present *whakapapa* that is inconsistent with the tribally accepted understanding on *whakapapa*, and therefore believed to be making up *whakapapa* to support their own agendas. Likewise the creation of traditional narratives that cannot be supported by any other written or other source, that contradicts the narratives supported by the wider tribe and backed up with our historical corpus, means we are now constantly at risk of a new generation coming through who have been fed on false traditions and language that is unable to be authenticated.

Te Maire Tau presented such a case to the Christchurch City Council in the *Cultural Report on the Southwest Area Plan* (Tau, n.d) in regards to a contested book by Barry Brailsford, *The Song of Waitaha*.

> …the principal book, which has caused the most concern for Ngāi Tahu is 'The Song of Waitaha', published in 1994 by Barry Brailsford and 'Ngā Tapuwae Trust'. Not only does this book mis-represent South Island Māori history, it also fabricates traditions and asserts them as authentic history (Tau, n.d: 1).

When these unverified sets of tribal knowledge also make their way into the world of publication and the mainstream education system, which has been the case with the widely distributed works of Barry Brailsford and the informally distributed material of Huata Holmes, the negative ramifications are intensified and will likely take generations to rectify.

The energy that is required to constantly fight and dispel the resulting myths and attempts to ensure the language and cultural material that is being taught and used by our Kāi Tahu people and within our *takiwā*, is a frustrating distraction from the already limited resources and time that we have to commit to language revitalisation (O'Regan, 2010b:92).

In summary it is possible to identify three main obstacles that challenge Kāi Tahu's progression in driving the language position in its relationship to our identity.

Figure 26: Three dominant challenges to reversing dialect shift in Kāi Tahu

Te Kore Reo	**Te Kore Pou**	**Te Kupu Mana Kore**
The lack of language	*The lack of mentors*	*The presence of inauthentic language*
as an intergenerational language	to guide the correct usage	to cause uncertinty around the language
As the venacular	to support the language learners	creating divisive thinking
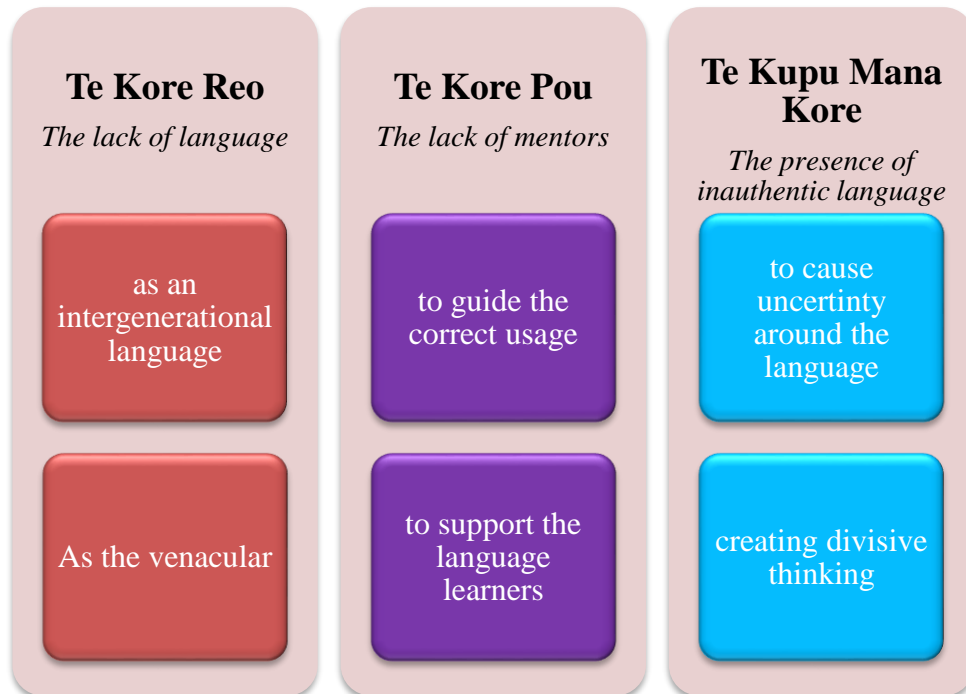
(Source: O'Regan, 2010)

What then might be some possible solutions to address these challenges in order to support a positive relationship between Kāi Tahu cultural identity and Kāi Tahu *reo*? Perhaps the best way to address the authenticity debate is to use a strong research base where the evidence of 'authentic language examples' can be sourced from the *tīpuna* literature. A clear plan to address the authenticity debate of the cultural and linguistic knowledge needs to be articulated in the immediate years ahead in order to ensure a positive platform for identification is established.

The timeline showing dialect shift within Kāi Tahu whānui can be used to explain to the tribal members the historical patterns that have influenced the status and use of the dialect of the *iwi*, thereby helping to dispel some of the myths and explain the factors influencing dialect relationship (O'Regan, 2010b:92).

I propose that this be done in three stages:

1. *Rakahaua* (research it)
   a. The traditional examples of Kāi Tahu dialect evident in the Ninetenth Century corpus;
   b. Any audio records of Kāi Tahu dialect.

2. *Wānakahia* (deliberate it)
   a. Establish a working group to analyse the findings of the research;
   b. Mandate the working group to approve the dialectal conventions that; emerge and can be evidenced in the literature. These will be promoted as our best 'current understanding of Kāi Tahu dialect'.

3. *Whakamanahia* (mandate it)
   a. The findings of the working group are supported and are communicated to the wider *iwi*
   b. Seek support for the *iwi* to actively raise and support the status of *te mita o Kāi Tahu* in the operations and activities of the tribe (O'Regan, 2010b:92-93).

The question may be poised as to what potential outcome might be achieved from such an approach? It is fair to say, that if the research is merely concerned with ascertaining whether or not the '*ng*' or '*k*' should be used, then the debate is not likely to move beyond an emotional identification with the preferences of individuals or groups, and will continue to be a point of contention and debate. A very real risk also exists, that while

the attentions are cast to justifying or otherwise, the plight of the *Kāi Tahu mita*, that the language in its wider sense continues to be at risk of endangerment, and likely to become non-existent in the *iwi*. I myself have invested significant time over the past 25 into contesting the issue of dialect authenticity with limited success (O'Regan, 2010b:93).

Conclusion

Perhaps it is correct to ask the question; *Kua tō rānei tōna rā ki tēnei ao? - Has its sun set on this world?* The metaphor of the sun setting is a common one used in *te reo* to speak of someone having died and suggests that there may no longer be a place for the dialect into the future. This suggestion is often posed in the context of language endangerment and death around the world. For those who take such a position, they may be influenced by the belief that it might be better to allow the dialect to die and instead concentrate on investing all energies into saving and revitalising the parent language.

If we were to pursue the path of standardisation and agree to relegate dialects to the mantel of tribal memory, the question needs to be asked in line with macro language loss; what would we be losing and what would the cost be the people if we lost the dialect? We have already dredged the bottom of the existing knowledge pool around our *mita*, so for those of us who are endeared to its existence, we are left to scroll through whatever historical records we can find that we have access to that provide examples of its characteristics.

We are therefore required to actively research in order to establish a more concrete, sustainable and, importantly, defendable platform for *te mita o Kāi Tahu* in today's world. Furthermore, we must acknowledge that our current knowledge base is limited to the examples that we have been able to access and analyse, and that our analysis may also be found to be wanting in future years.

In order for the *Kāi Tahu mita* to have place in the future cultural identity markers of the tribe, the current generation needs to regenerate the *mita* to a level that can provide the language learners with a supporting post to lean on and learn from in terms of their unique Kāi Tahu identity. The choice as to whether or not they in turn seek that support post of our Kāi Tahu dialect to construct and hold up their *whare kōrero* (speaking house) as opposed to other posts, will be up to them. What is important is that they are able to see

that the Kāi Tahu dialect posts or *kā pou mita o Kāi Tahu* do exist and can be used to support their *whare kōrero* (O'Regan, 2010b:93).

On the other hand, if we fail to establish the foundation that the posts can be erected from, then we leave people no choice in the dialectal selection and the opportunity to use the Kāi Tahu dialect as a marker of their Kāi Tahu identity. The unique tribal identifiers in the dialect of our ancestors would then be cast to the fate of the currents of the open sea like a canoe set adrift with the body of the deceased carried within it. Unlike with our customs, however, we would simply be casting the coffin off without the usual ceremonial farewells, acknowledgements and tears, as the end of a life that we did not cherish and celebrate.

Pōtiki articulated a similar impassioned sentiment in his Discussion Paper to Te Rūnanga (2001) when he spoke of the famous words of a Kāi Tahu *tipuna* named Te Wera as he was close to death,

> He believed there was no honour in dying silently, slipping away into the night. The only true death is when you fight in the face of adversary, to cling on to life's last precious moments or in fact to preserve something that you love or hold dear. Te Wera turned to his children and said, *Kauraka koutou i mate pirau penei me au nei. E kaore! Me haere ake koutou i ruka i te umu kakara. Taku whakaaro i mate rakatira i ruka i te tapapa whawhai.* (Do not die a rotting death like mine. No! Leave this world via the fragrant ovens of war. In my opinion a chiefly death occurs on the battlefield.) None of us wants our language to die but don't let it pass silently in to the darkness. If our language is to die then let it die on the battlefield fighting to survive. Honour it with a *mate rakatira* (Pōtiki, 2001:1-2).

Whilst there are those with the view that such a preoccupation with an element of the language that has already passed from the mouths of the majority, is a fruitless exercise and we should instead be concentrating on the acquisition of the more generic Māori language, it is difficult to divorce the place of the dialect from the tribal identity that sits at the core of our understanding of our Māori world. There remains hope, as can be seen by the slow but definite resurgence of the Kāi Tahu *mita* since the birth of the KMK movement. There is still a battlefield upon which the fight for its continued survival can take place. Importantly, there are also a few, but impassioned people, willing to take up the fight. We can only hope that more reinforcements will arrive who understand the purpose of the battle and believe in it, before it is too late.

Ūpoko 9 - Chapter 9
He tirohaka hou – a new approach
Aohia kā purapura a rātou mā,
kia tūperepere ki waeka

Clutch the seeds of the elders
So that the garden may be fruitful

Introduction

In 2015, the Kāi Tahu language strategy, Kotahi Mano Wawata, entered into its 15th year. The strategy was three years in the making from its conception in 1997 as a vision for our tribal language aspirations, to the planning around promoting it as a valuable and viable ideal to commit to, through to it being accepted by the Tribal Council, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. In 2000, the 25 year language strategy was launched. The guiding *whakataukī*, as presented in Chapter four, was *Kotahi Mano Kāika, Kotahi Mano Wawata; a thousand homes, a thousand dreams*. And so the dreaming began.

The KMK strategy has been reviewed on a five yearly basis since that point and the journey has taken many paths and turns. These reviews have provided the KMK committee time to momentarily rest and reflect on the path travelled, to assess the toils of the work whilst also considering opportunities lost and aspirations not achieved. At each one of these junctures we have been able to reassess the route in front of us and where necessary, realign the new Global Positioning System (GPS), to guide the next leg of the journey in order to secure the best chance of meeting the outcomes desired. As we enter its 15th year, it is hard to ignore the challenge that still lies ahead if we are to achieve the goal of 1000 Kāi Tahu homes speaking *te reo Māori*, and that is before we start to consider the question of *te reo o* Kāi Tahu reflected in our southern dialect.

At this stage it is necessary to identify how far we have come on our journey to this point. How many Kāi Tahu homes are speaking *te reo Māori* in 2015? This question exists as a challenge because at this point in time, we still do not know. The tribal organisation stopped tracking the number of individuals and families engaged in KMK in 2005, just over four years after the launch of the programme, and we have yet to conduct a comprehensive survey that would enable us to confidently answer that question. This leaves us in a similar predicament to that in which the founding Kāi Tahu language

advisory group found themselves in in 1997 when we gathered to develop an initial strategy and set about conducting our first environmental scan of language use and proficiency in Kāi Tahu. In the absence of reliable statistical information, we were left to make an anecdotal estimate based on those people that we personally knew about and our assessment of their respective levels of proficiency.

This is arguably an arrogant approach, in that we not only established ourselves as the self-appointed assessors of proficiency, but we also can only assess those that we, as a small group, know about. Undoubtedly the result can only ever be seen as one indicator in a wider pool of information. The counter argument, however, that we used to support our position at the time was, if there were other Kāi Tahu speakers 'out there' in our community and we did not know about them, then they were not actively using their language in public and formal tribal or educational language situations. Those people might then be considered to be outside of the pool of Māori language resources that the tribe was desperately seeking and relying on to support our language strategic direction. This is not a justification for the position, but merely an explanation of the context. We did not know what we did not know, so were only in a position where we could analyse what we did know.

In 2015, we were in a minimally better position due to the technological advantages we now have at our disposal and a slightly more reliable and comprehensive approach nationally to surveying language use and proficiency. We are, however, still heavily reliant on the anecdotal evidence provided by people's experiences of what is actually being seen and heard in our communities.

If we were to use the crude measurement of anecdotal experience to measure the progress to date, we could estimate that we have made a positive shift from approximately three to five Kāi Tahu families raising their children in Māori speaking homes in 1997, to around 50 Kāi Tahu families raising their children in *te reo* in 2015. There is also another cohort of Kāi Tahu speakers who either do not have children, or who, although proficient themselves, are not using intergenerational language in their homes.

The growth pattern of Kāi Tahu *reo* Māori homes can be depicted in the diagram below:

Chart 2: Te Whakatutukitaka o KMK – Achieving KMK, the progress to date
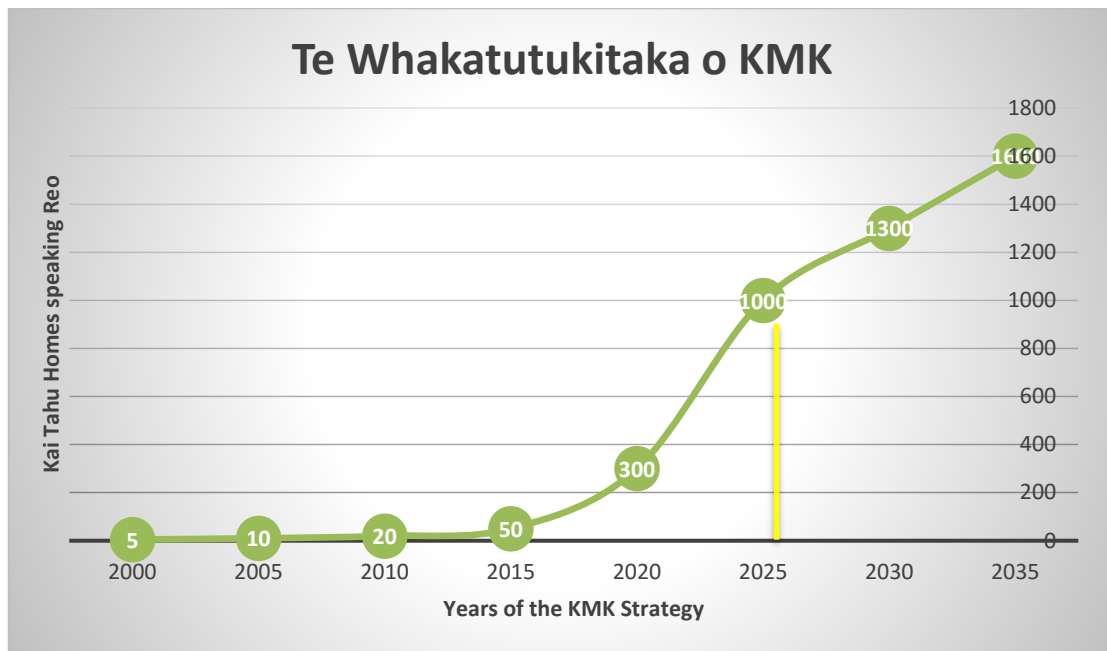
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

This current rate of growth and progress is clearly not sufficient to achieve our 25 year vision of KMK. I acknowledge here that the 25 year goal was based on the notion of a generational shift that needed to occur within the tribe over that period; however, it was still seen as just the beginning. The KMK philosophy was based very much on the commonly used edict that it takes one generation to lose a language and at least three to get it back (Te Ataarangi, 2016:1). It was never envisaged that the entirety of the tribal language aspirations would be achieved in a 25 year period.

The 25-year goal was meant to serve as a milestone that people could personally commit to for themselves and their *whānau*. It was aimed at helping to make the task more achievable as it allowed for tiered language evolution within a family. This approach aimed to take the pressure off the second-language learners who thought they had to become fluent intergenerational language speakers in a very short period of time. There were also benefits, however, of having a specific time goal attached to the tribal language aspirations. It was believed this practice would help to provide focus and an impetus for driving and motivating people to engage in the *kaupapa* and act as a 'call to action'. For these reasons, I believe that the goal of KMK is still an appropriate one, but that a new approach is required in order to achieve it.

Re-focusing the strategy

If we agree that it has taken 15 years to achieve a base of approximately 50 Kāi Tahu homes speaking *te reo*, then the challenge of achieving another 950 homes with just 10 years to go, suggests a re-focus of the strategy and associated initiatives is necessary. With that notion in mind, I propose a new focus for the next 10 years; 'a call to action' to promote the position that we need to 'make the next 10 years count'. In order to do this we need to employ a new approach as there is a commonly known saying with its many variations; that to simply continue to do what we have always done will only give us what we already have.

The new focus for our Kāi Tahu language strategy needs to take into consideration the milestones that have been achieved to date and a number of key external factors that have influenced the language revitalisation space locally and internationally. This focus then allows an assessment of the current position and a 'repositioning' of activities for the remaining 10 years of the strategy. I am not suggesting supporting the position that the strategy will or should come to an end at the arrival of the 25 year anniversary. The 25 goal is instead, the platform from which the future of *te reo* in Kāi Tahu can be launched from.

The new approach must be centred on achieving very definite outcomes in a tightly defined period and those outcomes need to be consistent and aligned to the longer-term outcomes for the language that the tribe wants to achieve.

Making the next ten years of the KMK strategy count

It is understandably a difficult suggestion to move one's mind from the position of a perceived 'impossible or unachievable task' when it is known, that those engaged in the effort, have been working tirelessly to advance it over that 15 year period and have still only achieved limited success. That is exactly why a new approach is needed, not only to re-invigorate the language paratroopers of the tribe, but to do so by coming up with new ideas that may bring with them a sense of new hope. The strategy needs to re-sell the vision and provide real, visible pathways by which it can be achieved.

We must be cognisant of the *taniwha* (monster) of time, but perhaps now take a different angle in terms of how we choose to see the *taniwha*. In the Māori belief system, whilst

taniwha can be considered at times terrifying, dangerous and powerful, they also hold the role of the protector and guardian who at times may defend the tribe from enemies or beings that do not have the right to be there. At times the role of the *taniwha* is to remind people of their responsibilities and obligations in terms of custom, belief and cultural practices. For example; to show proper gratitude when utilising the resources or to do a prayer before embarking on a fishing trip or showing appropriate reverence in sacred places. If I was to assume the role of *taniwha* in this regard, I would let out the rallying call of action to 'make the next 10 years count'. We need to consciously and wisely use every moment we have at our disposal. We must systematically lay out the road map before us that will ensure the achievement of the objectives in the stated time, and be prepared to be flexible and adaptable if the route needs to change without compromising the end goal.

In order to achieve this deliberate change of focus and way of looking at the KMK strategy in the context of the time pressures, it is possible to return to a *whakapapa* framework to approach the challenge that is housed in and derived from a Māori worldview. Locating the challenge in a Māori conceptual framework helps establish the *whakapapa* to the thought or idea and bring validity to its position. The process I often use to do this involves a consideration of the key messages relevant to the topic, and then to think about the images or metaphor in the Māori language that might best help me visualise that thought or idea. The use of *whakataukī* and phrases within the Māori world helps me to create a picture in my mind where I can visualise the transition from *thought* to *form*.

Even when using *kupu whakarite* or simile where the concept is likened to something else, it helps to conceive of it as something tangible that makes sense, that can be understood and importantly, easily explained in a way where others can also see the picture and its connection. The aim therefore, is to find an appropriate metaphor that can inspire others to visualise the goal and believe in the journey. This is what people often refer to as 'Māori thinking' as opposed to simply speaking the language. Māori draw on imagery significantly in our formal oratory to present ideas and explain the world and its inter-relationships. This is perhaps the legacy of an oral culture. Even though I am writing here in English, I continue to feel drawn to *whakataukī*, and *kupu whakarite* to clothe the concept of thinking I am discussing, as if in an attempt to provide the thought with an

authentic base from a Māori perspective. By engaging in this process, I am providing a *whakapapa* of narrative to the idea being espoused.

