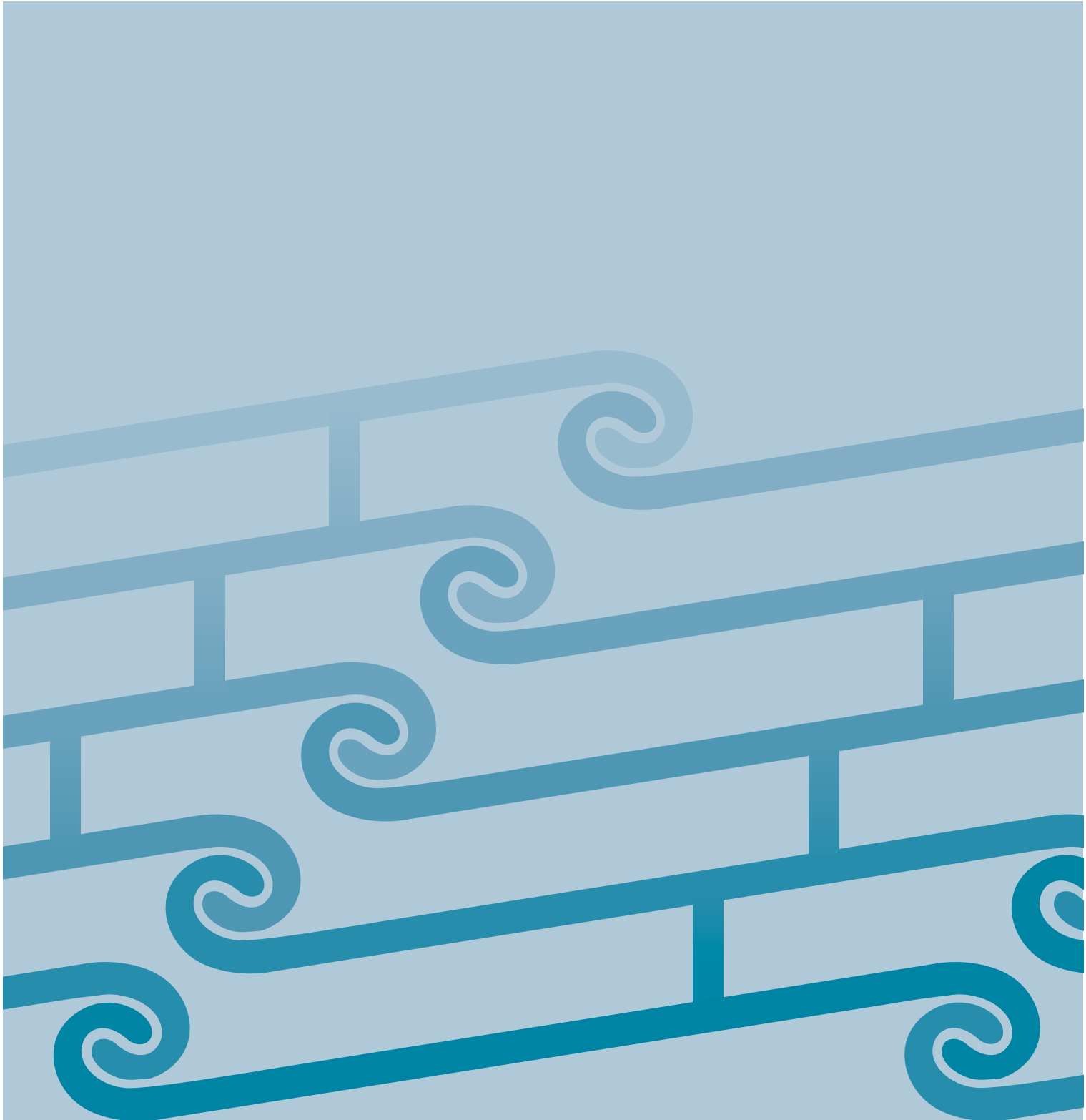




He Arotakenga Tuhituhi

Ngā Whakaaro ki te Hauora o te Reo Māori



Whakataukī

**Ko taku reo taku ohooho,
ko taku reo taku māpihi mauria**

My language is my awakening,
my language is the window
to my soul

Nō te tau 2018 i puta ai

He mea whakarite e
Anne Hardman



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Te Whakarāpopototanga Matua

Ngā whāinga

Ko te whāinga o te arotakenga tuhituhi nei, he tāpae i tētahi tātaritanga hohonu tonu o te hauora o te reo Māori. E mahi ana ki te wherawhera i te ngaro haeretanga o te reo me ngā āhuatanga i ngaro haere ai. Ka pere anō te titiro ki ngā mahi whakamahere, whakatakoto kaupapa-here e pā ana ki te nunumitanga, te whakaoranga ake me te whakapūmautanga o te reo. Ka tātai haerehia anō hoki te kaneke haere o te reo, mai i tōna ūkaipō, taka rawa mai ki nāiane.

Ko te kaupapa matua i tuhia ai, he whakatakoto taunakitanga hei tautoko i ngā kaupapa-here.

Raharaha ana tērā te rapunga o te kōrero i ngā pātengi raraunga whare pukapuka me te ipurangi. Ko ngā pārongo i hua ake, i noho hei tīmatanga mō te tātaritanga ā-kaupapa e takoto ake nei.

Ngā kitenga mātāmua

E ai ki ngā kōrero tuku iho, ko Hawaiki te kāinga taketake o te Māori. I āta whakaritea e ngā tīpuna ngā rerenga mai, i tae putuputu mai anō. Kei te tautokona ēnei kōrero e ngā rangahautanga. Kua kitea ngā tohu e taunaki ana i te whakaaro ko ngā tīpuna tuatahi i ū mai ki Aotearoa, ka tae ki Te Pokohiwi, i te ngutuawa o Wairau, i te āhua 700 tau ki muri. He wehenga noa ērā tāngata o tētahi hunga nui ake, he hunga kākano maha, ka mutu he mea āta whakarite tā rātou wharaunga mai.

Mai i te tīmatanga o ngā 1800 tae noa ki waenga o taua rautau, he tai pari nui te taetae mai a te Pākehā, me te aha, tīmata ana i konā ētahi hurihanga nui i te ao Māori, i ngā tikanga Māori, i te reo Māori. Ko te rekoatatanga tuatahitanga o te reo Māori, nō ngā tau whakamutunga o ngā 1770. Waihoki, riro ana te hopu ā-mīhini i te reo Māori me ngā reo ā-iwi tētahi tikanga ka whāia i ōna wā anō, e ōna tāngata anō, mai i ngā tau tuatahi o ngā 1800, ā, moroki noa nei.

Haere ana ngā mahi whakapākehā i te iwi Māori me ngā kaupapa-here e rite ana e mawehe ai a ngāi Māori i ō rātou whenua, ā rātou tikanga me ō rātou reo. Hui katoa, he ariā whakawhenua, ko ngā ture mātauranga me ērā atu ture ngā taputapu whakaū. Heoi anō, riro ana mā ngā āki a te orange tinana e whakaoti atu tā ērā atu kaupapa i tīmata ai, ko te otinga atu, ko te nekehanga o te huhua o ngāi Māori ki te tāone rahi, noho ai.

Arā hoki ētahi kaupapa-here rapu mātauranga i whakakorokoriki i te reo Māori, i whakakorokoronui i te reo Pākehā, ka mutu he mea tautoko aua kaupapa-here

e ētahi o ngā kaumātua, ngā rangatira, ngā mātua me ō rātou hapori. Ko te take i pērā ai, he whakapono nō rātou, tērā tonu e puta he painga ki ā rātou tamariki, taha mātauranga, taha pāpori, i a rātou ka takahi i te riu roa o te ao Pākehā¹.

Kua tautohua e ētahi ko ngā 1930, koirā te takiwā i tīmata ai te paheke tūturu o te reo Māori, nā ngā taiaritanga a ngā kaupapa-here mātauranga me te whakapono o ētahi kei te reo Pākehā kē te oranga mō ngā tamariki me ngā rangatahi Māori i te ao Pākehā. He āhua haere kōtui te heke nui a ngāi Māori ki ngā tāone nui me te heke nui o te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero Māori. Ko te neke ki ngā tāone te tino kaupapa-here i tutuki ai te mea e arumia ana e ērā atu kaupapa-here. Koinei anō te wā i motu kino ai te iwi Māori i te reo me ngā ritenga Māori tūturu.

Ka tae ki ngā 1970, kua āhua waiho atu te reo ki rahaki, kua kore i tino whai wāhi ki te whakapakeketanga o ngā tamariki Māori. Ko te pōautinitini tonu tēnā kua tata mai ki te reo Māori. Mokori anō ngā mautohe Māori me ngā kaupapa rapu mātauranga Māori i tīmata i taua ngahuru tau i 'whakaorangia tūturutia' ai te reo Māori. Engari, ka huri te manotau, ka 'paheke haere anō' te reo Māori, ā, kei raro tonu e mōrearea ana i ēnei rā.

Ko te huarahi matua e whāia ana hei ine i te reo Māori, ko ngā uiuinga, ko ngā tatauranga e whakaputa kōrero ana mō te tokomaha me te ōrau o te hunga kōrero Māori, me ngā kohinga waiaro – ō te Māori, ō tauiwi anō e noho nei ki Aotearoa – ki te reo Māori. Ko ētahi atu inenga, ko te kaha o te hāpai, o te ako i te reo Māori, mai i te paparanga Kōhanga Reo tae noa atu ki ngā Wānanga.

Ko te kaupapa nui katoa o roto i ngā mahi whakaora ake i te reo Māori, ko te whai kia tupu te huene ki te reo Māori i ngā taumata katoa; mā reira e puta ai ngā hua e tūmanakotia ana. Ko te tauārai nui, ko te tokoiti rawa o ngāi Māori e ako ana, e kōrero ana i te reo, ā, ko te iti rawa o te kōrero, reanga ki te reanga – kei reira tētahi mate nui.

He kupu whakakapi

Ko tā te arotakenga tuhituhi, he whakatakoto kōrero whānui mō te kaneke haere o te reo Māori me ngā whakaaro ki te hauora o te reo, mai i tōna orokohanga ake i Hawaiki ki tōna whanaketanga i tōna ūnga tuatahitanga mai ki konei, ki ōna takaoraoratanga i te taenga mai o tauiwi, tae noa ki tōna āhua i ēnei rā. I tautohua anō hoki ētahi āhuatanga i whai wāhi ki te paheketanga o te reo.

I kitea anō i roto i ngā tuhituhi ētahi āhuatanga e whai pānga nui ana ki te oranga tonutanga o te reo, tae atu ki ēnei e whai ake nei:

- te heke haere tonu o te tokomaha e kōrero Māori ana i ngā wehenga tamariki;
- te whai kia tokomaha ake ngā kaikōrero i ngā wehenga mātua;
- te rerekē haere o te reo Māori, tērā tonu pea ko te ngau o te reo Pākehā te pūtakenga mai;
- te pānga o te reo Pākehā ki te whakaako me te ako o te reo Māori, tae atu ki te whanaketanga o te reo.

1 Peterson 2000

Wāhanga Tuatahi – He Kupu Whakataki

Ngā whāinga

He maha ngā whāinga o tēnei arotakenga tuhituhi. Ko te whāinga mātāmua, kia takoto he tātaritanga matomato o te hauora o te reo Māori. Ka āta wherawherahia te ngaronga o te reo me ngā take i ngaro haere ai. Ka rarapa anō ngā kanohi ki ngā mahi whakamahere, kaupapa-here e pā nei ki te nunumitanga, ki te whakaoranga ake me te whakapūmautanga o te reo. E mea ana hoki te arotakenga nei ki te whakamārama i te wharaunga, i te haere a te reo Māori, mai i tōna kāinga tūturu i tawhiti ki tōna āhua ināianei. Ā, ko te whāinga haunui, ko te whakatakoto tūāpapa taunakitanga hei taupua i ngā kaupapa-here, haere ake nei.

Raharaha ana tērā te hāhau kōrero i ngā pātengi raraunga whare pukapuka me te ipurangi. Ko ngā pārongo i hua ake, i noho hei timatanga mō te tātaritanga e takoto ake nei, he mea roherohe ā-kaupapa.

Te pūtakenga mai o te kaupapa

E tautoko ana tēnei mahi i ngā putanga pae tawhiti mō te iwi Māori i tautohua i Te Whanake Māori 2014², mātua anō te Putanga 3. E whai ana te putanga nei kia whakapakaritia ake, kia whakaūngia te tōnuitanga, taha tikanga nei, o te iwi Māori, ā, o roto i tēnei kaupapa nui, kia ‘mātua noho te reo Māori hei tino taonga ā-iwi ki te iwi Māori’³.

Te Rangahautanga

Ngā tikanga rangahau i whāia

I arumia ngā tuinga i ngā rapunga whitihiko me ngā rapunga ā-ringa i ōna anō pātengi raraunga whare pukapuka, i te whare pukapuka o Te Puni Kōkiri me ngā rapunga tuihono i ngā pae tukutuku. Me kore ake a ‘Kūkara’ i kitea ai ngā kōrero i Aotearoa nei me tāwāhi (tae atu ki ngā pūrongo – ngā mea i whakaputaina whānuitia me ērā kāore i pērāhia – me ētahi atu pārongo) mō te hauora o te reo Māori.

2 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014d

3 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014c

Te tātāritanga o ngā kōrero

Ka oti tētahi tātāritanga ā-kaupapa o ngā kōrero i whakemitia, nā runga i tētahi anga i whakatakatoria mō te pūrongo hei ārahi i te tārainga o te arotakenga. Nā te anga nei i tautohu ngā kaupapa hei āta tiroiro i te kohikohinga o ngā kōrero, nāna anō i ārahi te titonga o ngā upoko matua o te pūrongo me ngā kaupapa whāiti kia tirohia. He mea whakaraupapa ngā tuhituhi i runga anō i ngā kaupapa i tautohua me ētahi atu i puta noa ake i te wā e pānuitia ana, e tātāritia ana rānei ngā tuhinga⁴.

Te kainga kanohi

Anei ngā pātai matua e mahi ana te arotakenga nei ki te whakautu:

- He aha ngā āhuetanga i riro ai te reo Māori hei reo e mōrearea ana tāna noho ki te ao?
- He pēhea te ine i te hauora o te reo Māori?
- He pēhea te āhua o ngā tāngata kōrero Māori?
- He aha ngā hua o te whakaora i te reo Māori me ōna reo ā-iwī?
- He aha tā ngā iwi, he aha anō tā te Kāwanatanga hei uruparenga ki te noho mōrearea o te reo Māori?
- Āe rānei e whakamahia ana he inenga arotake hei whiriwhiri i te whaihua o ngā kaupapa whakaora reo?
- Mēnā āe, he aha ēnei inenga arotake?
- He aha ngā āhuetanga kei tua o te awe māpara tērā e whai pānga mai ki te whakarauratanga o te reo Māori?

I te arotakenga nei, i arotahia te whakaoranga ake o te reo Māori, engari i tirohia anō hoki ngā kaupapa whakarauroa reo whānui. Kāore i hōhonu ngā matapakia o ēnei kaupapa, i te mea ehara koinā te aronga nui o te mahi nei. Ā, kāore i tautohua ngā rautaki i whaihua me ērā kāore pea i whaihua ki te reo Māori, ki tētahi atu reo rānei, i te mea kei waho anō tērā i te aronga. Kāore hoki i whakatairitea te reo Māori me ētahi atu reo e whakaarohia ana tērā pea me whakarauroa ake.

Ahako ko te kupu 'reo' e tohu ana i ngā ara maha hei whakawhiti whakaaro ā-kupu, i tēnei arotakenga e mātua kōrero ana mō te kōrero, mō te reo ā-waha. He iti ngā kōrero mō te taha tuhi. Ina matapakia te reo Māori, e hāngai ana hoki ngā kōrero ki te reo Moriori, engari kāore i rite te whiwhi o te reo Moriori mō te wāhi ki te maha o ngā kōrero hītori me ērā atu rauemi kua tuhia mōna.

⁴ Ahakoa arā ētahi papatono whitihiko hei āwhina i te tautohunga o ngā kaupapa, kāore tētahi e tautohu pai i te reo Māori.

Te takoto o te arotakenga

E ono ngā wāhanga o te arotakenga tuhituhi. Koia ēnei:

Wāhanga Tuatahi – He Kupu Whakataki Me Te Rangahautanga

Kei runga ake.

Wāhanga Tuarua – Ngā Kōrero O Mua

E toru ngā wehenga o te wāhanga tuarua. E hora ana te tuatahi i ētahi whakamarama poto mō te pūtakenga mai o te Māori, ā rātou rerenga mai ki Aotearoa me te raraunga ki tō rātou whenua hou; whai i muri, ko ētahi kupu poto mō te whakapapa o te reo Māori. Ko te wāhanga tuarua e matapaki ana i a ngā tauīwi me te pānga o ngā mahi whakapākehā i te iwi Māori, tae atu ki ngā kaupapa-here e hāngai pū ana ki te reo Māori. Ko te tuatoru, e aro nui ana ki ngā 1900, te takiwā i heke mārire ai te kōrerotanga o te reo Māori, ā, ki te aranga ake hoki o ngā mautohe me ngā kaupapa haukoti i te heke haere o te reo, tae atu ngā mahi tautāwhi a te Kāwanatanga.

Wāhanga Tuatoru – Te Āhua I Ēnei Rā

Kātahi ka koki te kōrero ki ngā mahi whakarauora i te reo Māori. He titiro whānui tā tēnei wāhanga ki ngā kaupapa-here me ngā mahi whakamahere reo Māori a te Kāwanatanga. Ka mea hoki ki te tautohu i ngā āhuatanga tautoko ā-pūtea o te taha whakatinana i aua kaupapa. Ko ētahi atu kai o tēnei wāhanga, he matapakinga poto mō: te tokomaha o te hunga kōrero Māori e neke ai te reo i tōna tūrangā mōrearea ki Paehamaru; me mātua whakapau kaha ki a wai mā e ngaringari ake ai te hunga kōrero Māori; ā, ko wai te tino hunga kei mua kē e wawae haere ana i te ara e tūhauora anō ai te reo Māori.

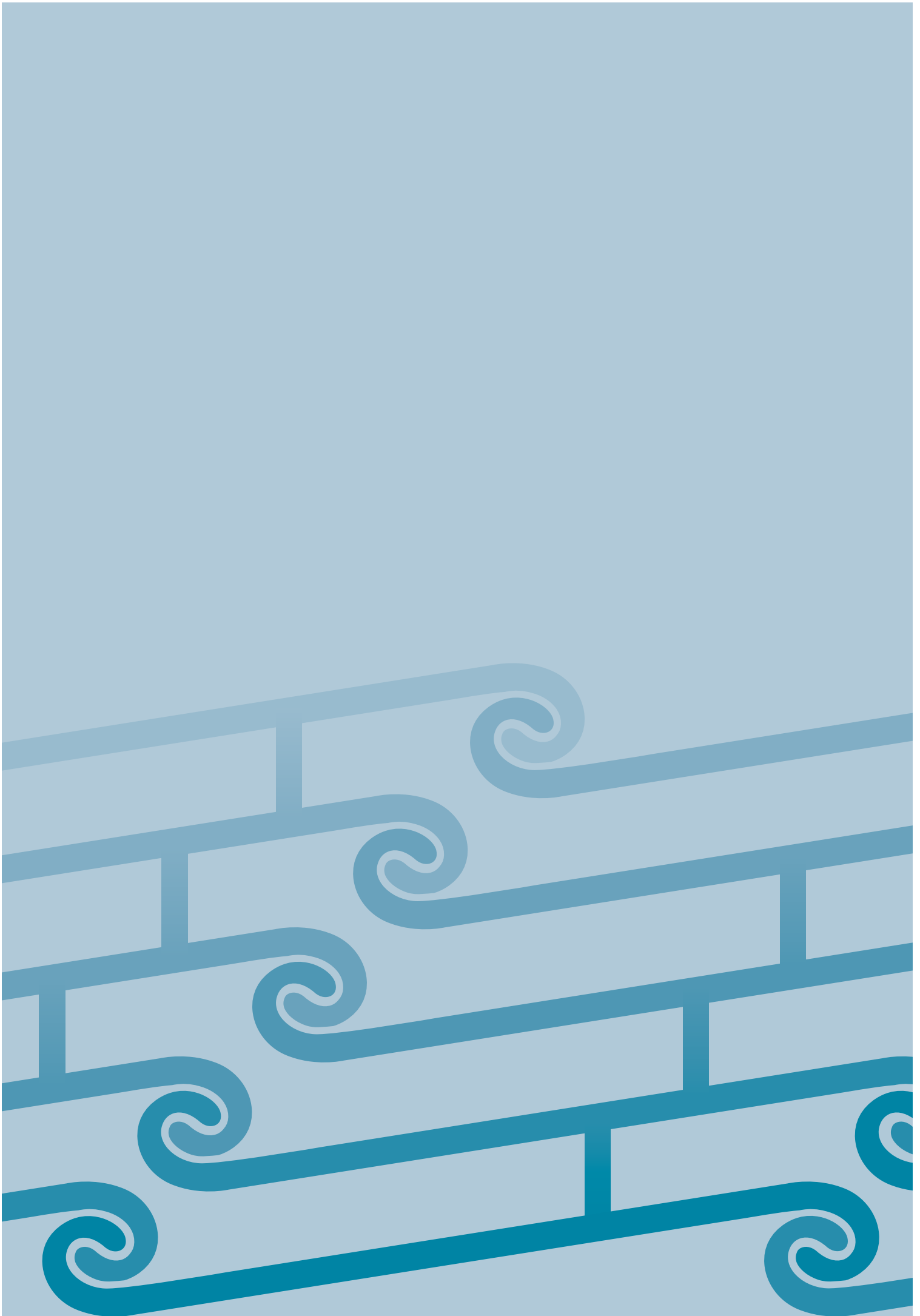
Wāhanga Tuawhā – Te Kokenga Ki Tua

I te wāhanga whakamutunga nei, ka matapakia ētahi āhuatanga tērā pea ka puta ake i ngā mahi whakamahere. Ka tirohia ētahi rerekētanga e hua ake ana i roto i te reo, ngā pānga o ēnei ki te whanaketanga o te reo, ngā pānga ki te taha whakaako, taha ako o te reo, me te whakakotahitanga o te āhua o te reo hei kawenga whakarauora reo.

Wāhanga Tuarima – He Kupu Whakatepe

Ko tā tēnei, he whakarārangi i ētahi take i tautohua i te rangahautanga, me ētahi whakaaro matua hei whakaoti atu i te pūrongo.

Ngā Tohutoro Me Ngā Āpitianga



Wāhanga Tuarua – Ngā Kōrero o Mua

Te rerenga ki Aotearoa

E ai ki ngā kōrero tuku iho a ngā iwi maha, ko Hawaiki te kāinga tupu o te iwi Māori. He rerekē ngā kōrero a tēnā iwi, a tēnā iwi mō ngā tīpuna i tae tuatahi mai ki Aotearoa, ā, mā hea mai rātou ki te whenua hou nei. Ki ngā iwi o Muriwhenua⁵, ko Kupe tērā i ū tuatahi mai; ki te Moriori, ko Rongomaiwhenua⁶. Ā, ko ētahi o ngā momo rerenga i rere mai ai, 'ko te rere mai i te rangi, ko te kau mai, ko te rere mai mā runga taniwha'⁷. Kei ngā kōrero tuku iho anō hoki ētahi whakamārama: i ngā take i heke mai ai; i te taenga mai me te hokinga atu anō mō te hokohoko, mō te aha atu rānei te kaupapa⁸; i ngā ō, ngā tino kai mō te rerenga mai me te nohoanga ki te whenua hou⁹; i ngā tohutohu mō te whakaterere mai¹⁰ me ngā mahi a ngā tīpuna i a rātou e toro haere ana, e taiāwhio haere ana i ngā motu. Heoi anō, ko tētahi mea e taupatupatu ana i ngā kōrero nei, ko 'te wā i tau mai ai, ko wai mā i tatū mai, e hia ngā waka, ā, i wehe mai i hea ake o Poronīhia'¹¹.

Ko te whakaaro o ngā kaimātai momo tangata Pākehā o mua atu, i tae mai pea ngā Māori tuatahi ki Aotearoa i waenganui o te rautau 10 me te rautau 13, engari ko ā rātou tikanga i whāia hei whakatau i te wā, kua āta whakahorihoritia¹² i ēnei rā. Nō nā tata nei i mahia ai 'he tātaritanga o te nui o te iraruke i roto i te waro e mau mai ana ki ētahi hanga he mea hahu ake i ētahi karinga whaipara tangata o Aotearoa'¹³. Nā runga i aua tātaritanga, ko te ūnga tuatahitanga mai o ngā tīpuna, i te wāhanga whakamutunga o te rautau 13. Ko tōna 150 tau tēnei i muri i tērā i marohitia e Percy Smith, ko tāna, nō te takiwā kē o te 1125 i tae mai ai¹⁴. Kua āta tirohia ngā ira o ngā tīpuna i kitea i Te Pokohiwi (ko ia te wāhi whaipara tangata tawhito katoa e mōhiotia ana i Aotearoa), ā, ko ngā whakatau iho, nō te āhua 700 tau ki muri te taenga mai o aua tīpuna ki Aotearoa¹⁵. Ko tētahi mea kua tūhohua mai e Williams (2004), e whakaponotia ana, e whakapaetia rānei ana

5 Taonui 2005 (kei Muriwhenua tribes)

6 Davis and Solomon 2012

7 Prendergast-Tarena 2008

8 Williams 2004; Irwin and Walrond 2012; Taonui 2005 (Kei roto i Canoe Traditions)

9 Prendergast-Tarena 2008

10 Williams 2004

11 Howe 2005: 3

12 Kua whakahētia ngā kaimātai momo tangata me ngā kaituhi hītōria o te rautau 19 mō ā rātou tikanga hopu i ngā kōrero o te Māori me te whakatau iho i te wā i tae mai ai te Māori ki Aotearoa (tirohia a Taonui 2012). 'I ngā 1960, i turakina e tētahi kaimātai momo tangata ko David Simmons te ingoa te ariā o Percy Smith mō te Hekenga Nui' (tirohia a Howe 2005).

13 Higham et al. 1999: npn

14 Pybus 1954

15 Higham et al. 1999; Wilmshurst et al. 2008; Knapp et al. 2012

he Māori tūturu ngā tīpuna i rere pēnei mai. Engari ko te kōrero kē i ēnei rā, he Poronīhia ‘ka whanatu, ka Māori tūturu te āhua, nā runga i ā rātou urutaunga ki te taiao o Aotearoa’¹⁶.

Ko tētahi anō o ngā whakaaritanga a ngā DNA o ngā tīpuna i rarau tuatahi mai, nō tētahi tira nui tonu rātou. E āhua tohu mai ana tērā he mea āta whakarite pea ngā hekenga mai. I kitea anō hoki kāore i momo kotahi ngā taupori o Poronīhia. Nō ngā kākano maha kē o rātou mtDNA¹⁷ ‘e tohu ana nō ngā kāwai maha kē pea ngā wharaunga’¹⁸. I tēnei wā, kāore tātou i te mōhio pū ki te wāhi, ngā wāhi rānei i takea mai ai i reira te hunga i tae mai ki tēnei whenua noho ai, engari e ai ki ngā tohu, ko te Rāwhiti o Poronīhia kē pea te kāinga tūturu¹⁹.

Ko ngā āhuetanga o te whakapūwhenua haere a te Māori i Aotearoa, kei ngā kōrero tuku iho ā-waha, ka mutu he kōrero ‘taikākā, taipitopito tonu’²⁰. Kua huraina e ngā ringa kari whaipara ētahi papa huri i te motu, e ai ki a rātou, koia rā ngā kāinga tuatahi i āta noho ai a ngāi Māori. I ngā matapaki a McAlloon mā, kua tohua ko Kaikōura tētahi papa kāinga ‘i painga e ngāi Māori i tōmua te tae mai, i noho ai ko te patu moa, kekeno me ētahi atu manu te take nui i rarau ai ki reira’²¹. Ka noho, ka noho, ka tupu, ka rea ngā iwi Māori me ā rātou tikanga maha, ā rātou ritenga maha, i kitea ai e Kāpene Kuki mā i o rātou nā wā, i āta kōrerotia hoki e rāua ko Banks i ā rāua hautaka²².

Te whakapapa o te reo Māori

E kīia ana nō te whānau reo Austronesian²³ te reo Māori, he whānau e tautohea tonutia ana tōna pūtakenga mai. Ko te ariā i tautokona e te nuinga o ngā kaiwetere o waenganui o ngā 1970, i pūtaka mai ngā reo Austronesian i Taiwan²⁴. Nō te ‘whānau iti o Poronīhia’ te reo Māori. Ko te whānau iti nei, “he whānau tino tata, ko te nuinga e kōrerotia ana i te tapatoru o Poronīhia”, ā, kua tapaina ko te whānau iti Malayo-Polynesian²⁵. Ko te reo Māori kei te wehenga Poronīhia ki te rāwhiti nui tonu (ko tērā atu wehenga kei te uru). Arā ōna whanaunga tata, ko ‘te reo o Rarotonga, o Tahiti, o Hawai’i, me ngā reo katoa o ngā moutere o Poronīhia Paranihi’²⁶. Ko te reo Māori o Aotearoa kei te tonga rawa o ngā reo kei te wehenga iti o Poronīhia ki te rāwhiti. Anei ngā kōrero a Anaru mōna:

16 Williams 2004: 26

17 Whakamahia ai te mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) hei tātai haere i te kunenga mai me te pīreretanga o tēnā, o tēnā momo tangata. Tirohia te <http://www.talkorigins.org/faqs/homs/mtDNA.html>

18 Pincock 2012, Mutch 2013

19 Kinaston et al. 2013

20 Wilson 2015

21 McAlloon et al. 1998: 1

22 Kei konei ngā hautaka a Kāpene Kuki: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00043.html>; ko ā Joseph Banks’, kei: <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks05/0501141h.html>

23 McLintock 1966b. Ko te whānau reo Malayo-Polynesian, e noho nei te reo Māori hei ‘tamāhine’ māna, he ngare nō te pūtoi reo Austronesian ko tōna 1250 nei ōna reo i ēnei rā, ‘kei te takiwā o te 311,740,132 ngā kaikōrero i aua reo, ko te 3,384 te tokomaha tauwaenga o ngā kaikōrero o ia reo’. Ko ia ‘tētahi o ngā whānau reo nui katoa te horanga, puta i te ao’. ‘Kua toro te whānau reo Austronesian ki tētahi haurua o te ao, e kapi ana i a ia tētahi wāhanga nui o te mata o te whenua mai i Madagascar ki Rapanui, ā, mai i Taiwan ki Hawai’i, tutuki anō ki Aotearoa’. Waihoki, ‘e whā ōna wehenga: Initonīhia, Meranīhia, Maikoronīhia, me Poronīhia. Tirohia anō hoki tā Thompson 2013.

24 Solheim 1984, Bellwood 1984-5

25 McLintock 1966b

26 McLintock 1966b

Nō reira, ko te reo Māori, tae atu ki te ahurea Māori, koia 'te pekepoho', ko ia a Māui (he hautipua, he atua i te ao Māori me Poronīhia) e ai ki ngā kōrero a te Māori mō te orokohanga o te ao, ko ia te pōtiki o tana whānau, ko te whakamutunga o ngā kaipōkai whenua rongonui o te whānau reo o Austronesia.

Anaru 2011: 13

Ngāi tau iwi – ngā tau o ngā 1800

He nui ngā āhuatanga hou i pā ki a ngāi Māori i Aotearoa i te taenga mai o tau iwi (te hunga patu kekeno, patu tohorā, ngā mihingare me ērā i tae mai ko te noho pūwhenua te kaupapa). I tēnei wāhanga ka whakamāramatia ētahi o ngā kaupapa-here i whāia i huri katoa ai te ao o te Māori i ērā wā. Koinei te rautau i hainatia ai te Tiriti o Waitangi, i tū ai ngā pakanga o Aotearoa (mai i ngā 1840 ki ngā 1870) i kaha heke ai te taupori Māori i te kawenga mai o ngā mate o te Pākehā. Koinei anō te rautau i ara ake ai ngā mautohe a ngāi Māori ki ngā urutomo a tau iwi, ko tōna tīmatanga, ko Papahurihia i te tau 1833²⁷.

Nā te kimihanga a Kāpene Kuki i te 'whenua pakipaki'²⁸ i tatū mai ai ia ki te whenua i karangahia rā e te ao ki te uru i muri ko Niu Tīreni me ngā Moutere Chatham. Nā tana pōkai haere i ēnei motu i parahia ai te huarahi mō ngā 'huinga' nui e toru o ngāi Pākehā²⁹ ki Aotearoa. Mai i ngā tau whakamutunga o te rautau 18, ko te koronga o ērā rōpū, ko te apo i ngā rawa māori o te motu nei mā rātou. Ko te ranga tuatahi, ko te hunga patu kekeno, patu tohorā. Whai i muri i a rātou, ko ngā mihingare, ā, i muri i a rātou, ko te hunga e mea ana kia noho a Aotearoa hei kāinga tūturu mō rātou. Mai i taua wā, i te taenga mai o te waka patu tohorā tuatahi i te tīmatanga o ngā 1790, ka whenumi haere te reo Māori i te reo Pākehā; nāwai ā, ka tata riro katoa i te korokoro o te reo Pākehā.

I te taenga mai o te Pākehā, he 'ao Māori te mea i tūtaki ai'³⁰ rātou, i mate ai te nuinga ki te ako haere i te reo Māori, tēnā ki tōna taumata e tika ana, tēnā ki tōna. Ko te ara i whakawhiti whakaaro tahi ai ngā Māori ki ngā Pākehā tuatahi, he reo whakawhitiwhiti māmā, he hāwhe-kāihe nā reo Māori rāua ko reo Pākehā³¹. Engari mō te hunga e mea ana kia pūwhenua tā rātou noho ki Aotearoa, ka mate tā rātou whai kia pakari tonu tō rātou mōhio ki te reo Māori, kia pai ai te āta kōrero tahi ki a ngāi Māori i runga i te mārama. I pērā ai, i te mea ka āhua roa rātou e whakawhirinaki ana ki te Māori, mō te hokohoko, mō te whakapono rānei te take, ā, hei whakakā anō hoki i ngā kura mīhana. Waihoki, i taua wā anō, i te ako haere anō te iwi Māori i te reo Pākehā, i ā rātou kōrerorero tahi, mahi tahi ki te hunga kōrero Pākehā. I pakari haere anō hoki te reorua o ngāi Māori i ngā kaupapa pērā i te toronga ki Ahitereiria me Ingarangi (he hokohoko, he tango pū rānei te mahi), me te whai wāhi ki ngā ahumahi o te wā, pērā i te patu tohorā me te patu kekeno³².

I tere kite te Māori i ngā painga o te hangarau me ngā huatau hou i tae tahi mai me te Pākehā. Ka kitea he mea nui te mōhio ki te pānu i me te tuhi, i roto anō i te ao Māori. Kāore i roa, kua whakaako a ngāi Māori mā i a rātou anō ki te pānu, ki

27 Binney 2013: 6

28 Wilson 2015

29 Hāunga ētahi atu, pērā i ngā mauhere i whati ki tawhiti – tirohia a Wilson 2015.

30 Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014a

31 Derby 2011: 1

32 Keane 2012: 2

te tuhi, ā, ki te kore he pepa, he pene, kua toro te ringa ki ētahi atu taputapu e oti tonu ai he tuhituhi³³. 'Ko te tuku a ngā Mihingare i te kupu tuhi, me te tuhinga o te reo Māori, he āhuetanga hou, he āhuetanga i nui whakaharahara ōna pānga'³⁴, engari he ākongā ngākau nui a ngāi Māori. Ka taka ki waenga o ngā 1840, kua mōhio tētahi toru hauwhā o ngāi Māori ki te pānui, ko tētahi rua hautoru ki te tuhi i te reo Māori³⁵. Ko te nuinga o ngā akoranga ōkawa, kei te reo Māori, he mea whakahaere e ngā mihingare i ngā kura mīhana.

Ngā mahi whakakoroni, whakapākehā, me ngā ture mātauranga

Ko ngā mahi whakakoroni i Aotearoa, i tīmata pea i te tau 1837 i te Kamupene o Niu Tīreni, me tāna 'kaupapa "whakakoroni pūnahanaha" e aru ana ki te poapoa i ōna anō momo manene pai'³⁶. I whakaae noa ngā rangatira Māori ki te haina i te Tiriti i te tau 1840, he whakapono nō rātou ka mau tonu i a rātou te rangatiratanga o ō rātou whenua. Heoi anō, ko te hainatanga o te Tiriti o Waitangi i te tau 1840 te mea nāna i whakatuwhera te tatau nui i pukea ai a Aotearoa e tauwiwi i muri tata mai³⁷.

Kīhai i roa i muri i te hainatanga o te Tiriti, kua tokomaha ake a tauwiwi, kua nui ake hoki tō rātou hiahia ki te whenua. Me te aha, kua nui haere anō te whawhai i waenga i te Māori me ngā hōia Pākehā. Kāore i taro, kua taka rawa ki te pakanga³⁸. Nō te 1847, ka poua te Ture Mātauranga tuatahi (te Education Ordinance Act³⁹ – koia anō hoki te kaupapa-here tuatahi kāore i huna i te whāinga a te kāwanatanga kia whenumi te iwi Māori), e mea ana me noho ko te reo Pākehā te reo whakaako i ngā kura katoa e tautokona ana ki te pūtea tūmatanui⁴⁰. Whai i muri i tēnei, ko ngā Ture Kura Māori (Native Schools Act) o te tau 1858 me te 1867.

Ko te Ture o te 1867, he koninga kaupapa-here nui, inā rā, ko tāna i whakahau ai, kia noho ko te reo Pākehā anake te reo e whakamahia i te whakaakoranga o ngā tamariki Māori⁴¹. Ki te whakaae te āpiha tirotiro kura e eke ana tēnei whakahau 'i ngā kawenga katoa e taea ana', ka whiwhi moni tonu [taua kura]⁴². I raro anō i taua Ture, ka unuhia te tautoko a te kāwanatanga i te hanganga houtanga o ngā kura mīhana. Me te aha, riro katoa ana te mana whakahaere i ngā ara rapu mātauranga i te kāwanatanga, ko te Tari Take Māori te ringa whakahaere⁴³. Ka 'whakatūria he kura tuatahi kāore i raro i te maru o te hāhi, he mea whakahaere e te kāwanatanga, ki ngā hapori Māori i āta tono mai i tēnei momo kura'⁴⁴. Kia

33 Derby 2011

34 Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014a

35 Calman 2012

36 Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2012

37 I whakaae a ngāi Māori ki te Tiriti i runga i te whakaaro ka pūmau tonu tō rātou rangatiratanga me tō rātou mana whakahaere i ō rātou whenua.

38 Keenan 2012: 1

39 Office of the Auditor General 2012

40 Calman 2012

41 Tirohia te Appendix tuatoru – Timeline of events that impacted on te reo Māori

42 Peterson 2000

43 Barrington 2008

44 McLintock 1966: npn – Government Control

pēnei te hiahia, mā te Māori anō e tuku te whenua mō te kura, mā rātou anō ētahi utu nui o te kura e pīkau (ka mutu, i mau tonu tēnei tikanga mō te hia ngahurutanga tau nei⁴⁵), mā te kāwanatanga e whakarato ngā taputapu, rauemi whakaako⁴⁶. Ka karangahia ēnei kura i muri ko ngā Kura Māori (Native School). Koinei te ritenga i takoto ai he ara rapu mātauranga mō te Māori, tae atu ki ngā tamariki Māori, ko te nuinga nō ngā hapori noho tawhiti⁴⁷.

Ko tēnei Ture, i kīia ko te Pire Kura Māori 1867 i mua i tōna whakamanatanga, i whakamanaia i ētahi rangi torutoru noa i mua i te Ture Kanohi Māori (Native Representation Act), i āhei ai te Māori te noho ki te Whare Pāremata me te pōti. Ko te whāinga nui, kia ‘whakatōtikangia’ te Māori, ā, e ai ki ngā mema nāna i whiriwhiri te Pire, e kore tērā e taea mēnā ko te reo Māori te reo kei ngā ngutu⁴⁸. Ko te whakaaro ia, ki te kore te iwi Māori e matatau ki te reo Pākehā, ‘he kiko-kore’⁴⁹ te Ture Kanohi Māori. Ko te ‘reo mokemoke’ o te mema kotahi noa e mea kē ana ‘me mātua whakaako te Māori ki te pānui me te tuhi ki tōna anō reo’⁵⁰. Ko te mea korokē nei, koirā tonu te ritenga mai i te wāhanga tuatahi o te rautau, i te tūnga ake o ngā kura mīhana tuatahi⁵¹.

Nā te Waeture Kura Māori (Native School Code) o te tau 1880⁵² i whakakotahi, i tohutohu hoki ētahi āhuatanga rapu mātauranga maha⁵³. Āpiti atu ki tēnā, i te 1887, ka mana te Ture Kura Māori me tāna whakahau ko te reo Pākehā anake te reo kia rere i te whakaakoranga o ngā tamariki Māori⁵⁴. Ko te ‘whāinga mātāmua, kia whenumi katoa atu ngā āhuatanga Māori ki roto i te ahurea Pākehā’⁵⁵ mā ngā whakaakoranga Pākehā me te hāpainga ake o te whakaaro, te tikanga me te reo Pākehā⁵⁶. I āhei ngā tamariki Māori te haere ki te kura Pākehā, i āhei anō ngā Pākehā te haere ki te Kura Māori. Kāore i tino kitea tēnei āhua, ‘te tuku i ngā momo e rua ki te kura kotahi’ i wāhi kē, ā, kāore hoki i tino kaha te kitea i Aotearoa⁵⁷. Ki tā Barrington, ‘me uaua ka hipa ake i te 10 ōrau te tokomaha o ngā tamariki Pākehā i ngā kura Māori’⁵⁸.

45 Barrington 2008

46 Barrington 2008

47 Swarbrick 2008: 2

48 Barrington 2008: 20

49 Barrington 2008: 20 – tirohia anō hoki te whārangi 315, kei reira te tohutoro

50 Barrington 2008: 20

51 Kāore i uru ki tēnei arotakenga tuhituhi te āta rangahau e hia rawa ngā kura i Aotearoa i ngā tau tuatahi e mahi ana ngā mihingare i konei (mai i te takiwā o ngā 1820 ki ngā 1860). Ko te nuinga o ngā kura, e hono ana ki tētahi mīhana. Ko te kura tuatahi, i whakatūria ki Pēwhairangi e Thomas Kendall (o te hāhi Mihinare) i te tau 1816, engari ka kati tēnā kura i te 1818. E ai ki te Manatū Taonga, ka tae ki te 1840, ‘170 pea ngā mihingare CMS [Church Missionary Society] [ko te nuinga nō te hāhi Mihinare] me ō rātou whānau, ā, e 69 pea ngā mihingare Wēteriana.’ Hui katoa, kua 239 ēnā mihingare, ā, tērā pea e 239 anō ngā kura mīhana. Kei waho o tēnei tatauranga ngā mihingare Katorika, Metoriti me ērā o hāhi kē. Tirohia ‘The Christian missionaries’, whārangi 6, i <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/the-missionaries>.

52 Calman 2012

53 Calman 2012: 3

54 Tirohia te Appendix two – Timeline of events that impacted on te reo Māori

55 Calman 2012: 3

56 Higgins and Keane 2015

57 Barrington 2008: 15

58 Barrington 2008: 15

I te tau 1894, ka puta te whakahau me mātua haere ngā tamariki Māori katoa ki te kura. Ko te tukunga iho o tēnei, ka mātua whakaakona te katoa o ngā tamariki me ngā rangatahi Māori ki te reo Pākehā anake⁵⁹. Ko tētahi mea i kōrerotia e Higgins rāua ko Keane, ‘arā ētahi tamariki i tūkinotia⁶⁰, he kōrero Māori nō rātou i te kura⁶¹. Ka ‘noho motuhake tonu [ngā kura Māori] i ērā atu kura o Aotearoa tae noa ki te tau 1969; [i taua tau] ka whakawhitia ngā kura Māori 108 e toe ana ki raro i te maru o ngā poari mātauranga’⁶². Mai i te orokohanga ake o ngā kura ‘kāwanatanga’, i āhei ngā whānau Māori te tuku i ā rātou tamariki ki ēnei kura. Katoa ngā mahi i aua kura, e hāngai ana ki te ahurea o tauwi, waihoki, ko te reo Pākehā anake te reo whakaako; ka piki haere tonu te tokopae o ngā tamariki/rangatahi Māori i ēnei kura i te roanga atu o te rautau 20.

Ko te nuinga o ngā mātua Māori, i tautoko i te ako a ā rātou tamariki i te reo Pākehā, he kite nō rātou i ētahi hua o te āhei ki te mahi tahi ki te Pākehā. Heoi anō, te āhua nei, kāore i whakaarohia, kāore rānei i mōhiotia i ērā wā te ngau kino, te ngau roa o tēnei ki te reo Māori⁶³.

Te reo Māori i ngā 1900

He kupu whakataki

Ko te wāhanga whai i muri, mai i ngā tau whakamutunga o ngā 1800, he takiwā i nui anō ngā whakangāueuetanga i te ahurea Māori. I te mutunga o te rautau 19, kua tino kino te paheke o te taupori Māori. Ko tētahi take nui i heke ai, ko te ngau a ngā taru tawhiti i tae tahi mai me te Pākehā, pērā i te mītara, i te taipō, i te korara, i te kōhi, i te rewharewha Pāniora. Mai i tōna 100,000 tāngata i te 1769, kua tirikohu te taupori Māori ki tōna 56,049 tāngata i te tau 1858 (te tauranga ā-motu whaimana tuatahi); 1896 rawa te tau, kua 42,113⁶⁴.

He riripi noa te mahi i tēnei wāhanga mō te wāhi ki ngā āhuetanga i pā mai i te hiku o ngā 1800 ki te hiku o te rautau 20. Heoi anō te mea ka aro nuitia, ko te takaoraora tonu o ngā tikanga me ngā ritenga Māori, me te urutau atu a te iwi Māori ki te ao hou. Ka wherawherahia te ngau o ētahi kaupapa-here a te kāwanatanga ki te reo Māori, tae atu ki ērā i hāngai ki te mātauranga me te hūnuku a te Māori ki ngā tāone rahi. Ka paku matapakia anō hoki te urupare a te Māori ki te tata ngaro o te reo, me ngā hua o ā rātou mautohe.

59 Victoria University 2012 Kupu pāpāho

60 ‘E ai ki tētahi rangahau o waenga o ngā 1970 mō te kōrero Māori, e 40% o te hunga pakeke i uiuia, i whiua mō rātou i kōrero Māori i te kura Māori. E pērātia tonutia ana ētahi i ngā 1950 me ngā 1960 rawa.’ Tirohia tā Peterson 2000.

61 Higgins and Keane 2014

62 Swarbick 2008

63 Ministry for Culture and Heritage 2014b

64 McLintock 1966 Ko tana kupu āpiti: ‘... ko tētahi 38,269 o ēnei kei te takiwā nui o Ākarana e noho ana, engari kei ngā tūtohi i tāia tēnei whakatūpato, ‘koinei ngā whakatau tata pai katoa e taea ana’. He āhua pēnei anō ngā pārongo kua takoto i a Pool and Kukutai (2011).

Te roroku haere o te kōrero Māori

E ai ki a Benton rāua ko de Bres⁶⁵, ko ngā 1930 te takiwā i tīmata ai te kaha heke o te kōrero Māori a te iwi Māori. I pēnei ai i runga i te whakapono o ētahi ka ora ngā tamariki i te ao Pākehā i te mōhio ki te reo Pākehā⁶⁶. Ahakoa ko te reo Māori tonu te reo mātāmua i ngā kāinga me ngā hapori Māori, kua tīmata te tupu haere o te kōrero Pākehā. Arā ētahi kaiārahi o te iwi Māori i tautoko i te whakaaro ko te reo Pākehā anake hei kawē i ngā whakaakoranga⁶⁷. Ko Tā Āpirana Ngata tētahi i pērā te whakaaro. Engari ka 'huri ōna whakaaro i a ia ka kite ko te hua o te reoruatanga, ko te whenuitanga anō o te reo Māori i te reo Pākehā i ngā kawenga a te whānau me te hapori, engari e taea te pēwhea, he tihe e kore e hoki ki te ihu⁶⁸. Ka uia ake e Benton he aha ngā mātua Māori i tahuri ai ki te kōrero Pākehā ki ā rātou tamariki i ō rātou kāinga me ō rātou hapori, tē kōrero Māori tonu ai ki a rātou⁶⁹.

Ka nui haere te tokopae o te Māori e noho ana ki ngā tāone nui, ka pāitiiti haere te kōrero Māori. E mea ana a Peterson⁷⁰ nā te 'awe whakatikotiko o te reo Pākehā, ka inati te heke o te matatau o ngā whakatupuranga katoa ki te reo Māori, mātua anō ngā tamariki e haere ana ki te kura⁷¹. Ka taka ki ngā 1970, kua iti te wāhi ki te reo Māori i roto i te whakatupunga ake o ngā tamariki Māori, ā, ka tae ki ngā tau mutunga o ngā 1970, kua tino raru rawa atu te reo Māori⁷².

E kitea ana i te kauwhata i raro nei, mai i te 1926 ki te 2006, i pou pou tonu te piki o te tokomaha o ngāi Māori e noho ana ki ngā tāone rahi. Ko te pikinga pou pou katoa – tōna 27% – mai i te 1956 me te 1966, i piki ai i te 35 ki te 62 ōrau. Kua kīia e tētahi ko te hūnuku a ngāi Māori ki te tāone nui noho ai, he tere ake i ngā taupori katoa [kua pērā te mahi]⁷³. I te 1945, e 26% o te iwi Māori kei ngā tāone e noho ana. Ka taka ki te 1956 kua piki tēnei ki te 35%. Ka mau tonu tēnei rere a te tini ngerongerō ki ngā tāone noho ai tae noa ki ngā tau tuatahi o ngā 1960. Ā, kāore i mutu i reira. I te 1966, e 62% o te taupori Māori, kei te tāone. I te tau 1986, kua tata eke ki te 80%. Ko te tukunga iho, he maha ngā papa kāinga i tokoiti noa ōna tāngata e mau tonu ana ki reira⁷⁴. I ēnei rā, e 84% o te iwi Māori kei ngā tāone nui, ā, ko te nuinga o ērā, kei Tāmaki-makaurau⁷⁵.

65 Benton 1997 and de Bres 2008

66 de Bres 2008

67 Prendergast-Tarena 2008

68 Benton 1997: 18

69 Benton 1997: 30

70 Peterson 2000

71 Peterson 2000

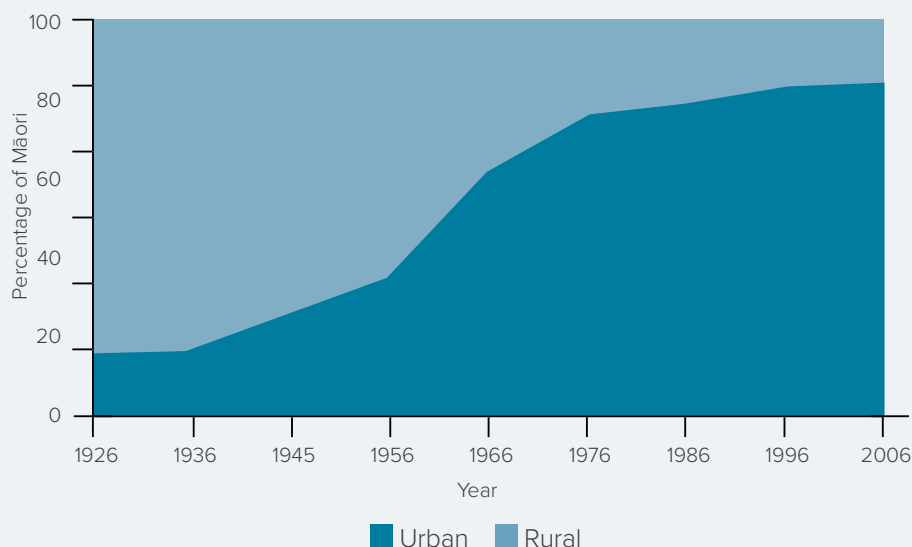
72 Benton 1979a

73 Meredith 2005

74 Meredith 2005: 1

75 Meredith 2005

Whakaahua 1: Te iwi Māori noho taiwhenua, noho tāone, 1926–2006⁷⁶



Takenga mai: Pearson 2011:4

Te rangahautanga reo Māori tuatahi

He mea ārahi te rangahautanga reo Māori tuatahi, ko te ‘Survey of Language Use in Māori Households and Communities 1973–1978’ te ingoa, e Richard Benton, o Te Rūnanga Rangahau Mātauranga o Aotearoa. I taua rangahautanga, ‘i uiuia ngā tāngata o ētahi whānau Māori e 6,470 puta noa i Te Ika-a-Māui [ā, hui katoa] e 6,915 ngā “upoko” o ngā kāinga’ i whai wāhi mai⁷⁷.

Ko ngā whakatau tata a te uiuinga, ko tōna 18 ōrau o te iwi Māori, e matatau ana ki te reo Māori, ā, ko te nuinga o ēnei kua kaumātua, arā, kua 55+ ō rātou tau⁷⁸. E ai ki a Benton, ahakoa i roa ake te hunga noho taiwhenua e ū ana ki ngā tauria tuku iho o te kōrero Māori, e kaunuku ana anō hoki ko ērā ki te reo Pākehā⁷⁹. He mea whakarārangi e Benton ngā āhuatanga i whakapono rā ia e kukume ana i te iwi Māori kia whakarere atu i te reo Māori. Koia ēnei: ‘te horapa haere o te hiko, te pouaka whakaata, te māmā ake o te hāereere i te whakapaitanga ake o ngā rori me ngā waka, me te māmā ake o te toro i ngā whanaunga kōrero Pākehā anake’⁸⁰ kei ngā tāone rahi e noho ana. Kāore i whakahuatia e Benton te pānga o te rerenga nui a ngāi Māori ki ngā tāone nui noho ai, nō reira, te āhua nei kāore tēnei i puta ake i tana rangahautanga. He oti anō, i āta whakahuatia e te Pūrongo a Hunn, i te tau 1961, te whāinga a te kāwanatanga kia whenumi te iwi Māori⁸¹.

76 Pearson 2011: 4

77 Benton 1997:5

78 The Ministry of Social Development 2010

79 Benton 1980

80 Benton 1991

81 Tirohia tā Meredith (2005: 1), tāna i tuhi ai mō ngā kaupapa-here kāwanatanga: ‘I muri i te Pūrongo a Hunn o te tau 1961, i whakaputaina i reira ētahi taunakitanga mō ētahi whakatika pāpori ki te iwi Māori, ka mana te ‘whakanekeneketanga’ o te iwi Māori. He mea akiaki ngā whānau Māori o te tuawhenua kia hūnuku ki ngā tāone nui, ā, i reira ka whakaratoa rātou ki te whare, ki te mahi, ki ōna anō āwhina e pai ai te urutau ki tā rātou noho hou’. I mea hoki a Meredith (2005) (i raro i te whakaahua o te uhi o te pūrongo) ‘ko te tikanga, he arotakenga tēnei i te Tari Take Māori, engari i toro ki tua noa atu i tērā, ki ngā mahi rāwekeweke i te āhua o te noho tahi a te Māori ki te ao’.

Ko te 1913 noa te tau, kua kitea kētia te nanati haere a te reo Pākehā i te kōrero Māori a ngā tamariki Māori⁸². He whakamārama anō tā Dalley, me tana tiki atu i tā Durie (1996), pēnei nā: ‘I runga i ngā tatauanga i horahia e Tākuta Bruce Biggs, i te tau 1913, ko tētahi 90 ōrau o ngā tamariki Māori e haere ana ki te kura, he mōhio ki te kōrero Māori; ka taka ki te tau 1953, kua tirihoi tēnei ki te 26 ōrau; 1975 rawa ake te tau, kua taiheke ki raro i te rima ōrau’⁸³. E matapakihia ana i konei te kōrero Māori a ngā tamariki i te mea he tatauanga e wātea ana mō tērā hunga. Kāore he tatauanga pēnei mō te hunga pakeke. I tua atu i tēnei, e waitohu ana te kaha hāpai a ngā arero tamariki i te reo i te ‘hauora’ o te reo⁸⁴.

Ko te tūtohi me te kauwhata e whai ake nei e taki haere ana i te ia o ngā tamariki kōrero Māori, ā, mohoa noa nei. Ahakoa ka uia pea te tika o ētahi o ngā tatauanga tīmatanga, te ruarangi rānei o ngā tikanga rangahau, e āhua tohu tonu ana aua tatauanga i te hua o te korenga o te reo e whāngaia tonutia e tētahi whakatupuranga ki tētahi.

Tūtohi 1: Te ōrau o ngā tamariki Māori kōrero Māori <15 tau te pakeke, i te 100 tau mai i te 1913 ki te 2013⁸⁵

Tau	Ōrau %
1913	90
1930	96.6
1950	55
1953	26
1975	5
1996	22.5
2001	20
2006	18.1
2013	16.6

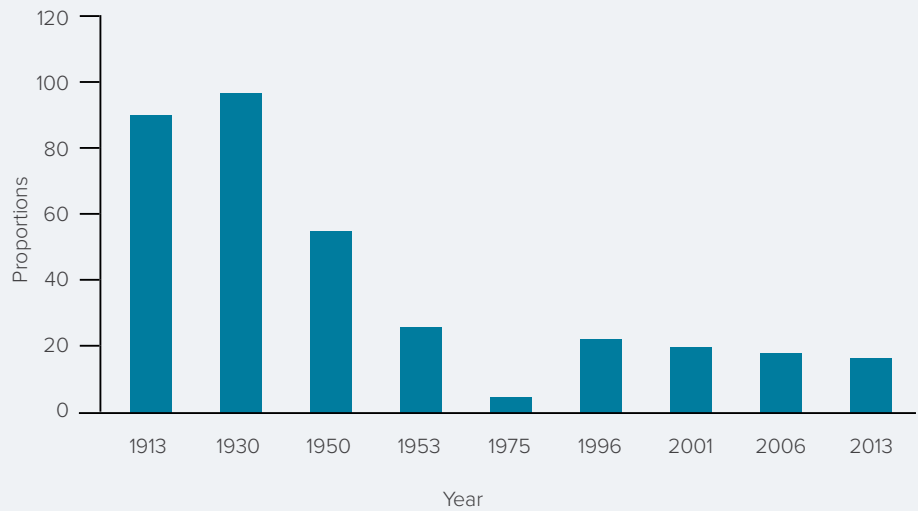
82 Dalley 2012: 10

83 Dalley 2012: 10

84 Fishman 1991

85 Te takenga mai o ēnei tatauanga: •Waitangi Tribunal 1986: 11 3.3.2 e whakaatu ana i ngā tatauanga i tāpaea e Tākuta Bruce Biggs (1913, 1953 me te 1975 @ 90%, 26% me te 5%); •May 2005: 367 mō te 96.6% a o te tau 1930; • McLintock (The Census, 1966); the Waitangi Tribunal (2011) mō te 55% i te tau 1950; • Statistics NZ 2013f (1996, 2001, 2006 me te 2013 @ 22.5%, 20%, 18.1% me te 16.6%).