One example of this approach has been the reference to the history of the *Taua Nui* (big war party) and *Taua Iti* (little war party) to explain the history of the Ngāi Tahu language effort in the times since our tribal language revitalisation initiatives started. Another example is the references to the movement of tides and tidal calamities to describe the pressures and challenges facing language revitalisationists, or indeed the concept of the *taniwha* to describe the pressures of time of revitalisation efforts.

I felt a similar need to locate the next phase of the KMK Strategy in a Māori worldview and to explore potential *whakataukī* that might epitomise the vision and support the 'call to action'. Immediately I was struck by the Kāi Tahu word for 10, *kahuru*. We use *kahuru* for name of our tenth month on the Kāi Tahu calendar, commonly known as February. It is also the common name for Autumn, although in the north the *'ng'* variation; *Ngahuru* is used. The Kāi Tahu name for March, *Kahuru Kai Paeka* which is translated as the season where food is stacked on the pantry shelves, is a time of plenty before winter comes. This month is then followed by *Kai te Haere* or April, which literally translates as 'we're off / on the move' and is when the migrations to the Tītī Islands for food harvesting took place.

I was able to draw a connection with the word *kahuru* for 10 and those Kai Tahu months whose names gave indications about expectations of the work to be carried out in those times, and the review of the timeline of the KMK strategy. These themes seemed to all come together when I thought about a *whakataukī* I had been using in one of my language programmes when we were discussing the numerous *tikaka* or customs associated with food,

> **Kahuru kai ruka, kahuru kai raro**
> There are 10 above and 10 below

Whilst the words in this *whakataukī* are very simple and might not appear to have great depth with such a basic translation, the layers of understanding were considerably deeper and broader in their application. In *Ngā Pepeha a Ngā Tīpuna*, by Mead and Grove (2001)

there are two alternative interpretations given for the *whakataukī*, noting that it was recorded in the northern *'ng´* form in the book. The first applies to teeth and is about the need to use the teeth to process food. *10 above and 10 below* thus referring to the top teeth and the bottom teeth (Mead & Grove, 2001:322-323).

I had been using this *whakataukī* with my students in the context of someone having the tools to do the job and needing to use them, instead of complaining or coming up with excuses for not doing it. At the *wānaka* previously mentioned, we were discussing the *tikaka* around food and the *whakataukī* was given as an example to use with children if they turned their noses up to food, saying that they did not like it or want it. The proposed reply then being from the parent, 'you have 10 above and 10 below so use them, never mind about whether or not you like it or want it!'.

This view resonated with the struggles the language team had been experiencing with those tribal members who would seem to constantly find excuses for not being able to learn, commit to, or transmit the *reo* to their children. No matter the occasion, there seemed to always be another reason for non-engagement or prioritisation that would see the language relegated to the end of their priorities.

For the past 15 years, since the launch of the KMK strategy, there have been many common reasons that this group of non-engagers have given, including:

- We did not have the opportunities to learn when we were young;
- My parents did not teach me the language;
- We have no classes available where I live;
- I don't have time to go and learn;
- There aren't enough resources available;
- I'm waiting until my life settles down a bit and I can properly commit.

Much like a child who is refusing to eat the food or saying they do not like meat or vegetables or the kind of salad dressing in front of them, they are focused on excuses for not doing what they are meant to be doing and that is eating. This case is also true of others making choices about what they want to engage in or otherwise in a language

learning context. In this situation they excuse themselves for not participating because the 'plate' before them is not exactly what they would like to order. If they are truly hungry, and have a desire for the language and want that language to be healthy, they will take what is on offer, no matter the reaction of the taste buds or particular preferences.

The reality is not that the resources or opportunities do not exist or are not available, but that people are choosing not to use what is available. It is correct to say that over 10 years ago the level of resources and opportunities available to learn *te reo* were limited, however, that argument is no longer relevant to the current context. We now have the 'teeth' or the 'tools' available to us and what is more, they often come with full dental treatment and orthodontic support services and resources.

Since the age of rapid digital expansion and accessibility to both internet and resource production, there has been a proliferation of resource development and learning pathways created. While there might not be the whole range of services and access opportunities desired in a given locality, or to return to the *kahuru* analogy, there might not be the food you want on your plate, there are other avenues now available. There is still food that can fulfil the function of providing the required sustenance for your body to grow and your language to be alive.

The other interpretation provided by Mead and Grove (2001) in *Ngā Pepehā a ngā Tīpuna* for *kahuru kai ruka, kahuru kai raro*, refers to the season of Kahuru or *Ngahuru* and the symbols it represents. Here the *whakataukī* speaks about the time that *Kahuru* or the months around February and March are in the sky; it is also the time of *Kahuru* on the land, when the store houses must be stacked. The symbol of *Kahuru* in the sky therefore acts as a reminder to do the work required on land at the right time. To return once more to our KMK language strategy – the time to do the work required is now.

The *Kahuru kai ruka* or *Kahuru* in the sky, pertains to the previous 10 years where so many new paths and opportunities have been forged around the world that have helped to simplify the task of language acquisition, none greater than the growth in digital technology and proliferation of easily accessible pool of resources. The advancements in technology over the past 15 years have often been the catalyst for incredible transformative change in very short periods. Many of the devices we are now able to

readily access, were often not considered possible by the lay person 10 years earlier. The rate of change in the technology world means we are now often able to access sophisticated technology in a matter of years, sometimes even months after they have been invented.

I am sure there is an element within our society and language communities who might use this information as a justification to not be too concerned about immediate language acquisition, but instead wait for the technology that will make the currently very difficult task of learning a second language, a lot easier. I have heard people talk excitedly about the need of something akin to the technology exhibited in the movie, *The Matrix*, where information and knowledge is transferred directly into a person's brain by uploading it digitally through a computer that is plugged into their body. Whilst it would be naïve of me, given other advances, to simply be dismissive of the possibility of such advances in the future, I believe it to be equally naïve to think the strategy of holding back and waiting to see 'if it does' happen has any merit. Indeed, knowing what we do know about language loss over the last 200 year period of human history, would suggest emphatically that biding our time is not a responsible or ethical option.

Chart 3: Te Whakatutukitaka o KMK – achieving KMK, access to technology and innovations to support language acquisition
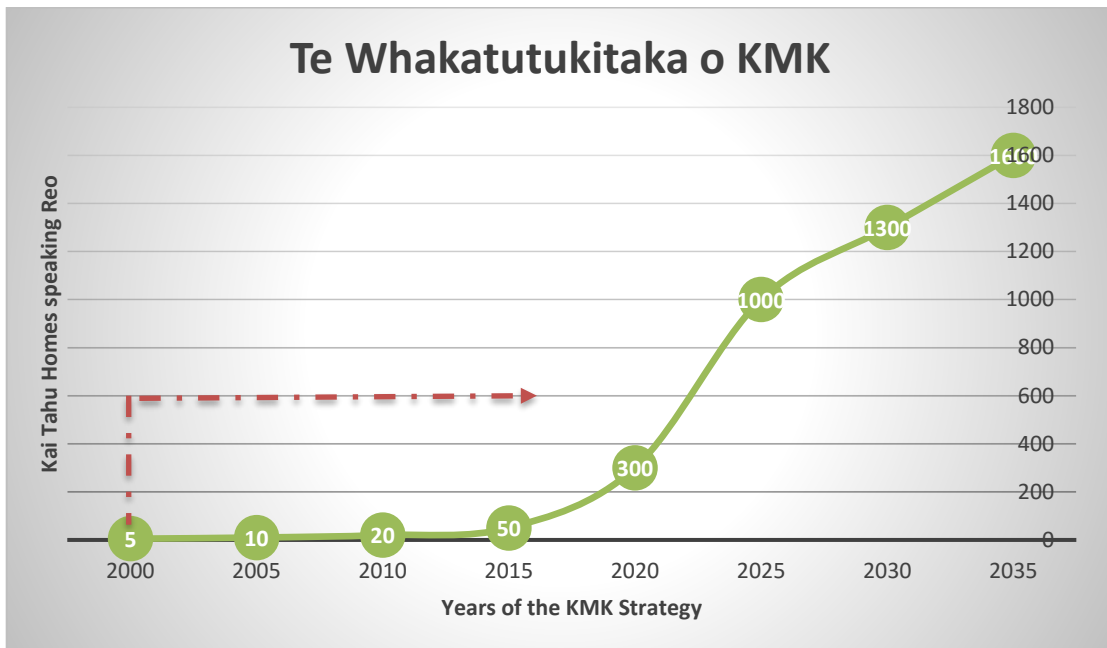
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Key: ▬ · ▬ = The time indicating the significant growth in access to technology and technological innovations to support language acquisition

As can be seen in the image above, the last 10 years (from 2005 – 2015) have been characterised by an overwhelming growth in technological advancements that has completely changed the way we communicate, retrieve and produce information and manage our daily lives. For the purpose of this exercise we will refer to that period as the 'digital age'. When looking at the Kāi Tahu experience to date, it is possible to plot this on a timeline to see the task at hand. When I did this as an exercise, the curve required to hit 1000 homes by 2025 was exponential.

On consideration of this challenge, it occurred to me that the answer to achieving the exponential growth required in the numbers of our Kai Tahu homes speaking *te reo* need not be reliant on any technological advances that the future might or might not bring; that the answer perhaps lies instead in the expediential growth in technology that has already taken place in our recent past and the models and tools that have already been created to support development.

At this point the two applications of the *whakataukī* merged together in my mind, as I started to look at how a statement of fact; having the tools required to accomplish the task, and making sure you do what is required at the right time, could be transformed into an approach to guide current action, thereby supporting a new way of engaging with our language strategy.

To apply this contextual thinking from the *whakataukī* to the language journey during the KMK strategy and the next phase of its journey, I have named the overall process as, *Kahuru Kai Ruka, Kahuru Kai Raro*. The *whakataukī* in its entirety, helps to place context around the journey and identifies some of the key challenges in its realisation regarding historic tribal apathy to language learning and excuses of non-engagement. The 10 years from 2005 – 2015, of rapid technological growth and reinvigorated efforts at minority language maintenance and revival can be named, '*Kahuru kai Ruka'*. This part of the metaphor reflects the work that has already been done insofar as the creation of new tools and models of practice to support language revitalisation initiatives, and the need to use the 'teeth' and the 'timing' available to us to work towards the final goal.

For those not hungry or feeling a need of sustenance of the language, even though it may be presented 'buffet-style' all around them, they are able to join the contingent of *Kāti Takuka* or the Tribe of Excuses, and will be left behind to find their own pathway of cultural fulfilment. Their settlement will remain in the path of the approaching tidal wave of language death.

The next phase of the KMK journey, marking the 15 year review of the strategy and taking us to the 25 year vision (2015-2025) can be named, *'Kahuru Kai Paeka'*, reflecting the fullness of the store house and the full utilisation and application of the tools at our disposal to realise the vision. For those who make the call to come on board with the *kaupapa* of *Kahuru Kai Paeka*, they will eat from the store house and will not be put off by the amount of sweat to fall from the brow that is required in order to accomplish the task. It is my belief that this group will be able to taste the true sweetness of the food they accumulate on their plates.

If we are able to rally the *iwi* to committing to *Kahuru Kai Ruka, Kahuru Kai Raro*, we have a much greater likelihood of being able to give effect to *Kahuru Kai Paeka*, and, if that can be achieved, we would be able to more confidently enter into the phase of *Kai Te*

Haere, whereby literally we would be 'on our way'. *Kahuru Kai Paeka* is a time where all of the teeth we have at our disposal are in full action in order to bring the language back to the homes of the people.

The hope is that we will manage to engage the 1000 home's aspirations within those 10 years and that all of those involved will be able to tell of the times that they forged new paths and took new risks in terms of their language development, in order to reach their destination. At that point they will be able to look back to the *taniwha* as it retreats to its resting place, not to sleep, but to keep guard for us, and those after us, against the elements that might threaten our language again.

Chart 4: Te Whakatutukitaka o KMK – A new approach to the KMK implementation phase
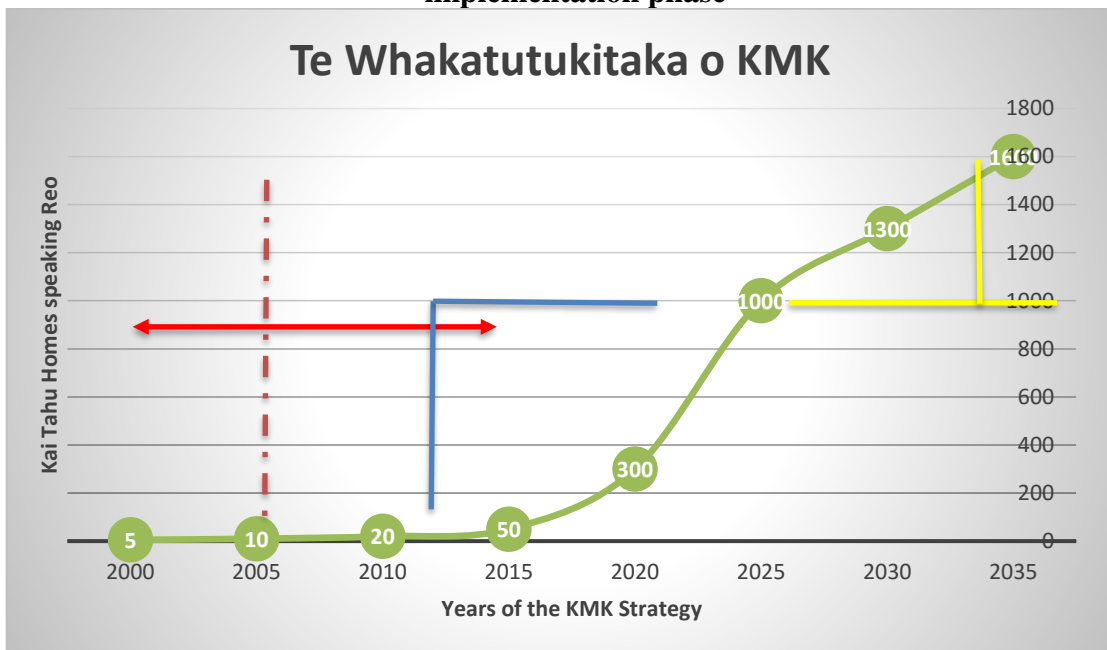
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Key: ⟵⟶   Models and exemplars that have already been created and are in existence

     – · –   The time indicating the significant growth in access to technology and technological innovations to support language acquisition

    ⌐   Kahuru Kai Paeka – 10 years to go

    ⌐   Kai te Haere – On the way

How to realise Kahuru Kai Paeka?

What could possibly be invested in terms of time and thinking that could create such a shift? In order for *Kahuru Kai Paeka* te be achieved, it is essential that we find a new way of strategising our approach to our language vision and use this new approach to re-energise the language effort and help to turn the tide. We would need to entice those who feel positive about the ground that has been made over the last 15 years, and who have been more inclined to take a slower and considered approach, to commit to another level of engagement and way of thinking. The new way of thinking cannot just replicate the old with the hope of a different outcome, but instead, help to challenge assumptions and expectations previously made.

The application of the *Kahuru Kai Paeka* approach and the various initiatives that may flow from it requires a commitment to two guiding principles; the first is the application of a solution-based approach to the assessment of any strategy or idea. That is, when presented with a possible initiative, you cannot dismiss it or place it in the 'too hard basket' if you at all believe the possibility that it may contribute to the desired result. Rather than immediately allow one's attentions to be drawn to the obstacles and the reasons why the idea may not work, you must instead turn your attentions to problem solving the challenges that might be presented in its implementation.

Once the potential benefit to achieving the desired outcome has been established, the second principal can then be applied; use the 'wheel already invented'. This means you need to assess whether there is another model that already exists, either in the language revitalisation space or beyond it, that may be able to be applied or adapted to suit the initiative?

Figure 27: A staged approach to assessing language revitalisation interventions

Applying the second principle

Applying the first principle

Identify the goal and the challenges that might impact upon it

Think of a potential intervention or stratey that might help achieve the goal

Ask the question - is there another model that has already been developed that could be adapted / used to deliver on the outcome?

If the answer is yes - then commit to the outcome by identifying mutliple pathways by which it could be achieved

Step 1   Step 2   Step 3   Step 4

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

This approach is not new in itself. It is simply a way of encouraging a position that does not allow for the distraction from the goal by negative reactions or feelings. Negative

reactions can take many forms, for example; suggestions that the goal is unachievable, that the political governance will never 'buy it' or that it costs too much money and so on. This approach instead, takes a strategic optimistic view that multiple paths may be able to be followed in order to arrive at the same destination. One just needs the belief that it is possible to get there.

It employs creativity to navigate the terrain of difficulty instead of conceding defeat when a dead-end is reached. It demands the driver seek alternative routes or find an appropriate route if obstacles are met. By repositioning the GPS to help navigate the new route, and being ever mindful of the time required to arrive at the destination, the navigator is supported to think creatively and innovatively to achieve the goal, thereby taking risks and trialling new things that might not have otherwise been explored.

This approach also allows the team engaged in the process to consider options without the initial constraint of limitations so often experienced in minority language revitalisation efforts; money, resources, speakers, apathy of the masses and time, to name a few. Instead, it feeds the task with a required degree of adrenalin and passion that comes with the realm of possibility, to achieve what might otherwise be believed impossible, and to do so in record time.

For the application of the second principle to be successful, it is necessary to think as widely as possible about what other models may exist. This approach can be likened to the process of identifying potential *whakataukī* or metaphors to help visualise an idea, explained earlier in this chapter. Instead of an image to house the concept, the attention now is turned to a known activity or programme that exists and what its purpose is or what it achieves. A stepped approach to assist the brainstorming process of potential models can also be applied here,

Figure 28: Finding the wheel that has already been invented
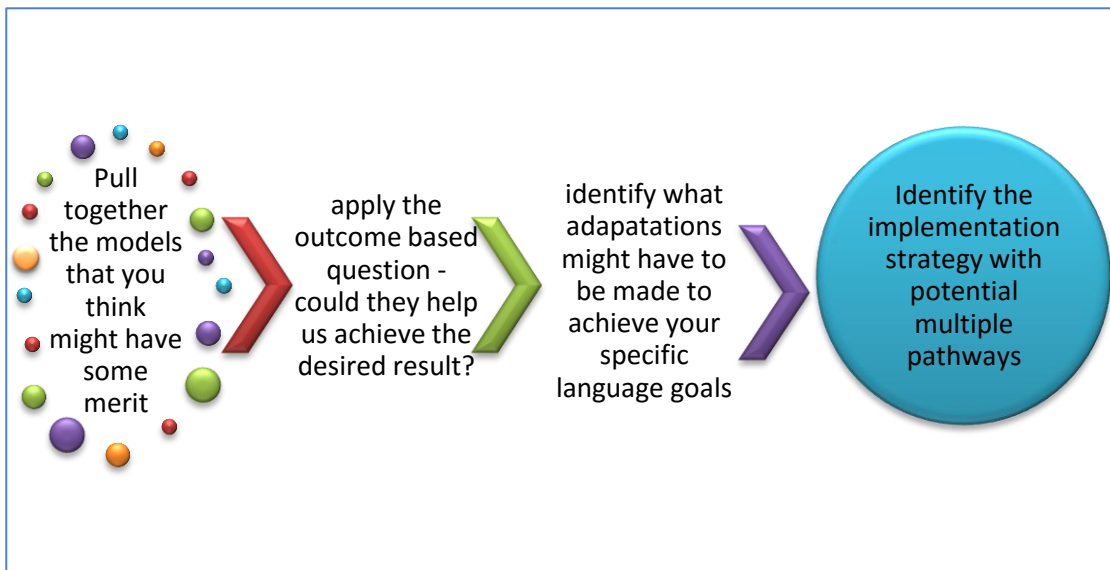
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

So let us apply this process to some of the specific Kāi Tahu language revitalisation challenges that we are currently facing. The first step is to identify the scope of the question; that is, what is the issue or question we are seeking to address.

Step 1: Identify the goal and the challenges that might impact upon it

For the purpose of this exercise the first goal will be; 'achieving a level of breadth and depth of capacity and resources committed to the Kāi Tahu language revitalisation effort to support the realisation of KMK'.