Whakaahua 2: Te ōrau o ngā tamariki Māori kōrero Māori mai i te 1913 ki te 2013



Takenga mai: Waitangi Tribunal, Statistics NZ, May 2005

He whakaata tā te Whakaahua 2 i te tūtohi o runga ake i a ia. E tautohua ana te takiwā i tino kino ai te mōrearea o te reo Māori, nā te tino tokoiti o ngā hunga tamariki kōrero Māori.

E mea ana te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, i taua wā anō, i ngā 1970, ko tā Benton i kite ai, 'i tētahi 4 ōrau noa o ngā kāinga Māori he tamariki e noho ana i reira, i kīia te pōtiki i aua kāinga he matatau ki te reo Māori'⁸⁶. Heoi anō, nā ngā kaupapa i kōkiritia e te iwi Māori mai i te 1975 ki te 1996 (te tau tuatahi i kuhuna ai he pātai mō te reo Māori ki tētahi tatauranga ā-motu), ko tētahi pikinga kāore i ārikarika. Inā hoki, i te 21 tau noa, i piki te tokomaha o te tamariki Māori mōhio ki te kōrero Māori i te rima ki te 22.6 ōrau – 17 ōrau tēnā whanaketanga.

I whakarūnātia pēneitia e te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi (2011⁸⁷) te roroku haere o te kōrerotanga o te reo Māori i te rautau rua tekau:

- I te hauwhā tuatahi o te rautau, he kōrero Māori ngā tamariki i te kāinga, engari ko te reo Pākehā kē te karawhiu i te kura, kei whiua rātou.
- I te hauwhā tuarua o te rautau, he tokomaha ngā pakeke i puta ake i aua kura he kōrero Māori tonu ki ētahi atu pakeke, engari kāore i kōrero Māori ki ā rātou tamariki, ā, riro ana ko te reo Pākehā kē te reo tuatahi o ērā tamariki.
- I te hauwhā tuatoru o te rautau, nā ngā kura ahurea tahi me te hūnuku a te manomano tāngata ki ngā tāone rahi noho ai, ka tupu ake he reanga tino iti te mōhio ki te reo Māori, kua kore rānei e paku mōhio ki te reo.

86 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 394

87 Tirohia ngā whārangi 393-394

He mea tautoko tonu ngā kaupapa-here mātauranga i whakamōruna i te reo Pākehā, i whakamōraro i te reo Māori, e ōna anō rangatira, kaihautū, mātua Māori, me ō rātou hapori, he whakapono nō rātou he oranga kei roto mō ā rātou tamariki i te ao Pākehā, taha mātauranga, taha pāpori⁸⁸. I whakaahuatia e Benton ngā āhuatanga nui, ki ōna whakaaro, i tere tahuri ai ngā tamariki Māori ki te reo Pākehā. Ko te nuinga o ngā tamariki i te tāone nui, e kōrero Pākehā ana, ka mutu, e ngākau kawa ana ki ētahi atu reo. Ka tere kite ngā tamariki Māori he nui ake te tūpono noho ora rātou i te taha o ērā atu ina kōrero Pākehā rātou. E ai ki ngā whakamārama a Benton, ‘kāore tonu pea ēnei tamariki e kōrero [Māori] i te kāinga, ahakoa e kōrero Māori tonu ana ō rātou mātua i te nuinga o te wā’⁸⁹. I kite hoki a Benton, ka nui haere ngā tau e noho ana ngā tamariki pakeke ake ki te pūnaha mātauranga, ka matatau ake ki te reo Pākehā. Ka kōrero Pākehā atu rātou ki ngā mea tamariki ake, ā, i konā tonu, kua minamina ake ko rātou ki te reo Pākehā⁹⁰. Huia katoatia ēnei āhuatanga, ka iti haere te kōrerorero tahi a ngā pakeke me ā rātou tamariki ki te reo Māori⁹¹. Ahakoa kōrerotia atu te reo Māori ki ngā tamariki, nui ana te tūpono whakautu rātou ki te reo Pākehā. I kaha anō te rere o te reo Pākehā i ngā kōrero tahi a ngā kaumātua me ā rātou mokopuna.⁹²

Te tīmatanga o te aranga ake anō o te reo Māori – te turupare a te iwi Māori

I te tau 1972, neke atu i te 30,000 ngā waitohu i kohia e Te Reo Māori Society⁹³ ki tētahi petihana i tāpaea ki te aroaro o te Kāwanatanga ‘e tono ana kia kuhuna te reo Māori ki ngā kura katoa’⁹⁴. Ko te petihana nei te matapipi o te whakaorantga ake o te reo Māori. Whai i muri, ko ētahi kaupapa nui i tere kitea ngā painga, nā te Māori tonu i matakahi atu, e arotahi ana ki te whakarauoranga ake o te reo Māori. He waitohu tonu pea ēnei o tētahi ‘whakaoranga tūturu’⁹⁵. Ko ēnei kaunuku, i te taha ture, i te ao pāpāho, i te taha kaupapa-here⁹⁶ me te ao rapu mātauranga. Ko ētahi o ngā kaupapa i te ao rapu mātauranga: ko Te Ataarangi, ko ngā akoranga rumaki reo Māori me ngā akoranga reorua, mai i te paparanga kōhungahunga, kake ake⁹⁷, me te whakatūnga, i te tau 1981, o Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Mā roto i ēnei kaupapa, ka huripokina te heke haere o te reo. E kī ana te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, ko ngā mahi i kawea ake e ‘ngāi Māori mā, i whaihua rawa atu ki te marea, [mātua anō ērā] i te ara rapu mātauranga’⁹⁸.

88 Peterson 2000

89 Benton 1979b: 7

90 Benton 1980: 24

91 Benton 1980: 468

92 Benton 1980: 9

93 Tirohia tā Te Rito 2008: 1 – ‘Ko Te Reo Society, he huinga ākonga nō te Whare Wānanga o Wikipōria, i Pōneke, i whakatū petihana ki Pōneke me ngā rohe e tata ana’. Tirohia tā Benavidez, L. et al. t 2007: 14 – I hui māi tētahi rōpū o te Indigenous Language Institute ki a ngāi Māori i a rātou ka toro i Aotearoa i te tau 2007. Ki tā rātou, ko ngā tāngata i whai wāhi ki te ‘Kōkiri Māori, he ‘mutunga mai o te mārama ki tā rātou e manako ana [ā, ko ngā kaihautū o te iwi Māori o nāianei], te āhua nei e kawea ana e ngā āhuatanga o mua, e riro ai ko rātou anō ngā rangatira o tō rātou ahurea, tō rātou reo me ā rātou kōrero o mua, ka mutu, e kaha ana tā rātou tū nā runga anō i ēnei mōhiotanga’. Te Rito 2008:3

94 Te Rito 2008:3

95 Waitangi Tribunal, 2011: 439

96 Tirohia te Appendix two – Timeline of events that impacted on te reo Māori

97 Calman 2012: 5

98 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 39

Te Wāhnga Tuatoru – Te Āhua i Ēnei Rā

He kupu whakataki

‘Ka tae ki te Tatauranga ā-Motu o te tau 1996⁹⁹, kua piki te tokopae o te iwi Māori e taea ana e rātou te kōrerorero ki te reo Māori¹⁰⁰ mai i 18–20 ōrau, ko te nuinga o ēnei kua kaumātua (ki tā Benton 1979) ki te 25 ōrau, i ngā wehenga taipakeke katoa, ā, i mau tonu ki tēnei taumata i te tau 2001¹⁰¹. Ko te nuinga o ngā kaikōrero matatau, i te wehenga kaumātua tonu, pērā anō i te rangahau o ngā 1970. I te tatauranga o te 2006 i heke te tokopae ki te 24 ōrau, ā, i te 2013 i heke ki te 21 ōrau. Ko te ōrau o Aotearoa whānui (a ngāi Māori me ērā ehara i te Māori) he kōrero Māori, i waenga i te 2001 me te 2013, i heke i te 4 ōrau o te taupori whānui ki te 3 ōrau¹⁰². Ka tīkina e Ahu te kōrero i te pūrongo Wai 262 o te tau 2011, e mea ana ‘kua roroku haere anō’¹⁰³ te reo Māori. I ēnei tau tata nei, kua kīia ‘e mōrearea ana’¹⁰⁴ te reo, ā, kua tae ki ‘tētahi tino pūtahitanga i te ara [e ora ai, e mate ai rānei]’¹⁰⁵.

Ko tā O’Laoire (2010), he whakatāiri i te wāhi nui ki te whakaaetanga whānui he kaikōrero kē te mea māna e rerekē ai tōna reo. Kāore te reo e rerekē haere noa iho, ko ia anake. Ko tētahi āhuetanga o ngā reo tangata e kore e taea te karo, he huri tonu, he huri tonu tēnei mea te reo, i ngā iwi katoa, i ngā mātāwaka katoa, puta noa i te ao. He āhuetanga māori noa tēnei, engari kāore e tino mōhiotia ana he aha i pēnei ai te āhua¹⁰⁶.

Te ine i te hauora o te reo Māori

E pēnei ana te whaikupu a Romaine: ‘Ko ngā wāhi tūturu e huri ai te reo, kei ngā kōrerotanga ‘ka puta noa ake’, ‘ka ohia noa ake’ i te hapori nōna te reo, ka mutu, koia anake te huarahi e inea ai te whāhūa o tētahi kaupapa-here reo¹⁰⁷. Engari ko te inenga māmā kua whāia hei whakatau i te hauora o te reo Māori, ko ngā uiuinga me ngā tatauranga (ka mutu, katoa ērā, kua waiho mā te tangata anō e whiriwhiri ana whakautu). Hei tauira o ētahi atu inenga e taea ana, ko tā

99 Koinei te wā i kuhuna tuatahitia ai te pātai mō te kōrero Māori – i te 20 tau i muri i te uiuinga a NZCER.

100 E ai ki te uiuinga ā-motu a NZCER 1973–78, he āhua 70,000 ngā Māori, tētahi 18–20 ōrau noa o te iwi Māori, e matatau ana ki te reo Māori, ka mutu, kua kaumātua kē te nuinga.

101 Ministry of Social Development 2010: 88

102 Ethnic Affairs 2014

103 Ahu 2012: 5

104 Higgins and Rewi 2014: 10

105 Keegan and Cunliffe 2014: 396

106 Ó Laoire 2008

107 Romaine 2002: 158

Fishman 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (GIDS) ā, nō muri i tāna, ko tā UNESCO rāua ko Ethnologue whakawhānuitanga atu o te āwhata a Fishman, e kīia ana ko te 'Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (EGIDS)¹⁰⁸. E rua, e rua ēnei āwhata, hei tohu i te mana o te reo i runga i te kaha o te whāngaitanga o te reo e tētahi whakatupuranga ki tētahi i te kāinga me te hapori (heoi anō, mā te tangata anō e whiriwhiri ngā whakatau/whakautu e tika ana mōna). Kua kitea kei te EGIDS 6b¹⁰⁹ te reo Māori, e tohu ana 'kei te raruraru' a ia, i te mea:

Ko te Pae 6b e tohu ana kua ngaro te reoruatanga tūmau, kua riro ētahi whaitua kōrero i reo kē. I te Pae 6b, he tokomaha ngā mātua kei te kōrero Māori atu ki ā rātou tamariki, engari he rahi anō te tokopae kāore kē i te pērā. Kei te whāngaia tonutia te reo, engari he whāngai pahara, hei whāngai tērā tonu pea kei te pāitiiti haere.

Lewis & Simons 2009: 13

Ko te whakaaro o te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, ko te whai wāhi ki ngā taiao rumaki reo Māori o te ara rapu mātauranga me te ako i te reo Māori hei kaupapa motuhake i te kura riuroa, koia hei tohu i te tūhauora haere o te reo Māori¹¹⁰. Hei tauira: i te tau 1993, 'ko tētahi haurua o ngā kōhungahunga Māori katoa, i te kōhanga reo', engari i te nuinga o ngā tau mai i te 1994 ki te 2008, i heke haere tēnei tokopae. Āpiti atu ki tēnā, e tohu ana taua pūrongo i rahi ake te ōrau o ngā tamariki Māori e haere ana ki tētahi whare kōhungahunga (arā, e whai wāhi ana ki ērā atu momo whare kōhungahunga) – e 27% tēnei pikinga ake. Nō reira, '[i te tau 2010] kua iti noa ake te tiringa ki te kōhanga, ahakoa kua nui noa ake te puna tamariki'¹¹¹.

I ngā tau tuatahi e waru, ko te 'pikinga [toharite o ngā kōhanga reo] ... ko te 75 kōhanga reo me ngā mokopuna 1,250 i ia tau'¹¹². Ko tā te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, tāna whakaahua i tēnei, 'ahakoa he aha te tikanga ine ka whāia ... he pēnei me te pahū nei te kaha, he kawenga nā te ngoi o ngā hapori Māori huhua huri i te motu, me tō rātou whitawhita ki te whakapūmau i te reo me ngā tikanga Māori'¹¹³. Heoi anō, mai i te tau 1993, ka rerekē katoa te āhua.

E kitea ana i te Tūtohi 2 te piki me te heke o te maha o ngā kōhanga reo huri i te motu, mai i te 1982 ki te 2015.

108 Lewis and Simons, 2009: 2 – 'Kua noho ko tā Fishman Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) e 8 ōna taumata te anga arotake whakaawe nui, rongonui katoa mō te noho mōrearea o ngā reo i ēnei ngahurutanga tau e rua ka taha. Nā te anvga nei i whakatakoto ngā ariā tūāpapa e whāia ana e te nuinga o ngā kaiwhakaora reo. Whāia nei, ka takoto i a UNESCO tāna āwhata noho mōrearea e 6 ngā taumata. He anga kē anō tā *Ethnologue* (2015a) e rima ōna wehenga, hei whakaahua i te kaha ora o tētahi reo. I tēnei tuhinga, kua āta kōtūia ngā pūnaha arotake e toru hei hanga i tētahi āwhata arotake raharaha ake, nui ake ōna kōrero whāiti, 13 kē ōna taumata, kua tapaina nei ko te (Expanded) GIDS (arā, EGIDS). Katoa ngā reo, tae atu ki ngā reo kua wahangū, e taea ana te whakanoho ki te āwhata nei (kāore i pērā te GIDS). E taea ana te reo te arotake ki EGIDS mā te whakautu i ētahi pātai matua e rima mō te wāhi ki a ia i roto i te tuakiri, tana noho hei reo whakawhiti nō te tokomaha, te kaha whāngaihia o te reo e tētahi reanga ki tētahi, te wāhi nui ki te pānui me te tuhi i te reo, me te āhua pāpori o te whakamahinga ā-reanga o te reo. Kia iti noa te raweke i te EGIDS, kua pai te whakahāngai ki ngā reo e whakarauroatia ana.'

109 Ethnologue 2015d

110 Waitangi Tribunal 2010

111 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 21

112 Rautia 2012: 21

113 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 26

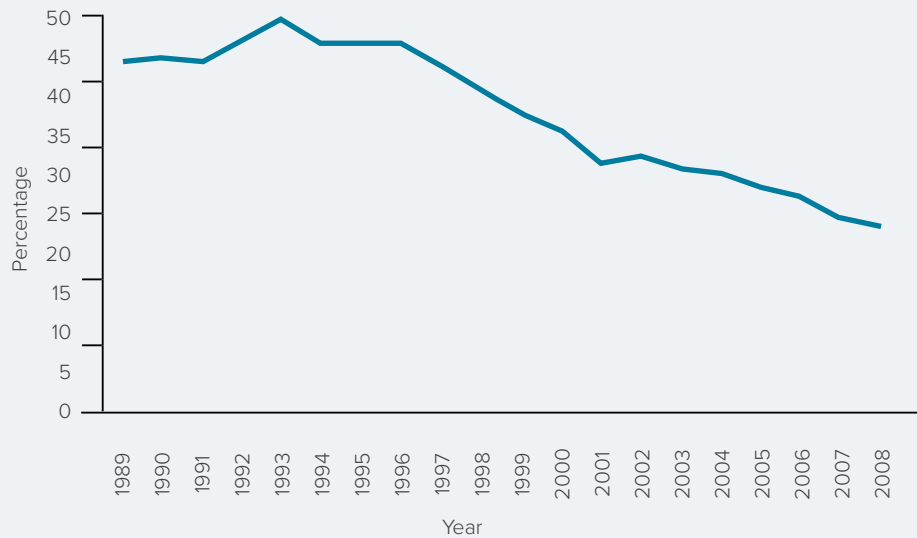
Tūtohi 2: Te pikinga me te hekenga o te maha o ngā kōhanga reo me ngā mokopuna e haere ana ki te kōhanga reo

Tau	Kōhanga reo	Mokopuna
1982	1 ¹¹⁴	Kāore anō i kitea
1985	400	6,000
1987	512	8,000
1990	616	10,108
1993	809	14,514
2011	471	9,364
2015	260	9,000+

I eke te maha o ngā kōhanga ki tōna tino tihi i te 1993, kātahi ka pou pou tonu te heke haere – he tata ki te toru hauwhā i ngaro – tae noa ki te 2015. Ko te 1993 anō te tau i eke ai te nui o ngā mokopuna i te kōhanga ki tōna tino taumata – hui katoa 14,514 te tokomaha. Engari i te tau 2011, kua āhua kotahi hautoru te heke, ki te 9364. Mai i te 2011 ki te 2015, kua āhua pūmau te tokomaha.

E whakaata mai ana te Whakaahua 3 i raro nei i te inati o te tupu o te tokopae kei te kōhanga reo, me te kaha heke anō i muri mai. Ko tētahi haurua o ngā tamariki Māori kei tētahi whare kōhungahunga, e haere ana ki te kōhanga reo, engari ka taka ki te tau 2008, kua tauheke ki raro i te 25 ōrau¹¹⁵.

Whakaahua 3: Te ōrau o ngā tamariki Māori ko te kōhanga reo te momo whare kōhungahunga e haere ana rātou, 1989–2008



Takenga mai: Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 22, Figure 5.3.1

¹¹⁴ I tuwhera te kōhanga reo tuatahi ki te Marae o Pukeatua, i Wainuiomata.

¹¹⁵ Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 21

Kua kōrero te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi mō ētahi tūāoma e toru i te orokohanga ake o Te Kōhanga Reo, i tū mai rā i te 1982. I te tīmatanga, ko Te Tari Take Māori te pūtahi e tātaki ana i te kaupapa nei, te kōhanga reo. I aua wā rā, i kaha te rea haere o ngā kōhanga reo, i kaha hoki te rea haere o te tokomaha o ngā tamariki e haere ana ki ngā kōhanga. Ka whanake haere tonu tae noa ki te 1993. Koirā te tino taumata, ā, he tata ki te 50% ngā tamariki Māori haere ki te whare kōhungahunga e awhitia ana i te kōhanga reo i taua wā rā. Nō te tau 1994, ka tīmata te tauheke haere (i muri mai i te whakawhitinga atu o te kaupapa i Te Tari Take Māori ki Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga). Ka paheke haere tonu ā tae noa ki te tau 2008. I tū tēnei 'tikapenga me te heke haere tonu' mai i te 2003 ki te 2008, ahakoa e 'kaha ana te whanake o te rāngai whakaako kōhungahunga'¹¹⁶. Ā, hei pūrua noa i te kōrero o runga ake nei, ko te nui i tēnei wā 'o ngā kōhanga reo ... ko te 260, e whakaāhuru ana i ngā mokopuna e 9000'¹¹⁷.

Nā te Poari o Te Kōhanga Reo tēnei kōrero:

Nō te takanga o Te Kōhanga Reo ki raro i te mana o ngā waeture ECE, kua rōnaki tonu te heke haere o te maha o ngā Kōhanga me te tokomaha o ngā mokopuna i ngā kōhanga. Ko te kaupapa i tīmata ake hei kaupapa whakapakari nā te iwi Māori, hei painga mō te iwi Māori, kua taiaritia kia ū rawa ki ngā whakaritenga o te pūnaha whakaako kōhungahunga.

Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust 2011: 23

Ko tētahi mea anō me āta kōrero i konei, ko te tupu haere o ngā kōwhiringa whakaako, tiaki kōhungahunga mai i ngā 1970, ā, mohoa noa nei. I nui haere ngā mātua whai mahi e kimi ana i ētahi 'whakaritenga tiaki tamariki mō te katoa o te rā, kua ngā whakaritenga mō ētahi hāora noa i te rā, pērā i tā ngā kura pūhou o Aotearoa me ngā pokapū tākaro'¹¹⁸. Ko te take matua i pēnei ai, nā te tokomaha ake o ngā wāhine e whakauru ana ki te rangamahi¹¹⁹, ā, i tino pēnei te āhua i ngā 1970¹²⁰. I ngā 1990, ko ngā kōhanga reo tētahi 10 ōrau o ngā kōwhiringa whakaako, tiaki kōhungahunga, engari ka tae ki te 2010, kua heke te nui ki te rima ōrau¹²¹. E mau tonu ana tēnei āhua i te 2013¹²². Ahakoa 11 ōrau te hekenga o te tokomaha i whakaurua ki te kōhanga reo i te 2013, e 20 ōrau o ngā tamariki me ngā mokopuna Māori katoa i te kōhanga reo, nō reira 'ko te tukunga iho, kua tokoiti ake te hunga i ngā ratonga whakaako, tiaki'¹²³.

He ara anō ka whāia e Hornsby hei whiriwhiri i te kaha mōrearea o tētahi reo: 'ko te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero e ora ana; te pakeke toharite o te hunga i tupu ake me te reo/tino matatau ki te reo; me te ōrau o te reanga tamariki katoa e matatau haere ana ki taua reo'¹²⁴. E mea ana ia he maha atu anō ngā āhuatanga e pāpā

116 Waitangi Tribunal 2010

117 Adamson 2015 npn

118 Pollock 2012: 3

119 E whakaata ana i ngā kōkiritanga mana wahine i ara ake ai te tiaki tamariki hei take nui e uru ai te hunga wahine ki te rangamahi. (Pollock, 2012)

120 Nō ngā 1970 i tū mai ai ētahi ratonga nui (pērā i ngā Kura Pūhou), ā, i te tau 1989, ka rauwiria te whakaako me te tiaki mā roto i ngā whakahounga 'Before Five', i nui ake ai ngā kōwhiringa ki ngā mātua (Pollock 2012).

121 Pollock 2012

122 Ministry of Education 2014: tirohia te Whakaahua 5

123 Ministry of Education 2014

124 Hornsby n.d -b: npn

mai ana ki te kaha mōrearea o te reo, ā, ko tēnei āwhata āna, 'he tohu whānui noa'. Heoi anō, ki a ia, ko te āhuetanga nui katoa e tohu ana i te noho mōrearea o te reo, 'ina kōrerotia atu ki ngā tamariki o tētahi hapori tētahi reo i tua atu i tērā o ō rātou matua'¹²⁵.

Te āhua o te hunga kōrero i te reo Māori

Ko te mea e kaha ake ana te kawea i Aotearoa, ko te whakamahi i ngā raraunga o ngā tatauranga ā-motu me ngā uiuinga hei ine i te kaha o te kōrero o tētahi reo. E whakaatu mai ana ngā tūtohu e whai ake nei i ngā kōrero i hua ake i ngā tatauranga ā-motu e whā i tū i waenganui i te 1996 me te 2013; me ngā uiuinga e rima i waenganui i te 1973 me te 2013. Ko te pātai tuatahi mō te reo, i kuhuna ki te tatauranga o te 1996. Ahakoa te rerekē o ngā inenga i whakamahia, he whakaputa karapatanga tēnei whakatairitenga tino māmā o ngā mea i kitea; heoi anō, me tiroiro, me whakamāori ōna kōrero i runga i te tūpatō.

Tūtohi 3: He whakatairitenga o ngā hua o ngā tatauranga ā-motu me ngā uiuinga mō te wāhi ki te hunga kōrero Māori – 1970–2013

Tau	ngā 1970	tatauranga '96	tatauranga '01	tatauranga '06	tatauranga '13
E āhei ana ki te kōrerorero (ki te reo Māori)	kāore he raraunga	e 25%	e 25%	e 24%	e 21%
Tau	uiuinga '73–8' ¹²⁶	uiuinga '95' ¹²⁷	uiuinga '01	uiuinga '06' ¹²⁸	uiuinga '13' ¹²⁹
1973 'matatau' vs 1995–2013 'he pai, he tino pai rānei ki te kōrero'	18–20%	17%	9%	14%	11%

125 Hornsby n.d -b: npn

126 'E ai ki tētahi uiuinga ā-motu, ko tōna 70,000 ngā Māori, tētahi 18-20 ōrau o te iwi Māori, e matatau ana ki te kōrero Māori, ā, ko te nuinga o ēnei, kua kaumātua'. The Māori language: selected events 1800-2013. Pepa Rangahau i te Whare Pukapuka Pāremata. Kei te <https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-nz/00PLSocRP2013041/a2f2308cb8e4b292dc7e979a4c098f3e3aa7b5e9>

127 Bauer 2008: 34 – I muri i te mahinga, ka kitea he hārekereke ngā kōrero i puta ake i te rangahautanga o te tau 1995 ...

128 Ko te Uiuuinga mō te Hauora o te Reo Māori 2006, i whakahaeretia e Research New Zealand mā Te Puni Kōkiri (http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/maori/measuring-te-reo-maori-speakers/data-sources.aspx). E ai ki tā Bauer 2008, he raruraru kei ngā tikanga rangahau i whāia i tēnei uiuinga, tae at ki ngā tūpakonga. Nō reira mai tana whakatūpatō mō ngā kōrero i hua ake. Tirohia anō hoki a de Bres 2008 me te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi 2011 mō ngā raruraru i kitea i tēnei uiuinga. Heoi anō, e whakaaturia ana ngā kitenga whānui i konei i te mea kāore i tino rerekē ake i ngā hua o te tatauranga o taua tau anō.

129 Tatauranga Aotearoa, Te Kupenga 2013f

Ko ngā hua o te tatauanga ā-motu kei te Tūtohi 3, e tohu ana i paku nei te paheke o te ōrau o ngāi Māori e taea ana e rātou te kōrerorero i ngā horopaki o ia rā, inā rā, i heke i te 25% i te 1996 ki te 21% i te 2013. Ko ngā hua o ngā tatauanga ā-motu, mō te katoa o te taupori o Aotearoa i whakautu i te rārangi pātai i te pō o te tatauanga.

Kei te āhua taurite anō ngā kōrero kei te tūtohi nei i hua ake i ngā uiuinga, engari he paku iti ake te taurite, tēnā i ngā tatauanga. Ko tētahi take i iti ake ai te taurite, i te mea ko ngā hua uiuinga tuatahi, i pūtakea mai i te uiuinga a Benton i ngā tau 1973–1978, i arotahi ki te hunga Māori kua kaumātua, kua ki ērā o ngā wehenga taipakeke katoa. Heoi anō, me kī pēnei ake, ko te mea e kitea ana i ngā uiuinga, kei te āta heke haere te ōrau o ngā kaikōrero ‘matatau’, hāunga anō te tau 2006 me te 2013. Tērā anō pea ko te rerekē o te tokopae i whai wāhi ki ngā uiuinga tētahi mea e paku whakatītaha ana i ngā hua, ā, tērā pea ka taea anō hoki te uiui te tika o ngā tikanga rangahau i whāia i ētahi o ngā uiuinga.

Ko te uiuinga tuatahi o te hunga kōrero Māori, i kawea i ngā tau tīmatanga o ngā 1970¹³⁰. Nāna i whakatūturu te kōrero e tino mōrearea ana te noho o te reo Māori, inā rā, ko tētahi 18 ōrau noa iho o te hunga i uiuia i mea ake he matatau rātou ki te reo Māori. Ko te nuinga o tērā 18 ōrau, i ngā wehenga tino pakeke/kaumātua¹³¹, ā, ‘ko tētahi atu 30,000 tāngata i pai tonu te mārama ki te reo kōrerorero noa, engari kāore i māia ki te kōrero Māori’¹³². E āhua taurite ana tēnei ki ngā kōrero i hua ake i ngā uiuinga me ngā tatauanga o muri mai mō te wāhi ki ngā kupu i whakamahia hei whakaahua i te kaha mōhio o te tāngata ki te reo. Engari me whakamāori ēnei kōrero i runga i te tūpatō, i te mea ko ngā whakaaro o ērā wā ki tēnei mea te matatau, he rerekē pea i ngā whakaaro mai i ngā 1990. Ko ngā kaumātua e kōrero ana a Benton, i whānau mai pea i waenga i ngā tau whakamutunga o ngā 1800 me ngā 1920, i tino matatau ai te tini tāngata, i whānau mai ai, i noho ai hoki te nuinga o ngāi Māori ki ō rātou hau kāinga i te tuawhenua.