Now that the goal is established, it is necessary to identify the second part of the question; what are the challenges that might impact upon it? No matter the language of focus, Indigenous and minority language revitalisation advocates and drivers everywhere are faced with similar challenges where only a small group of people remain committed and dedicated to the task of language revival. It is possible to suggest five broad questions to help identify potential challenges,

Figure 29: Five questions to help identify challenges influencing the current language context

- Q. 1 • What are the challenges that might need to be overcome to achieve the desired goal?
- Q. 2 • What are the domains that we consider a priority for te reo o Kāi Tahu? How and where do we want the language to be used?
- Q. 3 • What is our current capacity across those domains?
- Q. 4 • Where are the gaps; the difference between current capacity and desired goal?
- Q. 5 • What are the potential paths that might be pursued to implement the initiative and achieve the strategy?
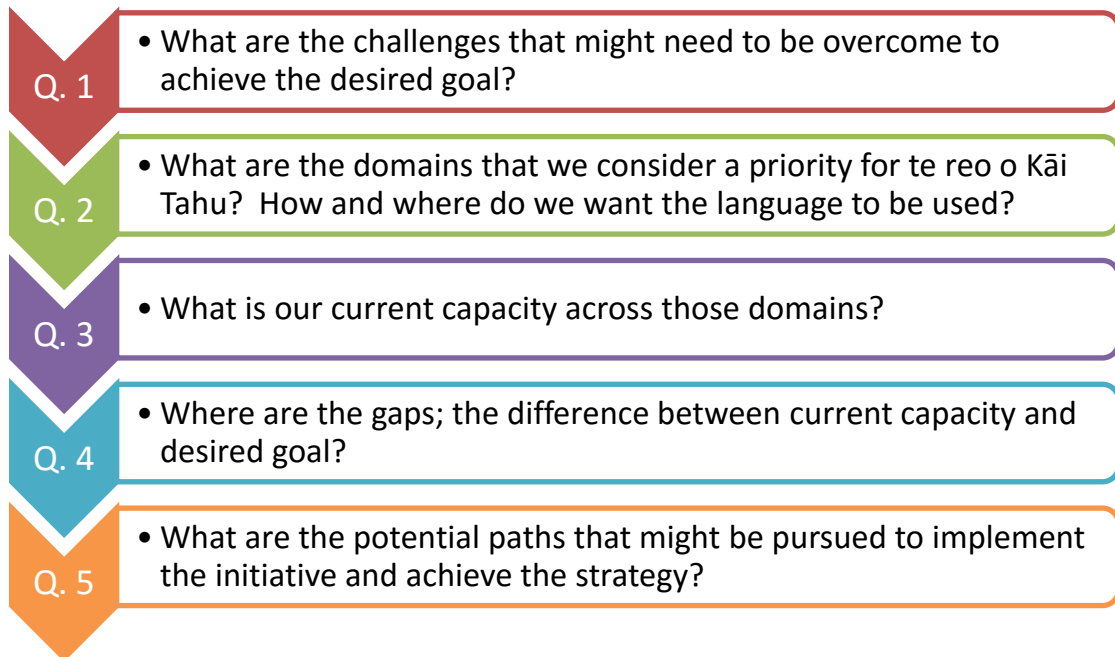
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Using the questions above as a guide, I will now look to identify challenges that may exist within the Kāi Tahu context that may impact upon the achievement of the goal.

The first challenge: Rallying the masses - the establishment of a Taua nui

If we are to consider the time at the birth of the KMK Strategy, we may use an analogy for the language of a tide that had long receded leaving a parched ground in its absence. There were still remnants of its existence that reminded people that it used to cover the ground; place names, family names and the odd word had remained culturally persistent in families and communities. However for most, its presence was not a feature of their everyday or even occasional experience and something that they instead could only see away off in the distance.

With the birth of the Kāi Tahu language revitalisation efforts, the tide started to turn and slowly move closer towards the shore. The first 10 years of KMK were concerned with trying to establish the momentum, to move people in the direction of the *kaupapa* and support the current of the incoming tide. At that point the waters were no longer a distant view, but could be felt by those venturing to the coast. The parched ground became

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increasingly moist as more and more people started to learn the language and a small group made the extra commitment to start Māori language-speaking families.

At the 15 year mark, the tide moves closer still. We now have a core group who are driving language acquisition and opportunities in many parts of our tribal territory. We have a number of children who have now been raised with *te reo* as their first language and who have been accessing for the last 10 years resources in their dialect that impart key tribal knowledge, songs and traditions. We have, for the first time in a number of generations, an ability in a small number of *whānau*, to witness intergenerational transmission of the language on a daily basis across three generations of speakers. The level of proficiency of our second language speakers has also improved dramatically with approximately 20 of our tribal members having graduated from Te Panekiretanga o te Reo.

The waters in which we now stand are still shallow, and are nowhere near the depth of those that flowed in the times prior to large scale tribal language loss. But they are now at least able to be felt, and seen by more people. They are tangible waters which help to reassure those committed to the tidal change and give hope to those participating in the *kaupapa*. What is more, they are still on the move in the right direction. For KMK to be realised, we need the tide to be strong, crashing upon the shores; *e aropapaki ana ki uta.*

The wave that carries it forward needs to represent a continuity of commitment from succeeding generations, wave after wave, taking the language and the tide further and further, beyond the point at which the tide may be considered vulnerable and turn again ebbing to a point beyond sight. What is required to drive that tide is people!

After 15 years, we have rallied together our *Taua Iti* – our small war party. I use the name *Taua Iti* as it tells another story in Kāi Tahu *whakapapa.* The Taua Iti connects to the history of Kāi Tahu and the time that the *iwi* attempted to expel the enemy tribe of Ngāti Toa and their allies from our tribal *rohe* after having suffered a number of attacks that decimated our tribal communities and population in the 1820s and 1830s. Under customary Māori land law, one's rights to land could only be secured if you were able to claim or reclaim a land and occupy it continuously for three generations. The right

of occupancy under Māori land law is called *ahi kā roa* and translates as the 'long burning fires'. Even if land was taken in conquest or under *raupatu*, the invaders needed to show they were able to subsequently hold the region captured for three generations of occupation in order for that land to be deemed theirs, or to have the *rakatirataka* (sovereignty) over it.

After the Kāi Tahu – Kāti Toa wars, a *taua* was gathered together to expel the invaders from the Kāi Tahu *rohe* before their occupation could become permanent. The name of the first *taua* was the *Taua Iti* or small war party, which referred to its size. Whilst the battle was partially successful in pushing Ngāti Toa beyond the northern tribal boundary, on return to the southern part of the *rohe*, a bigger war party consisting of multiple canoes was launched in order to secure the northern boundary and was named the *Taua Nui* or 'big war party'.

To use this historical narrative as an analogy of the language journey of Kāi Tahu over the last period of language loss and reclamation, the battles or *pakaka*, known as *Te Niho Makā* – The barracuda tooth, had the same effect on the tribe as the attack on *te reo* of the people by the Crown and the English language. The tribe was decimated, broken up, left without home and resources with thousands of fatalities and casualties of the wars inflicting huge pain and loss for a long period of time. The vulnerable state in which the tribe was left meant it was also not in a strong state to fight the other battles that followed, including European Settlement, the theft of land and resources and the subsequent dislocation and impoverishment of the communities.

The *Taua iti* was made up of those warriors who had the strength and vision to not accept defeat and submit to the greater might and pressure of the attackers, but instead to mount a counter-attack and reclaim what was theirs. The *Taua Iti* in the language story, are our small band of language advocates and committed teachers, researchers and families of KMK. This small band have chosen to fight against the pull of the receding tide and not only stop its further decline, but to turn it around to reclaim the land lost.

The first challenge then, in order that the tribal territory be secured, is to establish a *Taua Nui* for the language. What is more, like the concept of *ahi kā roa*, the occupation of the area, or in this case, the use and enrichment of the language, needs to remain

continuous for three generations for us to be at a point where we can say, the territory has been retained. We have *rakatirataka* over the *rohe* of Kāi Tahu and we have *rakatirataka* over the language of Kāi Tahu.

The *Taua Nui* of this generation needs to be the majority of the tribe who have not yet committed to the cause and who remain largely apathetic to the plight of our language. Perhaps they think the *Taua Iti* can secure the boundaries by themselves. Perhaps they do not see the risk of not maintaining the boundaries and believe their *rakatirataka* is not at stake. Or perhaps they do not see the value of that *rakatirataka* or the value of their *reo*, and are prepared to let it be subsumed by the invading people or the English Language?

The challenge for the *Taua Iti* is to find the incentives, the right messages or the right motivational factors to influence the majority of tribal members to join the *Taua Nui* and be the bigger force that lights our home fires and keeps them burning.

The second challenge: A Race Against Time
As has been mentioned previously in this thesis, this enormity of the challenge is compounded by the pressure of time. For endangered languages and dialects all over the world, time is not on our side. To draw upon another Māori analogy to describe the context of the challenge, we may liken the challenge of time to a *taniwha* or monster.

For Indigenous people of minority languages across the world who are committed to sustaining or revitalising their languages as spoken languages in their homes and communities, there may be no more immediate and frightening monster than that of *Time.* So why might *Time* itself be demonized in such a way as a *taniwha*? It may best be described thus; like a *taniwha,* time is slippery and can slip through your grasp if you fail to be alert. It may be small in size and, therefore, may evade your sight when you are in search of it and when it might be right in front of you. You may also find yourself turning away for a slight moment when distracted by other events in your life and in a flash - you find it has disappeared!

The *Taniwha* of *Time* is actively sought after by a multiplicity of needs and demands and, what is more, at risk of being stolen by others, at which point you may find yourself left scratching the proverbial head, wondering where it has gone.

For Indigenous people of minority languages, the pressure of time is exacerbated by the smothering impact of majority or dominating languages that colonise the traditional domains of their languages like a tidal wave. In these contexts, the *taniwha* takes the role of that of the enemy to language revitalisationists. They are able to clearly see the approaching menacing wave, but despite their screams as they try to raise the attention of the imminent disaster to their people, they remain deaf to their cries. Instead they carry on their daily activities, blind to the carnage about to descend upon them. It is not until the shadow of the killer-wave is right upon them that they finally see it and then the terror sets in. It is then that they understand, however, that the *time* for action has already passed.

It is often the case that not all of the people are blinded. There may be those who were aware of the dangers for some time as they felt the tidal-pull of the tide as it was receding, fully aware of the tsunami signs of receding tides. They may have also fought strongly against the pull of the current with all their might and sought safer land for them and those close to them – but even for those people, the *Taua Iti* of endangered languages who may stave off the killer waves, the *taniwha* of time remains a constant threat.

One of the key challenges of time, is the rate at which the speaking community can reproduce itself in the face of language loss and domination. It is not un-common to hear of examples world-wide, of the slow rate of growth in language speakers, both second language speakers and new generation-native speakers in comparison to the growth of the non-language speaking community. Although successful initiatives might result in an increasing *number* of speakers of the language within a community, it is commonly seen that proportionately the growth rate of the community non-engaged is more often than not higher, thereby resulting in a still widening gap, as illustrated in the graph below,

Figure 30: The disproportionate rate of growth of language and non-language speaking populations

Disproportionate rate of growth
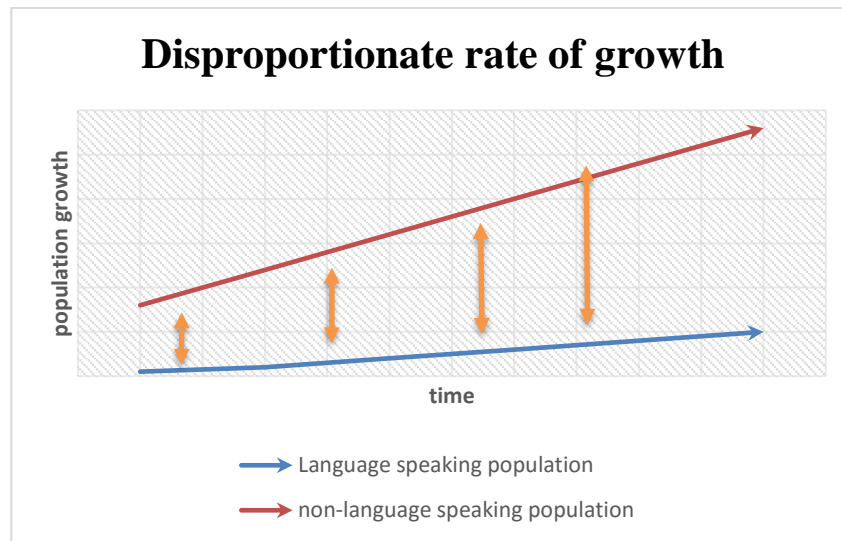
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Why is this an issue? One may argue that the language of the majority should not influence or interfere with the language revitalisation efforts of the smaller group, and the focus instead, needs to be on steadily increasing the number of speakers and drivers of that language to achieve a sustainable number of language speakers, rather than a comparative analysis of the proportional growth of non-speaking population. The success of a programme or strategy may therefore, simply be assessed by the growth of pure numbers of speakers, irrespective of the wider non-speaking population.

The conflicting reality to that proposition however, faced by many communities and, in this situation, Kāi Tahu, is being able to secure support and funding as a minority group even within your ethnic collective and kin, against the demands of the growing majority and their desires for support, funding and attention. Tribal political structures and representatives find themselves having to justify an investment and focus on the few rather than the masses, and this dynamic rarely finds sustainable favour from any political or governing body, let alone one that may be elected by the masses.

Indeed, if the majority do not see the value in the revitalisation and development of their heritage language, the minority group that do see themselves pitted against an ever-enlarging adversary. The minority are often left having to invest more energy and time

into fighting to justify the validity and necessity of their cause and the corresponding ever-decreasing financial investment, rather than the precious time required to invest into the implementation of the strategy itself. The *taniwha* of time then takes another form; it is precious, rare and powerful and sought after passionately by those desperate to keep their language alive.

The third challenge: Achieving language breadth

The disproportionate rate of population growth of speakers and non-speakers in a community is not the only pressure associated with 'time'. There are a multiplicity of elements in the race against time in the world of language revitalisation:

- Loss of elderly native speakers and the associated loss of distinctive dialects or language elements;
- Loss of language particular to specific domains as cultural practices diminish or access to traditional lands and resources are lost or diminished;
- The encroachment of a majority or dominant language into traditionally heritage language domains;
- Ability of the heritage language to keep up with or cater for technological developments and new language requirements associated with modern education.

The question then presents itself to those engaged in minority heritage language transmission, is how to combat the pressures of time and achieve language growth within a wider cohort of your community, whilst simultaneously developing a level of breadth and depth to that language you are reviving? Put simply, how can a few, even if they are the most dedicated and passionate language learners and teachers, achieve a sufficient breadth and depth of language knowledge and capacity? This is certainly the challenge currently facing Kāi Tahu.

Although the last 15 years have seen an increase in the core group of active Kāi Tahu language teachers working in our tribal initiatives, we remain still very light on the ground, varying between approximately 25 and 35 community teachers and active language advocates in the Kāi Tahu *rohe*. This is an increase from an estimated eight in 1992 at the birth of the Kai Tahu language revitalisation effort. It is important to note

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here, that the overall proficiency levels of the majority of those teachers have increased dramatically as they have also been simultaneously engaged in their own language proficiency development, me included. If we are to look at those who are advancing the development of *te mita o Kāi Tahu*, however, the numbers drop dramatically, with less than a handful of teachers and advocates actively using and teaching the breadth of the dialect in their everyday speech and teaching.

The small platoon of language and dialect teachers and advocates are often left to cover the entire range of language acquisition provision. For the purposes of this research and to emphasise the challenge inherent within this task, I have clustered the 'breadth' of language provision described into four dominant categories of demand, each with their own clusters of both unique and common domains within them,

Figure 31: Four macro language domains
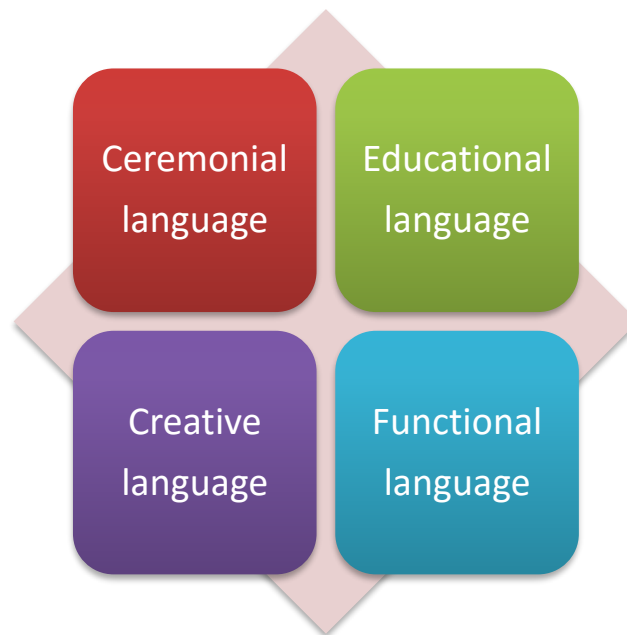
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Functional language is a used to describe that language used to perform specific functions and extends across domains, for example; language for home, bed time, sports and different examples of intergenerational transmission. Ceremonial language relates to the kinds of language used in rituals and customs including; *whaikōrero*, *karaka* and *karakia.* Educational language is used to describe instructional language and can include subject specific language like that used for science, math, history or art.

For those with a higher proficiency in *te reo*, the challenge of navigating these language spheres is a daily reality. It is not unusual for our language leaders to have to move from composing a new *waiata* using their highest ability of poetic language (creative sphere), to running workshops on teaching *te reo* for second-language community mentees (educational sphere), to teaching the art of *karaka* or *whaikōrero* (ceremonial sphere), to running language classes for absolute beginners and reverting to basic pronunciation (functional sphere). These domains may be traversed out of necessity in a week or even perhaps a 24 hour period.

The demands of the speaker to navigate the realms of creative, functional, educational and ceremonial language in short periods of time with often very diverse learners and in diverse contexts, becomes the language reality of the *Taua Iti* - the small band of committed language teachers and exponents. The opportunity, therefore, for these language teachers, to find the time and opportunity to develop their own level of proficiency and stretch their own linguistic boundaries, or research further into the aspects of the dialect of cultural history, is often very limited. The result is often the 'skimming' across the linguistic surface of the language and the very real risk of burn out for the individuals involved, many of whom also have full time employment in non-language areas.

The weight of this task is not, however, merely limited to the capacity of the language teacher or leader at any given time across those language spheres and domains; it is once again significantly challenged by the 'time' that these people have to invest in the activities. Under the current tribal delivery and engagement model, a small handful of teachers might be asked to provide a wide range of activities. There may be a number of weekend language programmes for basic language learners over a year, two weeks of immersion programmes for advanced learners and a few mentor/mentee community teacher training weekends, alongside the tasks of translations, creative composition and resource writing and production.

As mentioned earlier, these responsibilities are also usually in addition to any of their own village and community initiatives that they may be supporting and their own family and work commitments. Within this context of being resource and time poor when driving the wider tribal language strategic initiatives, the challenge in terms of *people power* to

then commit to the added extra focus on Kāi Tahu dialect research and development is indeed multiplied.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 4, the tribal investment into the dialect research has been ad-hoc at best, and heavily reliant on the work of an individual, Tahu Pōtiki, who first initiated the structured tribal revitalisation initiatives in 1992. Pōtiki himself has not been in a position to fully commit to the dialect research for sustained periods, and therefore progress has been slow in the creation of a Kāi Tahu dictionary and other resources that could support other language learners who wish to specialise in the Kāi Tahu dialect. The pressure for an individual to carry the weight of the language, given the sheer amount of time and effort required to do justice to the task, is enormous.

The fourth challenge: the issue of cultural and linguistic validation
There have also been a small handful of individuals who have contributed to some discourse on the dialect who have engaged in dialect research as part of their academic programmes within the tertiary academic institutions, as both students and staff. However, in the absence of a body that has been authorised by the tribe to validate and support the findings of these researchers, much of the material has remained unused and out of reach of the tribal language learning community. This dynamic is often exacerbated by the practice of capturing and controlling knowledge and resources within Western academic institutions and a reluctance to make it freely and easily accessible to the general public.

There have been a number of cases in the Kāi Tahu experience of the last 30 years where people purporting to be the holders of authentic dialect-linguistic and cultural knowledge have engaged in the widespread transmission of their knowledge, even when challenged by other speakers and cultural knowledge holders. It is unfortunate that, at a time where people are so vulnerable in terms of their hunger for their language and culture, some people choose to be opportunistic and make the most of the limited knowledge of others for their own gain. This can be a double blow for the language learner if they do eventually find out that the traditional knowledge they have been fed has no or little traditional standing. This can in effect, be another blow for language and cultural loss. The other danger of course, is that they remain ignorant about the validity of the knowledge and become the advocates of it, passing it on to the next generation.

Unfortunately for Kāi Tahu, there are so few who are at a level to contest and challenge charlatans working in the language domain, even though their numbers are small, their reach is large, and this will present further challenges of time and for those driving the KMK strategy in the future. It is a disappointing situation to say the least. Not only does it mean that the students of the charlatans who were potential language recruits to the *Taua Nui* will not be able to be used as teachers and mentors themselves, it also means that further precious time and energy must be consumed in the task of responding to and counteracting the dubious information relating to the dialect.

In Kāi Tahu's case, the tribe has recently established a body to provide context and approval of cultural and historical material of Kāi Tahu under the leadership of Tā Tipene O'Regan. The group named 'Te Pae Kōrako', was formed in 2014 and was made up of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu representatives and others who were considered tribal cultural experts. Under that structure another group, 'Te Pae Kahika', was constituted from selected academics, researchers and cultural experts who were commissioned with the task of analysing and researching any of the material and questions identified by Te Pae Kōrako, for their consideration. The *te reo Māori* capacity on that group is again limited with the author being the only current proficient language speaker, and therefore, limited in terms of the time constraints in the context of the other tribal language commitments.

In summary, an initial analysis of the current challenges that are going to need to be overcome to achieve the breadth and depth of capacity and resources include:

1. the need to engage the masses and establish the *Taua Nui;*
2. the race against 'time';
3. achieving language breadth across multiple domains with small numbers of language experts and drivers; and
4. the issue of cultural and linguistic validation.

Step 2: Think of potential interventions to achieve the goal
So let us look at how we might use a solution-based approach to respond to these challenges by first focusing on the kind of language we want our speakers to have in order to achieve the language breadth and depth desired. What are the domains we want to be able to utilise *te reo* in? Where do we want *te reo* to be heard and used in the wider

domain of the *whānau* and, what is our capacity to deliver appropriate programmes and initiatives to support that goal?

For the purposes of this research, I have identified below what I believe to be the significant language spheres that require capacity and associated resources to achieve a sustainable, healthy and meaningful language base for our *iwi*.

Figure 32: Significant language spheres that require capacity and associated resources

Karakia - prayers Practical prayers for the family covering rituals and everyday situations	**Waiata - songs** traditional songs across multiple genres; songs from the different regions and marae	**He reo tuku iho - Intergenrational language** common language for interacion with babies and young children
Te Reo o kā taiohi - Language for teenagers including key sayings and expressions both traditional and modern compositions	**Kupu Kāi Tahu - Kāi Tahu words** unique Kāi Tahu words and phrases	**Kā rereka kōrero Kāi Tahu - Kāi Tahu grammatical structures** exhibited in traditional texts
Pakiwaitara / Pūrākau - traditonal narratives Kāi Tahu traditional stories and histories	**Karaka -ceremonial calls** Examples of traditional and current language for the ritual of Karaka or ceremonial calling	**Whaikōrero -ceremonial speeches** Examples of traditional and current language for the ritual of Whaikōrero or ceremonial speaking
Kīwaha me kā whakataukī - Traditional and modern colloquialisms and proverbs	**Te reo o te kāuta -Language of the kitchen** food preparation and informal language within the home	**Te reo para tamariki -** Language for sport and kids games
Te reo o te taiao Language for the wilderness / natural world	**Mahika Kai** Traditional food gathering practices and the associated language	**Wāhi taoka** Pounamu harvesting and processing and associated language
Mahi Toi - Artworks Traditional and modern Māori arts (weaving, carving, performance etc) and associated language	**Mātauraka - Education** Educational language associated within curriculum / discipline areas	**Whakapapa -geneaology** Language associated with genealogical traditions and histories
Hakarau - Technology Language for the technological domains (internet, computers, technology	**Te Ao Hauora - the health domain** Language associated with health, rokoā and wellbeing	

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

If these spheres are a true reflection of the areas of capacity required to achieve the Kāi Tahu language strategy, then the challenge of creating necessary depth and breadth of knowledge in each of these respective domains is evident when one considers:

1. the issue of 'time' – to achieve as much as possible as soon as possible; and
2. The small numbers of language experts and drivers that are required to support all of the areas in Figure 32.

For the moment we will look at the challenge of ensuring cultural and linguistic validation for a later analysis. An ideal strategy needs to look at maximising the productivity of a limited resource whilst ensuring efficiency in terms of time invested to achieve the outcome. In order to do this effectively, we would first need to properly scope the current capacity across the tribal collective in these respective domains.

The capacity might be assessed in terms of human resources or experts with knowledge in the respective fields, or reflect on the resources that might already exist and be available in the fields. To engage in this analysis, we return to the guiding principal of exploring existing models and ask the question; 'is there an existing model or tool that we can use to complete this task?'

Step 3: Are there other models that already exist that could be adapted?
In order to assess the current capacity of Kāi Tahu across these desired language domains, I will use a model developed by Charisma Rangipunga in 2010 for the Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology (CPIT), now known as Ara Institute of Canterbury, to assess and develop cultural competency of their staff. The tool was developed to support their staff to assess their responsiveness to Māori across the three areas of curriculum, delivery and environment. The tool guides the user through the three levels of self-assessment, planning and implementation and monitoring, and uses a 'traffic light approach' to indicate the capacity in any one area (Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology, 2010).

The red colour indicates a lack of, or latent, capacity. Amber suggests that the capacity is emerging, and green suggests an exemplary position.

Although the assessment is again subjective and dependent, in this instance, on what the author is personally aware of, it nevertheless provides the basis for an initial discussion.

Figure 33: Assessment of capacity in Kāi Tahu across significant language spheres

Karakia - prayers	Waiata - songs	He reo tuku iho - Intergenrational language
Practical prayers for the family covering rituals and everyday situations	traditional songs across multiple genres; songs from the different regions and marae	common language for interacion with babies and young children

Te Reo o kā taiohi - Language for teenagers	Kupu Kāi Tahu - Kāi Tahu words	Kā rereka kōrero Kāi Tahu - Kāi Tahu grammatical structures
including key sayings and expressions both traditional and modern compositions	unique Kāi Tahu words and phrases	exhibited in traditional texts

Pakiwaitara / Pūrākau - traditonal narratives	Karaka -ceremonial calls	Whaikōrero -ceremonial speeches
Kāi Tahu traditional stories and histories	Examples of traditional and current language for the ritual of Karaka or ceremonial calling	Examples of traditional and current language for the ritual of Whaikōrero or ceremonial speaking

Kīwaha me kā whakataukī -	Te reo o te kāuta - Language of the kitchen	Te reo para tamariki - Language for sport and kids games
Traditional and modern colloquialisms and proverbs	food preparation and informal language within the home	

Te reo o te taiao	Mahika Kai	Wāhi taoka
Language for the wilderness / natural world	Traditional food gathering practices and the associated language	Pounamu harvesting and processing and associated language

Mahi Toi - Artworks	Mātauraka - Education	Whakapapa -geneaology
Traditional and modern Māori arts (weaving, carving, performance etc) and associated language	Educational language associated within curriculum / discipline areas	Language associated with genealogical traditions and histories

Hakarau - Technology	Te Ao Hauora - the health domain
Language for the technological domains (internet, computers, technology	Language associated with health, rokoā and wellbeing

(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

The second stage of the *Māori Exemplar Tool* uses the initial assessment as the basis for planning about what areas need attention and require further development. The educator is then asked to engage in a prioritisation process that is aligned to the needs of their students or area.

To apply this assessment to the goal of supporting Kāi Tahu *whānau* to becoming *te reo Māori* homes with a focus on intergenerational language transmission, we may then engage in another layer of assessment to help with the prioritisation process, and identify what areas we consider immediately essential to fulfilling that goal. Alternatively, the assessed capacity already in existence might influence the level of investment and focus given to each respective area, with those areas already identified as *exemplary*, requiring less target focus than those in the latent and emerging categories.

To summarise this scoping phase, the principles behind an existing model, The Māori Exemplar Tool, that was designed as a self-assessment and planning tool within the tertiary education context, was adapted and applied to a cluster of language spheres within Kāi Tahu. Using the basic traffic-light process, I was able to conduct a self-assessment of the depth and breadth of capacity in *te reo* in Kāi Tahu across those spheres. The result of this initial assessment then led me to the second stage of the tool which is around the prioritisation of language spheres to ensure that future efforts and resources are targeted where they are most required in order to achieve the overall goal.

Now that the scope has been identified, we must return to the challenges of 'time' and 'limited resources'. What models might we be able to draw on where the goal has been to maximise the productivity within a shorter timeframe?

One *wheel* already developed that fits this scope is the model of mass production adopted by Henry Ford with the development of the Model T Automobile in 1908 (The Economist, 2009). Whilst this may seem like an over simplification of a widely known model, when applying the principals of *Kahuru Kai Ruka, Kahuru Kai Raro*, it is not necessary to research and identify sophisticated or obscure models that might be able to be applied. Although such an example might still be a valid alternative as a potential model, the beauty of the 'existing wheel or model' idea, is in the ease of identification. The aim is for ideas that people at the coalface of community language revitalisation efforts to be

able to easily visualise and identify with, without needing a background in academic language revitalisation theory. If the base idea is too complicated or written in academic speak, that is, foreign to the intended audience, the potential of the model, if it were to be applied to a specific language goal, might be lost and therefore, never realised.

The beauty of the Ford model of mass production, is in its simplicity and that it was in itself transformative in its nature. Henry Ford revolutionised the automobile industry by applying the principle of mass production to the production of his cars.

> …by the end of 1913, Ford was making half of all the cars produced in the United States … Mr Ford reasoned that with each worker remaining in one assigned place, with one specific task to do, the automobile would take shape more quickly as it moved from section to section and countless man-hours would be saved (The Economist, 2009:1).

The concept of mass production consists of activities that produce replicate copies of products very quickly by using assembly lines of workers to complete specific tasks. Workers concentrate on their particular step in the process of the product development rather than completing the whole product by themselves. The concept of specialisation is not new in itself, as it is a fundamental characteristic of most community's economies, whereby people specialise in a certain role and then trade those services or goods to others in return for their respective goods or services. In Māori society for example, we had *tohuka* or experts who specialised in their fields such as *raraka* (weaving) and *whakairo* (carving). Some might be delegated the task of fishing and hunting while others worked on the production and harvesting of cultivated foods. Then there were those responsible for medicine and spiritual leadership and so forth. Most communal societies therefore developed modes of specialisation in their cultural practices. Within these different roles, there would often be a further division of labour as people worked in teams to compete the tasks at hand.

Adapting the Ford Wheel

To apply the Ford model of mass production then to the Kāi Tahu language goal outlined above, we need to consider the language domains as constituent parts to the whole product or package of Kāi Tahu language content. What we want is the finished 'car' that is functional, sustainable and can be collaboratively worked on simultaneously by a number of different people. The car can then be brought together in a way that the constituent

parts 'fit together' to make the whole. The car needs to be able to do what the people want it to do, to have all of the right components or features – and be 'drivable' by the owner. This car in particular, needs to extend beyond those of Henry Ford's, and also be adaptable and evolve over time to meet the changing needs of new generations.

Using the principle of division of labour that is key to the mass production model, I propose the following approach;

Step 1: Figure out the most essential elements of the *car* that are required. Optional extras become the things that can only be afforded only once the essential components have been developed;

⇩

Step 2: Apply the *Māori Exemplar Tool* model for assessing potential target areas to be prioritised as described above;

⇩

Step 3: Identify your small group of language leaders *(Taua Iti)* who can lead the specialised areas;

⇩

Step 4: Match the language leaders to a particular field from the prioritised areas and assign them leadership roles as 'language champions' over the development of that particular 'part'.

⇩

Step 5: The leaders then assemble their teams and workers, for example; interns, volunteers and university researchers, to support them in their task.

⇩

Step 6: Each team is given a defined time; perhaps one year to gather as much traditional and modern knowledge and language about their area together for the purpose of making appropriate resources to support the desired 'car'; in this case a family wagon that is to support the language in the home.

⇩

Step 7: Specific expectations are given to all the language champions, for example;

- Find examples of dialect; any Kāi Tahu specific applications of words or Grammar;
- Identify a set of *kīwaha* and *whakataukī* that is relevant;
- Collate a relevant body of corpus on the topic;
- Identify potential use of the language for the home domain.

⇩

Step 8: At the end of the designated time, the leaders come together and present their 'part' to the collective of language champions. The quality control process engages all of the leaders and requires them to collectively agree on the quality of what has been presented.

⇩

Step 9: Once the material has been approved by the collective, that information is supported as being the Kāi Tahu accepted language package by the tribal organisation

⇩

Step 10: Once the essential elements of the car have been pulled together and are performing the required functions, then the attentions can turn to modifications and the elaborate extras that then help take the car to the next level.

Conclusion

The proposed approach above, responds to all of the challenges identified earlier. The need to engage the masses and establish the *Taua Nui* is supported by the process producing an accessible and meaningful 'product' of language that is specifically designed to be used by families in the home and in the key prioritised areas. The second challenge of time is met by the diversification of labour. Here key individuals are able to concentrate on one aspect of the language, thereby achieving a level of depth of understanding in a shorter amount of time than if they had to spread themselves across multiple spheres.

By having multiple people specialising in different areas at the same time, the third challenge of 'achieving language breadth across multiple domains with small numbers' is addressed. And finally, the eighth and ninth stages in the process address the last challenge of cultural and linguistic validation, as the knowledge provided by the respective language champions is able to be debated and validated by the larger group.

It may not be considered by some to be an academically appropriate approach to apply this process of using models or examples that may be untested within the field of linguistics or language revitalisation efforts. There may also be a perception that this process is a lazy way of developing an initiative. The aim of this new approach is not to devise a model that meets the needs of academics, but to create a model that will empower those at the coal-face to try something new and to see that they have the ability to take ownership of their own language revitalisation efforts.

The creation of a stepped process empowers a lay person to consider those exemplars and ideas that are actually relevant to them in their everyday life, and to question whether or not they can be applied to their specific language goals and adapted to achieve their

outcomes. It is therefore not necessary to only be limited to those models or theories that have been proven within the linguistic world or have evolved from a strong research base, and that can be validated through extensive research that has had a high level of analysis and critique.

Certainly those models that have been subjected to such critique and academic rigor maybe equally as valid within this context, such as the Master Apprentice Program or the Breath of Life Programme discussed in Chapter 5. For those people who have access to that knowledge and are aware of those exemplars, they can certainly be used and applied as the ignition point to spark the ideas and thinking in application to their own situation. However, the potential benefits are increased significantly by extending the seeds of thought to a much wider scale that they can be sourced from. Importantly, this approach looks to maximise the time we have available to us now, *kahuru kai paeka,* whilst building on the developments and resources already created, *kahuru kai ruka,* in order to achieve the goal of KMK, thereby supporting the journey ahead to *Kai te Haere.*

Ūpoko 10 - Chapter 10
Kia roko anō i te hū o moho – may the sound of the language resound again

hauaka ki ruka, haumako ki raro
Ka tihou te raki, ka ohu, ka ora
Te reo o tō iwi e...i

Dew above, fertile lands below
The sky is scraped, work together and
The language of your people will prosper.

Introduction

This chapter will look to extend further the new approach to assessing and developing language revitalisation initiatives discussed in Chapter 9. The first idea to be tested will look specifically at the micro-level, at the challenge of supporting the intergenerational transmission of the language in the homes in the context of an *iwi* without a generation of native speakers to model intergenerational language. The second focus will move to a macro-approach, and look at the challenge of expanding the reach of models developed or tested, and make them widely accessible to those that would most likely benefit from them; that is, how the ideas might be taken to a wider audience and then utilised by them where appropriate.

Intergenerational transmission of the language in the homes - mātua whākai reo i te kāika
As has been discussed in a number of chapters, particularly in Chapters 4 and 6, the goal of re-establishing *te reo* as the language of intergenerational language in Kāi Tahu homes, where there are limited exemplars of native language transmission available, presents multiple challenges to parents. Even for those parents who are committed to the idea of raising their children in the heritage language in line with the KMK Strategy, there are not always the appropriate supports available to assist them. As a response to this situation, I will apply the *Kahuru Kai Paeka* approach to identify a potential solution.

Step 1: Identify the goal
I propose a goal that is centred on the creation of a pool of mentors that can support effective models of intergenerational transmission of the language in Kāi Tahu homes.

Step 2: Identify issues/ challenges

There are three significant challenges that can be identified with this goal,

- Parents often do not have the language required to achieve quality engagement with their children;
- Time-poor parents often struggle to juggle work and family commitments and do not easily find the time to commit to learning specific language for the home; and
- Second language speakers may not have ready-access to mentors who are able to model intergenerational language.

Step 3: Look at other models already in existence

- The Master Apprentice (MA) model of language acquisition; and,
- The Mātua Whākai concept of fostering individuals and *whānau*/ family.

This potential initiative would draw on two existing models, the first being the Master-Apprentice language learning method discussed in Chapter five. The Master-Apprentice model is a mentored learning approach that was developed as a way to support people who had access to a native speaker, but not necessarily access to more formalised language acquisition opportunities, such as language classes (Hinton, 2002:xiii).

Step 4: Adapting the existing model to achieve the goal

One of the areas identified in the KMK reviews, and also suggested by a number of interviewees of this research as being a prime area to focus language revitalisation efforts to achieve the maximum outcome, is with new parents. This time in the life of a *whānau* is identified as the time most likely for a parent to make significant changes in lifestyle and activity in order to create the best opportunity for their new child. The new-born child also becomes the focus of the wider *whānau* and becomes the centre of *whānau* activity and engagement. The wider *whānau* are often open to making changes and accommodating the new aspirations of the parents in order to support the new family member.

Targeting new parents in an intensive language acquisition intervention akin to the MA model, might then not only support the development or those that are preparing to be new

parents themselves, but also directly benefit the new-born as they are able to be exposed to their heritage language as their first language thus providing the optimal environment for language revitalisation within the *whānau*.

Mātua Whākai

Whākai is a traditional Māori concept of fostering or adoption and derives its name from the verb to feed or nurture. In traditional Māori society the *whākai* would be taken under the wing of another and provided with all of the rights and supports of a biological child for their lifetime. *Whākai* often enjoyed the best of both worlds in that they would have life rights to the resources of their adoptive parents, while also retaining their ancestral rights to their biological parents.

Mātua whāngai was a term applied to a Māori-led and Government supported initiative in the 1980s in New Zealand that aimed to address the significant issues around Māori children in State care. Māori *mātua whākai* or foster carers / parents, often from within the extended family were able to fill the role of the nurturer and guardian from a Māori cultural basis.

These two models, of the MA and the *Mātua Whākai* model could be brought together to support a *tuakana-taina*, or mentoring model for KMK homes, whereby a master who is able to provide the *whānau* role of aunty, uncle, or *mātua whākai*, would take on an apprentice or *taina* so that they could provide the required support and nurturing in *te reo Māori*. For the moment, I will refer to this model as '*Mātua Whākai i te Reo*' (MWR). I propose that both the Master and Apprentice would be remunerated to be a part of the programme in line with the MA model.

Identifying the challenges

One of the potential challenges of such a model would be around the issue of selection of the apprentice. How would you ensure people actually committed and did not just sign up because of the monetary incentive? The Apprentice would ideally be someone who is expecting a new baby and who is committed to taking the steps towards raising that baby with *te reo* as their first language. A selection process akin to the MA programme could be implemented whereby applicants go through a series of applications and interviews to establish their suitability to the programme. Their ability to commit to the time required

and their commitment to learn and use the language could be assessed as part of this process. The apprentice could also be expected to sign an employment contract that identified clear expectations and outcomes. These expectations could then be monitored through reporting and moderation visits.

It would also be important to establish strong protocols and practices around the selection of the mentors. The Master would need to be selected based on their ability to model native-intergenerational language in the home. The Master may have their own baby or young child at the time of the programme but this would not be necessary. What is required is for the Master to have enough of the target language to be able to support the language acquisition using the appropriate contextual language.

Because of the intensive nature of the initiative and the context of the family compounded by the intense time of having a new child and the associated vulnerabilities, a rigorous selection process would have to be undertaken in order to identify the mentors to ensure a positive 'fit'. Not only would they have to meet the necessary language requirements, they must also be able to model positive-parenting practice, culturally appropriate behaviour and commitment to develop and share resources with the *whānau* engaged, along with the other mentors on the programme.