E 20 tau i muri i tāna rangahau, i te tau 1995, ka kohia he raraunga anō e āhua rite ana, he mea whakahaere ā-kirimana e Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori mā Te Puni Kōkiri. I tapaina tēnei ko Te Mahi Rangahau Reo Māori 1995. Ka noho ko ia te rangahau tuatahi o ētahi rangahautanga ka tū i ia rima tau. He whakaū tā tēnei rangahau i ngā kōrero mōrearea o tā te NZCER i kite ai. Heoi anō, nō muri mai, ka kitea he haurakiraki pea ōna kōrero¹³³. Ā hāunga anō tērā, kua whakaaturia tonutia ōna kōrero i konei, engari pērā anō i ngā whakatūpatō mō te rangahautanga o te tau 2006, me aro ki ōna kōrero i runga i te matawhāiti. Anei tā Tatauranga Aotearoa i pūrongo mai ai:

I kitea i tēnei uiuinga ko tētahi 59 ōrau o ngā pakeke Māori katoa, he mōhio ki te paku kōrero Māori, ki te kōrero Māori noa rānei. Ko tētahi 43 ōrau o ērā, he hakahaka tō rātou matatau ki te kōrero Māori, ko tētahi 9 ōrau, kei waenganui te matatau, ko tērā atu 8 ōrau, e teitei ana te matatau. O te hunga i teitei te matatau ki te kōrero, ko tētahi hautoru kua 60 tau hipa ake rānei te pakeke.

130 He mea whakahaere tēnei rangahau i te 1973–1978 e Benton, i raro i te maru o te Rūnanga o Aotearoa mō te Rangahau i te Mātauranga.

131 Nā runga i te āhua o te pūrongo, tē taea te wehewehe ngā taipakeke me te kaha matatau o ia wehenga.

132 Benton 1997: 29. Ahakoa i pēnei tā Benton whakaahua i aua kaikōrero, ehara i te mea ko te maia-kore, he rite ki te korenga e āhei ki te ‘kōrerorero mō ngā mea o ia rā ki te reo Māori’

133 E mea ana a Bauer 2008: 34, nā runga i ana kōrero tahi ki tētahi i Te Puni Kōkiri, i kitea he hārekereke te rangahau o te tau 1995, engari kāore i whakamāramatia ake he aha i pērā ai te whakataua

E ai ki ngā kōrero i hua ake, e 42 ōrau o ngāi Māori kua 15 tau neke atu te pakeke (136,700 tāngata) he pūkenga kōrero reo Māori ō rātou – arā, he neke atu i te kupu ruarua noa, i te rerenga ruarua noa ka taea e rātou ki te reo Māori. Ka taea hoki tēnei rōpū te wehe ki tōna 9 ōrau i 'pai', i 'tino pai' rānei tā rātou kōrero Māori, ā, he 33% ko te 'āhua pai', ko te 'kāore i tino pai' te mea tika hei whakaahua i tā rātou kōrero Māori. Ko te kōrero Māori a tērā atu 58 ōrau 'kāore i nui ake i ētahi kupu ruarua, i ētahi rerenga ruarua rānei'.

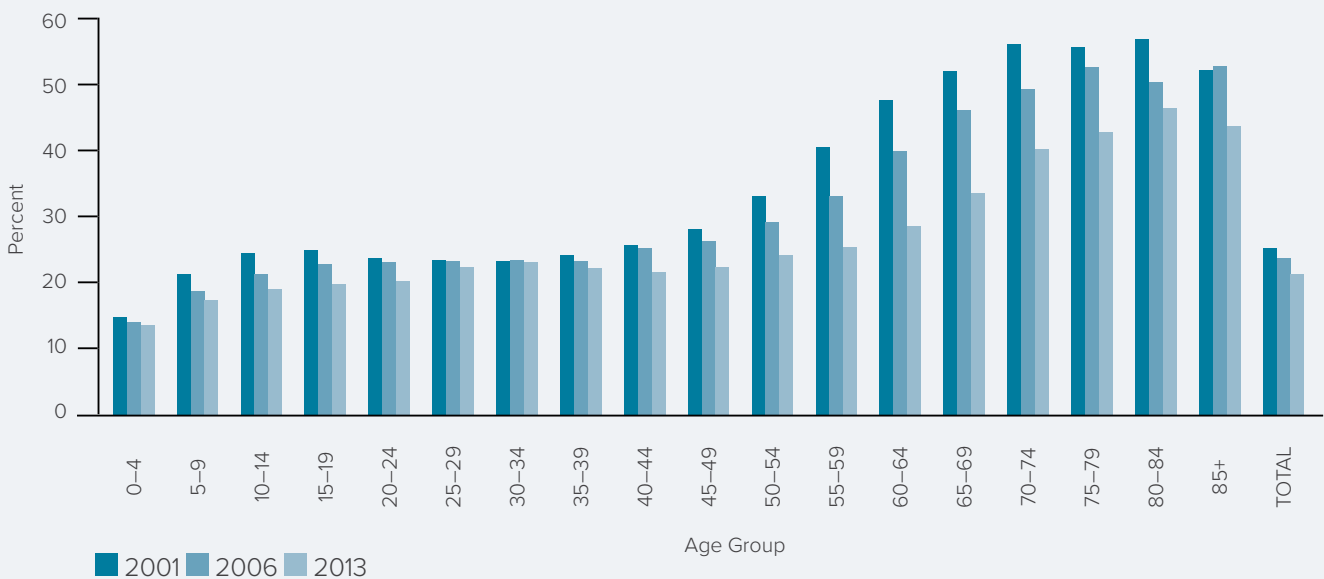
Statistics NZ 2002

Ko ō muri uiuinga o te 2001 me te 2006, he paku rerekē te rārangi pātai i whakamahia (de Bres, 2008), engari i kitea ētahi raruraru i ngā tikanga rangahau i whāia mō te mea o te 2006. Nō reira, ahakoa e taurite ana ngā kitenga ki ō te taturanga ā-motu 2006, me tirotiro, me nanao i runga i te matawhāiti¹³⁴.

Ko te wāhanga e whai ake nei, e arotahi ana ki ngā hua o te Taturanga ā-Motu i ngā tau 2001–2013 mō te hunga Māori kōrero Māori, i runga anō i te taipakeke, ā, me he tāne, he wahine rānei. He mea whakaari ki te kauwhata, ki te tūtohi anō. Ka paku kōrerotia anō a ngāi Māori kōrero Māori kei Ahitereiria e noho ana.

E ai ki ngā raraunga taturanga, mai i te tau 2001, ko te ōrau o ngāi Māori kōrero Māori (ahakoa pēhea rawa te matatau), hāunga anō ngā wehenga taipakeke 0–4 tau me te 5–9 tau, kua āhua noho tonu ki runga ake o te 20 ōrau. He pikinga iti nei tēnei mai i te 18 ōrau i kitea i te rangahautanga a NZCER i te 1973–1978. Ko tā te Whakaahua 4 e tohu mai ana, ko te pakeke ake o te wehenga, ko te nui ake o te ōrau kaikōrero Māori, engari kua nui ake hoki te hekenga o te tokopae mai i te tuatahi ki te tuatoru o ēnei taturanga.

Whakaahua 4: Te ōrau o ngā kaikōrero Māori i te taupori Māori, i runga i ngā wehenga taipakeke 5-tau, 2001–2013



Takenga mai: Statistics NZ, Census of Population and Dwellings 2013

¹³⁴ Ko te Statistics NZ 2008 e mea ana, 'E kī ake ana Te Puni Kōkiri me tūpato ngā kainanao raraunga i a rātou ka whakamāori i ngā kōrero o te uiuinga 2006, nā ētahi tepe i te hoahoanga o te uiuinga (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008)'. Tirohia tā Statistics NZ 2014b. Āpiti atu ki tēnā, i kitea i tā Bauer 2008 ētahi raruraru i ngā tikanga rangahau o te uiuinga nei, tae atu ki te āhua o ngā tipakonga. Ko tāna whakatūpato, me whāwhā ngā hua o te rangahautanga nei i runga i te matawhāiti. Tirohia anō hoki tā de Bres 2008 me tā te Waitangi Tribunal 2011 mō ētahi raruraru i kitea i tēnei uiuinga). Engari hāunga tonu ēnei whakatūpato, kua whakaaturia ngā kitenga i konei i te mea kāore i tino tawhiti ngā hua i puta ake i te taturanga ā-motu o taua tau.

I ngā kōrero tatauranga o ia rima tau kei te Whakaahua 4, kei te kitea e āhua rōnaki ana te paheke i te ōrau o ngā kaikōrero Māori i ngā wehenga taipakeke katoa, hāunga anō ērā kei te 30–34 tau, i āhua pūmau te ōrau kōrero Māori mai i te 2001 ki te 2013. Ka poupu ake te heke i ngā rōpū pakeke ake, mai i te 55–59 tau ahu atu ki te 85+ tau, ā, ko te rōpū 60–64 tau e tino poupu ana te heke – ko tōna 24 ōrau te heke i tērā wehenga. Hui katoa, ko te kaha roroku o te tokopae kōrero Māori, ko tōna whā ōrau.

Ko te wehenga e 55–64 tau te pakeke i te Whakaahua 4, kei reira te taihekenga nui i te ōrau kōrero Māori mai i te 2001 ki te 2013. I whānau mai tēnei rōpū i waenganui o te 1932 me te 1958. Ki te wehea ki ngā huinga 5-tau, ka pēnei te āhua:

- ko ērā o te tau 1996, i whānau mai i waenga i te 1932 me te 1941
- ko ērā o te tau 2001, i whānau mai i waenga i te 1937 me te 1946
- ko ērā o te tau 2006, i whānau mai i waenga i te 1942 me te 1951
- ko ērā o te tau 2013, i whānau mai i waenga i te 1949 me te 1958

O te hunga i whānau mai i waenga i te 1942 me te 1958, he tokomaha rātou i aua whanau i hūnuku ki ngā tāone rahi noho ai, kimi mahi ai, kimi oranga ai i te ao Pākehā. Ko tā tēnei arotakenga tuhituhi i kite ai, nā ngā kaupapa-here Kāwanatanga o ngā 1960 i akiaki ngā iwi Māori kia whakarere i ō rātou kāinga tupu, i ā rātou ritenga tupu, ka neke kē ai ki te tāone rahi. I reira, ka tiriwā haeretia rātou kia noho toiroa, kia noho mōriroriro i tō rātou anō momo. I kitea hoki i te arotakenga nei he tino huarahi tēnei hei haukoti i te whāngaitanga o te reo e tētahi whakatupranga ki tētahi.

He mea tātari e Hamer ngā raraunga o te tatauranga ā-motu 2006 a Tatauranga Aotearoa, me te whakaputa i tētahi tātaitanga o te hunga kōrero Māori, e wehe ana i ngā tāne me ngā wāhine, e wehe ana hoki i te kāhui nei i runga i te āhua o ā rātou mahi. E āhua tārua ana tā Hamer i kite ai i ngā whakaaro o Benton kua tāia i runga ake nei.

Tūtohi 4: Ngāi Māori kōrero Māori i Aotearoa, kua wehea ngā tāne me ngā wāhine, kua wehea hoki i runga i ā rātou mahi

Occupational Class	Sex	Speakers	Total Maori	% Speakers
Managers	M	2,724	13,491	20.2
	F	2,292	10,368	22.1
	Total	5,016	23,859	21.0
Professionals	M	3,438	10,392	33.1
	F	6,618	18,507	35.8
	Total	10,056	28,899	34.8
Technicians and trades workers	M	3,861	20,496	18.8
	F	969	5,094	19.0
	Total	4,830	25,590	18.9
Community and personal service workers	M	2,005	7,113	28.9
	F	3,825	15,399	24.8
	Total	5,880	22,512	26.1
Clerical and administrative workers	M	1,086	4,680	23.2
	F	3,483	17,724	19.7
	Total	4,569	22,404	20.4
Sales workers	M	894	5,550	16.1
	F	2,004	12,003	16.7
	Total	2,898	17,553	16.5
Machinery operators and drivers	M	4,590	18,339	25.0
	F	696	3,183	21.9
	Total	5,286	21,522	24.6
Labourers	M	6,261	26,607	23.5
	F	3,981	16,938	23.5
	Total	10,242	43,545	23.5
Total	M	24,912	106,526	23.4
	F	23,865	99,222	24.1
	Total	48,777	205,748	23.7

Takeanga Mai: Hamer 2010:45

I tēnei mahi a Hamer, e kitea ana ko ngā wāhine me ngā tāne Māori kei ngā tūranga mahi ngaio i Aotearoa, ko rātou te hunga ‘... nui ake te tūpono he mōhio ki te kōrerorero ki te reo’. Mō te wāhi ki ngā wāhine, e 35.8 ōrau, ki ngā tāne, e 34.8 ōrau. I āhua kaha anō ngā wāhine ‘ki te tohu mai he Māori rātou me te kore e tohu mai i tētahi atu momo toto (kāore i heke iho i te 53.4 ōrau o tērā rōpū, arā, i te 4,770 wāhine o roto i te 8,940)¹³⁵.

135 Hamer 2010: 45

Mō te wāhi ki ērā e mahi ana i ngā ratonga hapori, āwhina whaiaro, he tokomaha ake ngā tāne kōrero Māori i ngā wāhine – ko te 28.9 ōrau o ngā tāne, ko te 24.8 o ngā wāhine. Ko ngā momo mahi e rua kei raro rawa mō te kōrero Māori: ko ngā ringarehe, ko ngā wāhine kōrero Māori o tēnei rōpū kei te 19.0 ōrau, ko ngā tāne kei te 18.8 ōrau; me ngā tāngata i te ao hokohoko, ko ngā wāhine kei te 16.7 ōrau, ko ngā tāne kei te 16.1 ōrau.

Ahakoia te kite ake o Hamer ko te hunga i kaha ake tā rātou kōrero Māori i te 2006, ko ērā kei ngā tūranga ngaio, ko tā Kukutai rāua ko Pawar¹³⁶ kē i kite ai:

... he maha ngā rangahau kua tohu mai ko te hunga ka āta kī ake he Māori rātou, koirā anake tō rātou momo, ka mātua tohu mai rānei he Māori rātou, koia anō te hunga kaha ake te pōhara, tēnā i te hunga ka tohu mai nō ngā momo tāngata maha rātou ... Waihoki, ko te hunga e kī ana he Māori rātou ka mutu i reira, he Māori rānei ka tahi, ka rua he mea kē anō, koirā anō te hunga nui ake te tūpono ka kōrero Māori, ka moe i te hoa kōrero Māori, ka noho anō ki ngā wāhi he tokomaha ngā Māori e noho ana i reira.

Kukutai and Pawar 2013: 32¹³⁷.

136 Ahakoia ko te taitara o te pepa nei, mō ngā Māori i Ahitereiria, i tēnei wāhanga, i te whārangi 32 (kōwae tuarua) ka matapakia ngā kitenga i Aotearoa – āta tirohia te rerenga whakamutunga o te kōwae tuarua.

137 Ki tā Kukutai and Pawar (2013): I te 2006, ko ngā rohe i teitei ake ai ngā ōrau o ngā tāngata mōhio ki te kōrerorero Māori, ko:

- Tūranga-nui-a-Kiwa (32 ōrau),
- Te Moana-a-Toi (31 ōrau),
- Te Taitokerau (28 ōrau)
- Waikato me Te Matau-a-Māui (ko rāua tahi, kei te 26 ōrau).

Koinei anō ngā tatauranga kua pūrongotia mai e te Ministry of Social Development (2010).

Te whakahauora ake i te reo Māori

Ko tā Ngāpō kua tūtohu mai (2011, me tana tiki atu i tā Te Taura Whiri 2007): '... ka hia nei pea ngā ngahuru tau e tūhauora anō ai tētahi reo kua taiheke [te kōrerotia], mēnā ia ka waimarie, ka manaakitia e ngā āhuatanga katoa e pā atu ana ki a ia. Nō reira, ka roa pea te wā e tapuhitia ana tētahi reo kia ora, ka mutu he mahi e tata pakaru ai ngā hamuti¹³⁸.

Ko te whakamārama a Are (2015), e whaiwhai haere ana i tā Crystal (2000), ko te mahi ia '... me mātua huihui ngā tatauranga katoa e pā ana ki ngā reo e whai pānga mai ana, me te whakatutuki i ētahi tūāoma e ono'. Ko ngā tūāoma e whai ake nei, e whai ana i tā Are¹³⁹, engari he iti nei ngā whakarākaitanga.

1. ko te whakapiki i te mana, i te whairawa, i te mana tōrangapū o te hunga kōrero i te reo i waenganui i te iwi/taupori, ina whakaritea ki tō te taupori nui ake te mana;
2. ka nui te wāhi ki te reo i te pūnaha rapu mātauranga;
3. ka takoto i ngā kaikōrero o te reo tētahi tauira tuhituhi o te reo, ka mahi hoki rātou ki te whakatītina i te iwi ki te ako ki te pānui me te tuhi i taua reo;
4. ka whakamahia te hangarau whitihiko;
5. ka aro nuitia te wetereo whakaahua me ngā mahi rangahau reo i te hapori tonu¹⁴⁰;
6. me whakatū tētahi 'kāhui whakarauroa' ruarangi tonu, e whai wāhi mai ai te matahuhuatanga o ngā kaihautū i te hapori, ngā kaiako me ētahi atu mātanga, tae atu ki ngā kaimātai wetereo¹⁴¹.

Ka mea anō a Are, me te tiki anō i tā Crystal (2000), ko ēnei tūāoma '... i puta ake i ngā mātakitanga o ngā mahi haukoti i whāia hei huripoki i te ngaromanga o ngā reo i ētahi moka o te ao. He ahunga whai take tonu tēnei i te mea he tauira haukoti he kawenga tonu tōna tūāpapa.' (Are 2015: 17)

Ko ngā tohutohu a Fishman (1991), kia arotahia te whāngaitanga ā-whakatupuranga o te reo i te kāinga. Ko te ritenga o tēnei mō te reo Māori, ko 'te kōrerotanga o te reo Māori i te paparanga o te whānau ... e te taupori kōrero Māori i ō rātou kāinga me ō rātou hapori'.¹⁴² Ko te painga atu mēnā e āhei ana ngā tamariki noho ki te kāinga ki te kōrero Māori ki ō rātou mātua, ki ō rātou kaumātua, i ngā wā huhua tonu. Engari e ai ki ngā tohu, kāore i te eke tēnei āhua. Anei pea ētahi take i kore

138 Ngāpō 2011: 133

139 Te rārangi māmā ake a Are (2015: 17):

1. Te whakapiki i te mana o te reo e mōrearea ana i waenganui o ana kaikōrero
2. Te whakapiki ake i te mana, taha ōhanga, o ngā kaikōrero, ina whakaritea ki ngā rōpū nui ake te mana
3. Te whakapiki i te mana tōrangapū o te hunga kōrero i te reo
4. Te mahi kia whai wāhi te reo ki te ao rapu mātauranga
5. Te huri i te reo hei reo tuhituhi (mēnā kāore anō tēnei kia mahia)
6. Te whakamahi hanga whitihiko ina hiahiaia hei hopu ā-tuhituhi i te reo

140 He tauira kei Yamada 2007.

141 Waihoki tēnei, kei Yamada 2007

142 Te Puni Kōkiri 2006b

ai: ko te nuinga o ngā pakeke Māori, kāore e kōrero Māori; ko te nuinga o ngā tamariki me ngā taiohi e noho ana ki ngā kāinga o ō rātou mātua, kei te pau kē ngā rā ki ngā kura kāore e anga whāiti ana ki te reo Māori; ko te kaha heke o te maha o ngā kōhanga reo (hei tauria o te ara e anga whāiti ana ki te reo Māori), me ngā tamariki haere ki te kōhanga reo (Waitangi Tribunal 2011); tae atu ki te uaua, mō te aha rā te take, o te kimi kaiako pai nei te matatau¹⁴³.

I ēnei rā, koinei ētahi o ngā take whāiti e pā nui mai ana ki te whakaoranga ake o te reo Māori:

1. Āe rānei e taea ana te tautohu tokohia rawa ngā kaikōrero e mātua hiahiatia ana e ora ake ai te reo Māori?
2. Ko hea rawa hei arotahinga ina whiriwhiria me pēhea e ngaringari ake ai te hunga kōrero Māori? (hei tauria, ko te tokomaha o te hunga kōrero, ko te tokomaha rānei o te hunga matatau/te matatau).
3. Kua pēhea nei te koke haere o ngā mahi whakamahere reo i te paparanga kāwanatanga?
4. He ahunga e whakaaetia nuitia ana koia te mea pai ake mō te whakaako me te ako i te reo Māori?

Te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero i te reo e taea ai te reo te whakahauora ake – ngā matapae ki tua

I ngā uiuinga i kawea e Te Puni Kōkiri mō ngā waiaro ki te reo Māori, i kitea e whakaaro pai mai ana te nuinga o te iwi Māori me tauwiwi ki te reo Māori, otirā ia, ko te iwi Māori e tino pai mai ana ngā whakaaro¹⁴⁴. Engari ahakoa te kaha o te ngākau pai mai o ngāi Māori, kāore i rite tō rātou kaha ki te ako i te reo. Ko ngā Tatauranga ā-Motu me ngā Uiuinga e taunaki ana i tēnei, inā rā, kāore i hipa atu i te hauwhā o te iwi Māori e kōrero Māori ana, pai mai, hē mai. Kua kōrero hoki a Higgins rāua ko Rewi mō 'tētahi huinga he tino tawhiti ō rātou whakaaro i ō te nuinga', ko tēnei huinga e whakaponono ana he meroiti noa te wāhi ki te reo Māori ā ngā rā e tū mai nei, ā, he pai ake me i waiho atu ki ngā rā o mua¹⁴⁵.

Mai i ngā tau o ngā 1980, kua kōrerotia tētahi tokopae kōrero Māori māna rawa e kawea te reo ki tua o whakaora, ki Paeora. I taua wā rā, 'i pā te karanga ki te tuakaihau', e whakatenatena ana i te iwi kia 'kōrero noa' i te reo, ahakoa pēhea te tika o te reo¹⁴⁶. E mea ana a Benavidez mā (2007), 'he hanga horapa tēnei mea te ahurea, [ā,] kia tae te hapori ki tētahi taumata e whakaaro ai rātou, e kawea ai rātou i a rātou anō i runga i aua tikanga tūturu, arā, kia pūmau tētahi tokopae e pēnei ana tō rātou āhua, [te tikanga] ka whai noa mai hoki ko tā rātou kōrero i tō rātou reo tūturu'¹⁴⁷. Kia eke tēnei āhua, koia tērā ko te 'huringa o te tai', e pari atu ai te reo Māori ki te hapori nui tonu.

143 Waitangi Tribunal 2011

144 Hei tauria, Te Puni Kōkiri 2006a, 2006b, and 2010.

145 Higgins and Rewi: 2014: 26

146 O'Regan 2012: 94

147 Benavidez, L., et al. 2007: 61

Ka kōrero a Ruckstuhl rāua ko Wright (2013) mō tētahi ia e nui haere ana te whāinga huri i te ao, e whakamahia ai ngā whakatauiratanga reo ā-tauranga nei hei tautohu i ngā 'kōkūhanga mai, taha reo, hei whakatauirā i te hokanga o ... te reo Māori mō ngā whakatupuranga maha e heke mai nei'¹⁴⁸. Ko te pātai i pātaihia e ngā kaituhi, ko tēnei, 'Āe rānei ka taea te whakapakepake tētahi 80% o te iwi Māori kia kōrero Māori i mua i te tau 2050?'¹⁴⁹ Kei te tūtohu mai anō hoki a Ruckstuhl koirā te wawata o te Rautaki Reo Māori¹⁵⁰, Te Reo Mauriora¹⁵¹, ā, he mea tautoko hoki e te Minita, e Te Ururoa Flavell¹⁵². Ko te whakatau iho a Ruckstuhl, e eke ai tērā wawata (ā, ki a rāua me uaua ka eke), 'me kōrero Māori tētahi 16% o te taupori [ā, e ai ki ā rāua tātaitanga] mō te 4.4 hōra i te rā, i ia whānau'¹⁵³.

I ā rātou tuhituhi mō te āhua ki te reo Scottish Gaelic, i whakamahia e Kandler et al. (2010) tētahi taurā pāngarau¹⁵⁴ hei whakatau tata i te hūnukutanga ā-reo¹⁵⁵ mai i te reo Pākehā anake ki te reoruatanga, ko te reo Pākehā me te reo Gaelic e haere kōtūi ana. Ki tō rātou whakaaro, hei 'whakarerekē i te āhua o te hūnukutanga', ko te tokomaha o ngā tāngata kōrero Pākehā anake me ako i te reo Scottish Gaelic i ia tau, ka whanatu ka reorua, kei te takiwā o te 860 (tōna 0.3 ōrau). I 'takea mai tēnei tokopae i te taupori Highland, e 315, 000 pea ōna tāngata'¹⁵⁶.

Ko te tūmanako o Benton¹⁵⁷ i te tau 1997, kia '... 83,000 te tapeke o ngā kaikōrero Māori (matatau, ka matatau rānei ā tōna wā)' ā te tau 2011. Kāore e mōhiotia ana mēnā he tātaritanga tauranga te pūtaka o tana 'whakaaro ki tua', pēhea kē rānei. Heoi anō, nā runga i tētahi tātaitanga kōkau nei, ko te 80,000 tētahi 13.3 ōrau o te taupori Māori i te 2013 e 598,605¹⁵⁸ ōna tāngata. Ko ngā kupu i whakamahia e Tauranga Aotearoa hei whakatau i te matatau, ko te tono i te hunga i uia kia ine i tō rātou anō matatau i runga i ēnei tāpaenga kōrero: 'ka taea te kōrero mō te tino nuinga o ngā mea, mō ngā mea maha rānei, ki te reo Māori', me te 'he tino pai, he pai rānei te mōhio ki te kōrero Māori'. Mēnā e āhua rite ana ēnei tāpaenga kōrero ki te 'matatau, ka matatau rānei ā tōna wā', ā kāti, ko te tapeke i te 2013 [e whai ana i te 50,000 tāngata, i te 11 ōrau rānei¹⁵⁹] he paku neke atu i te haurua noa o tā Benton i wawata ai¹⁶⁰.

148 Ruckstuhl and Wright 2014: 123

149 Ruckstuhl and Wright 2014: 123

150 Tirohia tā Ruckstuhl 2011, Submission on the Government's proposed Māori Language Strategy (kei <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/docs/mls/submissions/Dr-Katharina-Ruckstuhl.pdf>)

151 Te Puni Kōkiri 2011

152 Kei Scoop Parliament, The Māori Party 2014. Flavell: Māori Education Agenda is a Development Agenda. <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1403/S00114/flavell-maori-education-agenda-is-a-development-agenda.htm>

153 Ruckstuhl 2011: ata 16 (Whakakapinga) Kāore i tohua mēnā ko te 16% rānei o te taupori Māori tēnei, o te taupori o Aotearoa rānei. Kei te āhua rehurehu hoki te tikanga o te kōrero 'i ia whānau' i konei.

154 Tirohia tā Kandler et al., 2010: 3862 mō tētahi whakaahuatanga o te taurā Reorua.

155 Grin and Vaillancourt 1998: 9 e mea ana: 'Te tikanga, karekau he 'hūnukutanga ā-reo', inā rā, ina ko ngā rerekētanga o roto i te reo, e whakaata ana i ngā taurā whanonga o ngā kaikōrero, arā, ngā tāngata takitahi e whai pānga ana (ahakoa matahuna, mataaho rānei) tēnā me tēnā, ki ngā rōpū pāpori maha. Kia kōrerotia te hūnukutanga ā-reo, ka kīia pea he whakatū motuhake i tēnei mea te reo; ki te kore e herea, ka tītaha pea ngā tātaritanga kaupapa-here, ka puta ētahi taunakitanga kaupapa-here kāore e tika ana. Ko te whakahau a matawhāiti, me mātua noho tētahi ariā mataaho o ngā whanonga o te hunga kōrero me te hunga kāore e kōrero i te reo hei papa mō ngā tūāoma katoa o te tātaritanga kaupapa-here o ngā raruraru reo. Heoi anō, e whakamahia tonutia ana te kōrero 'hūnukutanga ā-reo', engari hei ara noa e poto ai te kōrero.'

156 Kandler et al. 2010: 3860

157 Benton 1997: 30

158 Statistics NZ 2013f

159 Statistics NZ 2013f Te Kupenga 2013: I te 2013: e 598,605 ngā tāngata i tautohua, e whakaaro ana he Māori rātou; 668,724 he whakapapa Māori ō rātou

160 Benton 1997: 29

He tikanga anō i hāpainga e te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi hei whakaputa i tētahi mea āhua matapae nei te āhua:

Me i mau tonu te kaha o te whai wāhi a ngāi Māori ki te kōhanga ki te taumata i ekea i te tau 1993, kua piki te tokomaha o ngā tamariki i te kōhanga reo ki te 18,300 i te tau 2008. Engari e 9,200 noa ngā tamariki i te kōhanga reo i taua tau, ā, o roto i ērā e 8,700 i Māori – e 9,600 tamariki Māori te iti ake i tērā e tika ana mēnā i pūmau tonu te rahi o te tau 1993.

Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 21

Anei te whakamarama a de Bres:

... e mataora ai, e toitū ai te reo Māori, me noho mai he tokopae matatau ki te reo ki ngā wehenga taipakeke katoa, e kōrero ana i te reo i ia rā, ka mutu, me whāngai te reo ki ētahi atu i te kāinga hei reo tuatahi mō rātou, i te maha atu o ngā whānau. ... [ka mutu] kia mātua tautokona, kua e ōna kaikōrero noa, engari e te hunga anō hoki e kōrero ana i te reo o te tokomaha i Aotearoa.

de Bres 2008: 26

Ko te mea e kitea māiretia ana i tēnei wāhanga o te pūrongo nei, ahakoa he aha te taurira ka tāraia, te kaupapa rānei ka poua, ko te mea e mātua hiahiatia ana, kia pupū ake te ngākaunui me te manawanui o te manomano tāngata ki te kōrero i te reo Māori.

Me mātua whakapau kaha ki a wai mā e whakarauoratia ake ai te reo Māori?

Ko ētahi karangatanga me āta whai whakaaro ki a rātou ina whakaritea he mahere whakaora i te reo Māori, ko ngāi Māori kōrero Māori, ko ngāi Māori kāore e kōrero Māori, me ngāi tauwi, arā, ko te katoa atu o Aotearoa. Ā, ki tā Bauer (2008), me arotahi anō pea ki ngā hapori kei reira kē ētahi rōpū kaikōrero nui tonu. Heoi anō, kāore e Higgins rāua ko Rewi e tautoko i te ahunga 'e pau ai ngā kaha ki te hapori'. Ki a rāua, ko te 'whakakeko pū ki ngā hapori Māori', he ahunga whakarauora 'e whakaū ana i ngā huatau whaka-ao-kōhatu tonu i te Māori', me te aha, riro ana te nuinga atu o Aotearoa hei 'kanohi mātakitaki noa'¹⁶¹. Kua uia hoki e King te tika o te titiro ngangahu a te hunga whakariterite i te whakaoranga ake o te reo ki ngā kaikōrero hei taputapu noa 'ka whakapūmau i te noho ora o te reo, arā, e mātua arohia ana ngā kaikōrero i runga i te whakaaro ki te mahi e taea ana e rātou hei painga mō te reo'¹⁶².

Ko tā May 'e marohi ana, me uru mai ki ngā kaupapa-here ētahi mahi e pai ake ai ngā waiaro o te nuinga'¹⁶³ [i te mea ko te ara anake e tūhauora anō ai te reo Māori,] mēnā ka pūmau te ngākau pai mai o ētahi o taua nuinga'¹⁶⁴. Engari kei te mea hoki a May, ko te 'kaha o ngā kaikōrero o taua nuinga ... ki te whai wāhi ki te

161 Higgins & Rewi 2014: 12. Kupu whakamārama: I puta i a Higgins rāua ko Rewi tēnei kōrero hei urupare ki te 'āta whakahuatanga ake o te marae', ko te horopaki, ko te tāketetanga atu o ngā whaitua me mātua whakaora ake te reo ki reira.

162 King 2007: 341

163 Ko te 'nuinga' pea e kōrerotia ana i konei, ko ngāi tauwi.

164 May 2000: 379

whakaoranga ake o te reo tangata whenua¹⁶⁵ e herea ana ki te rahi o te pūtea ka meatia kia pau ki tēnei kaupapa.

Ka tīkina e Albury te kōrero a King, e mea ana 'ko te tikanga ia, me matatau ngā tāngata o tētahi ahurea ki te reo o tērā atu ahurea'¹⁶⁶. E ai ki ngā uiuinga waiaro kua kawea e Te Puni Kōkiri, 'kāore te iwi Māori e tino whakaaro ana he wāhi nui kei a tauwi i roto i ngā mahi mō te reo. Ko tētahi 14% noa iho [i te tau 2009 e whakaaro ana] me ako a tauwi i te reo rā roto i ngā taiao rapu mātauranga, ko tētahi 16% e whakaaro ana ko tā tauwi, he 'akiaki, he āwhina i ngā reanga katoa kia ako i te reo me ngā tikanga Māori. ... Ko tētahi anō kōrero i puta ake i te uiuinga, ko tētahi 17% o te hunga i whai wāhi ki te uiuinga, i kīia "he Māori ko rātou tonu kāore i tino aro ki te reo", kāore i whakaaro he taonga te reo Māori'¹⁶⁷.

Ko te wāhi ki a tauwi, he whakaatu i te ngākau pai ki te reo, ka waiho ai 'mā te Māori anake e pīkau' te ako me te kōrero o te reo. Arā ngā tohu o tēnei, ko 'te huhua o ngā kaupapa ako i ngā hapori Māori mā ngā whānau me ngā iwi ... kua whakaterea e te kāwanatanga'¹⁶⁸. Ki tā Albury, ko tēnei:

... whakaaro tūāpapa pea te take kei waho tonu te reo i ngā kaupapa me mātua ako te ākongā i te kura. Ahakoa me mātua kawē ngā ākongā Māori i te reo Pākehā, ehara i te mea me mātua ako a ngāi tauwi i te reo Māori. Ko te whakamāoritanga o tēnei tūāhua, kāore ngā kaupapa-here i te tautoko, ā-ariā nei, i te whakaaro he mea nui te reo Māori.

Albury 2014: 9

Kua whakaputa whakaaro a Bauer ki te hunga me whakakeko pū atu ki a rātou, ki te tokomaha anō hoki e ora ai te reo. E arotau ana ia ki ngā hapori kōrero Māori. Ki tāna, ko 'ngā hapori kē ngā mea ka kōrerorero i ngā reo, ehara kau ana ko te tangata kotahi'¹⁶⁹. E mea ana hoki ia '... me nui ake i te 70% o te hapori he mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, e neke atu ai i te haurua te tūpono ka ora te reo'. Me tana tāpiri anō: 'Ehara ko te 70% o te taupori whānui o Aotearoa, engari ia, o roto i te huinga pāpori māori o te kaikōrero Māori, me neke atu i te 70% he mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, hei reira ka auau te rere o te reo Māori'¹⁷⁰.

E whakapono ana a Bauer ko te rautaki pai katoa hei whakaora i te reo Māori, 'ko te whakapau kaha ki te maimoa i te reo Māori i ērā o ngā hapori e nui ana te tūpono ko tētahi 80 ōrau o rātou, he mōhio, taihoa rānei ka mōhio ki te kōrero Māori'. Ko te pūtake o tēnei whakaaro ōna, koinei ngā hapori e taea ana e rātou 'ā rātou mahi katoa te kawē ki te reo' i te tino nuinga o te wā, ā, ko te tikanga ka kaha anō rātou 'ki te hāpai i ngā mahi whakaora'¹⁷¹.

165 Albury 2015: 5

166 Albury 2015: 6

167 Albury 2015: 8

168 Te Taura Whiri n.d.

169 E mea ana hoki a Bauer: 'He taunakitanga kei Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga (Earle, 2007, 26) e tohu ana ko te kaha o ngā tāngata ki te kawē i ngā akoranga reo i ngā kura tuatoru, e herea ana ki te kaha o tō rātou hapori ki te kōrero Māori.' Ki tā Earle: '...ko te tokomaha ake o ngā kaikōrero i te reo i tētahi rohe, ko te nui ake o te tūpono whakauru a ngā ākongā ki ngā kaupapa ako i te reo Māori' (Bauer 2008: 37).

170 Bauer 2008: 63

171 Bauer 2008: 67

E ai ki te Tatauranga 2013¹⁷², ko ngā rohe e rima (o roto i te tekau mā ono) kei runga rawa mō te ōrau o ngā tāngata kōrero Māori anake, ko ēnei: Tāmaki-makaurau, 19.2 ōrau, ka mutu kei reira anō hoki te ōrau rahi katoa o te taupori whānui he Māori; ko Waikato i tuarua, me tōna 17.2 ōrau he kōrero Māori anake; whai i muri, ko Te Moana-a-Toi, kei te 16.6 ōrau; ko Te Taitokerau i tuawhā me tōna 10.3 ōrau; ā, i tuarima ko Te Matau-a-Māui, i te 7.8 ōrau. Ahakoa ehara a Ōtaki i te rohe, i whakaatu mai anō ngā raraunga o te Tatauranga (2013), mai i te tau 2010, kua eke te taupori kōrero Māori o Ōtaki ki te 46.3%¹⁷³. E āhua tautoko ana tēnei tūāhua i te whakaaro o Bauer (2008), e kī nei ia me mātua arotahi ki ngā hapori hei whakaora ake i te reo.

Te kaha matatau ki te reo

I a Ratima rāua ko May e kōrero ana mō tā Benton 2007 rāua ko Bauer 2008, ka mea rāua karekau he raraunga e tohu ana 'kei te tupu te tokomaha e matatau ana ki te reo'. Kei te mea hoki rāua 'kāore he raraunga tīmatanga tūturu mō te tere o te ako me te taumata matatau e ekea ana e te hunga ako i te reo hei reo tuarua¹⁷⁴. Mō tā rāua rangahau, ka takoto i a Ratima rāua ko May he 'whakamāoritanga mō roto noa i ā rāua mahi o te pakeke Māori e tino matatau ana ki te reo Māori':

Ko te tangata tino matatau ki te reo Māori, e āhei ana te kōrero, te whakarongo, te pānui me te tuhi ki te reo Māori. Kia whakawhiti kōrero ia ki ētahi atu tāngata matatau, ka makere noa te kōrero i ōna ngutu. Waihoki, e taea ana e te kaikōrero tino matatau te whakapuaki te katoa o ōna whakaaro, o ōna kāre ā-roto kia hāngai ki te horopaki, ki te tangata/hunga anō hoki e kōrero atu ana ia.

Ratima and May, 2011: 1

He whāiti ake tēnei whakamāoritanga¹⁷⁵ i tērā a Tatauranga Aotearoa. Ko tā rātou mō te 'kaikōrero' Māori, ko te tangata 'āhei ki te kōrerorero mō ngā mea o ia rā ki te reo Māori¹⁷⁶. Arā anō a Whakamātauria Tō Reo Māori (he whakamātautau ā-motu i te matatau ki te reo Māori, he mea whakahaere nā Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori) ka tautohu i te mōhio o te kaitono ki te reo Māori ki tētahi āwhata 1 ki te 5. Ko te taumata 1, ko te 'ka taea ngā kōrero māmā mō ngā kaupapa māmā o ia rā', piki atu ki te taumata 5, ko ia te 'mutunga mai o te matatau'¹⁷⁷.

He aha te rara o ngā kitenga o Tatauranga Aotearoa, ina whakaarohia te taupatupatu o ngā whakaahuatanga/whakamāoritanga/inenga e toru? E mea ana hoki a Bauer, me tūhura tēnei mea te whakatau whaiaro i te matatau, kia kitea ai mēnā e taurite ana, e tika ana tērā momo inenga. Me tana āpiti anō hoki, arā pea tētahi mātātahi e whakaaro ana he matatau ia, engari ko ōna whakaaro ki tēnei mea te matatau, he rerekē noa atu pea i tō te mātāpuputu, tōna whakaaro ki te matatau¹⁷⁸. Tērā tonu pea ko te matatau ki tā te mātāpuputu titiro, kei runga ake i tā te mātātahi.

172 Statistics NZ 2013b

173 Statistics NZ 2013a

174 Ratima and May 2011: 1

175 Ratima and May 2011: 1

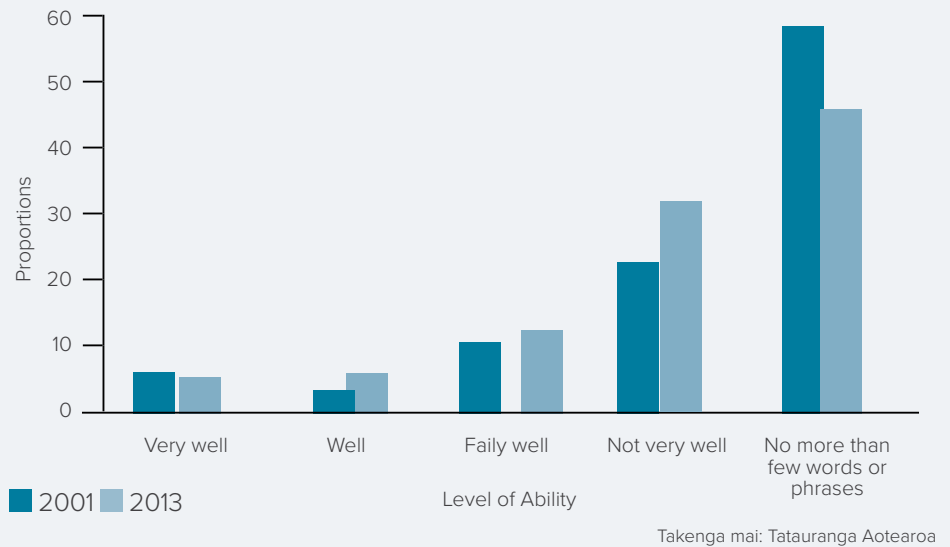
176 Statistics NZ 2013e

177 Te Taura Whiri n.d.: 5–8

178 Bauer 2008, kei te whārangi 62 me te 54.

Ko te māharahara matua o de Bres i te tau 2008, ko ‘te ōrau e matatau ana¹⁷⁹ ki te reo Māori kei te mōrearea, kei te iti rawa e toitū ai te reo¹⁸⁰. Ko te nuinga o te hunga tino matatau ki te reo Māori mai i ngā 1970, nō ngā karangatanga āhua kaumātua, piki ake, arā, kua 45 tau neke atu te pakeke, ā, kei te mimiti haere ēnei puna reo. E ai ki tā Benton (1979)¹⁸¹ i ngā 1970, e 80 ōrau o ngā kaumātua Māori, e matatau ana ki te reo Māori. Taka rawa mai ki te 2013, kua heke ki te 32 ōrau, ka mutu, ko te whakamāoritanga o te ‘matatau¹⁸² kei te ‘oioi’. Kia kōtuia atu tēnei ki te whakaaro ‘ko te nuinga o ngā kaikōrero āhua mōhio, iti nei rānei te mōhio ki te kōrero Māori kei raro i te 35 tau te pakeke’ (tirohia te Whakaahua 5 i raro nei), he mate pea kei te haere¹⁸³ mēnā kei tēnei kāhui te matenga, te oranga rānei o te reo¹⁸⁴.

Whakaahua 5: Te mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, i runga anō i te taumata matatau ki te reo, 2001 me te 2013



179 Heoi anō, he tino uaua te tautuhi i te matatau ki te reo Māori, inā rā, i runga tonu i Tatauranga Aotearoa i kī ai, ‘kāore [ā rātou raraunga] e ine i te matatau i te mea e whakawhirinaki ana [aua raraunga] ki te tika o te tangata ki te whakatau i tōna ake matatau’. Statistics NZ (2008).

180 de Bres 2008: 25

181 Tirohia tā Waikato University 2012: Better, but not there yet – public lecture looks at te reo in New Zealand. Kei te: <http://www.waikato.ac.nz/news-events/media/2012/better-but-not-there-yet-public-lecture-looks-at-te-reo-in-new-zealand>

182 Tirohia tā Christensen 2001: 128

183 Peterson 2000

184 Ministry of Social Development 2010: 88

Ko te whakaohiti a te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi i te 2010, ki te mau tonu tēnei ia ‘i te 15 ki te 20 tau e heke mai nei, ka heke kē atu te ōrau kōrero Māori o waenganui i te iwi Māori¹⁸⁵ ahakoa te āta piki haere o te tokomaha kōrero Māori. Ki te piki te tokomaha tūturu o ngā kaikōrero Māori i tēnei houanga, tērā tonu pea ka ‘iti ake tō rātou matatau, tēnā i tō ngā kaikōrero o nāiane¹⁸⁶.

He titiro whānui ki te whakamahere reo me ngā kaupapa-here reo a te kāwanatanga

Kei raro nei tētahi matapakinga poto o ngā mahi nui i kawea ake e ngā kāwanatanga mai i ngā 1970, me te pānga o aua mahi ki te reo Māori¹⁸⁷.

Ko te whāinga matua o te kaupapa-here reo, kia pā he rerekētanga e tahuri ai tētahi hapori kaikōrero nui tonu ki te kōrero noa i tō rātou reo. Koinei anake te tohuine hei ine i te whaikiko o tētahi kaupapa-here. Katoa ērā atu āhuatanga – ko te ture, ko te kaupapa-here, ko te rautaki, ko te tohanga pūtea, ko ngā whiriwhiringa me ngā hui i ngā paparanga teitei, ko te maha o ngā akoranga e horahia ana i ngā whare whāngai mātauranga ahakoa te taumata, me te tokomaha kua whakauru ki aua akoranga – ehara i te tohuine.

Derhemi 2002: 159

E rua pea ngā tūāoma a te kāwanatanga hei whakautu i ngā mautohe a ngāi Māori. Ko te Tūāoma 1, mai i te 1972 ki ngā tau mutunga o ngā 1990, i whakaahuatia pēneitia e de Bres ‘he mahi ohia noa, he hārakiraki¹⁸⁸. I tēnei takiwā, he urupare katoa ngā mahi, engari ahakoa tonu tēnei, arā ētahi kaupapa i ara ake i whai wāhi ki te whakaoranga ake o te reo. Ko te tūāoma tuarua, mai i ngā tau mutunga o ngā 1980 taka mai nāiane, kua kīia e de Bres ko ‘te taihuringa o te whai wāhi a te Kāwanatanga ki te whakaoranga ake o te reo, i kaha ake ai te tuitui haere i ngā mahi, i kaha ake anō ai hoki te arotahinga rautaki, taiāwhio noa i te kāwanatanga¹⁸⁹. Koia hoki te takiwā i tahuri ōkawa ai te kāwanatanga ki te whakatakoto kaupapa-here, mahere reo Māori¹⁹⁰.

Ko te nuinga o ngā mahi i kawea e te kāwanatanga i te tūāoma tuatahi, he tautoko i ngā kaupapa ki te moni. Hei tauira: ko te rā o te reo Māori me te wiki o te reo Māori; te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi; te whakatū hui whiriwhiri tahi ki te Māori; te whakatū i Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori me Whakaata Māori; te whakamana i ngā ara rapu mātauranga me ngā kura tuatoru Māori mā roto i te Ture Mātauranga o te 1989. Nā ēnei mahi i kīia rā e de Bres ‘he kōringa kaupapa-

185 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 41

186 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 41

187 Tirohia tā de Bres (2008), tā te Waitangi Tribunal (2011), tā te Office of the Auditor General (2007) mō te hōhonutanga atu o ngā whiriwhiri i ngā take e pā ana ki ngā mahi whakamahere reo Māori a te kāwanatanga.

188 de Bres 2008

189 de Bres 2008: 11 Appendix three

190 I mea te Minita Take Māori, a Pita Sharples (e kōrero ana mō te Arotakenga o te rautaki me te rāngai reo Māori) ‘me kaha ake tā tātou mahi kōtuitui ... [ā], me [takoto he] rautaki whakamana i te Iwi Māori/ngāi Māori kia whakahaere i te reo Māori’. Kei te NZ Government Press Release, 29 July 2010 <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1007/S00491.htm>

here nui e pā ana ki te reo Māori¹⁹¹, ko te hanganga o te rautaki reo Māori tuatahi, a Toitū te Reo, koia te whakaōkawatanga o te kaupapa-here me te rautaki reo Māori. He mea tuhi a Toitū te Reo i ngā tau 1995–1996. I hoahoaina hei 'kōtuitui haere i te rāngai reo Māori'¹⁹². Ko te Rautaki Reo Māori 2003–2008 te tūāoma tuarua e whai ana ki te arataki i ngā kawenga mō te reo Māori, ko tāna, 'he arotahi ki te whakarahi ake i te kōrerotanga o te reo Māori i ētahi whaitua ka āta tohua'¹⁹³.

Kua whakahētia ēnei rautaki reo Māori e rua mō te kore i whaihua o ā rāua kawenga i hoahoaina hei whakaora ake i te reo Māori. He tokomaha ngā kaituhi¹⁹⁴ kua kōrero mō te kiko kore o te whakatinanatanga o ngā mahi whakamahere, rautaki reo a te kāwanatanga. Anei e rārangi ake nei ētahi āhuatanga kua tautohua i roto i ngā tuhituhi, koia pea i hē ai:

- Te rautaki o te 1997:
 - kāore i āta tuhia kia mārama pūahoaho he aha ōna whāinga pae tawhiti, he aha ōna hua whāiti, he aha ōna rautaki whakatutuki;
 - kāore i whai wāhi ngā hapori Māori ki te tārainga o te rautaki;
 - i tīmatahia te tuhinga i Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, kātahi ka whakawhitia ki Te Puni Kōkiri, māna e whakaoti;
 - kāore i whakamanaia/whakaaetia e te Rūnanga Kāwanatanga.
- I āhua pēnei anō te whakahētia o te rautaki o te 2003 e te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi¹⁹⁵, i te mea:
 - 'kāore i kawea i runga i te mahi tahi ki a ngāi Māori' (ahakoa i kitea me mātua 'nui ake te wāhi ki ngā iwi i roto i ngā mahi whakamahere, whakatinana');
 - kāore i āta kōkiritia 'ngā mahi kaupapa-here, whakamahere reo Māori, mō te hia ngahurutanga tau nei';
 - kāore i 'whakatinanatia māiretia ngā taunakitanga a te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi ki ngā take reo Māori i tau atu ki tōna aroaro;
 - e hia kē ngā takahētanga o roto i ngā tārainga kaupapa-here, tae atu ki te kore e whakatinana, e tautoko ki te rawa, ki te rauemi'¹⁹⁶.

191 Ahakoa kāore i āta whakaaetia e te Rūnanga Kāwanatanga tētahi tuhinga rautaki i tēnei wā, i whakamanatia 'ētahi whāinga kaupapa-here reo Māori tāwhana' i te 1997. I whakamanatia te rautaki Te Tūāoma – The Māori Language: The Steps That Have Been Taken i te 1998, i whakaputaina i te 1999, ā, kei roto nei ēnei whāinga kaupapa-here e mau ana, tae atu ki ētahi pepa Rūnanga Kāwanatanga huhua - de Bres 2008: 10 (Appendix three).

192 Higgins and Keane 2015

193 Higgins and Keane 2015

194 Hei tauria: de Bres 2008, Timms 2013, the Office of the Auditor General 2007, Albury 2015 me Skerrett 2007.

195 Timms 2013, e kōrero ana mō ngā pūrongo a te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi 2010 me te 2011

196 Waitangi Tribunal 2010

Ahakoia kua āhua kaha tonu te tātāhia o ēnei rautaki, i noho tonu ko te rautaki o te 2003, 'koia anahe te inenga o tēnei mea te kaupapa-here reo Māori i Aotearoa ... ā, kua hāpaitia e te iwi Māori anō hei ārahi i a rātou ki te tautoko i ngā mahi whakaora reo'¹⁹⁷. Nō te tau 2010 ka tīmata tētahi arotakenga o te rautaki 2003–2008, ko Te Paepae Motuhake te rōpū arotake. Ko te punua a tēnei arotakenga, ko Te Rautaki Reo Māori 2014.

Te Rautaki Reo Māori o Nāiane me te Pire mō te Reo Māori

Ko tā tēnei Pire, he whakakore i te Ture Reo Māori 1987 me te Wāhanga 4A o te Ture Pāpāho 1989. Māna anō e whakatū tētahi hinonga hou, ko Te Mātāwai te ingoa, hei arataki i ngā iwi Māori me ngāi Māori whānui mō te wāhi ki te hauora o te reo Māori.

New Zealand Parliament 2014

He hinonga mana motuhake Te Mātāwai i whakatūria i raro i te ture hei:

...kaimahi mā ngā iwi Māori me ngāi Māori whānui, māna e whakatinana ngā kawenga kaitiakitanga kei ngā iwi Māori me ngāi Māori mō te wāhi ki te reo Māori. ... He wāhi nui kei Te Mātāwai i roto i te rautaki reo Māori i te mea koia tētahi huarahi e riro ai mā te Māori/ngā iwi Māori anō e arataki Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, Te Māngai Pāho me Whakaata Māori, e noho anō ai hoki te Māori/ngā iwi hei kaitiaki o te reo Māori me tōna tūhauora. ... Tekau mā rua ngā māngai ki Te Mātāwai, tokowhitu ka kopoua e ngā kāhui iwi ā-rohe, tokotoru ka kopoua e tētahi kāhui whai pānga nui mai ki te reo, tokorua ka kopoua e te Minita Take Māori, hei kanohi mō te Karauna.

New Zealand Parliament – Sharples 2014: npn

Ko ngā whāinga matua e rua o te Pire mō te Reo Māori, ko te 'whakakaha ake i te whakaae ki te mana o te reo Māori me ngā tūranga hautū o ngā iwi Māori me ngāi Māori whānui', e 'whakawhitia' ai te mana whakahaere '... i te Karauna ki ngā iwi me te iwi Māori whānui'¹⁹⁸. Ka whakahokia te rangatiranga o te reo Māori ki tōna anō iwi, ā, ko ngā huarahi whakapakari i te mana o te reo Māori, ka mātua riro mā rātou anō e whiriwhiri¹⁹⁹.

Ko ngā take matua i whakaaraha ake i roto i ngā tāpaenga whakaaro tūmatanui, i tautohua rā e te Rōpū Whakamaherehere i te Minita (a Te Ururoa Flavell)²⁰⁰ i tā rātou marohitanga²⁰¹, me pēnei te whakarāpopoto ake:

- ko te whakaaro o ētahi, kei te mahi te Karauna kia unuhia e ia tana noho haepapa;
- te aronga whāiti a Te Mātāwai;
- ngā māngai ka whai wāhi ki Te Mātāwai. Ko ētahi māharahara, ko te nui rawa o ngā māngai ā-iwi, ko te kore māngai mō ngāi Māori noho tāone, me ngā kopounga a te Karauna;

197 Higgins and Rewi 2014: 11

198 Sharples 2014: npn

199 Brown 2014, Whakaata Māori

200 I tohua mā te Rōpū Whakamaherehere e tātari tō nāiane Pire mō te Reo Māori

201 Te Puni Kōkiri n.d.

- ko te iti rawa o te aro ki te whakapai ake i te urupare a te kāwanatanga nui tonu;
- ko te kore e tino mārama ko wai mā o ngā hinonga kei te whakahuatia e te Pire me mātua whakautu, me mātua pūrongo ki a wai atu.

Ko te Rautaki Reo Māori o nāianei, i puta i te tau 2014. Koia te hua o ētahi arotakenga o mua²⁰² i 'tautohua ai ētahi take i auau te puta ake, tae atu ki ēnei: te noho kōpīpi tonu o te reo Māori; me tautoko tonu te hautū a ngā iwi Māori me ngāi Māori i te whakarauoratanga o te reo Māori; he mea nui kia tautāwhitia ngā whānau, ngā hapū me iwi ngā ki te whakapakari i ō rātou reo'²⁰³. Ahakoa te whai a te Rautaki Reo Māori ki te manaaki i ēnei take, he rongorua ngā kōrero mō tōna whaihua. Arā ētahi iwi (hei tauira, a Whanganui, a Ngāti Porou, a Waikato-Tainui, a Ngāpuhi me Ngāti Kahungunu²⁰⁴) me te PSA²⁰⁵ e tautoko ana i ngā whakatika, e whakapai ana hoki i te hanga o Te Mātāwai²⁰⁶. Ko ētahi atu kōrero e whakaata ana i ēnei āwangawanga i pūrongo rā e Te Manu Korihī:

'Kāore he mana o Te Mātāwai ki te tohutohu i ngā pūtahi Karauna he kawenga kei a rātou ki te whakaora ake i te reo, ā, me mahi tahi [a Te Mātāwai] ki aua pūtahi, pērā i te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga me te Manatū Taonga.

Ko te tikanga, he kawenga kei runga i Te Mātāwai ki te tō mai i te hapori Māori nui tonu ki roto i ngā mahi, i te mea ko te tūāpapa o te motu tangata nei, ko te whakaaetanga o ngā hoa haere kōtui i raro i te Tiriti o Waitangi.

E whakataukī ana te Kaunihera Māori he taonga te reo Māori, ā, nā runga i tērā, kāore i te minita te mana, ahakoa ko wai te minita, ki te tuku i te whakahaeretanga o te taonga nei ki tētahi atu; āpiti atu ki tēnā, kei wareware Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, te hua o te whawhai nui, he Māori kē e whakahaere i a ia.

Kei te whakahē anō te Pāti Mana. E mea ana rātou 'ko te raruraru kē, kāore e taea e ngā kaihautū ā-iwi te whakahaere te pēheatanga o tētahi taonga pēnei rawa te tongarewa'. E mea ana anō hoki rātou, he whāinga rangatōpū kē anō e mātua kōkiritia ana e ngā rūnanga ā-iwi.'

Godfrey 2015: npn

Ko tētahi āpitianga a Godfrey, ina whakaarohia te whakahē a ētahi kaihautū Māori kua pau ō rātou rā ki te whakaora ake i te reo Māori, 'tērā pea kei te huarahi hē te Pire mō te Reo Māori ... e arotahi ana te Pire ki ngā hanga whakahaere, ki te moni; [me te aha] e kaha kē atu ana te 'pōrauraha' o ngā hapori Māori'²⁰⁷. E pūrua ana ēnei āwangawanga i ō Thomas mō Te Mātāwai 'ko te tikanga e tū ana hei kaiārahi mō ngā iwi me ngāi Māori [whānui]²⁰⁸. Ka haere tonu te whakamārama

202 Tirohia tā Te Puni Kōkiri 2011 me te Waitangi Tribunal 2011

203 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014d

204 Wanganui Chronicle, 2014

205 Public Service Association (PSA) 2014

206 Thomas 2014

207 Godfrey 2015: npn

208 Thomas 2014

a Godfrey e mea ana ko tā Te Mātāwai, i tana tū hei hinonga kotahi, 'he whakawhāiti i te mana whakahaere i te reo ki te wāhi kotahi' inā rā, ko te whai wāhi a ngā iwi, mā te tuku i ō rātou māngai ki Te Mātāwai. E 'taupapatu ana tēnei ki te ia o ngā ture o nā tata nei e tuku kē atu ana i te mana ki tēnā, ki tēnā iwi'. Ka noho tonu

ko te kāwanatanga te mana whakahaere i 'ngā rawa hei rauhi, hei whakatairanga i te reo Māori'²⁰⁹. Ko tā Godfrey, ko te 'raruraru nui katoa, [te āhua nei] kua kaha ake te whakahaere a te kāwanatanga i a ngāi Māori, kāore kē i iti ake'²¹⁰.