The programme could follow similar MA models whereby the Master and Apprentice commit to a specified number of hours per week; perhaps between 20-30. The Master could take the role of a *hākui kēkē* or *hākoro kēkē* (aunty or uncle), and provide support to the new parent while modelling the language, thereby creating authentic language engagement.

The Master would be required to develop a family language plan with the whole family of the Apprentice and to coach the immediate and wider family, if appropriate, around the implementation of the plan. The Master would also be expected to be trained in the area of child development and language revitalisation strategies, and would be expected to use approved tribal resources to support cultural, language and social development. The tribe would be responsible for the delivery of a training programme for Masters as a pre-entry requirement to the programme.

Although there might be a dedicated time for instructional language acquisition, the main role would be to impart to the new parent the language required to raise their child in the heritage language, and facilitate access of that parent to appropriate resources to support the intergenerational transmission of the *reo*. The role of the mentor or *mātua whākai* helps to minimise the challenge for the parent of having to find new language across a broad range of everyday life contexts. This model would allow them to concentrate on using the language they are acquiring with their baby whilst also receiving help from another pair of hands to fulfil the many everyday tasks of raising a new baby. It would be hoped that the extra support for the parent, as they deal with the excitement and challenges of new parenthood, might also help to add significant value to the language learning intervention in the eyes of the apprentice, with the extra benefits and supports being seen as advantages that their language is helping them to receive.

Although this model would have the primary goal of developing the language skills of the parent to a stage where they can engage in quality intergenerational language with their child and other children, there are a number of other potential benefits from the application of the Master Apprentice and Mātua Whāngai models to this context of language in the home,

- The new parent has access to immediate support and linguistic modelling;
- The language is being delivered in an authentic context whereby it can be immediately applied;
- The benefit of the programme extends immediately beyond the Apprentice to the child;
- The Master can provide a level of parent education to assist the holistic development of the child in the language environment including nutrition, health and education;
- Other children and *whānau* members benefit by having a greater exposure to the heritage language;
- The initiative celebrates and values the importance of the dyad in nurturing a baby by supporting the primary parent financially, culturally and linguistically to be at home with their baby in this crucial development stage.

The focus for the MWR initiative would be to normalise the language modelling into everyday life for the parent, the new born baby and the wider *whānau*. By starting on the programme before the baby is born, the parent is supported to develop the language required to stay a step ahead of the language needs of their child. The language would be supported across the range of *whānau* language domains relevant to that *whānau*. These may include the following areas,

Figure 34: Domains of language use for Mātua Whākai i te Reo model
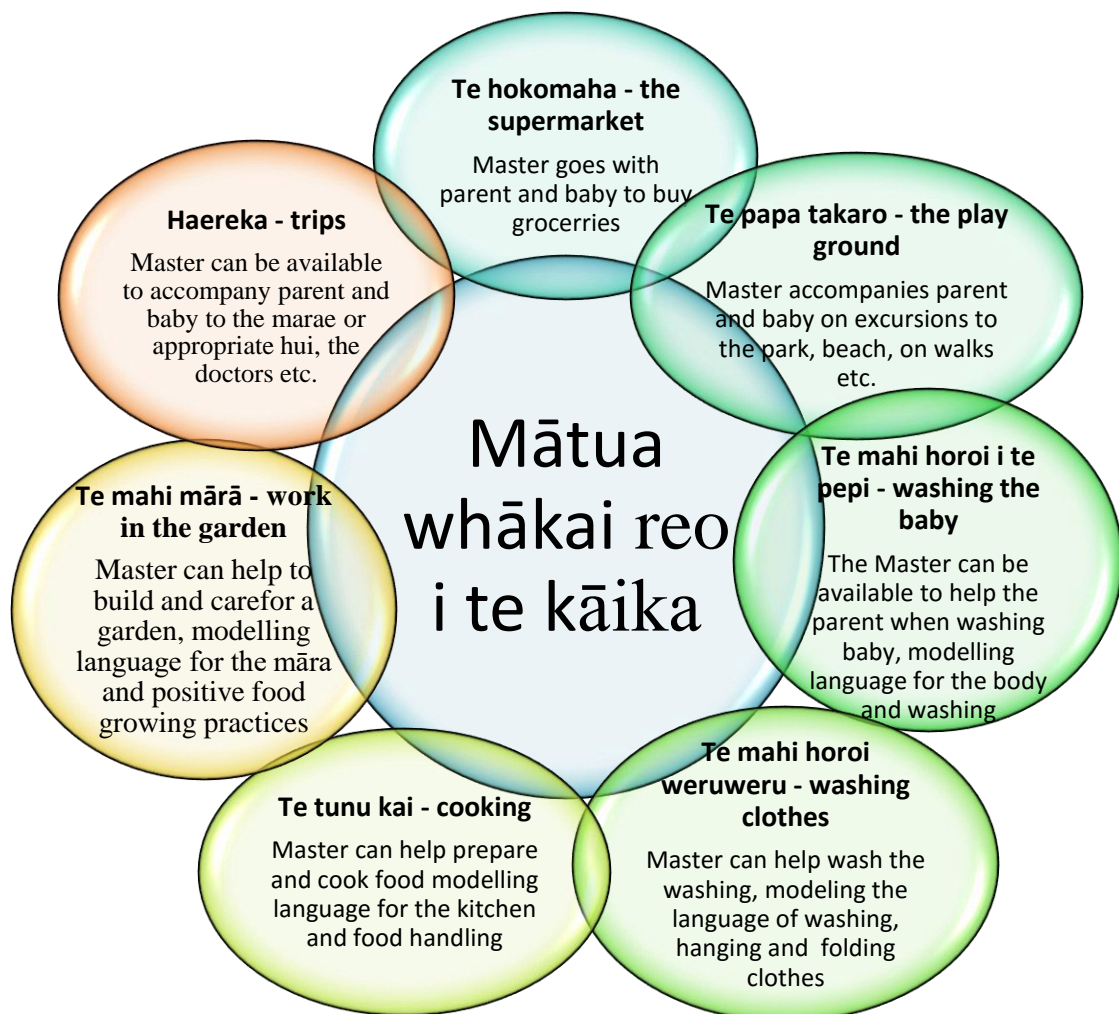
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

Another potential challenge or obstacle for this initiative might be the perception of high cost of investment for an individual learner. As is the case with the MA programme, both the mentor/teacher and the learner/apprentice are remunerated for their involvement in the programme. This might be seen to be a high cost of investment to produce a singular

Apprentice where one teacher might otherwise be able to teach a much larger number of students at a time. The advantages of this intensive intervention are seen in those contexts where the Master and Apprentice may be isolated and do not have the option of other formal learning opportunities, or where there are other limitations on the mentor being able or willing to formally engage with another group. There is also the very real advantage of this kind of intervention where the learner does not have to compete for the attention of the teacher but has direct access to the teacher to meet their direct learning needs, and therefore, the quality and quantity of the language engagement can be expected to be significantly enhanced. This can then in turn lead to a higher proficiency outcome for the individual learner.

In the case of the MA programme in Northern California, most of the apprentices are also middle aged themselves and are not themselves raising young families. The responsibility is then on them to take an Apprentice when they are able to do so, and so create one more language speaker. Although the MA model has been successful at slowing the tide of language decline by replacing key native speakers in many communities with their Apprentices as speakers, the growth in terms of true numbers using this model is understandably slow.

To address this issue, the MWR model, by focusing on the parent-to-be or new parent, is able to immediately double the language output within a year, as it will not only be the parent who is becoming fluent as the Apprentice, but also their child will be being raised as a native speaker. This in effect doubles the number of new speakers and new first language speakers in a community that is considered a significant indicator of language health.

If the main parent or caregiver is able to create an immersion language environment between the dyad in the first year of life, then that baby will have their heritage language as their native language. The cognitive structures or architecture that will be developed in that child's brain to support their language acquisition of their heritage language will be set for life. There will also be an added benefit for any subsequent children born to the Apprentice parent or other siblings the baby might have already as they are also exposed to the increasing language environment, their language proficiency is also likely to be enhanced.

To further extend the reach of the programme and the direct outputs achieved within a shorter timeframe, there could be a tiered level of engagement, whereby the *Matua Whākai i te Reo* could work with two families at the one time for 15 hours a week each, or have split levels of commitment, for those wanting a 20-hour programme or potentially a 10-15 hour programme. The mentors could also be brought together every week or fortnight to develop and share resources based on the language needs of the individual *whānau* they are working with. The benefit of this is another example of the collective impact model. If a number of mentors are simultaneously developing targeted resources for their *whānau,* the amount of material and language that might be able to be collected through these collective activities is increased. If those resources were then made available to the pool of mentors the *whānau* would in effect be receiving resources developed by five mentors and not just those of their own.

Once the resources have been developed, these could then be distributed to all of the *whānau* engaged or made even more widely accessible to those outside the programme. Those *whānau* who might be able to manage their own interventions without the direct mentor contact, might still then be able to directly benefit from accessing the resources developed through the programme. This tiered approach therefore has the potential to reach a much larger target audience and therefore return on the investment, without compromising the core focus of the MWR initiative.

Figure 35: The tiered impact of *Mātua Whākai i te Reo*.

A small number of Apprenticies and their babies benefiting directly from the programme

A wider group of the Apprentice's other children and wider *whānau* who benefit from the language development

Other Kāi Tahu *whānau* who do not want to / cannot commit to MWR can access the resources developed for MWR teams
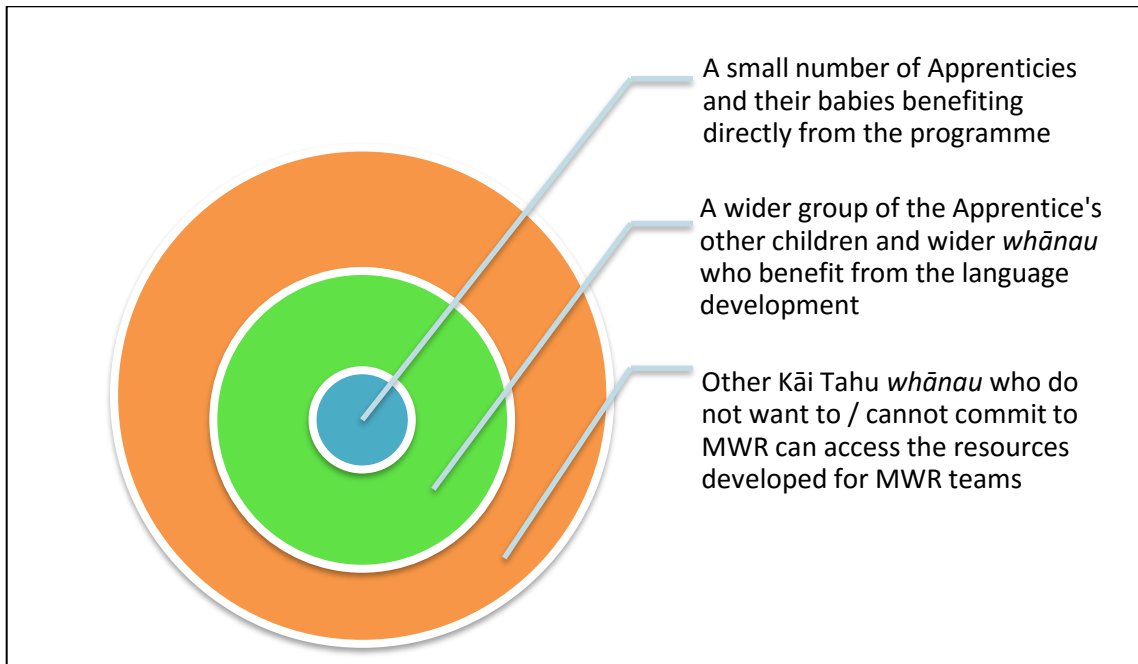
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

The programme could also extend the *tuakana-taina* approach by supporting those Apprentices who are able to become mentors themselves in the second year of the programme. After a year of mentoring, they could take on another *whānau* for 10-20 hours a week. The new Apprentice then also gets the benefit of the language being modelled in practice by the new Master with their own child as an example of authentic intergenerational language use. The new Master would also be able to share tips and techniques that they might have relied on in their own recent language journey which again provides a level of authenticity to the engagement. Under this approach with just one initial mentor, after one year there would be two speakers (the Apprentice and the baby). After two years, there would be six speakers and after three, there would be 14. The significance of this number would be seven new Kāi Tahu children having the opportunity to be native speakers in *te reo.*

Alternatively, the Apprentices might be supported into a play-group situation where they get to regularly engage with other *reo* Apprentices and their babies. If this tiered approach was applied on a yearly basis, the numbers benefiting from the MWR initiative could potentially create a ripple effect and grow steadily.

Figure 36: *Mātua Whākai i te Reo* tiered growth model
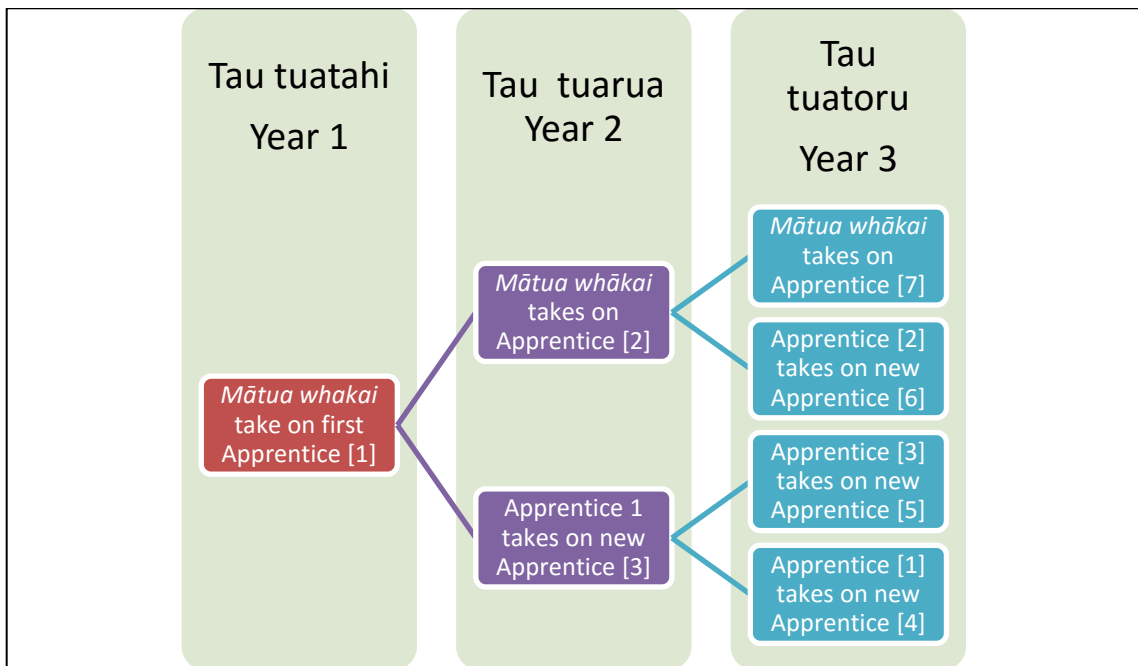
(Source: O'Regan, 2016)

As a micro strategy that targets a comparatively small number of people at a time, the MWR initiative is a potential model that can support directed intergenerational shift in the language of transmission in *whānau.* The model has the potential to be scaled up and ultimately create a network of mentors and apprentices that across the Kāi Tahu *rohe*. By providing targeted support in parent education within the immersion environment, the children would also be receiving the added benefits of positive child development practices as a part of acquiring their heritage Kāi Tahu *reo.* This would, in effect, be the reversal of the damaging practices inflicted on our people when their *reo* and their traditional community supports around parenting were denied them when Kāi Tahu communities and resources were broken up and disenfranchised. *Mātua Whākai i te Reo* would be a statement of *rakatiratka* as it would be reclaiming the language as a birth right for the child and parent by establishing a *tūrakawaewae* for the *reo* in the *whānau* and cementing the *reo* as the relationship language for parent and child.

Achieving macro-change.

I will now look at how the *Kahuru Kai Paeka* model might be able to be applied to a larger-scale initiative to address the challenge of expanding the reach of *te reo* to a wider audience within the limited time context of the next 10 years.

Step 1: Identifying the goal and challenges - Spreading the word and giving voice to the masses

The new macro challenge I would like to address is the question of how to empower communities and individuals committed to language revitalisation to access key resources and programmes that can help them achieve their revitalisation goals. Within the Kāi Tahu context, there are a considerable number of our people who live in remote areas, outside the Kāi Tahi *takiwā*, or not connected geographically to a language community. As a result of their social or geographic isolation, they may not have access to the resources and supports to both feed the ideas for initiatives to support their language goals, or the community to actually engaged with and participate in the initiatives with.

One of the challenges here that has been previously mentioned is the size of the *taua iti* that is the small pool of language advocates, language drivers and those working within the field of language revitalisation in Kāi Tahu. Even within that group, however, there are quite limited numbers of those who have had the privilege of time and opportunity to engage in research that looks at other models of language revitalisation being practiced elsewhere. Exposure to different international and local strategies, theories and practices have the benefit of broadening the horizon of knowledge of a group in a way that is difficult to achieve when working in isolation. It is possible to learn from others' mistakes, be inspired by others' successes or identify potential collaborative approaches. It may be argued that a lack of a wider connection and exposure to other examples of language revitalisation models and strategies, for those engaged in language revitalisation, is an opportunity lost. The cost of that lost opportunity is time and potentially more effective ways of revitalising the *reo*.

Even when we have the situation where models that have been created, identified and developed and these models are being propagated around the country or the world, such as the Master Apprentice Program, these models may not always be known to the people who could ultimately derive benefit from them. It is not uncommon for language advocates to become completely consumed by the work of teaching the language, organising events and programmes and campaigning for the *reo,* on top of any other commitments they might have. There is often little time, when there are so few driving the language movement, to stop and take time out to travel around the country and world

to look at other initiatives and strategies in action or engage with other key drivers of language revitalisation outside of their own communities.

One of the challenges facing Kāi Tahu is how we can connect as many people as possible to tools and ideas we know to be effective that can ignite the sparks in communities and *whānau* to engage in the revitalisation of their languages. If we are able to accomplish this goal, the solution need not be limited to the families and individuals within the Kāi Tahu tribal collective, but instead could be applicable to communities everywhere, within New Zealand and beyond.

In order to achieve this, it is necessary to identify ways to make these tools and ideas truly accessible and meaningful for the communities they need to serve. It is important here, not to make assumptions about the readiness of the *iwi* to effectively engage with the tools or key messages. Even when people have access to models and resources, it is often easy to assume that they have the capability required to use them or apply them. Even when the resources or programmes created are exemplary in design, if people are not adequately supported and guided in how to use those resources or engage in the programmes, they may not be effective in reversing language shift. I would argue here that 'assumption' is closely related to the *taniwha* of time, in that it can result in significant opportunities lost, time and financial resources wasted and a high level of frustration on all sides of the language movement.

This has been a mistake made by those of us driving the KMK strategy at multiple times over the last 16 years. We had assumed that when people told us they wanted to learn the language, and when then provided with the opportunities, they would. We had assumed that parents who wanted to raise their children speaking *te reo* in the homes, would be able to find a way to do so, even when those of us with a higher level of fluency were struggling ourselves to do so. In the teaching environment, we assumed at times, that people knew how to learn so we focused on delivering the content instead of supporting the students with their language learning strategies. As a teacher, a mother, a mentor and a language advocate, I can personally recall multiple occasions when assumptions have cost me and *te reo o* Kāi Tahu significant time and energy.

Assumptions are also laden with arrogance. Although this may sound like a harsh statement, it emanates from a belief that too often we can assume that people should know how to do something, even if they have never had it modelled to them. The arrogance of someone thinking, 'if I could do it, then so should they be able to', or 'they should be getting this faster', can run the risk of turning-off and alienating potential *Taua nui* recruits. If we are to peel back the layers of assumption, we allow ourselves the freedom to deconstruct and break down the challenges, the strategies and associated tasks into digestible portions. Rather than presenting the whole *kaupapa* or idea in all its complexity, we can instead present it in a way that is easy for everyone to follow. Those that do not need all of the stepping stones to get to the final destination, would then be able to jump straight to the implementation point, while those who are unfamiliar with the path would be guided through the swamp and shown where and how to stand in order to achieve the goal.

If we look at the 'wheel that already exists' to exemplify this approach, we can identify multiple examples. Building a kit-set of drawers or cupboard could be a good analogy. When you go in search for the drawers you usually have an idea of the image that you want. As is the case with the language, you are likely to have an idea that you know what you want to be able to do. When you get the box of drawers home, the first thing you do is open the box and look for the instructions. Some people might not need, or believe they do not need, the instructions in order to put the draws together. In the language situation, some people might just be able to engage in the process of language acquisition straight away, knowing how they best learn and what tools they need to be able to succeed. Others might start off with all the enthusiasm needed, but get frustrated when the parts do not seem to be lining up, or the drawers will not close properly or the legs are facing the wrong way. They are forced to return to earlier stages over and over again in an attempt to master the task. People in this situation may feel despondent when they look at their friend who has already managed to put their drawers together in record time and is sitting down to have a cup of congratulatory coffee. Others may give up altogether because the task has proven too difficult, and leave it for someone else to continue with.

Usually, the producers of kit-set drawers do not assume that the draws are going to be built by a qualified builder or *linguist*. The kit-set boxes generally come with a set of instructions. The instructions do not assume the builder or language learner know how to

put the drawers together. The first part of the instructions is usually a list of all the different things you are going to find in the box and, an explanation of what tools you are going to need to accomplish the mission. They will customarily then take you, step by step, through the process of building the drawers. For those of us that have put many drawers together over our lifetimes, we can acknowledge that it often saves time to follow the instructions, at least in the beginning – until you have developed the capability to do so without them.

When it comes to teaching the language, it might be suggested that the best approach is to go and learn how to become a language teacher and to develop your skills through the pursuit of an academic qualification. This might be an appropriate path for some, however for those not able to commit that time, it might still be possible to learn effective teaching techniques by following a step-by-step guide to language teaching, such as the tips and guides provided in Hinton's MA programme or the Breath of Life workshops.

If we were to think about an example in the world of literature, then the 'For Dummies' series by Dan Gookin is a good example. Gookin first published his book, *Dos for Dummies* in 1991 and its success resulted in the publication of dozens of subsequent books on a wide range of topics that sought to make knowledge accessible and digestible to the ordinary person.

The examples of the kit-set drawers with instructions or the *For Dummies* series of books and resources, are both approaches that support engagement of people in a task that does not require or assume expert knowledge. I believe this is a gap within the world of language revitalisation that needs to be addressed. If we fail to make language revitalisation interventions easy enough for as many people as possible in the language communities to use, replicate, adapt and develop, then we limit the domain of language revitalisation to an elite or a privileged few who do have access to those skills and resources.

In summary, I have outlined the following challenges facing the objective of creating greater accessibility to, and engagement in, effective language revitalisation interventions by a wider range of people,

- how to empower communities and individuals committed to language revitalisation who may be in remote areas or not connected geographically;

- limited numbers of people who have the opportunity to engage in and be exposed to language revitalisation exemplars locally and internationally;

- opportunities lost because of assumptions made about accessibility and capability; and

- how to provide models of language revitalisation initiatives in a truly accessible and achievable way.

Step 2: A potential solution

Now that the challenges have been identified and the context described, we are able to move on to the next stage of the process whereby potential solutions are sought and developed. I propose a model that looks to maximise the tools developed and made accessible in the last 20 years during the *Kahuru kai ruka* phase; particularly in the realm of digital technology to create a common platform or pool of resources that is,

a. **Relevant**: can be used to guide people on what opportunities might exist to support people's respective language goals;

b. **Targeted**: matches those goals to potential initiatives and ideas;

c. **Available**: to make the platform or tool widely available to individuals and families of all levels and educational backgrounds; and

d. **Accessible**: create a resource set and repository that is presented in a way that guides the families on 'how to' implement that initiative.

The third driver that supports the challenge of the race against time, and draws on the well-known *whakataukī* in Māori,

> *'nā tāu rourou, nā tāku rourou, ka ora ai te iwi'*
> with your food basket and my food basket, the people well be nourished.

The proverb and its application to this approach, is centred in the belief that the collective capacity of multiple contributors to targeted resources will increase the range and scope of ideas that people may create and have access to, by promoting their contribution to a

single goal. In essence, it should produce more in less time for a collective benefit. To adapt the *whakataukī* to the language revitalisation context, we could say,

'Mā tōu whakaaro, mā tōku whakaaro, ka ora ai te reo'
With your ideas and my ideas, the language will live.

Step 3: So what are the models that already exist that might be able to be applied to support this goal?

The Endangered Languages Project, is a worldwide, online collaboration initiative that was established by the Alliance for Linguistic Diversity to strengthen endangered languages across the globe (First Peoples' Cultural Council & Endangered Languages Project, 2016). The website for the Endangered Language Project provides a central repository of information on language revitalisation that can be accessed freely by people across the globe. The resources are categorised into seven different groups;

- Language Research and Linguistics;
- Language materials,
- Language education,
- Language advocacy and awareness,
- Language and technology, and
- Media

(First Peoples' Cultural Council & Endangered Languages Project, 2016:1).

As a model, the Endangered Languages Project website achieves many of the goals stated above in Step one; to create a common platform or pool of resources that is, relevant, targeted, available and accessible. But if we are to look at it as a tool with the lens of the first goal, to support the intergenerational transmission of the language in the homes, it may be argued that there are ways that it can be further developed to achieve this better for that target audience. As it stands currently, it would be accessible to most teachers with a basic understanding of language learning and certainly anyone engaged in the discipline of linguistics or language revitalisation. With over 6400 resources uploaded onto the site across the different categories, there is certainly a considerable amount of information to look through that might help the viewer conceive of things they might be able to replicate in their own situation. There are further categories under each of the main category pages that provide greater focus as to the content information, for example, under the main *Resources* page, you are able to access the further sub-categories of;

Description, Resources, Activity, Bibliography, or Suggest a Change (First Peoples' Cultural Council & Endangered Languages Project, 2016:1).

For families and community educators, however, it may still not be easy, without having to look into the detail of each of the 6000 plus videos and associated links, to find information about 'how' to develop a similar resource or initiative for their situation and to see what the 'purpose' of the particular initiative is.   Information on the site in regards to the 'how to' component of the equation is not readily visible or accessible. This is by no means a critique of the project, as it has been developed and promoted specifically in a way that encourages further contribution and evolution of the resources by the community of users.   As a tool, the model of the Endangered Languages Project website provides an excellent foundation model for a central digital repository of language revitalisation initiatives.

Wikipedia

Another potential model that can be adapted is Wikipedia. Wikipedia is an on-line free encyclopedia project that draws its contributions from the wider community. Although academics can certainly contribute, you are not required to be an academic to do so; the only requirement being the desire to author content and the internet access to be able to upload it to the project site. The model empowers a wider group of people to share what knowledge they may have, knowing that the information they submit is able to be critiqued and corrected by others. In this way the Wikipedia model can potentially address the issue of collective capacity in that it creates an environment where people can contribute to a central pool of knowledge, cite and reference it, and then that can be challenged and adapted over time.

The potential to enhance the collective capacity is achieved by having multiple points of engagement from anywhere in the world that are contributing to this one issue or goal, or aspiration at any one time. The organic mass-input characteristic of Wikipedia, when applied to a language revitalisation platform is exciting. When we consider that the focus of language endangerment world-wide has only really been gathering momentum over the last 100 years, that means we only have, at best, 100 years, of collective thinking on the topic. The first focus of language endangerment also tended to be around what was in danger of being lost and efforts to record what was left of endangered languages, as

opposed to strategies to revitalise them. The revitalisation focus and associated strategies, interventions and practices have, therefore, had an even shorter history of collective investment in to them.

In this way, most of the initiatives that KMK are currently trialling, along with most other minority language revitalisation initiatives around the world, could be considered pilot in their nature. The ability to get as many people trialling, contributing to, and recording the results of those trials and pilots can, therefore, hasten the time that it would take to do so if it was only one group or individual who was driving and testing a particular hypothesis.

Using the mass-input, organic and real-time platform like Wikipedia for language revitalisation tools and resources could, therefore, save a considerable amount of precious time for endangered languages.

Trouble-shooting and on-line help models

Another potential model that could be applied and adapted here is the use of 'Google questions' or similar 'search', 'trouble shooting' or 'help' tools for specific programmes or devices like Apple Mac products or Microsoft programmes. In these examples, people who want to know how to do something or wanting to know a question around a particular issue, can either choose from a commonly asked list of questions or topics, or type in their area of focus or questions, and all those relevant resources or information pertaining to the search will be collated for them and listed. In some instances, the range of topics or questions is grouped into more detailed areas and people can be available with 'live support' online to help guide you through the steps of the activity you are undertaking. It is not uncommon in some of these on-line help environments, for the customers to be asked to give feedback on whether or not the support helped resolve the problem and there is an opportunity to provide feedback, that in turn may assist in advising the next user.

Rating models for evaluative feedback

There are other places in our modern lives where we might find this model or take this kind of approach, for instance the Trip Advisor or the common hotel rating systems. When a person books a hotel on certain websites you can have a look at information that tells you how previous users have rated those hotels, whether it be by a 'star' system or a number rating being applied; the people who have used those services are given the

opportunity to go in and provide their feedback, to say what they did or did not like about it or what they might change.

To take this model of the rating system, rate your teacher, rate your hotel or rate your customer service experience; and apply it to the language revitalisation initiative, you have the benefit of having more people engaged in the process of reflection and review in a way that can support the initiative's continuous development and improvement. It may be that the original model has achieved the goal for these people and they can also come back after five or 10 years and update it. One of the opportunities this kind of platform can present, is that people are able to get some longitudinal data around the time in which initiatives took place, the context and environment in which the initiatives were operating and what conditions contributed to or impeded progress – and use the benefit of that longitudinal collective input to build up a comprehensive picture of what does work and what does not.

Because the resources are made freely available, others are able to take an existing resource template and apply it in their own context. If they were to find that the model was not effective for their purpose, then this could be fed back to the central portal. The value of knowing what did not work or what adaptations needed to be made for it to work more effectively, means it lessens the chance of someone else making the same mistake, thereby reducing the potential 'trialling' time for the initiative. The benefit here for the new user, or the person who has presented the first model, is that the organic nature of these discussions allows people to be in a state of continuous improvement and where appropriate or necessary, make adaptations to enhance the achievement of the outcome in their own original situation.

By combining the four models listed above, it is possible to see how it might be applied to the context of a language revitalisation initiative. Using the Endangered Languages Project model, a central portal or one-stop-shop website would be developed for language revitalisation initiatives that extend beyond the current platform to include more practical templates and examples of language initiatives and resources that can be replicated at the community and *whānau level.* The Wikipedia approach would support a wide range of people to upload their own examples of initiatives and people would be encouraged to add to the base content if they had further helpful information about ways they could be

enhanced or adapted. This would mean that an initiative might be piloted and evaluated simultaneously in multiple different locations. The Google-search question approach could be applied so that commonly asked questions or focus areas could be grouped together based on frequency or topic and feedback sought as to whether or not the resource was helpful to the user, thereby enhancing accessibility to the knowledge. The ability to 'rate' the effectiveness of the initiative can provide timely and important evaluative qualitative feedback for those engaged in similar initiatives.

Step 4: Implementing the proposed initiative – how to achieve it

To address the issue of access and who can have access to this information and resources, I would propose that participation in and access to this platform needs to have guiding principles put in place to ensure that the knowledge or associated initiatives are not captured those who are wanting to make commercial gain or use it to forward their own research reputation and advancement in academic circles. This is essential so that individuals or institutions work collaboratively instead of the common historic competitive environment many have to operate within for funding and reputation.

This is not a new dynamic within the academic world or indeed the commercial world, however, it can be seen as a risk to the goal of language revitalisation. The need for people to have access to their heritage language and to protect, sustain and develop heritage languages, should be seen as part of a greater good or cause, that extends beyond the reach of academic and commercial capture.

The principal therefore, that needs to govern the engagement in this platform, must be that contributions are made without cost – no fees applied. The model that exists that can be used as an exemplar for this is 'open source software'. This is software that has been developed for the use of anyone, without needing to buy licenses to use it. The models that are presented or uploaded to the proposed platform must follow these principles:

- You give permission for your model / initiative / information to be used by others, and secondly;
- to be adapted by others where appropriate;
- to be able to be accessed and used at no cost to the user;

- that the user commits to not using the model / initiative / information for commercial gain themselves; and

- you agree to having your models rated and critiqued by others.

It may be necessary, to ensure the integrity of the source, to follow the example of the Wikipedia model, where the caveat is placed on the use and that the citing of the source and acknowledging its origin or derivation is an important requirement. This is as much for the need to be able to trace the origin of information in the future, as it is to credit the designer or contributor for their thinking and models.

An additional principal would therefore be added to the above the list,

- The source is credited or referenced back to the original contributor.

Another model that can be used here as an existing exemplar is 'Nāia', a website developed by Charisma Rangipunga and myself to increase the access of Kāi Tahu living in New Zealand and anywhere in the world to our *waiata* (O'Regan & Rangipunga, 2016). *Waiata* contributions were sought from people who were agreeable to their *waiata* being used by anybody and, whilst referenced to the composer, were able to be adapted and the tunes or words altered. The reason this was stipulated was to increase access to the Kāi Tahu *waiata*, stories and histories and reduce limitations on this knowledge. Another key driver was to promote the language in the context of an overprotective and exclusive approach to these cultural resources.

To then turn to the issue of how to apply these models, another criterion for contribution to this repository needs to be the 'how to', or the 'language revitalisation for beginners' approach. Templates may be provided to people in this context of 'how to give instructions', or 'how to give effect to the initiative'.

The thinking behind this has come from a number of observations around the model of the Te Kōhanga Reo movement and how this has this has been used as an exemplar of language revitalisation practice in a number of other language revitalisation initiatives in the world; primarily with the *puna reo* in Hawai'i, where the model of the Kōhanga was

established in that context, and then more recently an observation of the development of the language nest in the Indigenous language community in Taiwan and with the Lakota language group in Standing Rock, North Dakota. In four different countries, this model that originated in New Zealand has been used as an exemplar to establish immersion early childhood learning environments.

In all cases, however, it has taken people who have known about the Kōhanga model, to go and work with those groups overseas or for those groups to visit New Zealand – to discuss the model and assist in the establishment of like-models in their specific contexts. The process required to do this has often been long. Whilst I do not want to suggest that the establishment of like-models could or should be rushed; if the benefits of those models can be seen, then using the approach suggested in the community-impact notion, the model may be made more accessible. The model of establishing a Kōhanga might be able to be written in such a way, where at least the first point of analysis, as to whether or not this could be used to achieve the goal of the language area, could be provided in an easy step-by-step guide to the end user. A quick synopsis of what the *kaupapa* represents and what the model requires could be presented in a way that lists out the 'how to go about setting up a Kōhanga' and 'this is what you will need to do'.

Beyond the first level of the 'language revitalisation for beginners', that says, 'first you need to do; *A*, then *B*, followed by *C*; you can have another layer that sits behind the surface instruction for those that have decided they want to progress the initiative. The next layer of information can allow for a deeper dive into the initiative, and this can be written in a way that guides the investigator on the 'how to'; not just the 'what'. The layers underneath can potentially be developed in a comprehensive way, so that they can be replicated in a way where other people have the connectivity or the relationship with the original contributor to get further support and information.

The Kōhanga model, therefore could be presented as a response to the proposition; 'if you want to set up an immersion early learning environment, here is a model that has been developed in New Zealand, and used as a base-model in other countries. As an example, the Kōhanga Reo model could be set up in this way,

1.   identify key language speakers;

2.   bring those key language speakers together to talk about what might be achievable in your area;

3.   identify appropriate times and place options suitable for your particular community;

4.   make sure families are engaged and provided with key information around deconstructing the myths of heritage language programmes and use (applicable worldwide);

5.   provide the families with the factors to positively motivate their commitment to heritage language education; and

6.   access strategies for raising bilingual children.

Although this information might be available elsewhere, it would be incorporated into the guide of 'how to set up a Kōhanga Reo model' because of the relevance of ensuring families are aware of the key information and informed about the commitment required to achieve the outcome.

The guide will provide detail about 'what we have found' are key interventions in planning, or in post-implementation reflection therefore, not leaving it to people to chance across the same challenges that might have been experienced elsewhere, and to have access to these learning's of others.

Another example for the local level might be; the Kāi Tahu *wānaka reo* models of intensive total immersion language programmes in weekends and school holidays, discussed in Chapter 4. For those of us who have been involved in these initiatives over the years, we have developed and refined a template of how to 'run a *wānaka*', and 'how to develop the associated resources'. For example; the 'How to' guide might start with a list that guides the group on the order of things you need to do and what needs to be considered when organising an event of this nature,

1.   Set a draft agenda with goals for the event clearly identifying the intended audience and outcomes;

2.   identify tutors and any other extra support required (e.g., carers for the children);

3.   meet with the hosts of the facility to discuss the programme and book appropriate rooms / resources;

4.   commit to catering and cleaning if required;

5. establish a registration process with clearly defined dates for registering;

6. notify potential participants and call for registrations;

7. confirm tutors and their contributions to the programme (what each tutor will be teaching); and

8. develop advanced timetable and confirm this with the hosts and tutor.

The next layer of information regarding the establishment of such an event might then consist of templates for the above areas, for example,

*   Checklists for organisational logistics;
*   registrations templates;
*   suggested timetables;
*   ways to present the workbooks / resources; and
*   tips for engaging in an immersion learning environment.

The next layer of information for the above subheadings might provide examples of databases or evaluation processes and so forth. The platform would then invite people to feedback or 'rate' the resources and templates, and would allow others to suggest alternatives that were adapted to suit their respective contexts.

For those people who run such events on a regular basis, this might be considered business as usual and easy to facilitate. However, this may not be the case for those who are not familiar with the tasks and may be likened to the analogy presented earlier of the kit-set drawers with the step-by-step instructions that might not be needed by a builder, but are very helpful for someone learning the task. The reality is that running an event of this kind can be highly stressful and anxiety-loading for someone who is doing it for the first time and even more so if they have to produce all of the resources and templates from scratch.

The templates we now use within the Kāi Tahu language strategy are the product of 20 years of activity and experience that have been constantly refined and refreshed. We have had the benefit of time and significant investment and review. The goal would therefore to be able to present the resources in such a way that a family or a group could utilise

them without having to have that prior knowledge of twenty years' experience to be able to do so. The access to the resources is therefore increased and not limited to a small group with the prior experience and expertise. The 'wheels of language revitalisation' that have already been invented, are therefore able to be rolled out on mass.

Another potential section for the portal could be around language planning and the development of scaffold plans in a language learning environment. Here, teachers or language mentors might be able to suggest areas of focus for language learning environments and suggest an order of language lessons for different contexts. For example, advice for those delivering language programmes for beginners might be able to access potential sessions of desired language to be covered and appropriate games or activities for beginner immersion sessions and so forth.

The portal could provide templates of lesson plans, or the 'how to' guide of developing a lesson plan with things to think about that might guide your work. Another level of the resource might be generic games or activities which can be easily adapted to a groups own dialect or language, and these could be further categorised around the language learning environment (classroom, home, cultural events) or around age levels or gender related language. The potential here, as with the example of the programme and timetable templates, is that quality resources might become accessible to people who do not have the technological or educational skills to produce like resources for themselves, but who are able to take quality resources already developed and adapt them to suit their own context.

This is similar to the model of template development by Microsoft Office, where people are able to access a myriad of ready-made templates in many different areas without requiring the web-based knowledge or specific programme knowledge to develop them from scratch. A range of templates from graphs and presentations, curriculum vitae and pamphlets to party and event invitations can be readily sourced and adapted to the needs of an individual or group with minimal effort and expertise to produce a quality product.

To return again to the Kōhanga Reo model, if the above approach was to be applied, it would mean that the Taiwan collective could then engage with the platform and present their adaptation to the New Zealand model, talking about what they did that was different

and what challenges they faced, and what they did to overcome those challenges, and the Lakota and Hawaiian's could then do the same.

In conclusion, within the language portal repository, contributors would be encouraged to present the 'how to', as well as wherever possible, present the resources in a way that they could be easily adaptable and transferable across other dialects of languages. The collective input of reflection on the models in practice in these different areas, could then contribute to a proposition of best practice, and could support others wanting to investigate similar initiatives, providing easy access to accessible information of how to go about the establishment phase and what they need to take into consideration in doing so.