Te taha pūtea

Ko te whāinga i konei, kia whakaaturia e hia te moni kua pau i te Kāwanatanga ki te reo Māori mai i te tau 1998. He whakatau tata noa te mea ka taea. Ko ngā kupu a Peterson (2000) hei whakamārama he aha i pēnei ai:

Ko ngā Whakatau Tata o ngā Tāpuinga Moni me ērā atu tānga whaimana, kāore e homai i ngā taipitopito katoa e taea ai te wehewehe ngā wāhanga katoa o ngā whakapaunga a te Karauna e hāngai ana ki te whakatairangatanga o te reo Māori, ā, e tino pēnei ana mēnā e arotahia ana ngā moni ka pau hei āpitihanga ki ērā ka tukua ahakoa te reo e whai pānga mai ana (hei tauira, e tino rerekē ana i ngā rawa/rauemi kura tūāpapa, i te pūtea pāpāho rānei).

Peterson 2000: 7

Ina whakaarohia ake te utu o te whakaora i tētahi reo, me maumahara anō ko tēnei mea te whakarauora reo, he kaupapa e āhua kōhungahunga tonu ana. He iti noa te mōhio ki te tukanga, i te mea, ki ngā kupu a Romaine, 'kāore anō i tātarīhia ngā kaupapa-here reo mō te wāhi ki ngā āhuatanga taha āheinga, taha hanga o ngā reo kua mōrearea'²¹¹ (hāunga anō ngā pukapuka ariā e rua a Fishman i tāia i te 1991 me te 2001). Engari kua 'āta uiuia, kua āta arotakea'²¹² ngā kaupapa-here e pā ana ki ngā taiao kimi mātauranga. Ko ngā mahi mātāmua i ngā taiao kimi mātauranga e kōrero nei a Romaine, ko tā Skutnabb-Kangas 2000 me tā Schiffman 1996. Ko tā rāua i tohe ai, 'he tino nui te utu o te whakatoitū i te reo mōrearea, ā, ki te whakaaetia tonutia kia pau tērā nui o te moni, mō te nui o te moni ka pau, ka iti tonu pea te puta o te hua'²¹³. He tuatinitini tēnei mea te whakahauora reo, me inati te pau o te kaha, o te moni anō'²¹⁴. Engari, ina whakaarohia ngā utu ki te noho ora o te iwi [nōna te reo] – taha ahurea, taha ōhanga, taha pāpori, me te roa o te wā i pau ki te whakamōrearea i te reo, ā kāti, me rerekē pea te āhua o te tātaitai me te titiro ki tēnei tūāhua.

Kei ngā tūtohi e whai ake nei: tētahi wāwāhitanga o te moni i pau ki te reo i te 2009; me te tupu haere o te pūtea i te 1999–2006 me te 2014. Ko te tūtohi tuatahi, e hāngai ana ki te tau pūtea kotahi, arā, ki te 2009, engari kua tāpaea mai hei tauira e taea ana te whakahāngai ki ētahi atu tau mō te āhua ki ngā rohenga pūtea ki tēnā, ki tēnā kawenga. E tohu mai ana anō hoki i te takiwā kei reira ngā utu.

209 Godfrey 2015: npn

210 Godfrey 2015: npn

211 Romaine 2002: 153

212 Romaine 2002: 153

213 Romaine 2002: 154

214 Romaine 2002: 158

Tūtohi 5: He wehewehenga o ngā whakapaunga pūtea ki te reo Māori i te tau i eke i te Pipiri 2009

	Tari kāwanatanga	Sub-totals	Ngā tāra i pau (miriona)	Hei ōrau o te katoa
1	Rapu Mātauranga		502.2	84.25
2	Mahi Pāpāho		80.6	13.52
	Te Māngai Pāho	56,659,693		
	Whakaata Māori	13,011,000		
	Te Manatū Taonga	10,889,240		
		80,559,933		
3	Hapori		8.1	1.36
	Te Puni Kōkiri	4,698,400		
	<i>He Kāinga Kōrerorero – 1,500,000.00</i>			
	<i>Community funds – 3,198,400.00</i>			
	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori	3,416,577		
	<i>Community funds – 1,613,821</i>			
	<i>Mā te Reo – 1,802,756</i>			
		8,114,977		
4	Ahurea		2.9	0.49
5	Rautaki, Kaupapa-here, Whakamahere, Rangahau		2.2	0.03
	Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori	2,084,519		
	Te Puni Kōkiri	162,230		
		2,246,749		
	Tapeke nui		596	99.65

Takenga mai: Te Puni Kōkiri, 2011: 87-88

Ko te nuinga o te tūtohi e whai ake nei, i takea mai i ngā raraunga i te Pūrongo a te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi e matapaki ana i ngā tohanga pūtea a te kāwanatanga i ngā tau 1999 ki te 2006²¹⁵. Heoi anō, ko te rārangi whakamutunga, nō tētahi tānga a Te Puni Kōkiri mō te Rautaki Reo Māori hou²¹⁶.

215 Waitangi Tribunal Report 2010: 20

216 Te Puni Kōkiri 2014b

Tūtohi 6: Ngā whakapaunga pūtea ki te reo Māori i te 1999–2006 me te 2014

Tau	Whakamārama	Pūtea – miriona
1999	I tīmata tā te Kāwanatanga tuku moni ki te reo Māori i te	\$177.9m – (whakatau tata)
2002	ka piki ki te	\$225m
2006	ka piki anō ki te	\$226.8m
1999 ²¹⁷	Ko te tūtanga nui katoa, i riro i te rāngai mātauranga, ā, i tīmata mai i te	\$132.8m
2002	ka piki ki te	\$137.6m
2006	ka piki anō ki te	\$142.3m
1999	Ko ngā whakapaunga ki ngā mahi pāpāho reo Māori, arā, ki Te Māngai Pāho, i tīmata mai i te	\$22.2m
2002	ka piki ki te	\$49.1m
2006	ka piki anō ki te	\$49.8m
Tapeke		\$1,163.50m
2014	hei tautoko i ngā hōtaka me ngā ratonga reo Māori, ā, hei whakahaere anō hoki i ngā ara rapu mātauranga rumaki reo Māori ²¹⁸	\$220m i te tau me te \$730m i te tau
Tapeke		\$950m i te tau

Takenga mai: Waitangi Tribunal 2011; Te Puni Kōkiri Māori Language Strategy 2014

Ko tā ngā tūtohi e tohu mai ana, e pau ana te tūtanga nui katoa o te pūtea ki te rāngai rapu mātauranga. Ahakoa te rahi o te moni kua pau ki te reo Māori, kei te mea ake a Tākuta Higgins 'kei te takaoraora tonu'²¹⁹ te reo. Kei te pērā anō te whakaaro o Timms²²⁰. E mea ana ia ko ngā hua o 'te 25 ki te 30 tau e whakapau moni ana te Kāwanatanga ki ngā rautaki whakaora reo, he "pūreirei"²²¹ noa'.

Ina whakahauratia ake he reo (he reo tangata whenua te nuinga), ā, kei te tino hāngai tēnei kōrero ki te reo Māori, me whai whakaaro ki ngā whakararu katoa e pāpā mai ana ki a ia. E mea ana a Albury, 'kei te taututetute te reo Māori ki te reo Pākehā, te [reo] kaha katoa [o te ao] – ahakoa koirā anō te āhua ki ētahi atu reo, kāore i pēnei te katoa'²²². Ki tāna, nā tēnei āhua, 'ka uua tonu te whakaora ake i te reo Māori, ā, me auaha tonu, me hou tonu, me mārohirohi tonu te kaupapa-here o Aotearoa' hei rongoā i tēnei āhua²²³.

217 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 20

218 Waitangi Tribunal 2010 – Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wānanga me ētahi atu hōtaka reo Māori i te ao mātauranga (kei roto i te pūtea whakahaere ēnei mea: te pūtea hei hanga whare, aha atu, hei utu kaimahi, hei whakaea anō i ngā utu whakahaere whānui).

219 Victoria University 2012

220 Timms 2013

221 Te Puni Kōkiri 2011: 5

222 Engari ehara i te mea ko te reo Pākehā te mea kua āta patu i ngā reo taketake kia mate; ko te whakatau kē a ngā kaikōrero kia whakawhiti, mō te aha rā te take, ki te reo Pākehā – kei reira te mōreareatanga, kei reira te matenga o te reo. Ko te reo Ingarihi te reo whānui katoa te hora o ngā reo katoa o te ao. Ko ia te reo tuatahi i ngā whenua e 99. Ko Haina kei te tuarua mai, koia te reo tuatahi i ētahi whenua e 62. Tirohia a Ethnologue 2014.

223 Albury 2014: npn

Ngā rōpū mā rātou rawa e huri ai te āhua ki te reo Māori

I tēnei wāhanga ka matapakia ngā rōpū mātua kei a rātou te mana me te kaha²²⁴ ki te huripoki i ngā āhua me mātua huri e taea ai te reo Māori te whakaora ake. Koia ēnei: ngāi Māori, te Kāwanatanga, te Ao Rapu Mātauranga, me te porihanga whānui.

Ngāi Māori

Ko tā Dalley (2012), he tiki atu i tā Durie, e mea nei ia ahakoa he pīkaunga tō te Kāwanatanga i roto i ngā mahi whakapūioio ake i te reo, ko te kōkiritanga ia o te kaupapa, mā te iwi kē nōna te reo. 'Ko te whawhai kia mau tonu, kia tūhauora ake, kia whārahi ake te reo, ko ia te tino tauira o te oke ururoa a te iwi Māori kia tū pai, kia tū pakari tō rātou tuakiri i te ao hou nei' (Durie, 1998, p. 59)²²⁵. Engari ko tā Keegan, e pēnei kē ana:

Ko tētahi mea e auau ana te wareware, ko te nuinga o ngāi Māori, kua kore i noho ki ō rātou nā rohe ā-iwi, waihoki, he tokomaha rawa ngā Māori noho ki te tāone nui he iti noa ā rātou whakapāpātanga whaikiko nei ki ngā whakahaere ā-iwi.

Keegan 2009

Ahakoa te tūtohu ake a Benton ehara i te mea 'ko ngā pūtakenga whānui o te tūhauwiri o te reo kāore i ngau ki te iwi Māori, ki te reo Māori anake', ka pātai tonu a ia:

He aha i whakatau ai te manomano o ngāi Māori, takitini, takitahi anō, i tētahi wā i ngā 1930, he mahi nui rawa te pupuri tonu ki te reo Māori i ō rātou kāinga, ahakoa ko rātou tonu ngā rangatira o ō rātou taiao pāpori tata i taua wā rā, he taiao Māori tūturu tonu, ā-tikanga, ā-reo?

Benton 1997: 30

Arā ētahi iwi kua roa nei e hāpai ake ana i ngā rautaki reo, ko ētahi anō kua tīmata te whakatakoto, te whakatinana rānei i ā rātou. Ko Te Whakatupuranga Rua Mano me Kotahi Mano Kāika ētahi kua roa e tū ana. Ko tō mua atu, nō te tau 1975 i whakaaraha ake ai, ko tō muri mai, nō te tau 2000.

He mea waihanga a Te Whakatupuranga Rua Mano e A.R.T., te huinga o ngā iwi o Te Āti Awa, o Ngāti Raukawa me Ngāti Toa, i raro i te aratakinga a Whatarangi Winiata i te tau 1975²²⁶. Nō te tau 1981²²⁷ ka tū mai ko Te Wānanga o Raukawa, koia anō te tauira i whāia '...e ērā atu wānanga ... e Awanuiārangi me Aotearoa, i ara ake i muri tata mai'²²⁸. Ko te rautaki reo 'Kotahi Mano Kāika' (e whai ana kia 1,000 ngā kāinga kōrero Māori o Ngāi Tahu ā te tau 2025), i whakarewahia e Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu i te 2000, he wāhanga nō te mahere rautaki e 25 te

224 'Agency', in this context, refers to the person or thing able to effect a particular change or outcome

225 Dalley 2012: 11

226 King 2007

227 'I takea mai i te whakatauki *E kore au e ngaro; he kākano i ruia mai i Rangitātea*. Ko tāna tino whāinga, kia tino nui tāna koha ki te oranga tonutanga o te iwi Māori mā roto i te whakatinanatanga o ana kaupapa [tuku iho]. Te Wānanga o Raukawa. NZQA EER. **Educational Performance:** Te tikanga ka puta ā te Hereturikōkā 2012. Kei te: <http://pr2012.publications.tec.govt.nz/W%C4%81nanga/Te+W%C4%81nanga+o+Raukawa>

228 Higgins and Keane 2015: 6.

roa a Ngāi Tahu. Heoi anō, ko te kākano o te kaupapa i whakatōkia i ngā tau tuatahi o ngā 1990, e tētahi kōiti o rangapū o roto o Ngāi Tahu, ko Tahu Potiki tōna kaihautū²²⁹.

Ko ētahi atu, pērā i ngā iwi o Taranaki, he maha ōna mana ā-iwi, e ai ki tā Keegan, ‘e taea ana e aua mana ā-iwi te āwhina kia rahi ake te kōrerotia o te reo Māori i ngā kāinga’. Ā, arā anō ētahi, e ai anō ki a Keegan, kāore e tino āhei te āwhina, he iti, he kore rānei nō ngā rawa e taea ai; ko ētahi anō ia, kei a rātou pea ngā rawa, engari he aha rā, kāore e ‘tautoko ana i te rere o te reo Māori i te kāinga’²³⁰.

Ko te mātātaki nui katoa ki a Ngāi Tahu i mua (ā, ināianei anō) e angitū ai tā rātou rautaki reo, ko te uaua o te tō mai i ngā ‘whanaunga’ kāore e kōrero Māori ki roto i te kaupapa, tae atu ki ‘te wāhanga nui ki te mana arataki’²³¹. Tērā te reo ‘e noho tuarua tonu mai ana i muri i ngā take pāpori, tōrangapū whānui ake e pāpā mai ana ki te kāhui o ngā iwi, [me te aha,] ka uaua kē atu, ka nui kē atu anō hoki te whāwhaitia o te whakaoranga ake o te reo’²³². O ngā huānga e 50,000 o Ngāi Tahu, ki a O’Regan, ‘he waimarie mēnā 1000 e āta ako ana i te reo Māori, ā, he iti ake i tērā – kāore pea i hipa ake i te 200 – e āta rauhi ana i te reo i te kāinga’²³³.

He pānga tonu anō ō ngā kaupapa o te ao rapu mātauranga ki te whakaoranga ake o te reo. Engari e whakaae ana ngā mōhio o ngā kura wānanga, ko te mahi nui katoa, whitake katoa hei maimoa i te reo kua tata ngaro i te ao, ko ērā ka kawea ake i te kāinga me te hapori²³⁴. Ki tā Fishman, i tētahi o ana tuhinga o te 1991:

[Ko te huarahi ki te matenga o te porihanga, o te iwi, ko ngā kaupapa reo kāore e arotahi ki te whāngaitanga o te reo e tētahi whakatupuranga ki tētahi, arā, ko ngā whakapaunga kaha ki ngā mahi kāore e whai wāhi atu ana, kāore rānei e whakaawe ana i ngā whanonga whakapakeke tamariki a ngā whānau kei te taipakeke whakaputa uri.](#)

Fishman 1991: 91

Ko te mea e matea nuitia ana, ka mutu e mārama ana koinā te mea e matea nuitia ana, ko tētahi hunga pakeke matatau ki te reo Māori²³⁵. Ki tā te nuinga o ngā kaiwhakaputa whakaaro ki te oranga o te reo Māori, ko te wehenga taipakeke kia mātua arohia, ko ērā kei te 25–39 ngā tau, i te mea koirā te ‘reanga whakaputa uri’²³⁶. E mea ana a Bauer (2008) ‘i tērā o ngā reanga, kāore kē i te piki’ te rahi o tā rātou kōrero Māori²³⁷. Ki te kore ngā pakeke e matatau, e kore rawa e whāngaia te reo Māori e tētahi whakatupuranga ki tētahi, ā, e kore rawa e huripokina te nunumi haere o te reo²³⁸. Heoi anō, kāore he kōrero mō te ara e whakapikia ai te matatau o ngā mātua ki te reo Māori²³⁹.

229 Waka Huia 2010

230 Keegan 2009

231 O’Regan 2012

232 O’Regan 2012: 88

233 O’Regan 2012: 88

234 Fishman 1991, 2001, Valazquez 2008, O’Laoire 2008 me Ahu 2012

235 Ratima and May 2011: 2

236 Hei tauria, Fishman 1991, 2001, me Valazquez 2008.

237 Bauer 2008: 56

238 Chrisp 2005, Fishman 1991 me Spolsky 2003

239 Ratima and May 2011: 2

Ko tētahi mea i āta kōrerotia e te arotakenga *Te Reo Mauriora*, me kaha ake te kōrero Māori a ngā whānau i ngā kāinga Māori. Engari e mea ana a Keegan, ko tēnei whakaaro, ‘kāore i te aro ki te korenga o te nuinga o ngāi Māori e tino pīrangi ki te whakapau kaha ki te ako i te reo kia eke rawa ki tērā taumata o te matatau e taea ai ngā tino kōrero o te kāinga te kawē ki te reo Māori²⁴⁰. Ko ngā kōrero kua hua ake i ngā uiuinga waiaro e taupapatu ana ki tā Keegan mō te ‘kore e hiahia’, engari ko te tōmuri ki te whakatinana, e āhua whakahorihori ana i te pai o ngā waiaro i puta ake²⁴¹.

Kua kōrero hoki a Albury mō te taupatupatu o te ngākau pai o ngāi Māori, o ngāi tauiwī anō ki ngā mahi whakaora i te reo me te ngākau kore ki te ako i te reo (Albury 2015). Arā anō te kōrero a May et al. (2004), e mea ana kāore e rawaka te tuku noa i ngā tamariki, mokopuna ki ngā whare rapu mātauranga rumaki reo Māori, ki te kore rātou e āta tautāwhitia ki te kōrero Māori i ō rātou kāinga me te hapori. Kua kōrero hoki a Fishman mō ngā mātua ka tuku i ā rātou tamariki ki ngā pokapū reo (pērā i ngā whare rumaki reo Māori) me te korenga o rātou e ako i te reo hei taunaki i tērā mahi.

Nō reira ... i te paunga o ngā hāora e hia nei i te wiki, i ia tau i te kura, mō te hia tau nei, ko te whakaaro o ētahi, e kakama ana ngā tamariki, he māmā ki a rātou te ako i te reo, ana kua ea i reira te wāhi ki a rātou.

Fishman 1994: 76

Te kāwanatanga

He waka te reo e kawea ai te mātauranga Māori. Nō konei, ko te korokī ake a te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, ‘he here kei runga i te Karauna ki te āta rauhi, ki te whakaora ake i Te Reo; [waihoki] kia riro mā ngā iwi e tuku ngā mātauranga e rite ana i runga anō i tā tēnā, tā tēnā i pai ai²⁴². Ka mutu, ina wānangatia he aha te mahi mā wai hei whakaora ake i te reo Māori, me mātua:

... whakamārama ake i konei, kāore i te kāwanatanga te mana ki te whakataki i ngā whanonga reo o ia rā a ō rātou taupori, mātua anō te/ngā reo e kite nei te taupori koirā te mea e tino whaihua ana ki a ia i tēnā, i tēnā o ngā kaupapa e kori ai te arero ki te kōrero.

Mufwene 2006: 134

E kī ana a Ahu, e ora ai te reo Māori, ‘me whakatūturu, me whakapūmau hoki i roto i ngā whakahaere’. Ki ōna whakaaro, me tū te reo Māori ‘hei reo tūturu i roto i ngā kawenga tūmatanui; mātua anō ngā ture me te tukanga ture o Aotearoa²⁴³. Nō reira, me mātua whakarite ‘kia haere kōtui ki tēnei ngā motika ture e taea ai, e whakatairangatia ai hoki te kōrero Māori i te ao tūmatanui²⁴⁴. Heoi anō, e tutuki ai tēnei, me whakawātea ngā rawa, ngā rauemi ‘hei whakapūmau, hei tiaki hoki i te hāpainga o aua motika²⁴⁵. He pēnei anō tā Stephens. E tūtohi mai ana ia

240 Keegan 2009

241 Albury 2015: 8. Tirohia anō hoki te wh.29 mō tētahi matapakinga o ngā kōrero i hua ake i ngā uiuinga waiaro i whakahaeretia e Te Puni Kōkiri.

242 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 5

243 Ahu 2012: 5.

244 Mufwene 2006

245 Ahu 2012: 6

‘e whānui ake ai te reo Māori i te reo kotahi noa tōna whaitua ... me uru ki ngā whakahaere, ki ngā kawenga tūmatanui o te kāwanatanga o Aotearoa, tē noho ai ki te rāngai tūmataiti anake²⁴⁶. Me noho ko te reo Māori ‘tētahi reo māna e whakatakoto te ahunga tōrangapū, ōhanga, ture o tēnei whenua²⁴⁷. Nō reira, ‘me ngana anō [te Karauna] ki te kōrero Māori²⁴⁸.

Ngā ara kimi mātauranga

Te ara kimi mātauranga riuroa

E mea ana a Higgins et al. ko tētahi hanga rerekē nei, ko te nui mārika o te moni i kuhuna ki ngā ara kimi mātauranga e motu ai te iwi Māori i te reo Māori²⁴⁹, engari ia kua noho ko ngā ara rapu mātauranga tētahi tino huanui whakaora ake i te reo Māori.

Ko te ao kimi mātauranga te wāhi e whāngaia ai, e whakaataria ai ngā uara tōrangapū, pāpori, huatau tūāpapa. Nō reira tērā ka noho ngā kura hei kaiwhakapiki māramatanga, ka whakaoho ai i ngā ākongā ki te kōrerotanga, te kore rānei e kōrerotia o te reo Māori, i ngā whaitua o te hapori, me te whakaawe i ngā whakapono me ngā ritenga reo, tae atu ki te whakahaerenga o te hapori reo ...

O’Laoire 2008: 209

Ko te whakamārama a O’Laoire, i tēnei horopaki, kei ngā kura te ngao ki te tū hei ‘kaiparoni. [Ko ngā kura] tētahi o ngā kaiwhakatūturu, kaiwhakapūmau ki te whaitua tūmatanui o te reo e whakaorangia ake ana. [Mā ngā kura] e kaupare atu ngā mahi whakatoihara reo [kua roa e haupū haere ana] i te korenga e whakaae [kia kōrerotia te reo], i ngā mahi whakahaweā, i ngā mahi whakangongo²⁵⁰.

Ahakoā te tautoko a te Kāwanatanga, kāore i eke ki te taumata e tika ana hei tautoko i te tupu nui whakaharahara o ngā kaupapa rapu mātauranga e kōkiritia ana e te iwi Māori i ngā 1980 me te tīmatanga o ngā 1990. Ko te tupu o aua kaupapa, ehara i te hanga noa. Ko Te Kōhanga Reo te tino tauira, ā, i pēnei te kōrero a te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi mōna:

- ‘i tere te whanake mai i te 1982 ki te 1990, ko te Tari Take Māori te tari Kāwanatanga matua e tātaki ana i te kaupapa;
- ka eke ki tōna tihi i te 1993, kātahi ka āta rōnaki te heke haere, mai i te 1997 ki te 2002, i muri i te whakawhitinga, i te tau 1990, mai i te Tari Take Māori ki Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga;
- mai i te tau 2003, ka āhua parea ki rahaki, ka heke haere tonu, ā, me te orua o tēnei ki te whanaketanga o te rāngai whakaako, tiaki kōhungahunga (ECE)²⁵¹.

246 Stephens 2014: 55

247 Stephens 2014: 55

248 Stephens 2014: 55

249 Higgins and Rewi 2014: 3

250 O’Laoire 2008: 209

251 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: Chapter 2

Tērā pea ko te heke haere o te hiahia kia whāia ngā ara rapu mātauranga Māori mō ngā tamariki, mokopuna, he hanga māori noa²⁵², engari ko te mau tonu o te kore e tuku i te rahi o te tautoko e hiahia ana, i taunaki tonu i tēnei ia taiheke. I tūtohua e te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi a Ka Hikitia²⁵³, nāna i tautoko te whakaaro me here te tokomaha me te ōrau e takahi ana i ngā ara rapu mātauranga rumaki reo Māori, kua e tukua kia rahi ake. E ai anō ki taua pūrongo, ko tētahi whāinga a Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, kia maha ake ngā tamariki Māori e haere ana ki ngā whare whakaako kōhungahunga. Engari te āhua nei, e pai noa ana ki Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga 'kia maha ake i ngā whare kōhungahunga kōrero Pākehā kē'²⁵⁴.

Te ara kimi mātauranga rumaki reo Māori

Kua tautohua i ngā whārangi o mua ake o tēnei pūrongo ētahi take i hē ai, i raru ai, i taupātia ai te whakaoranga ake o te reo Māori. Ko ngā mānukanuka mō te kounga kore i ētahi āhuatanga o ngā taiao rumaki reo Māori, koia anō tētahi mea me āta whiriwhiri e koke tonu ai ngā mahi whakaora i te reo. Ko ētahi o ngā māharahara e tuhia ana i konei, nō ngā tuhinga maha, tae atu ki te Pūrongo a te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi 2011 me tā Skerrett²⁵⁵:

- He tokoiti rawa ngā kaiako kua whakangungua, kua whiwhi tohu whakaako, mō te wāhi ki te reo Māori me ngā tikanga whakaako, tae atu anō ki ngā tumuaki.
- E raru ana ngā kura i 'te rite tonu o te taetae mai o ngā kaiako mō te wā poto, mea ake ka haere'.
- He tokoiti rawa ngā kaiako matatau ki te reo Māori.
- E uaua tonu ana te ine i tēnei mea te matatau ki te reo.
- Mai rā anō, he nui ake te hiahia ki ngā kaiako papai, tēnā i te rahi o te puna kaiako papai e wātea ana (ahakoa e heke haere ana te hiahia).
- E iti rawa ana te pūtea.
- E onge ana ngā rauemi ako, me te aha, kua mate ētahi kaiako ki te waihanga i ā rātou ake.
- He māharahara kua puta ki te noho haumarua o ngā tamariki me te kore e tika o ngā whakahaere o ētahi kōhanga reo.
- I te inati o ngā waeture me te noho pokapū o te mana whakahaere, kua hōhā ētahi e manaaki ana ... i te kaupapa²⁵⁶.

252 Ka noho ko Te Kōhanga Reo tētahi noa o ngā kōwhiringa whakaako, tiaki tamariki maha i tēnei wā e tere tupu ana te rāngai ECE.

253 Te mahere rautaki a Te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga mō te rapu mātauranga a te iwi Māori. Tōna arotakenga whakamutunga: 25 Poutūterangi 2015.

254 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 425

255 Waitangi Tribunal 2011, Skerrett 2011.

256 I takea mai te kaupapa nei, te kōhanga reo, i ngā mahi whakaora reo Māori o ngā 1970 me ngā 1980. I te 30 tau i muri i te aranga ake o te kōhanga reo tuatahi, e noho tonu ana koia te whare mātāmua e tukua ai te reo me ngā tikanga Māori e te hunga taipakeke ki te kōhungahunga. Waitangi Tribunal 2011: Chapter 2

He mea tino nui te kouna o te reo i ngā okenga whakarauora katoa. E whakahētia ana te reo pūtaitai ‘mō te hē o te whakatakoto i te kupu, te kore e reka ki te taringa me te hē o te whakahua, [kei whāngaihia] ēnei āhuetanga kino ki ngā whakaturanga whai i muri’²⁵⁷. Koinei te tangi a Tākuta Joe Te Rito:

... i waenganui i te hunga ako i te reo Māori, huri i te motu, e iti ana te rere o te kōrero Māori ōpaki papai nei hei whakarongo mā te taringa, hei tāwhai mā te waha ... i te mea kua anga nui kē ngā mahi whakaako i te reo ki te taha tuhituhi me te taha pānui, [ā,] ko te mea kē e matea nuitia ana, e mānākonakotia ana e te iwi, ko te mōhio ki te kōrerorero māori noa, ehara kau ana ko te kauhau anake, ko te tito tuhinga kura wānanga anake.

Tākuta Joe Te Rito 2009: npr

Ngā tāngata o Aotearoa ehara i te Māori

Ki tā Brenzinger rāua ko de Graaf (n.d.), ‘mā ngā kaikōrero anake o tētahi reo noho mōrearea e whiriwhiri, e whakahaere ngā mahi whakapūmau, whakaora i tō rātou reo’²⁵⁸. Engari me tā rāua kī ake anō, he āwhina tonu e taea ana e ētahi atu, ā, ka whakaahuatia e rāua ētahi o ngā tū āwhina e taea ana²⁵⁹. Hei tauira ake, e mea ana rāua ko ngā mōhio kura wānanga (mātua anō ngā kaiwetere) me te hapori, ‘me āta mahi ngātahi ki te tuhi i te ngako, i te matahuhuatanga o te reo, e pai ai te tuku iho i tēnei puiaki ki ngā uri whakaheke’²⁶⁰. Engari, e tino tūhauora ai te reo Māori, me taupua, me whakaora i roto i ngā hapori Māori, otirā i te umaraha anō o Aotearoa. E ai ki ngā tatauranga, he iti ake i te kotahi ōrau o ngāi tauwiwi e mōhio ana ki te kōrero Māori, ā, e ai anō ki ngā uiuinga waiaro ki te reo i kawea e Te Puni Kōkiri, ahakoa e tautoko ana a tauwiwi i te reo Māori, e iti ana tō rātou hiahia ki te ako i te reo²⁶¹. I te 2009, ko te ōrau o ngāi tauwiwi i āe mai ki te kōrero ‘He mea tino nui ki a au kia ako au i te reo Māori’ i 20 ōrau; ko te ōrau o ngāi Māori i āe mai, ko te 64 ōrau.

Ki te Tāhuhu o te Mātauranga, he painga anō ka hua ake i te noho hauora o te reo Māori, tae atu ki ngā painga ‘taha hinengaro, ahurea, mātauranga, ōhanga, pāpori, taha reo anō’²⁶². Ka rere hoki ēnei painga ki te tuakiri me te ngākau o te motu, e puta anō ai he hua ki te ōhanga²⁶³. Ko tētahi anō mea e kī nei a Walsh me eke rawa e ‘whaihua ai ngā mahi whakaora reo, ko te kaha piri tahi a te hapori’²⁶⁴. Ko te ‘tūmanako’ o Benton i te 1997, taka rawa mai ki te tau 2011, tērā tētahi ‘mōhio kirimoko ki te reo Māori ka toro haere [ā tōna wā] ki te katoa o te hapori ... [ā, tērā pea] ka tata horapa ki te taupori nui tonu’²⁶⁵.

257 Te Rito 2009

258 Brenzinger and de Graaf n.d.: 2

259 Tirohia tā Brenzinger and de Graaf n.d.: 2 Koinei anō tā Alexander, N., (2004: 124) ki tēnei whakaaro – ‘... I te mutunga iho, kotahi tonu anō te mahi ka tino whaihua, ko te kori ake me te āta kōkiri a te hunga ko te reo mōrearea tō rātou reo ūkaipō’.

260 Tirohia tā Brenzinger and de Graaf n.d.: 2

261 Te Puni Kōkiri 2010

262 Tirohia tā te Ministry of Education Tau Mai Te Reo/The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013–2017: 7.

263 Tirohia tā te Ministry of Education Tau Mai Te Reo/The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013–2017: 7.

264 Walsh 2010: 28

265 Benton 1997: 29

Katoa ēnei kōrero o runga ake nei, e mea ana he wāhi nui kei te manaakitanga mai a te hunga kāore i Māori, he mea nui anō kia kite, kia whakaae rātou he taonga tonu te reo Māori ki ngā tāngata Māori – ahakoa tū takitahi, ahakoa tū rānei hei huānga nō te iwi, nō te hapū, nō te whānau. He tohu te reo nō te tuakiri, nō te mana o te Māori i roto i te porihanga o Aotearoa whānui. Ko tā Ratima rāua ko May hei āpiti ki tēnei, ko te noho taonga mai o te reo Māori ki ngā tāngata katoa o Aotearoa, i ahu mai i ‘... ōna hono ki ngā kōrero tuku iho o Aotearoa me tana tū hei tohu o te matahuhuatanga ā-tikanga, ā-reo o te whenua nei’²⁶⁶. Waihoki, ‘ko ngā mātauranga ka hua ake i te mātai i ngā reo tangata whenua [pērā i te reo Māori] e mātua arumia ana e ētahi atu peka mātauranga, pērā i te mātai tikanga tangata, whaipara tangata, hītōria, kōrero tuaukiuki anō’²⁶⁷.

Ko tētahi whāinga whānui ake o te Rautaki Reo Māori o nāianei, ko te whakapiki i te mana o te reo Māori ki ngā wāhi katoa; e taea ai tēnei, me tautoko mai a Aotearoa whānui. Heoi anō, e kī ana a Thomas, i konei, ‘ka āhua rehurehu te mahere’²⁶⁸. Kāore kau tētahi i te mōhio me pēhea e akiakihia ai te motu whānui kia kauawhi i tētahi ahunga hou mō tēnei o ngā reo whaimana nei, e ākona ai, e kōrerotia ai te reo e te katoa²⁶⁹. Ko te whakapono o Sciascia, ‘ko te waiaro o te porihanga ki te reo te take nui katoa i hinga ai te reo’²⁷⁰. Ka mutu, ehara ko ia anake kei tēnei whakaaro (kei tā Higgins et al. 2014, kei tēnei pūrongo anō hoki ētahi taunakitanga). Ka mihi a Sciascia i te hāpai a ngāi tauwiwi i ngā kaupapa pērā i te Wiki o te Reo Māori, engari me te kī anō ‘kāore he tohu o tētahi mahere e mahi ana kia rea tērā angitū’²⁷¹. Ko tā Te Manu Korihi i pūrongo ai: ‘E ai ki ngā rangatira me ngā kaumātua o ngā iwi ..., ko te wawata kia eke mai te mātinitini ki te kaupapa, i kīia e tētahi he ngutu kau, [ā,] kāore i āta wherawheratia te wāhi ki a tauwiwi i roto i te mahere whakaora’²⁷².

266 Ratima and May 2011: 1

267 Brenzinger 2009: 251

268 Thomas 2014

269 Thomas 2014

270 Thomas 2014

271 Thomas 2014

272 Thomas 2014

He aha koia te take me whakarauora ake te reo Māori?

Arā pea te whakautu māmā, i te mea koia anake te reo taketake o Aotearoa. Ko ēnei kōrero a Ingram, ahakoa i puta i a ia mō te reo Māori o ngā Kuki Airani, e hāngai ana anō hoki ki te reo Māori i Aotearoa:

He tikanga e iri mai ana ki ngā kōrero Māori ka puta hāngai i te waha o te tangata ki tētahi atu, he tikanga kāore e kitea i te reo Pākehā; arā anō ngā kupu tārehu me ngā kupu whakarite tē aroā; ka ngaro hoki te tino o ngā morimoringa, o ngā tākarotanga ki te reo ... he neke noa ake i te kupu noa iho te mea ka ngaro.

Ingram 2014: ata 15

Kei te reo Māori ētahi whakaaro kāore i te reo Pākehā. Ahakoa kei te reo Pākehā ētahi kupu āhua rite ki ngā ariā o te manaakitanga, o te wairuatanga me te kaitiakitanga, kāore aua kupu rā e pīkau mārire, e whakaata mārire i te ngako o ngā kupu Māori. Tērā anō ngā kupu mō ngā tūranga i te whānau, pēnei i te 'tuākana' me te 'tāina', e kōrero ana mō ngā mea pakeke ake me ngā mea tamariki ake i waenganui i ngā mea tāne, i waenganui rānei i ngā mea wahine o te whānau, tae atu ki ngā whanaunga. Ko te kupu 'tungāne' mō ngā uri tāne (o te reanga tonu) o te wahine, ko te 'tuahine', mō te uri wahine (o te reanga tonu) o te tāne, ka mutu, kāore he titiro ki te pakeke; tērā anō a 'O' rāua ko 'A', ngā karangatanga 'rirohanga' e tohu ana i te āhua o te hononga o te tangata ki tētahi mea ōna, āna rānei, me te tohu anō i te āhua o ngā hononga ā-whakapapa nei. Waihoki ngā tūpou me ngā tūpou rirohanga, kāore e tohua me he tāne, he wāhine rānei e kōrerotia ana.

Hei tauira anō o tēnei tūāhua i reo kē, kei ngā reo taketake o Ahitereiria ētahi kupu e whakaata ana i ētahi karangatanga whakapapa whāiti 'e tohu ana i ngā whanonga pāpori e tika ana'. Hei tauira, mō te hungarei, wahine nei, ko te whakamāori, e pēnei ana, 'ko te tamāhine a te tungāne o te whaea o te whaea'²⁷³. Anei te whakamārama a Heath:

I ētahi o ngā reo, i mua, hei āpitihanga ki te reo māori noa, tērā ētahi momo reo motuhake e tika ana mō ētahi kawenga. Hei tauira, ko te momo hei kōrero māu mēnā i reira tō hungarei wahine, tētahi rānei e āhua pērā ana tōna hononga ki a koe, he teitei te tangi, he āta kōrero, kei reira ētahi kupu whakanui motuhake e tika ana mōna, ā, ka karohia ngā pātai me ngā whakahau. I tētahi atu momo reo motuhake e rite ana mō ngā hononga whakangahau, kei reira te mahi a te kupu hahani paruparu.

Heath 2015: kōwae 11

Ko te kupu āpiti a Heath, nā ngā tikanga whakawhenua, kua 'uaua'²⁷⁴ te rangahau i ēnei āhuetanga. Kua whakamārama hoki Harlow i tētahi āhuetanga kei te reo Māori 'e hurirapatia ai ētahi wāhanga kupu [me te mau tonu o te tikanga

273 Ka kōrero hoki a Heath 2015 mō te moe i tō tuahine, i tō tungāne i te ao tūturu o te tangata whenua o Ahitereiria, koia pea tētahi take e tautohua ai ngā whakapapa i te tauira kua takoto mai i konei.

274 Heath 2015

o te kupu]...'²⁷⁵. Ko ēnei wāhanga kupu²⁷⁶, he orokati, he oropuare rānei o roto i te kupu. Kei ētahi atu reo 'tēnei āhuatanga e mau ana', engari 'he onge tonu'²⁷⁷. 'Heoi anō, i te reo Māori, 'he huhua tonu ngā tauira, engari ko te take i pēnei ai te kaha kitea o tēnei āhuatanga [ongē nei], kāore e mōhiotia ana'²⁷⁸. Kāore a Harlow i tohu mai ko wai mā ngā iwi e kawea ana i tēnā, i tēnā o ngā takirua nei, engari e mīharo ana ia i te 'whānui, i te huhua o ngā wāhanga kupu tērā ka hurirapatia'. Anei ētahi tauira:

- *ikeike* = *ekieki*;
- *mahine* = *maheni*;
- *honuhonu* = *nohunohu*;
- *ngahere* = *ngarehe* 'forest'.

He aha koia te take me whakarauora ake ngā reo Māori ā-iwi?

He kawenga kei runga i te kāwanatanga o Aotearoa ki te kauawhi i ngā reo ā-iwi Māori i roto anō i āna mahi tautoko, whakātinana i ngā kaupapa whakapakari ake i te reo Māori. He taonga te reo Māori nā Aotearoa, ā, e tāwharautia ana e te ture i raro i te Tiriti o Waitangi²⁷⁹.

E kī ana te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, mai rā anō, kāore i 'kotahi' noa te āhua o te reo Māori, engari ia, 'he maha ōna putanga'. E hāpai ana te Tiriti o Waitangi i te rangatiratanga o tēnā iwi, o tēnā iwi, me te ahureitanga anō o tēnā, o tēnā. 'He taonga kāmeheheha ngā reo ā-iwi: koia rā ngā waka tūturu e kawea ai ngā mātauranga me ngā tikanga ahurei o aua iwi, ā, e haere pātui ana me te tuakiri o aua iwi'²⁸⁰.

Ko te whakaohiti a te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi i te tau 2001, 'ki te kore e kaha ake te kōrerotia o ngā reo ā-iwi e te rangatahi, e kore pea e rangona tonutia e 20 tau ake nei, ahu atu'²⁸¹. I te haukotanga o te whanaketanga me te whāngaitanga ā-reanga o te reo Māori, kua ngaro, kua tata ngaro rānei ētahi āhuatanga o ngā reo ā-iwi. Me mātua arotahi ka tika ki ngā reo ā-iwi. Ā, me uiui anō pea te tika o ngā whakapaunga kaha ki ngā mahi whakakotahi i te āhua o te reo e kawea nei hei whakarauora i te reo. Kua tūtohua e te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi te hono o te paheke haere o te tokomaha o ngā kaikōrero me te ngaro haere o ngā reo ā-iwi, mātua anō te 'ngaromanga o te hunga kaumātua i pakeke mai ki te reo', ko rātou ngā 'kaikōrero i te reo ā-iwi'²⁸².

Ko te whatungarongaro o te mātāpuputu i pakeke mai ki te reo me te iti rawa²⁸³ o te whāngaitanga o te reo e rātou ki te mātātahi e tūhauora ai te reo i waenga i

275 E ai ki te Collins Online English Dictionary, ko te spoonerism, he tauira o tēnei tūahua. Kei te www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/metathesis

276 See Glossary of Linguistic Terms (SIL International, 2003) available in <https://glossary.sil.org/term/phoneme>

277 Harlow 2007: 19–22

278 Harlow 2007: 19–22

279 Tirohia te Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 387–393. He kōrero anō kei konei mō te reo ā-iwi.

280 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 49

281 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 41.

282 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 439

283 Engari kāore anō kia inea pēhea rawa te 'iti rawa'.

tērā reanga, e tohu ana kei te āta raru ngā reo ā-iwi²⁸⁴. I te tauranga ā-motu o te 1996, e '20,190 ngā Māori kōrero Māori i whānau mai i mua i te 1942, engari 11,031 noa iho o tērā reanga i tauria i te tau 2006' (e 9,159 kaikōrero te iti ake i roto i te tekau tau²⁸⁵). I tua atu i tērā, katoa te hunga ako i te reo Māori hei reo ūkaipō i Aotearoa i ēnei rā, taihoa ka mau anō i a rātou te reo Pākehā, ka reorua.

He iti noa ngā rangahau kua āta kawea ake e pā ana ki ngā reo ā-iwi o te reo Māori²⁸⁶ '... ā, ko te nuinga o ngā kōrero [kua hora], he pokapoka noa'²⁸⁷. E haku ana a Harlow i 'te korenga o ētahi rangahautanga papai'²⁸⁸; e mea ana ia '... he hanga mīharo, ka mutu he hanga me whakahē ka tika, e rua noa ngā tanga, he tanga poto noa, e mātua titiro ana ki tēnei mea te reo ā-iwi – ko tā Harlow (1979) me tā Biggs (1989)²⁸⁹. (Kei te Āpitianga tuatoru tētahi whakarāpopototanga o ētahi kōrero hītōria e pā ana ki ngā reo ā-iwi Māori.)

E whakaetia whānuitia ana ko ngā rerekētanga i waenga i ngā reo ā-iwi, kāore i tino rahi, kāore hoki e 'whakararu i te mārama o tēnā, o tēnā iwi ki ngā reo o ērā atu'²⁹⁰. He tohu taunaki kei ngā Hautaka a Kāpene Kuki rāua ko Joseph Banks i ngā 1770. I whakaahuatia i reira te māmā noa o tā Tupaia (nō Tahiti taketake ake te tangata nei) kōrero tahi ki ngā Māori i tūtaki haere ai ia²⁹¹. Waihoki, i Aotearoa nei, i mārama te hunga kōrero i ngā reo Māori ā-iwi ki te reo Moriori, i mārama hoki ngā Moriori ki ngā reo Māori ā-iwi. Anei tā Cawthorn ki tēnei āhua:

Tērā tētahi Moriori ko Hororeka te ingoa, i wehe mai i taua moutere [a Rēkohu] i te takiwā o te 1800 mā runga waka patu kekeno Ingarihi, ka hoki atu anō ki reira i te 1807. I taua tau anō, ka mahi i runga i te kaupuke patu tohorā ko te *Commerce* te ingoa, ā, i te mea kua noho kē a ia ki Pēwhairangi mō tētahi wā, ka tū ia hei kaiwhakamāori mā tōna Rangatira, ahakoa he rerekē tōna reo i te reo e whakamāori ana ia.

Cawthorn 2000: 5

Heoi anō, ahakoa kāore i tino nui ngā rerekētanga i tēnā, i tēnā reo ā-iwi, ko ngā rerekētanga i reira, he tohu nō te motuhaketanga o ia iwi, ā, 'e kitea ana i ngā mata katoa o te reo – te whakahua, te whakatakoto, te puna kupu me te kīwaha'²⁹², engari e mea ana a Bauer 'ko ngā rerekētanga nui i waenga i ngā reo ā-iwi, kei te wāhi ki ngā kupu me te whakahua'²⁹³. Ki a Harlow, 'kei te āta hāpainga e ētahi ngā whakahua me ngā whakamahinga rerekē hei āhuatanga reo ā-iwi, hei whakaatu mārire nō tēhea rohe, nō tēhea iwi te kaikōrero'²⁹⁴.

284 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 439

285 Waitangi Tribunal 2011: 439

286 Bauer 1993, Harlow 2007

287 Bauer 1993:13

288 Harlow 2007:44

289 Harlow 2007: 43

290 Watkins (1840–1842) Me kī he kaiwetereo a Watkins – hei reo tuatoru mōna te reo Māori, i muri i tana reo ūkaipō me te reo o Tonga, ā, i matatau tonu ia ki te reo o Tonga (Harlow 1987). E kore pea a ia e whakaae ki tēnei kōrero. Ko ia te mihingare tuatahi ki Ōtākou, ā, ko tāna i kite ai, ko ngā kōrero i kawea atu e ia i Te Ika-a-Māui (nō reira mai hoki tōna mōhio ki te reo Māori) kāore i whaihua i roto i ana kauhau me ana mahi whakaako i te iwi ki te tonga i noho rā ki Waikouaiti, i te mea tē aro i a rātou ana kōrero. Nāna tonu i whakarerekē te rārangi pū Māori 'arowhānui' hei whakaata i tāna e rongō ana i ngā ngutu o tana 'kāhui hou'. Haami 2004.

291 I a Tupaia ka tū hei kaiwhakamāori i waenga i ngā Māori i tūtaki atu ai ia me ngā kaupōkai kōrero Pākehā o runga o te Endeavour koirā ōna hoa haere. Higgins and Keane 2015

292 Harlow 2007: 44

293 Bauer 1993: 14

294 Harlow 2007: 44

Te āta tautohu i ngā reo ā-iwi

Kei te matapakinga e whai ake nei ētahi taurira o ngā rerekētanga kei ngā reo ā-iwi Māori. Kua kōrero a Bauer (2008) rāua ko Harlow (2007) mō te korekore o ngā rangahau nahanaha i ngā reo ā-iwi. Nō reira ko ngā mea e kōrerotia ana i konei, he kitenga meroiti noa.

Ko te reo ā-iwi, e wehea ana i ērā atu reo ā-iwi nā runga i te hanga o te reo – arā, ngā āhuatanga wetereo (ngā āhuatanga hanga kupu, hanga rerenga) me ngā kupu tonu/tikanga kupu. ... Ahakoa ka whakaurua e ētahi kaiwetereo te whakahua (te āhua o te whakaputa i ngā oropuare me ngā orokati, tae atu ki te piki me te heke o te reo) ki roto i ēnei āhuatanga reo ā-iwi, ko tā te nuinga, he waiho i te whakahua me te mita kia tū motuhake.

Crystal & Ivić 2014: 1

Kua roherohea ngā reo ā-iwi matua o te reo Māori ki ērā o te uru, o te rāwhiti me te tonga²⁹⁵; heoi anō, kei te manaaki anō tēnei arotakenga nei i te reo o Te Taitokerau me te reo o Te Puku-o-Te-Ika. Hāunga ia tērā, he pāpaku noa te titiro ki ēnei reo ā-iwi katoa.

Ko ētahi o ngā rerekētanga hanga kupu o te reo Māori²⁹⁶, ko ngā pīmuri hāngū; ngā pūwāhi me ngā pūmahī; ngā pūhono kīanga, aho; tae atu ki te whakakāhoretanga. Anei he taurira o ngā pīmuri hāngū²⁹⁷:

- he kaha ake te rere o te –a me te –ia ki Te Tairāwhiti;
- he kaha ake te rere o te –ngia me te –tia ki Te Taitokerau; ā
- i Te Waipounamu, he kaha ake te haria o te -ina, tēnā i te –ia i ētahi horopaki²⁹⁸.

Mō te wāhi ki ngā pūwāhi (wāheke nei²⁹⁹) me ngā pūmahī, koinei ētahi rerekētanga kua kitea:

- He pai ki Te Tairāwhiti te ‘hei’;
- He pai ki Te Taitokerau te ‘ko’;
- I ērā atu rohe/iwi, ko te ‘kei’.

Ko ngā pūmahī mō te wātū auroa, ko te ‘kai te/kei te ...’ me te ‘e ... ana’³⁰⁰ ā, he rerekē te hari a tēnā rohe, a tēnā rohe i ēnei kupu.

- ko te ‘kai te/kei te’ te mea e paingia ana e Te Tairāwhiti (me ngā iwi anō pea o Te Waipounamu)

295 Harlow 2007

296 Māori.org.nz n.d.

297 Mā ēnei pīmuri e hurihia ai te rerenga hāpai hei rerenga hāngū. Hei taurira o te rerehāngū: ‘i whai te ngeru i te kiore’; hei taurira o taua whakaaro hei rerehāngū: ‘i whāia te kiore e te ngeru’.

298 Williams ‘A Dictionary of the Maori Language’ 1971: 49.

299 I te reo Māori, ko ngā punga ngā kaitohu i te wā. Mā ngā punga e tohu mēnā kei te wāhipa, te wātū, te wāheke rānei te tūmahī, te kiwāhi rānei.

300 Kupu whakamārama: Ko te ‘Kei te ...’ mō te wātū me te wāheke, ko te e ... ana mō te wātū, te wāheke me te wāhipa. Tirohia tā Head 1989: 42-43

- ko te 'e ... ana' te mea e paingia ana e Te Taitokerau me Te Tai Hauāuru³⁰¹.
- tērā anō te 'ka ... ana' a Tūhoe mō te 'ina/i ngā wā ka', arā, 'ka eke mai ana he ope' ('ina/i ngā wā ka eke mai he ope')³⁰².

Ko te 'i' me te 'ki' ngā pūhono e whakamahia nuitia ana mō te kīanga me te aho, engari I ētahi rohe karekau he pūhono. Hei tauira, mō te tūmahi 'tatarī', mēnā e tū ana ia i mua i te kīngoa ko ia te aronga, ko te 'ki' te mea ka whai i muri mai i roto o Waikato, ko te 'i' ki te Raki o Tāmaki, ā, ko te kore noa iho ki roto o Te Tairāwhiti³⁰³. Ā, mō te whakakāhoretanga: i Te Taitokerau he kaha te whakamahia o te 'kīhai / kīhei' mō te whakakāhoretanga wāmua (hei tauira, Kīhai ia i haere = Kāore ia i haere); i ērā atu iwi, he kaha ake te rere o te 'kāore/ kāre/ kāhore'.

Mō te wāhi ki te hanga rerenga, anei ētahi rerekētanga:

- Ko tā Te Tairāwhiti hei kupu mihi, ko te 'Kai te aha?', ko tā te nuinga o ērā atu, ko te 'Kei/Kai te pēhea/pēwhea?'³⁰⁴
- I roto o Waikato, ko te 'kia ... mai', he whakapuakanga kaha, hei tauira, 'kia nui mai te whare', ko ngā whakatakoto pēnei i 'te nui hoki o te whare'³⁰⁵ ka kōrerotia i ērā atu reo ā-iwi.

He meroriki anō ngā kōrero kei ngā tuhituhi mō ngā kupu me ngā tikanga kupu. Ko ētahi kupu kei ngā wāhi katoa, pērā i te 'mōhio' me te 'mātau', e rua e rua he rite ki te 'to know, to understand' me te 'knowledge' ki te reo Pākehā; heoi anō, kāore e mōhioia ana mēnā he rerekētanga kei roto i te hāpai a tēnā, a tēnā iwi i ēnei kupu.

Ahakoia e mea ana ētahi tohunga wetereo ehara te whakahua (te āhua o te whakaputa i ngā oropuare, ngā orokati tae atu ki te piki me te heke o te reo) i te āhuatanga reo ā-iwi tūturu, he rerekētanga ā-tangi noa iho, whakatauria ana me noho tonu mai tēnei kōrero e whai ake nei.

Ko te orotōpū <wh>, he maha ōna whakahua i te reo Māori (kei te Āpitianga toru te roanga o ngā kōrero), ā, kua tohua hei take me āta kōrero ina whiriwhiria te āhua o te whakaako me te ako o te reo Māori i ēnei rā. Anei he tauira:

- Whea – ko te /wh/ tonu te whakahua ki Te Tai Tamatāne, ko te /h/ ki ētahi wāhi o Te Tai Tamawahine.
- Whangaroa – he /wh/ ki Te Ika-a-Māui; ko 'Akaroa' kē ki Te Waka-a-Māui (kāore he /wh/, kāore hoki he /h/)³⁰⁶.
- Whakaaro – he 'hakaaro' ki Te Taitokerau³⁰⁷, ā, [ki roto o Taranaki] he 'w'akaaro' (he ngoto kē) ā, i rohe kē atu, ko te /wh/³⁰⁸.

301 Harlow 1979: 126

302 Harlow, 1987: 26 Ko te 'kai', 'he tohu nō te wātū', he rite ki te 'kei'. Hei tauira, 'kai te mate wai au' = 'kei te mate wai au'.

303 Harlow 1979: 127

304 Morrison 2011: npn

305 Harlow 2007: 127

306 Ko te Akaroa kei Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū. 'Ko te 'wha' a ngā iwi ki te raki, he 'ha' kē, ā, i te iwi ki te tonga, he wā anō ko te 'a' noa iho (Shortland 1851: 305).

307 He puna taunaki te reo Māori in libraries. Pronunciation guide. I tīkina i: www.trw.org.nz/He-Puna/two.htm

308 He puna taunaki te reo Māori in libraries. Pronunciation guide. I tīkina i: www.trw.org.nz/He-Puna/two.htm

- Ā, i ētahi wāhi ki te raki, he āhua pupuhi kē te <wh>³⁰⁹.

I te rārangi kupu a Watkins³¹⁰ mō te reo ā-iwi Māori o te tonga, whakamahia ai e ia te ‘u’ me te ‘f’ hei pū tīmatanga mō ngā kupu i wāhi kē ka tīmatahia ki te ‘w’. I kaha anō tana whakamahi i te ‘f’ i ngā wāhi ko te ‘wh’ kē te karawhiu i wāhi kē. Nō reira, ko tāna tātaki i te ‘whare’, ko te ‘uare’. Kua manaakitia tēnei tātaki e te Whare Pukapuka o Hocken mō āna kohinga, pēnei nā, te Uare Taoka o Hākena (te Whare Taonga o Hocken)³¹¹.

Kei te kitea hoki he rerekētanga ā-iwi i te taurangitanga o te hanga (me te whakahua) o te kupu. Ko tā Harlow (2007) e tūtohi ana, kei te papakupu a Williams (1971) te huhua noa o ngā taura o te kupu hanga-taurangi. Ka tautohu anō a Harlow i ētahi wehenga ā-rohe o tēnei āhuatanga.

Tūtohi 7: He taura o ētahi kupu hanga-taurangi

Rāwhiti	Uru
<i>pōhatu</i>	<i>kōhatu</i>
<i>kari</i>	<i>keri</i>
Raki	Tonga
<i>pouaru</i>	<i>poueru</i>
<i>pounamu</i>	<i>poenemu/pounemu</i>

Takenga mai: Harlow 2007

I whakaurua mai ēnei kōrero iti noa mō te reo o Kāi Tahu hei whakaahua noa i te noho taonga mai o ngā reo ā-iwi i roto i ngā hāhaunga o ngā tini hononga i mua i te taenga nui mai o tauīwi. He rerekē te reo Māori ki te tonga i ngā reo ā-iwi kei te pito raki o Te Waipounamu me ērā kei Te Ika-a-Māui (tirohia te Āpitianga tuatoru). Nā te mahi a Boulton³¹² me tana rārangi kupu³¹³, kua mōhio hākirikiri pea tātou ki te āhua o te reo i ngā tau tuatahi o ngā 1820. I te rārangi kupu a James Watkins (i whakaaturia e Harlow) kotahi anahe te tuhinga o tētahi kupu he ‘ng’ kei roto (arā, kotahi te tanga o te kupu ‘tangata’, ko ērā atu putanga katoa, i tātakihia pēneitia:

309 Ward Kamo, i tētahi whakaaturanga o Native Affairs o nā tata nei (Tue 14th 13th Hōngongoi 2013, Power Play, Part 2), ko tana whakahua i te <wh> o te ‘whānau’, ‘i rite ki te ‘wh’ i te kupu ‘whisper’, arā, he /hw/ – ki Te Whare Wānanga o Te Ūpoko o Te Ika a Māui, (Te reo Māori pronunciation guide) koirā te ‘whakahua taketake’ o te ‘wh’ – kei te <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/Māori-at-victoria/ako/te-reo-at-victoria/te-reo-pronunciation-guide>

310 Kei te tanga a Harlow 1987 tētahi rārangi kupu o te reo o Kāi Tahu, he mea hopu i ngā tau tuatahi o ngā 1840 e te mihingare nei, e Watkins, he minita Wēteriana-Metoritī. Kei waenga i te 744 me te 2000 ngā kupu. He huhua ngā puna i whakamahia e Harlow hei whakamārama i te rārangi o ēnei ‘kupu Māori motuhake o te tonga’. Kāore i roa i muri i tana taenga atu ki reira, koinei te kōrero i tuhia e Watkins mō te reo Māori o Te Waipounamu: ‘Mō te wāhi ki te reo, e pōturi ana taku koke haere, he rerekē [nō tēnei reo] i te reo o Te Ika-a-Māui. He korokororiki noa te hua o ngā pukapuka o Te Ika-a-Māui ki a au.’ (kei Pybus 1954: 8.)