Conclusion

The title of this thesis, *Te timatataka mai o te waiatataka mai o te reo* - the beginning of the singing of the language, helped me to frame the purpose of this research. The words from which it was adapted, recorded by my *tipuna* Matiaha Tiramōrehu in the book, *Te Waiatatanga mai o te Atua - South Island Traditions recorded by Matiaha Tiramōrehu* (1987), spoke of the beginnings of our Kāi Tahu world and explained its connections through the *whakapapa* narratives that unfolded. Matiaha's script explains why we are here today and what our relationship to the world around us is. It gives us as a people, place – a *tūrakawaewae*. The purpose of this thesis was to test whether or not the same could be done for *te reo* in Kāi Tahu and our Kāi Tahu dialect, *te mita o Kāi Tahu,* and if so, how that might be achieved. What strategies might be able to be explored and implemented to allow the language to start singing again?

Each chapter has begun with excerpts of lines from the *waiata, Kia Matike, Kia Mataara*. This *waiata* was chosen because it was composed as an exercise in a *wānaka* I was running for Kāi Tahu speakers of *te reo*, Pari Karakaraka, in 2009 (O'Regan & Rangipunga, 2016b). The journey of composition for the students started by providing them with a list of Kāi Tahu *kupu* that I thought would be good to try and bring back into use in our *reo.* These words were part of a list of Kāi Tahu words that had been collected over a number of years from research into the Kāi Tahu dialect. The students were then asked to think about a theme for the composition, a key message that they felt it was important to convey. They decided on writing a song that presented the struggle for *te*

reo within modern day Kāi Tahu and challenged to the leadership of the tribe and the people of Kāi Tahu to do what was needed to ensure its future survival.

The students then worked in pairs to compose *whakataukī* using the words they had been given and in line with the theme identified so that the new *kupu* would be able to be more readily accessed by other learners of *te reo* and revived within the *iwi*. The next stage of the process involved the whole class bringing together their *whakataukī* and weaving them together into a *waiata*. By engaging in this task, this collective of Kāi Tahu second-language speakers of *te reo*, were able to create a new beginning for the Kāi Tahu *kupu* that had been left dormant for so long as a result of our language loss. By the end of the evening, a song was composed that gave voice to those words and used them to petition the people to ensure there would be a *tūrakawaewae* for the *reo* again.

Kia matike, kia mataara	Be alert, be watchful
Kia mataara, me tarika rahirahi	On guard! Listen carefully
He ahi tāpoa kua kitea	A warning fire has been sighted
I kā kaokao, i kā raorao	In the foothills, the rolling plains
o te waka tāraia	Of the canoe etched out
e Tū te Rakiwhānoa e...i	By Tū Te Rakiwhānoa
Tuiau ki ruka, mākeokeo ki raro	Fleas above, itchiness below
Kai te tītaha te hua o te waka	The mast of the canoe is leaning
I te waha torohī	Because of the loose lips
E kore nei te ua e tākina e te awa	The river doesn't snatch at the rain
Ka mutu kē mai te kārearea	Oh what great stupidity
Pōkaikaha ana tō kāhui e...i	Your flock are left confused
Whakatikahia te whare o Tahu,	Fix up the house of Tahu
Kauraka ko te pā takitaki	But do not make it a gated pā
Kua paia te tatau	With it's door blocked shut
Mū i te ao, mū i te pō	Silent in the day, silent in the night
Ka noho kā Tatau-o-te-whare-o-Māui	Left only as a house for the Daddy-long-legs
Uhuka reo kore tō mutu e...i	Your funeral will be one of no voice
Kai hea rā aku manukura	Where are my leaders
I te āwhiotaka o te wā	In the height of the storm
Kai te kotiti te āwhā	A driving storm
Kai te ua te āwha	With pelting rain
Huruhuru hinamoki, ahakoa kure mai	To the silver haired, no matter the wrinkles
Me aropapaki, koi tai rere e...i	You must persevere, lest the tide be spent
Kia tama tāne ki te riri	Stand bravely for the battle
Koi noho tō rahi hei tāwai	Lest your people be left for ridicule

<table>
<tr><td>He puna raka e kore e whati</td><td>An agile wrist will not be broken</td></tr>
<tr><td>Aohia kā purapura a rātou mā,</td><td>Clutch the seeds of the elders</td></tr>
<tr><td>kia tūperepere ki waeka</td><td>So that the garden may be fruitful</td></tr>
<tr><td>hauaka ki ruka, haumako ki raro</td><td>Dew above, fertile lands below</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ka tihou te raki, ka ohu, ka ora</td><td>The sky is scraped, work together</td></tr>
<tr><td>Te reo o tō iwi e...i</td><td>and the language of your people will prosper.</td></tr>
</table>

(O'Regan & Rangipunga, 2016:b).

When reflecting on the journey of language revitalisation within the context of my *iwi* and in particular my own family and our endeavours to support the intergenerational transmission of *te reo*, I find myself returning to the image of the journey story.

We have needed to understand the landscape that we had needed to navigate and what has contributed to the paths that we are now needing to travel or alternatively, why we have had to deviate from what might have been a preferred route. Understanding the history of the language and the experiences of both *te reo* and the story of other language experience, helps to lay out the map of language revitalisation.

Once the map has been constructed, we are able to build our understanding of the factors that influence language shift and strategies to reverse it both locally and internationally to help guide us to the starting point of our journey in our time. This understanding acts as the co-ordinates for the map that locate us in a specific place and time. When we hone in on these co-ordinates we can see the detail of the experience, the issues surrounding the streams of dialect and where the individual homes are situated that tell of personal stories of language loss and regeneration.

The development and analysis of individual strategies help to map out the journey ahead, the particular *huanui* (highway) that is being followed. To clearly follow the highway requires an understanding of the final destination. You need to know where it is that you want to get to through your endeavour. The KMK *huanui* provides us with an idea about what provisions and resources we might need to take along with us on the journey in order to sustain us for the ride. It also indicates who we might need to bring along with us, who are the passengers for the journey?

The interviews of those who have been either internally or externally associated with the strategy can be used to determine whether or not we have actually chosen the right highway. It provides the ability to have a pit-stop and reflect on alternative routes and perhaps, if necessary, choose a different future path or a different destination. The 'local knowledge' that can be gained from these insights can give us a clearer picture of what the roads and obstacles are actually like 'on the ground' from the people who are putting the theories into practice and testing the strategies as we go.

The chapter relating to intergenerational transmission and raising bilingual children can be likened to the narrative of the journey that takes place in the car along the way. Here we find the conversations about the past and future aspirations. We also experience the full suite of emotions as it is a reflection of a personal journey. There is the excitement about the trip as we set off on our way, full of passion and hope. Then there are the points of frustration and fighting in the back seat when the excitement has worn off and the reality of the time it is taking hits home. This is the time that we need to try and manage the expectations of the children in the back seat and the constant ring of the question in the driver's ear, 'Māmā, are we there yet?'

This phase of the journey is characterised by reflection and review and at times you may even find yourself questioning yourself. The back seat drivers also test your directions and may challenge your judgement on a multiplicity of issues including your speed, your attention to detail, who you are taking with you and who you are leaving behind. They may even challenge whether or not the final destination that you have set your sights on for your language and dialect is an appropriate one or, indeed, an achievable one.

The process of review, however, then sets the scene for the final two chapters where we start to think about the possibilities. This is the time, with the map laid out in front of you, showing clearly the impassable mountains and flooded rivers that lie in your path, when you allow yourself the space to think creatively about strategies that will help you forge a new path, or a new road, or a new approach. With the goal set firmly on arriving at the desired place before the sun sets on your language, and a car loaded with everything you are going to need to set up camp on arrival, you then re-set the GPS and start up the car again.

The final chapter is concerned with identifying a new 'E.T.A' (estimated time of arrival). In order to do that, we have started to explore what the destination might look like and what the markers or signposts might be that will tell us that we have arrived so we can turn off the GPS confidently and step out into the arrival zone. That process of planning helps to re-focus the next leg of the journey with the hope of injecting a new sense of energy, passion and commitment to the revitalisation of Kāi Tahu *reo*. The chapter suggests a new approach to achieve the goal and looks at how we might use the resources available to us in a new way to revamp or 'pimp' the car by adding features that will assist us to better navigate the path and overcome the challenging terrain.

Although I might predict what the next chapter in the story might look like, it can only be a predication, albeit one that is informed by research into the historical experiences and lessons learnt. I am not certain what the passengers in the car will be like when we arrive at the point; that we can say our language has been revitalised and is sustainable as the language of intergenerational transmission within Kāi Tahu homes. Will there even be an understanding that the milestone is a significant one, or will it have been so normalised that it is just taken as a matter of fact? Will the children in the back seat be silent at that point and in awe of your navigational skills, seemingly amazed that you actually delivered on a promise? Or is the air all around you resounding with shrieks of excitement at no longer having to 'be in the car', fighting over 'territory', no longer being subjected to the 'growlings of Māmā' who has had the stated command of '*kōrero Māori'* (speak Māori) on instant replay for the entire trip?

We are unable to predict the 'climate' or the environmental context at the destination point and what new climatic threats might be challenging the future existence of *te reo*, *te mita o Kāi Tahu* and other minority Indigenous languages around the world. We also have no way of knowing how that climate might feel on a personal level. Will you be bathed in the warm rays of joy and accomplishment, of knowing that your heritage language is for the moment safe and will be something you can bequeath to your *tamariki*? Or will it be raining as you reflect on what was lost and what was sacrificed in order to achieve that moment?

Tā Tipene O'Regan, spoke of his vision for the cultural position of our Kāi Tahu people when it is time for him to leave this world. His view of his *destination point* has a place

for the language and associated cultural capacity as well as our Kāi Tahu dialect.

> Until we are our own owners, we are denying the *rangatiratanga* that our *tūpuna* placed upon us to protect or recover. We have to strengthen the confidence of the flax-roots people. If they are strong, the people are strong. If the cooks are happy, the *marae* is *happy*. I would like to think, as I take my last journey off the *marae* to the *urupā*, that it's a Kāi Tahu voice that sends me off, and that it's a Kāi Tahu voice, one of our *taua*, standing up there at the fence calling me in to the old *urupā* overlooking the sea. The *poroporoakī* at the graveside would be in Kāi Tahu dialect and I would like every *waiata* that is sung at that *tangi* to be a new composition. I've heard all the old ones, I want to hear new songs that are coming as I go (O'Regan, 1994:53).

In my heart, I hope that when I arrive at the destination point, the air has the feeling of normality – a moment in time where I can find a little posse out of view, but where I can watch what is happening around me. From there I can see that the language has achieved a state of normality and watch my children (or grandchildren) comfortably slip between Māori and English and maybe another language depending on who they are speaking to as they go about their play and conversations. It is not an issue or a struggle to do so, and those around them are also familiar with this bilingual or multilingual reality and all of its richness.

I can hear my children joke and share experiences with their peers in *te mita o Kāi Tahu*, our heritage dialect, and those they speak to hold true to theirs. Again, it's a non-issue, but it sounds divine to the ears of a person who has longed to hear its voice echo from the mouths of others. That's when I will know that 'we are there'. When I can *mihi* (acknowledge) my mentors and *tūpuna* and thank them for being the backbone of the journey. When I can breathe and relax, no longer feeling the anxiety that comes with language loss and endangerment.

And, as I am awakened from my utopic trance by the fighting in the back seat, and asked once more how long we have to go, I can only answer – "*ko tīmata te waiatataka mai o tō tātau reo* – the singing of our language has started! How long do we have to go? As long as it takes to get there my darlings – as long as it takes! So you may as well stop fighting – and enjoy the ride!"

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Rāraki kupu Māori - Glossary of Māori words

Ahi kā roa	the long burning fire (right of occupancy in Māori land tenure)
Atua	God/s
E aropapaki ana ki uta	crashing upon the shores
E noho	sit down
Haere mai	come here
Haka	traditional war dance
Hākoro	father
Hākoro kēkē	uncle
Hākui	mother
Hākui kēkē	aunty
Hapū	sub-tribe, be pregnant
Hauata	never mind, it is just an accident
Hiko	electric, electricity
Horoi	wash
Huanui	highway
Hui	a gathering, to gather, a meeting, to meet
Hui-ā-iwi	biannual tribal festival
Iwi	tribe, bones
Kahuru	ten, autumn, tenth month in the Kāi Tahu calendar year
Kai	food, eat
Kāi Tahutaka	Kāi Tahu cultural identity
Kāi Tahu whānui	the extended collective of Kāi Tahu
Kai te haere	April, the eleventh month of the Kāi Tahu calendar year
Kaiako	teacher/s
Kaiwhakahaere	organiser
Kapa Haka	Māori performing arts group and associated activity
Karakia	prayer
Kaumātua	elder/s
Kaupapa	topic, central theme, issue
Kāuta	kitchen
Kia Kurapa	A weekend Kāi Tahu bilingual development programme run under KMK
Kīwaha	Idiom, colloquialisms
Kōhaka / Kōhanga	Nest, the name given to the total immersion Māori language early learning cetres and movement
Kōpū	womb
Kotahi mano kāika	One thousand homes, the name of the Kāi Tahu Māori language strategy
Kotahi mano kāika, kotahi mano wawata	A thousand homes, a thousand dreams
Kotahitanga	unity
Kōtiro	girl
Kouka/ kounga	quality
Kuia	grandmother (generic northern term)
Kupu	word

Kupu whakarite	simile
Kura Reo	the name given to the week-long total immersion intensive Māori language learning programmes
Mahika kai / mahinga kai	Traditional foods and the places where traditional foods were gathered and processed
Māori	the Indigenous people of New Zealand
Mana	prestige, status
Mana Māori	control and responsibility
Mana tangata	personal empowerment
Manuhiri	guests
Marae	traditional village
Mātāpono	principle, maxim
Mātauraka / Mātauranga	knowledge, education
Matua whākai/ whāngai	foster parent
Mihi	greetings, acknowledge
Mimi	urine, urinate
Mita	dialect
Mokopuna	grandchild, grandchildren
Motu	country, island
Ngahuru	ten, autumn, tenth month in the Kāi Tahu calendar year
Naia	here it is
Ōhākī	parting wish, a person's last words
Pā	viliage
Pakaka	battles
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
Pānui	notice, announcement
Papatipu rūnaka	traditional community council
Parikarakaraka	a Kāi Tahu immersion proficiency development programme run under KMK
Pātiki	flounder fish
Pepeha	tribal sayings
Petipeti moana	jellyfish
Pioke	spotted dogfish
Pora	large sea-going canoe
Poroporoakī	traditional ceremony of farewell
Pou	post, pillar
Poupou	posts (traditionally the carved posts in a meeting house)
Poua	grandfather (Kāi Tahu dialect)
Pouārahi	mentor/s
Pounamu	greenston
Poupou	post, pillar
Poutokomanawa	central support post in a meeting house, the heart post
Pōwhiri	traditional ceremony of welcome
Puku	stomach
Pūrere	appliance
Pūrere horoi weruweru	washing machine

Pūtea	finances
Rakahau	research
Rakahaua	research it
Rakatira	leader, chief
Rakatirataka	self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy
Raraka	weaving
Raupatu	conquest (right of conquest in Māori land tenure)
Reo	language
Reo rūmaki	total immersion
Rohe	district, tribal territory
Roro	brains
Rorohiko	computer
Rūnaka	council
Taina	younger sibling of the same gender, apprentice
Taiohi	youth, teenager
Takata	person
Tākata	people
Takata pora	boat people (white people)
Takiauē	funerals
Takiwā	tribal district
Tama	boy, son
Tamariki	children
Taniwha	monster
Taoka / taonga	treasure
Taua	grandmother (Kāi Tahu dialect)
Taua	war party
Taua iti	small war party
Te Niho Makā	the barracuda tooth (name of a battle between Kāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa)
Taua nui	big war party
Te Pou Tuatahi	the First Post
Te Pou Tuarua	the Second Post
Te Pou Tuatoru	the Third Post
Te Pou Tuawhā	the Forth Post
Te reo	the language (reference to the Māori language)
Te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te reo o Kāi Tahu	the Kāi Tahu language
Te reo o te kāuta	the language of the kitchen
Tikaka	custom, cultural practice or behaviour
Tio	oyster
Tipuna	ancestor
Tīpuna	ancestors
Tipuna wahine	female ancestor
Tītī	mutton bird
Tohuka / Tohunga	expert, spiritual leader
Tohuka raraka	master weaver
Tono	invitation
Tuakana	older sibling of the same gender

Tuakana – taina	older / younger sibling relationship, mentoring relationship
Tuatara	native New Zealand lizard
Tūhonotanga	interconnectedness
Tupuna	ancestor
Tūpuna	ancestors
Tūrakawaewae / Tūrangawaewae	place to stand (ancestral lands)
Urupā	cemetery, burial ground
Utu pihikete	half-caste (paid for with biscuits)
Utu pārara	half-caste (paid for with a barrel of rum)
Waiata	song, sing
Waiho	leave it
Wānaka / wānanga	to discuss and debate an issue, the time spent debating or discussing an issue, the place where an issue is debated or discussed
Wānaka reo rumaki/wānanga reo rumaki	a total immersion language course or event
Wānakahia	Deliberate it
Wananei	awesome
Weruweru	clothes
Whaikōrero	formal oratory
Whākai	feed, nurture, foster, adopt
Whakairo	carving
Whakamā	embarrassed
Whakamanahia	Mandate it
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whakataukī	proverb
Whānau	family
Whāngai	feed, nurture, foster, adopt
Whare	house
Whare kōrero	speaking house
Wharerau	ancestral meeting house, round house (traditional Kāi Tahu southern style)
Whare Tipuna / Whare Tūpuna	ancestral meeting house,
Wheke	Octopus

Rāraki ikoa – Glossary of personal and proper nouns

Akaroa	Place name, town on Banks Peninsula
Aoraki	Mount Cook, significant tribal mountain of Kāi Tahu
Awarua	Place Name, Bluff, author's marae
Kā / Ngā Roimata	daughter of Te Maiharanui and Te Whē
Kāpiti	An island of the Wellington Coast and stronghold of Te Rauparaha
Kā Tiritiri o te Moana	The Southern Alps, South Island of New Zealand
Kāi Tahu / Ngāi Tahu	Name of the author's tribe, South Island of New Zealand

Kāti Māmoe / Ngāti Māmoe	Name of the second big wave of tribal migration into the South Island, intermarried with the first major wave, Waitaha, and then later with Kāi Tahu.
Kīngitanga	The Māori King movement
Kotahitanga	The Māori Parliament movement of the nineteenth century
Matiaha Tiramōrehu	Tīpuna, tohuka of Kāi Tahu from Moeraki
Māui	an important demi-god in Māori tradition
Mereana Teitei	Ancestor from Awarua who migrated to Moeraki
Moeraki	place name, author's marae
Ngāi Tahu whānui	the extended collective of Ngāi Tahu
Ngāti Toa / Kāti Toa	Name of a tribe from the top of the North Island and Marlborough areas, who started warring with Kāi Tahu in the 1830s
Taranaki	A region on the West Coast of the North Island, also the name given to the collection of iwi from the same area
Taumutu	A place in Banks Peninsula and one of the eighteen main marae bases in Kāi Tahu
Tāwhaki	a tīpuna with super natural abilities / demi-god, who claimed to the heavens in search of knowledge
Tāne / Tāne Māhuta	God of the forests
Tāwhirimātea	God of the winds
Te Arawa	Name of a central North Island tribe
Te Kerēme	The Kāi Tahu Claim
Te Maiharanui	Ngāi Tahu chief, husband of Te Whē
Te Rauparaha	Ngāti Toa chief
Te Waipounamu	The South Island of New Zealand
Te Whē	wife of Te Maiharanui
Wairarapa	A region north of Wellington in the North Island

Kā Tāpiritaka - Appendices

He kōrero whakamāramataka mō kā kaikōrero – Background information
on the Interviewees

1: Kāi Tahu speakers of the language living in the Kāi Tahu takiwā

Tihou Weepu
Kāti Irakehu, Kāti Waewae

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Tihou Messenger Weepu holds the position of Kaitautoko Rangatahi, WestREAP, where he works with young people to 'grow their capacity to dream'. His mahi focuses on strengthening and supporting important relationships between *rangatahi*, their *whānau*, schools, community and marae.

In 2013, Tihou completed the TUIA journey, a total of 365 days in a van travelling around New Zealand with a group of passionate young New Zealanders who sought to explore the historical, cultural, political and educational landscapes of the country. After completing a year of studies in Wellington and participating in Te Haerenga, Tihou decided to return home to support his local community. WestREAP fills gaps in education for rural communities in early childhood, schools, and youth and adult groups through providing community programmes and courses. Tihou is also a graduate of Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori.

Henare Te Aika -Puanaki
Ngāi Tūāhuriri

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Henare is a *te reo Māori* teacher at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Whānau Tahi. His role involves teaching in total immersion and working with colleagues to raise the overall quality of te reo at the school. He also indulges his passion for kapa haka (Māori performing arts), travelling frequently with students to local and national competitions. Henare is a driven advocate for *te reo Māori* and tikanga in the Canterbury area and enjoys working with youth and composing *waiata*. Henare is also a proud father of his young son and a passionate supporter of intergenerational transmission of te reo in the home.

Justin Tipa
Ngāi Te Aomarewa, Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Ngāti Hine Matua, Ngāti Hāteatea

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Justin is a father of four *tamariki* who he and his partner Ana have raised in *te reo Māori* in the home and is passionate about the rejuvenation of *te reo Māori* and cultural practices within Ngāi Tahu, particularly *whaikōrero* and *karakia*. Until recently Justin managed the education portfolio at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. This role included implementing the tribal education strategy, key stakeholder engagement and capacity building at flax roots. Justin now holds the position of Business Relationship Manager at Fonterra. He is also the combined southern Rūnanga governance representative at the Otago Polytechnic Centre of Sustainability. Justin's undergraduate degree was a Bachelor of Language, specialisation Maori, and he is also a graduate of Te Panekiretanga. His commitment to language revitalisation in the tribe is evident both at the local marae and tribal level through his support and teaching for a number of years at various KMK language initiatives.

Dr Eruera Tarena
Ngai Tahu (Tūāhuriri), Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-a-Apanui

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Eruera has a strong background in both cultural and organisational expertise and has worked in a range of organisations associated with iwi development and across multiple divisions of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Eruera has extensive experience facilitating collaborative partnerships, teams and projects focused on achieving Maori success. Eruera is fluent in te *reo* and a graduate of Te Panekiretanga and a proud father of four children who he and his wife Te Marino have raised in te *reo*. Eruera also holds a master's degree in Maori oral traditions and was recently awarded his Doctorate with a research focus on Indigenous organisations, their design and how they balance culture and commerce. Eru is passionate about bringing together the collective strengths of Maori communities to marry these with other partners to maximise positive change for whānau.

Charisma Rangipunga
Ngāti Rākaipāka, Ngāti Moehau, Ngāti Haupoto, Ngāti Irakehu

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Charisma Rangipunga is an author, composer, mother of three boys and Māori language champion. Raised in Australia of Ngāi Tahu, Taranaki and Ngāti Kahungunu heritage, she returned to New Zealand at age 11, with her mother, Linda. Today she is General Manager of 'Te Taumatua' at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, managing a team of twenty four, in language, culture, archives, heritage, arts and genealogy. Charisma was recently appointed a Commissioner at Te Taura Whiri (Māori Language Commission) and she has been involved in reviewing the Māori Language Act. Charisma is a published writer and co-author of twenty adult and children's books including: '*Kupu'*, an anthology of Māori poetry; '*Kura Kaumātua*; and *He Hokika Mahara: Recalling the Memories'*, a collection of memoirs honouring Canterbury kaumātua.

Megan Grace
Ngāti Porou, Kāi Tahu and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui,
Pākehā

(Source, O'Regan, personal collection)

Megan is of Ngāti Porou, Kāi Tahu and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui descent on her father's side, and Scottish, Welsh and English descent on her mother's side of the family. Raised in the Wellington region, Megan is one of five children and was raised with her father speaking te *reo Māori* to her until the age of five when she started school. In her first year of school her father was reprimanded by her principal for Māori language in the home, at which point a language shift occurred in her *whānau* and her home became an English speaking home. A mother of four children, Megan has committed to developing her language development and has been strong advocate for *te reo* in the home and immersion education.

Paulette Tamati-Elliffe
Kāi Te Pahi, Kāi Te Ruahikihiki (Ōtākou), Te Atiawa, Ngāti Mutunga

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Paulette is the KMK Programme Leader for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. She has been involved with KMK since signing the *whānau* up in 2000, when the programme was first launched to the iwi. Over the last fifteen years, Paulette and her partner Komene have committed to raising their four tamariki in *te reo Māori* as the language of the home. They are both fully involved in the revitalisation of *te reo me ōna tikaka* (the language and its customs) among Ngāi Tahu whānui and the wider community. Paulette is a graduate of Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo. Paulette is a composer, teacher of language and kapa haka, community language facilitator and language champion.

Tahu Pōtiki
Kāti Ruahikihiki, Kāti Moki, Kāi Te Pahi

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu collection)

Tahu Pōtiki was born and raised in Karitane, a small fishing village north of Dunedin. His father is of Māori descent from the South Island tribes of Kai Tahu and Kati Māmoe and his mother is of European descent. Tahu has been published on a number of subjects and is a regular speaker at conferences and public gatherings. He is considered an expert on South Island Māori history, language and culture as well as being involved in modern Māori politics and tribal development at a local and national level.

He has worked in social and community work, Māori education and for five years he was the Chief Executive Officer of Te Rūnanga o Ngai Tahu where he now serves as an elected representative for his home marae of Ōtākou.

For much of his career Tahu has been involved in Māori development and he is currently a Director of Ngai Tahu Tourism, the Ngai Tahu Fund and the CRI Environmental Science and Research. In the past he has sat on the board of the Māori Television Service and he was also a board member of the Southern District Health Board and the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

During the early post-settlement phase Tahu was a primary driver behind the establishment of the Ngāi Tahu language strategy, KMK, and spear-headed the early initiatives that led to the establishment of a unit dedicated to language in the tribal organisation. Married to Megan and the father of three children, Tahu continues to be actively involved in tribal language and cultural policy and developments.

Lynne-Harata Te Aika
Ngāi Tūāhuriri, Ngāti Awa, Whānau a Apanui

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Lynne-Harata Te Aika is a former Head of School: Māori and Indigenous Studies at the University of Canterbury until mid-2015. She has held other senior management positions at the University of Canterbury including Kaiārahi Māori for the College of Education and Head of School Māori, Social and Cultural Studies in Education. In 2016 Lynne accepted the position of interim General Manager - Taumatua at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu where she manages the portfolios of language, culture and identity and *whakapapa*.

Lynne was awarded a Master of Arts (Honours) and a Graduate in Diploma Māori and Bilingual Education from the University of Waikato as well as a Diploma in Teaching from the Christchurch College of Education. She has spent a significant part of her career driving *te reo kaupapa* in education and the tribe and is a graduate of Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo.

Lynne has an extensive background in research relating to *te reo Māori*, Indigenous education, bilingual and immersion education, treaty and tribal education. She has also got considerable experience working in the areas of Māori development and early childhood education as well as teaching experience across the compulsory education sector. Lynne has had membership on a range of groups, committees and boards, including; Chairperson Te Ngāi Tūāhuriri Education Committee, Chairperson Tuahiwi School Board of Trustees, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu KMK Language Planning Advisory Committee. Lynne is also a composer of *waiata* and writer of resources in *te reo Māori*.

Rānui Ngarimu
Ngāi Tahu (Ōraka-Aparima)

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Rānui Ngarimu is a renowned Ngāi Tahu weaver and cultural exponent and advocate. Rānui has been teaching *te reo Māori* for over forty years in her home to *whānau* wanting to learn *te reo* using the Ataarangi method. She is a winner of multiple awards and was the co-author, with her sister Miriama Evans, of a book on weaving – *The Eternal Thread /Te Aho Mutunga Kore*. She is a former chair of Te Roopu Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa, the Māori weavers collective and has worked for many years in the revitalisation and development of the art of weaving in the community. Rānui worked alongside the late Te Aue Davis of Ngāti Maniapoto to create Te Māhutonga – the cloak woven for the New Zealand Olympic Team, which has been worn by the flag bearer for New Zealand at the Olympic Games.

2:   Kāi Tahu Speakers of te reo (living outside of the rohe)

Jeanine Tamati-Elliffe

(Source: Tamati-Elliffe, J., personal collection)

Jeanine (Kāi Tahu, Te Atiawa) is a mother of five tamariki whom she has raised with *te reo Māori* as their first language. With a background and passion for *reo* revitalisation and hauora, Jeanine currently works as a Kaiārahi ā rohe for Whakawhetū, a national kaupapa Māori programme dedicated to reducing the incidence of SUDI (Sudden Unexpected Death in Infancy). Within the health promotion aspects of her mahi, she actively promotes *te reo Māori* as a tool of empowerment for parents and *whānau* – particularly for young Māori who are beginning their journey into parenting. She believes that by supporting and encouraging more Māori to speak more *reo*, more often with their tamariki will in turn empower them to make better, healthier decisions for themselves and their children throughout the course of their life.

Another way that she is able to support this philosophy is through her coordination of opportunities for whānau living in Auckland who are raising bilingual tamariki to learn, engage and interact regularly in *te reo*. Along with other passionate advocates for the language who are also raising their tamariki in *te reo*, she helped set up a group called Māori 4 Kids Inc. This group began as a small coffee group of new and expectant *reo*-speaking parents, now has an online membership of over 4,000 people and is funded to provide a range of *reo* activities throughout the year which are centred on the whole *whānau*.

Stacey Morrison

(Source: Morrison, personal collection)

Stacey has worked in media for more than half her life, on television both in front of the camera, and behind, and in radio since 1994. Teaming with her husband Scotty Morrison these roles have included *reo* revitalisation strategies and consultancy of shows such as *Whānau Living*, *Find me a Māori bride, Code* and *This is Piki*. Stacey and Scotty also join forces to teach functional Māori language to parents and *whānau* with in the community group 'Māori 4 Grown Ups' which they founded with other like-minded parents who saw the need to bring *te reo Māori* to life in their homes, and family lives. The group has run *wānanga*, night classes and *whānau kura reo*, always focusing on language for the home, especially relevant to raising tamariki. Stacey and Scotty only speak Māori to their three children (9yrs, 8yrs and 3yrs) which wouldn't have been possible for Stacey, but for years of night class study, wānanga and kura reo, and Te Panekiretanga. Stacey was a rangatahi representative in Ngāi Tahu's planning projects in the year 2000 of which the 'Kotahi mano kāika' projects was borne. Stacey was one of the authors of NZOA's 'Ngā matakīrea report on Māori mainstream television' 2011, and a research project on Children's programming for Māori Television in 2013 which introduced the Māori versioning of shows such as Dora the Explorer and Team Umizoomi.

Stacey was a founding member of the Raukatauri Music therapy Centre, and two-term rep for the NZ Family Planning council, having formerly held the role of UN Goodwill Ambassador for Sexual and Reproductive health in Aotearoa. She is an ambassador for the NZ Breast foundation and Water Safety New Zealand.

Kukupa Tirakatene
Ngāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha and Ngāti Pahauwera o Te Rōpu Tūhonohono o Kahungungu, Ngāti Toa

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Born at Rātana Pā, Whanganui, Kukupa Tirikatene is the eighth of twelve children born to Sir Eruera and Lady Ruti Matekino Tirikatene. A passionate teacher of his first language, *te reo Māori*, history and tikanga, Kukupa graduated from Christchurch Teachers College in 1975 and the following year took up a position teaching, *te reo Māori*, at Rosehill College in Papakura. In 1993 he moved to Manukau Institute of Technology (MIT) to continue passing on his language and tikanga.

Kukupa held the position of kaumātua and kaitiaki of the Ngāi Tahu tribal exhibition, *Mō Tātou* from 2006-2009 at Te Papa in Wellington. He was the founding member and kaumātua for Ngāi Tahu Whānui in Auckland and cultural advisor to the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Known nationally as an orator and a passionate supporter of Māori and community development, Kukupa was appointed in 2014 as an officer of the NZ Order of Merit for services to Māori and education.

Mereana Mokikiwa Hutchen
Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-a-Apanui

(Source: O'Maily, 2009)

Mrs Mereana Mokikiwa Hutchen, affectionately known as Aunty Kiwa, has been a long an active member of the Christchurch and wider Ngai Tahu community since shifting here in her late teens from home in Te Whānau-a-Apanui. A member of the Māori Women's refuge, she has been a leading figure in Christchurch for many years around positive parenting, supporting *whānau* to be violence free and a leader Matua Whāngai, the Māori foster care initiative.

Mereana was awarded the Queen's Service Medal in 2008 for services to Māori, women, and the community.

3: Kāi Tahu who were not daily speakers of the language

Lisa Tumahai
Ngāti Waewae

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu collection)

Lisa has 10 years board experience as a company director and 18 years governance experience with not for profit organisations. Lisa brings strength to boards as a strategic thinker who brings ideas and tactical solutions to board decisions and strong analytical skills with an ability to think about all of the factors that might affect a situation. Experience and skills in financial management, strategic planning, HR management, business development, negotiation and contracting. Lisa Tumahai is currently the Deputy Kaiwhakahaere (chair) of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and she is the first woman to hold such a senior role with Ngāi Tahu.

Mark Solomon
Ngāti Kurī

(Source: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu collection)

Tā Mark Solomon is committed to the betterment of his iwi, kotahitanga for Māori and the wider well-being of people and the environment. He is a strong advocate for the Māori economy and was instrumental in setting up the Iwi Chairs Forum (2005). He is the elected Kaiwhakahaere (Chair) of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, a position he has held since 1998. He has represented his local Papatipu Rūnanga, Te Rūnanga o Kaikōura since 1995 and is the current Chair.

Of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Kurī descent, Tā Mark's contribution to his community has been diverse and significant, ranging from roles as a school board trustee, to a past board member of the Museum of New Zealand (Te Papa Tongarewa). In 2013 he was awarded Knight Companion of the New Zealand Order of Merit for services to Māori and Business. In April 2015 he received an Honorary Doctorate from Lincoln University as Doctor of Natural Resources, recognising his enduring interest and concern for our natural environment.

Tā Mark's current directorships include Te Ohu Kaimoana, Te Pookai Aronui, Te Tapuae o Rehua, Advisory Board on CERA Transition and he is a trustee of Pure Advantage and a member of the NZ China Council. He was an original member of the Minister for Māori Affairs Māori Economic Taskforce, established in 2009. Tā Mark is a committed advocate for the sanctity of *whānau* and takes a strong stance against *whānau* violence. He is passionate about his people and is determined to facilitate both iwi and wider Māori success by unlocking the potential of the Māori economy for the good of all.

Tā Tipene O'Regan
Kāti Rakiāmoa, Kāti Ruahikihiki, Kāi Tūāhuriri, Kāti Waewae.

(Source: O'Regan, personal collection)

Sir Tipene O'Regan is the retired Assistant Vice-Chancellor Māori of the University of Canterbury and former long-serving Chairman of the Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board. He remains as Adjunct Professor in the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre at the University of Canterbury and as a Fellow of the University of Auckland where he chairs Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, the Centre for Māori Research Excellence. He holds a D.Litt (Hons) from the University of Canterbury, a D.Comm (Hons) from Lincoln University and a D.Comm (Hons) from Victoria University of Wellington. He is a Distinguished Fellow of the Institute of Directors and recently retired from a 28 year term as a member of the New Zealand Geographic Board.

Sir Tipene led the Ngāi Tahu Claims process before the Waitangi Tribunal from 1986, culminating in a notable settlement with the Crown in 1998. He was the architect of the Treaty Fisheries Settlements in 1989 and 1992 and became the founding Chairman of Te Ohu Kai Moana, the Māori Fisheries Trust. He has been chairman and director of a wide range of entities in both the public and private sectors and has held major board appointments in both the heritage and environment sectors. Sir Tipene currently chairs Te Pae Kōrako and Te Pae Kaihika for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. His personal scholarly interest is largely in traditional history and ethnology of Ngāi Tahu and Te Waipounamu.

In more recent years Sir Tipene has become a widely recognised participant in the debate on the shape and character of the Māori economy and the modernising of iwi governance models. He was made a Knight Bachelor in 1994.

Pania Papa
Ngāti Mahuta, ko Ngāti Korokī Kahukura, i raro i te karangatanga iwi o Waikato me Raukawa

(Source: Kotahi Mano Kāika collection)

Pania Papa is a passionate Māori language leader who has a reputation as a strong Māori language advocate and pioneer of language development. She is a well-known producer and presenter of Māori language television programmes, including the long running series of Ako on Māori television. Her work in the translation of cartoon series into Māori has been a significant contributor to the growth of Māori medium programming for children over the last few years. A teacher on the many tribal and national Kura Reo Immersion week intensives, Pania has also assumed a teaching role on Te Panekiretanga, after graduating from the programme in 2005. Pania is an acknowledged author, composer, judge of Kapa Haka at Matatini and Manu Kōrero competitions and active leader and role model in her tribe.

Leon Blake
Ngāi Tūhoe, Tūhourangi, Ngāti Wāhiao, Ngāti Whāwhākia, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Taranaki, Te Whānau a Apanui

(Source: Leon Blake, personal collection)

Leon Blake is self-employed as a Director and Māori Language Consultant for his company, Kounga Limited. He has been actively involved in Māori language revitalisation efforts and projects for over twenty years. He is a graduate from the first intake of Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo, where he is now part of the teaching staff. Leon is a qualified translator and interpreter, who, in his capacity as consultant, continues to work within a number of areas, including Government departments, education institutions, broadcasting, as well as iwi, where he offers a variety of services including teaching, translating, interpreting, consultancy and reviewing. He is a passionate and dedicated teacher, composer and advocate of Māori cultural song and performance, where he is called upon regularly to judge at kapa haka competitions both locally and nationally at various levels of the spectrum.
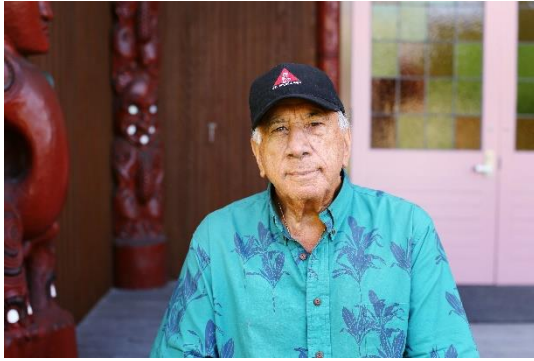
Tīmoti Kāretu
Tūhoe, Ngāti Kahungunu

(Source: Te Ipukarea, 2014)

Tīmoti Kāretu is one of three Directors of Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, established in 2004. Tīmoti is recognised nationally and internationally as a master of *te reo Māori* and his role in the Māori language revitalisation movement. In 1970 Tīmoti became the first professor of Māori Studies at the University of Waikato and he went on to become the first Māori Language Commissioner at Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (The Māori Language Commission) in 1987, holding the role until 1999. He has received numerous awards for his services to Maori language and the community, including the Queen's Service Order (QSO) in 1992. Tīmoti was appointed as the head of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board in 2003 and has maintained a leading role on the Board from that time. He has been greatly involved the language revitalisation efforts of a number of indigenous groups worldwide and has lead four international trips of Te Panekiretanga graduates to support language initiatives in America, Hawaii, and Tahiti. An acclaimed author and academic, Tīmoti is also recognised as a leader in Māori performing arts where he has performed the roles of tutor, composer and judge for many years. Tīmoti is one of three founding New Zealand fellows of the International Centre for Language Revitalisation.
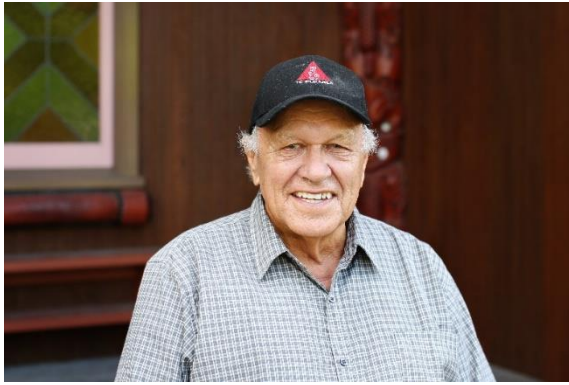
Wharehuia Milroy
Tūhoe

(Source: Te Ipukarea, 2014)

Te Wharehuia Milroy is one of three Directors of Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, established in 2004. He is a highly esteemed expert and advocate of *te reo Māori* and Māori culture. In 1978 he joined the University of Waikato's Māori Department in 1978 who were to recognise his contributions with the award of an honorary doctorate in 2005. Te Wharehuia has held many national positions and has been a been a member of the Waitangi Tribunal since 1998. Some of his other roles have included a board member of the Māori Language Commission, the Waikato Museum, and an advisor for the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. Te Wharehuia was awarded the Queen's Service Order (QSO) in 2003 for his contributions to *te reo* and the community.