311 Kei te www.otago.ac.nz/library/hocken/

312 Starke 1986

313 He reo Poronihia te reo Moriori, he uri tata nō te reo Māori taketake o te tonga. Tirohia a Davis and Solomon 2012 me Clark 1994.

'takata')³¹⁴. Ko te whakapae a Harlow mō ngā tini /f/ mō te <wh> 'tērā pea nā te kawenga mai o te āhua e kawea ana i Te Ika-a-Māui, e ngā kaipatu tohorā [Māori] ...'³¹⁵. He āhuatanga motuhake anō e kitea ana i ngā ingoa wāhi, ingoa tāngata:

Tūtohi 8: He tauira o ngā rerekētanga ā-iwi i te reo Māori o te tonga me te reo Māori o ngā iwi kei te raki

I Te Waipounamu	I wāhi kē	He tauira
'l'	'r'	Little Akaloa mō Whangaroa
'k'	'ng'	kaik ³¹⁶ mō te kāinga
'g'	'k'	Otago mō Otakou; Kilmog mō Kirimoko
'b'	'p'	Wagadib mō Wakatipu ³¹⁷
'v'	'w'	Tūāvaik mō Tūhawaiki ³¹⁸

Kei te kitea hoki i te tūtohi nei ētahi tauira o te hāporo, e poroa atu ai, e tata kore ai rānei e rangona te oropuare whakamutunga, te orotōpū whakamutunga rānei o te kupu. Kua kīia e Harlow (1987 me te 2007) me ētahi atu, ko te hāporo tētahi āhuatanga o te reo Māori o te tonga (tae atu ki te reo Moriori). Kua puta hoki te whakaaro ko ēnei reo ā-iwi, he reo Māori tawhito ake pea, kāore i kaha te whakaputa o te 'h', o te hau rānei i te whakahuatanga o te kupu, ā, koinā kē pea te āhua o te reo o ngā tāngata tuatahi i tae mai ki Aotearoa³¹⁹.

314 I te rārangi te kupu 'takata', engari kāore i whakamāramatia te tikanga. Heoi anō, i hoatu kē he kupuāhua hei whakaahua i te momo tangata.

315 Harlow 1987: viii & 1987: 74

316 Ko te 'kaik', tō te reo o te tonga mō te 'kāinga', e whakaata ana i te /k/ mō te /ng/ me te hāporo, arā, te 'horomitanga' o te wāhanga whakamutunga o te kupu. E ai ki a Taylor (n.d.), i kīia ko Ōtākou te 'kāik', arā 'kei te taha tonga o te Whanga o Ōtākou, e tata ana ki te Pukerae o Tairaroa ...' Tirohia te <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-TayLore-t1-body1-d15.html> Lore and History of the South Island Māori: Otakou. Waihoki, i te takiwā o Akaroa, i Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū, arā a 'The Kaik' me 'Kaik Hill' – Tirohia te www.topomap.co.nz/NZTopoMap/nz37000/The-Kaik/ Kei ngā mahere hoki a Kūkara e kitea ana te 'Onuku Church (Kaik)' i te Marae o Onuku. E tohu ana ēnei i te hora o tēnei reo ā-iwi.

317 'Wagadib'- i pēnei te tātakihia o te kupu i 'ngā rā o mua'; he tauira anō o te hāporo/horomitanga o te mutunga o te kupu. Ka mutu, he hāporonga anō te 'Wakatipu' o ēnei rā – ko te kupu tūturu, ko te 'Wakatipua' – Wikipedia: Māori language

318 Ko tēnei tātakitanga tawhito kei te rārangi a Boulton, e whakaata ana i te korenga o te 'h', te 'v' mō te 'w', me te hāporonga/horomitanga o te wāhanga whakamutunga o te kupu.

319 Harlow 2007: 134

Anei ētahi āhuatanga whāiti o te reo Moriori³²⁰:

- Taha whakahua: E mea ana a Harlow (me tana kōrero anō mō tā Biggs 1961), ko te āhuatanga tino ahurei o te reo Moriori, ko tā rātou /t/ i te tīmatanga kōrero.
 - ko te /t/ ka whakahuatia hei hikahika-ngao, arā, hei ‘tch’, i te tīmatanga o ētahi kupu, pēnei i te ‘tchakat’ mō te kupu Māori ‘takata/tangata’.
 - Ka tāpiria e Harlow (me te tiki atu i tā Baucke and Skinner 1928), he hikahika-ngao anō te /k/³²¹ me te /h/. E mea ana hoki a Williams³²² ko te /h/ he ‘āhua rite ki te H i tuhia pēneitia e ngā mihingare i te tīmatanga o ngā 1800 ... ko Shunghie me Shauraki³²³ mō Hongi me Hauraki’.

Kua korokī anō a Harlow ko ngā oropuare Moriori, ‘he kaha te hāporoa’ [hei tauira, ko te ‘tchakat’ me te ‘rangat’ mō te ‘tangata’]³²⁴ me te tāpiri anō, ‘mēnā kei te tika te tātaki a Shand, ‘[he kaha hoki] te whakaoropuare-tahi i ngā oropuare pūrua’³²⁵.

E tūhono ana ēnei tauira i te reo Moriori ki te reo Māori o te tonga, mātua rā te hāporonga e kaha kitea ana i te reo Moriori. Tērā pea e tohu ana tēnei, e rua, e rua ēnei reo Māori ā-iwi, kei te whakaata i ētahi āhuatanga o tētahi reo Māori o tuauri, te reo o ngā tāngata i tae tuatahi mai ki Aotearoa. I kuhuna e Harlow he whakamārama ki mua i tana wherawhera i te rārangi kupu a Watkins³²⁶. Ko tāna i reira, hei ‘whakamahuki i ngā kupu kei tā W’ (arā, kei tā Watkins) i tahuri ia ki ‘ētahi atu reo Poronīhia, ki reira kimi ai i ngā whanaunga tata me ētahi atu kupu āhua rite’³²⁷. I pēnei ai a ia, i te korenga i kitea o ētahi huānga i ētahi atu reo ā-iwi Māori.

320 Harlow 1979: 127

321 Tē kitea he tauira o te /k/ ka whakahuatia hei hikahika-ngao.

322 Williams 1919: 418

323 He tauira ēnei o te /h/ e whakahuatia ana hei hikahika-ngao.

324 Harlow 1979, e tiki atu ana i ngā kupu a Shirres 1977: 6

325 Harlow 2007: 19–22. Me Harlow 2007: 69. Ka takoto i a Harlow ‘ētahi huīnga wāhanga kupu oropuare tahi, pēnei i ēnei: te tai me te tae; te toi me te toe.

326 Harlow 1987

327 Harlow 1987: xxvi–xxvii. Ko te kimi whanaunga tata, kupu tata i ērā atu reo Poronīhia, ka kīia he tātaritanga whakatairite, he tātaritanga hītōria.

Wāhanga Tuawhā – Te Kokenga Ki Tua

He kupu whakataki

Arā ētahi tohunga wetereo me ētahi mōhio kura wānanga kua mātai i te reo Māori, me te whakaputa i ō rātou āwangawanga ki ngā rerekētanga e pāpā nei ki te āhua o te reo. Ko te awe o te reo Pākehā me te tū mai a ngā pouako ako tuarua hei reo whakaako i ngā ākongā ako tuarua i te reo, koirā ētahi take e tohua nuitia ana e kī nei rātou i pērā ai te āhua³²⁸. Ko tētahi mea anō e whai pānga mai ana, ko te rahi haere mutunga kore nei o te hunga kōrero Pākehā me te hunga kōrero reo kē atu i te taiao e whakaorangia ana te reo Māori.

Ngā whakapae mō te āhua ki tua

Tērā pea i eke wawe tā Benton i whakapae ai i te tau 1997 mō te ‘whakatupuranga hou he kōrero Māori’, ina whakaarohia ngā kitenga o Hamer i te tau 2010 (e matapakia ana i mua ake nei). Ko tā Benton, ka pēnei pea te āhua o te reanga kōrero Māori hou:

... he noho ki te tāone rahi, kāore e noho ki te taiwhenua, nō ngā whānau ngaio, whai pūkenga tonu, ehara kē ko te ahuhenua iti, ko te ringa mamahi, ko te ringa raupā rānei te oranga tinana o te whānau. Ko tētahi wehenga nui o te hunga nei, kua ako kē i te reo Māori hei reo tuarua, ka mutu ko tēnei ako a rātou, he mea āta kōwhiri, ehara kē pea i te mea i ako pokerehū noa i te wāhi e noho nei, e mahi nei rānei rātou.

Benton 1997: 30

Kua kore a Aotearoa i taiwhenua noa, inā rā:

... ko tētahi 72 ōrau o te taupori kei ngā tāone rahi mātāmua 16 e noho ana, ā, ko tōna 33 ōrau kei Tāmakimakaurau. He noho tāone kē te tino tokomaha o tātou — e 87 o tātou kei tētahi o ngā tāone 138, ko te taupori o aua tāone, mai i te kotahi mano tāngata piki atu ki te kotahi miriona.

Te Tari Taiwhenua: Department of Internal Affairs (2008: npn)

328 Ka kōrero a Bauer (2008: 54) mō ngā huatau o Harlow, o Garlick, o Christenson, o Bauer anō mō te wāhi ki te awe o te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori.

He tino kaha ngā tāngata o Aotearoa ki te noho tāone, ina whakaritea ki ērā atu whenua o te ao ki te uru. E 86.2 ōrau o tātou kei te tāone e noho ana, ā, ko tōna 1.09 te pāpātanga o te whiti i waenga i te 2010 me te 2015³²⁹. Ko te taupori o Aotearoa i te 2014, ko te 4.51 miriona. Ko te matapae, ka piki tēnei ki te ‘4.68–4.82 miriona ā te 2018, me te 4.91–5.16 miriona ā te 2025’; e whai ana ēnei matapae ki tua i te ‘pāpātanga tupu 1.6–2.0 ōrau’³³⁰.

Ki te pūmau tonu tēnei ia, ko te anipā o te Rōpū Whakamana i te Tiriti o Waitangi, kia eke te tau 2026, ‘kei te takiwā o te rua mano kaikōrero Māori noa iho pea, [waihoki,] i ētahi takiwā, kua kaha ake te matemate atu o ngā kaumātua i pakeke mai ki te reo, tēnā i ētahi atu wāhi, pērā anō i tā Te Puni Kōkiri i whakaata ai ki ana whakaahuatanga o te hauora o te reo Māori i tēnā, i tēnā rohe’³³¹.

Ngā rerekētanga kua ngau, ā, e ngau tonu nei ki te reo Māori

Ko ngā āhuatanga hou kua ngau ki te reo Māori ‘he rahi ake pea i ērā kua pā’³³² ki ētahi atu reo tangata whenua. I pēnei ai, i te mea ko te hoa whakataetae o te reo Māori, ko tētahi o ngā reo kaha katoa o te ao, te reo kaha katoa pea. Tērā ngā tini kaupapa-here whakapākehā, whakaahumahi, whakatāone anō kua pēhi kino i te reo Māori. Engari i tēnei arotakenga nei, ko te kaha hūnuku ki te tāone noho ai, koirā kē te mea i nui ake te pānga ki te hekenga kino i te tokomaha o te hunga kōrero Māori. Kei ngā whārangi o tua ake nei ērā kōrero. Me te aha, ko te reo Māori tētahi o ngā reo torutoru nei me tino uaua e kitea ai he whaitua kāore e rangona te awe o te reo Pākehā i reira. Pērā anō i tā Benavidez et al. (2007) i tūtohi ai, ‘e kore e toiora, e toitū te reo tangata whenua mēnā e Pākehā kē ana te titiro ki te ao’ ā, me uaua e karohia ai tērā titiro Pākehā ki te ao i Aotearoa nei i ēnei rā³³³. Kua kore pea e taea i Aotearoa nei tēnei mea te mōhio ki te reo Māori anake. Heoi anō te ara e taea ai tērā, ko te mahi kia noho mōriroriro, kia noho tawhiti, kia noho motuhake mai te tamariki nohinohi i ngā awe Pākehā katoa.

Kua āta tirohia e ētahi kaiwetereo te whakahua o te reo Māori i roto i ngā tau, me te kite ake i roto i ngā reanga, kua rerekē haere te whakahua o ngā oropuare (ngā mea poto, ngā mea roa me ngā orotōpū) me ngā orokati (/p, t, k/ me te <wh>³³⁴). Ko ngā raraunga nō reira mai ngā kitenga, ko te kaupapa ‘Māori and New Zealand English’ (MAONZE³³⁵). I reira ka whakatairitea ngā kōrero Māori i hopukina o ētahi tāne i whānau mai i ngā 1880, ngā 1930 me ngā 1980. (Arā te roanga atu o ngā kōrero mō ngā oropuare, kei te Āpitianga tuatoru.)

329 Central Intelligence Agency Urbanisation (2014)

330 Statistics NZ 2014a

331 Waitangi Tribunal 2010: 41. Tirohia anō hoki te: Publications about Language: www.tpk.govt.nz/en/a-matou-mohiotanga/language/

332 Keegan et al. 2009: 7

333 Benavidez, L., et al. 2007: 61

334 I inea i runga i te rahi haere o te wā e oho ana te reo i ngā orokati kopi haukore /p, t, k/ (Maclagan & King, 2007) me te whakawhāiti haere o te whakahua i te <wh> (Maclagan & King, 2002) (King et al., 2009: 86).

335 Te kaupapa MAONZE (Māori and New Zealand English), i Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha: ‘He rangahautanga, i te takanga o te wā, o te whakahua a ētahi Māori i te reo Pākehā me te reo Māori. Ko ngā kaikōrero, nō te Mobile Unit Archive, tae atu ki ētahi kaumātua, ki ētahi rangatahi hoki i āta hopukina ō rātou reo mō tēnei rangahautanga te kaupapa.’ Heoi anō, ko ngā pārongo kāore i horahia mai, nō tēhea iwi, nō tēhea rohe ngā kaikōrero. Koia i kore ai e puta he whakaaro ki ngā reo ā-iwi. (<https://researchprofile.canterbury.ac.nz/Group.aspx?groupid=24>)

Ko tā te rangahautanga nei i tohu mai ai, ko ngā oropuare roa (ā, ē, ī, ō, ū) a ngā tāngata pakeke katoa i whānau mai i ngā 1880, 'i āhua rua whakareanga te roa ake i ngā oropuare poto'. Nō reira e āhua tautoko ana tēnei i tā rātou tikanga tuhi i ēnei oropuare roa, i tuhia ai e rātou kia rua ngā oropuare hei tohu i tēnei oro³³⁶. Engari i te takanga o te wā, kua rerekē tēnei – kua poto ake, kua teitei ake te tangi, ā, kua tino pērā i te rōpū i whānau mai i ngā 1980. He āhua pēnei anō ngā orotōpū³³⁷ (ai, ae, ao, au and ou). Ko te tino kitenga, i ngā rōpū i whānau mai i ngā 1880 me ngā 1930, i whakahuatia tonutia ia oro motuhake. Engari i ngā rōpū i whānau mai i muri, kāore i tino rangona ngā oro motuhake e rua o roto i ngā orotōpū.

I ēnei rerekētanga i te roa o ngā oropuare, kua puta te whakaaro 'tērā pea ka tae ki te wā e ono noa iho ngā oropuare kei te puna whakahua o te reo Māori, kāore e tekau, ā, ka iti ake hoki ngā orotōpū motuhake ... [ā, āpiti atu ki tēnā] tērā pea ka rite rawa te whakahuatanga o ētahi kupu āhua rite te whakahua, pērā i a 'tae' rāua ko 'tai', i a 'pou' rāua ko 'pau'³³⁸. Kua matapakia e Bauer (1981) ngā tauira ūngeri o te nuinga o ngā reo (arā, he mātua whai i te hau, pērā i te reo Ingarihi; he whai rānei i ngā wāhanga kupu, pērā i te reo Wīwī), me te korokī ake, ko te reo Māori 'kāore pea e ū ... ki tētahi [o ēnei tauira]'³³⁹. Ka tāpiri hoki ia, ko tāna e whakapono ana, kei te āhua kē o te roa, o te rahi o ngā oropuare kei te wehenga kupu, ā, mehemea anō he orokati kei roto. Nā runga i ngā whakamātautau o ngā kōrero a ngā kaikōrero MAONZE kua oti taka mai ki tēnei wā, 'te āhua nei kei te koni haere te reo Māori ki tētahi ūngeri aro nui ake ki te hau'³⁴⁰. Heoi anō, e ai ki tā Kochanski et al.:

Ko te nuinga o ngā kōrero kua tāia mō te ūngeri o te kōrero,
kua whai i ngā tikanga e whakawhirinaki ana ki te roa o te oro e
whakaputahia ana. Ko te nuinga o ngā tikanga i aua tānga, kua
titiro kē ki te taurangirangi o te roa o te oropuare ...

Kochanski et al. 2011: npn

Ka takoto ngā whakamārama a Kochanski et al. (2011), nā runga i ā rātou whakamātau i ētahi reo e rima. Ki tā rātou, ko te ūngeri o te reo, ka hua ake i 'ngā whakaahuatanga tītaha [kāore e tohu mārire mai] he aha rawa te mea e rangona ana ina rangona he rerekētanga i te ūngeri'³⁴¹. Me tā rātou āpiti atu 'ko ngā tauira mō te roa [o ngā oropuare] kāore pea e whakapuaki ana i te ūngeri [waihoki, tērā pea] ko ngā rerekētanga o ngā tāngata takitahi i whakamāoritia me te mea nei he rerekētanga i waenganui i ngā reo; [tērā rānei] kua tītaha, kua 'papai rawa' te whakaahua a ngā kaiwetereo i ia reo ...'³⁴².

He putarere reokore te <p>, te <t > me te <k> i te reo Māori i te nuinga o ngā horopaki i mua, he orokati ka puta me te kore, te tino iti rānei o te hau'³⁴³. Engari

336 King et al. 2009: 90

337 Heoi anō, kāore i whakaahuatia pēneitia e Smyth (1946), ā, kua uia hoki e Bauer (1981).

338 He nui ngā kupu i te reo Pākehā o Aotearoa e rite ana te whakahua, engari e rerekē ana te tikanga; hei tauira, he tino iti te rerekē, kāore rānei i rerekē te whakahuatia o te 'bear' te 'bare' me te 'beer'.

339 Bauer 1981: 35

340 King et al. 2009: 92

341 Kochanski et al. 2011: npn

342 Kochanski et al. 2011: npn. Tirohia anō hoki tā: Quenè and Port 2003: 2448

343 Keegan 2009

i te tātaritanga a Harlow³⁴⁴ i te whakahuatanga o ēnei orokati i te reo Māori i te takanga o te wā, ko tāna i kite ai, ko te tangata i kaha whakaputa tahi i ēnei orokati me te hau, ko te kaikōrero tamariki ake, whai i muri i a ia, ko te kaikōrero i whānau mai i ngā 1930, ā, ko te kaikōrero i whānau mai ngā 1880 te mea i iti katoa te pērā³⁴⁵.

Nō te tātaritanga i ngā whakahua o te <wh>, i āhua pērā anō. Katoa ngā whakahua a te kaikōrero tamariki ake, he /f/, pērā i te 'f' o te kupu 'finite'; ko te kaikōrero i whānau mai i ngā 1930, kotahi tana /wh/³⁴⁶ ā, e 219 ana /f/; engari ko te mea i whānau mai i ngā 1880, e whā rawa ana whakahuatanga rerekē o te <wh>³⁴⁷. Arā ētahi kōrero takamua mō te huri haere o tēnei whakahuatanga, i puta i a Smyth i te tau 1946, me Kohere i te tau 1949:

Ko te oro **wh** ka whakaritea nuitia ki te **f** i te mea koirā te mahi māmā, engari kāore i tika. ... Ko te tangi tika, ko te hanga i te 'w' me te whakaputa tonu i te hau, me te mea nei e tangi ana te mapu: me tīmata ki te mapu, ka hanga ai i te 'w': kia pērā te whakahua i te 'wh' me tō whakahua i te 'wh' i te kupu Ingarihi 'when'.

Smyth 1946: 8

Ko te 'wh', ko te 'wh' tonu kei te 'when', kāhore e 'f'. Ko te whakahua i te 'wh' hei 'f', ko te reo Māori hē nei.

Kohere 1949: 104

E mea ana a Keegan ko te nui haere o te tuku i te hau ina whakahuatia ēnei orokati, kāore e kore i ahu mai i te pānga nui o te reo Ingarihi [(NZE), ā,] kāore pea e kore, e tohutohungia ana te hunga ako i te reo Māori hei reo tuarua kia whakaputa i ngā orokati kia pērā me ō te NZE e rite ana³⁴⁸. He tokomaha ngā kaituhi³⁴⁹ e whakaae ana ko ēnei āhuatanga hou i te reo Māori, i takea mai i te reo Pākehā o Aotearoa, koia hoki te reo tuatahi o te nuinga o te hunga ako tuarua i te reo Māori, me ō rātou pouako.

Ko ngā hapa taha whakatakoto (kei te Āpitianga toru ētahi tauira) i kīia e Smith rāua ko Piripi³⁵⁰ he 'hapa auau', i kitea hoki e Benton (1980). Ko tāna, 'te āhua nei kei te heke haere te mōhio o ngā tamariki ki ngā ture tuatinitini o te whakatakoto tika i te kōrero³⁵¹. Hei tauira, e mea ana ia e kaha ana te mahue takenga-kore o ngā pūtūmua nei, o te i me te ki³⁵²; e ai ki a Kelly, 'kāore e taea ēnei pūtūmua te

344 I tātarihia e Harlow (et al. 2009) te kōrero a te tangata kotahi noa iho o ia wehenga taipekeke i ngā raraunga o te MAONZE. Nō reira, me tūpato pea te whakawhānui atu i ngā hua kia hāngai ki te katoa o ngā kaikōrero o ia wehenga taipakeke i whānau mai i ngā tau kua tohua.

345 Ko tā te kaikōrero rangatahi, 'he tuku hau i te taha o te orokati i tētahi 88% o ana orokati i ngā reo e rua; ko tā te kaumātua, he tuku i te hau i te 48% o ana orokati Māori, i te 86% o ana orokati Pākehā; tēnā ia ko te kaikōrero i te Mobile Unit, i tuku hau i te 6% o ana orokati ka kōrero Māori ana ia, i te 65% o ana orokati ka kōrero Pākehā ana' (te kaupapa MAONZE). E mea ana a Harlow et al. 2009 kei tā Maclagan & King 2007 te roanga atu o ngā tātaritanga.

346 He oro āhua rite ki te [hw], he rerekē i te [w] – i ngā rā o mua whakamahia ai te [hw] i te tīmatanga o te 'white', engari ko te 'wite' kē te whakahua i ēnei rā, kua ngaro te 'h' iti nei o te [wh].

347 Harlow et al. 2009

348 Keegan 2009: 2

349 King et al. 2009, Keegan et al. 2009, Bauer 1993

350 Smith and Piripi n.d.: 15. Kupu tāpiri: Kāore he tauira i te tuhinga, ā, kāore i matapakia i te mea hei ārahi noa te tuhinga i ōna anō kaiarotake.

351 Benton 1980: 465

352 Benton 1980: 472

whakawhiti³⁵³. Kua kōrero hoki a Benton, a Te Rito me Kelly mō te pōauau o ētahi i ngā karangatanga rirohanga (arā, te ‘ō’ me te ‘ā’³⁵⁴). Kua kōrero hoki a Benton rāua ko Kelly mō te pōraruaru o ētahi i ‘ngā tumahi oti, e rerekē ana hoki te āhua o te whakatakoto, tēnā i te whakatakoto o te tumahi hāpai’³⁵⁵. Ko tētahi atu kawenga kētanga kua kōrerotia e Kelly (2014) rāua ko Harlow (1979), ko te whai a ētahi i te raupapa o ngā kupu Pākehā i te rerenga ina kōrero Māori rātou.

Ko te ‘awe tāpua o te reo Pākehā ki ngā whakatakoto a te rangatahi e māmā noa ana ki a rātou te kōrero Māori, kāore e rangona i te reo o te hunga pakeke ake [ko ērā pea i whānau mai i ngā 1930, i ngā 1880 rānei], waihoki, ko te reo e mōhio pai nei te rangatahi, he tata ake ki tētahi reo hāwhe-kāihe, ko te punua a te reo Māori rāua ko te reo Pākehā (Bauer 2008: 54). Me te tāpiri hoki a Bauer ‘e kaha ana te taupatupatu o ngā whakaaro o te hunga whakaputa huatau ki te reo mō te wāhi nui, te wāhi iti rānei ki tēnei awe o te reo Pākehā ...’³⁵⁶. He āhua pēnei anō te āhuatanga e ngau nei ki te reo o Hawai’i. Anei tā Nesmith, e pūrua ana i ngā māharahara o Bauer:

Ko ngā wāhi matua e ākona ai te reo o Hawai’i i ēnei rā, ko te akomanga i te kura tuatahi, tuarua, i te whare wānanga rānei, ko tētahi 99% o ngā kaiako i reira, i ako tuarua mai i te reo o Hawai’i, i te kura anō, ... [ā.] ko te nuinga kāore e mōhio ki te reo Hawai’i tūturu ... e tuku ana i tō rātou nā momo reo Hawai’i ki ngā ākonga, ā, me kī pēnei ake, e tupu ake ana he reo Hawai’i kē, ko te reo Hawai’i Hou.

Nesmith 2009:1

Te whakakotahi i te āhua o te reo

Ahakoia e kōrero kē ana a Benton mō te horomata o te reo, he torokaha te hono o te horomata o te reo ki te whakakotahitanga o te āhua³⁵⁷ o te reo. Ko tā Benton mō te mahi a te komihana [arā, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori], he kawē atu i te hōiho Trojan ‘ki roto rawa o te pā tūwatawata o ngā kupu me ngā tikanga kupu o te reo’, nā te arotahi ki te urutapu o te reo, me te aha, ‘kua tere ake te whenumi [o te reo Māori] i te mana o tauwiwi’³⁵⁸. Āpiti atu ki tēnā, arā te tokomaha o ngāi Māori i tupu ake ko te kupu whakawhiti, ko te reo Māori māori noa iho nei kei ō rātou arero, i rongo wheako i te ngau o tēnei kōrero e whai ake nei:

Ko te whakakotahi i te āhua o te reo e kōrerotia ana e te tokoiti, ehara i te tukanga tōkeke; me te aha, ko toro ōna kawekawe ki te mana o te reo me te āhua o te manaaki a ngā kaikōrero i te reo arowhānui hou nei. Ko tētahi mate o te whakakotahi i te āhua o te reo, kei kore ngā kaikōrero e whakapai, e hāpai ake i te momo reo ka kōwhiria hei reo arowhānui.

Lane 2015: npn

353 Kelly 2014: 261

354 Benton 1980: 464, Te Rito 2009: 6, Kelly 2014:260

355 Benton 1980: 470; Kei te matapakī hoki a Kelly (2014: 262) i te pōraruaru o te hunga ako tuarua mai i te reo Māori i te hanga o ētahi reremahi.

356 Bauer 2008:62.

357 Rogers 2002: kei raro mai i te ‘Language purism and policy’

358 Benton and Benton 2001: 445

Ko tētahi mea hei whiriwhiri ina whakaarohia te whakakotahi, te whakawhāiti i te āhua o te reo, arā (e ai ki a o Derumert rāua Vandenbussche n.d.) tētahi:

... pāhekohekotanga reo-pāpori tuatinitini i waenga i te reo tuhituhi arowhānui ōkawa me te reo ā-waha [ā, ā tōna wā] ka hua ake he 'reo ā-waha hou' koia te hononga o te kōrero ā-waha me te tuhi [ā, ko te hua o tēnei,] me uaua e mōhiotia ai mēnā he kupu tuku iho ā-waha tētahi kupu, he mea tuku rānei mā te whārangi.

Derumert and Vandenbussche n.d.: 457

Mō tētahi wā i Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori e 'whakawhānui ana i te punakupu', e ai ki a Christensen, i uaua ki ētahi i pakeke mai ki te reo 'te kōrerorero ki te reanga tamariki ake; he ia anō hoki tēnei i kitea i te rangahautanga aropā reo o te tau 1995, ko Te Hoe Nuku Roa³⁵⁹ te ingoa. Mēnā kāore he māharahara ki te haumate o te reo Māori, kāore pea he raruraru o te whakakotahi i te reo ki te whāngaitanga māori noa o te reo e tētahi reanga ki tētahi; engari kāore i pēnei te āhua ki te reo Māori. I mea ake hoki a Christensen i pā anō he raru ki te 'rauhitanga o ngā reo ā-iwi ka whakawhitia, ka kōrerotia noatia i te kāinga me ngā whaitua o te hapori'³⁶⁰.

E ai ki a McLintock (1966b), 'arā ētahi āhuatanga kua pā i roto i ngā tau i noho ai ko te whatunga reo ā-iwi o Waikato-Ngāpuhi, koia te reo Māori arowhānui'³⁶¹, engari kāore ia i kī mai he aha rā aua āhuatanga. Ko ngā pānga mō te wāhi ki te mōhio nō hea koe mā roto i ngā rerekētanga o tō reo ā-iwi, he mea nui i roto i ngā mahi whakarauora, 'whakahou' i te reo Māori³⁶². Ka whakamārama mai a O'Regan, ko te aro nui ki te whakakotahi i te āhua o te reo Māori, 'hei "whakamāmā" i te mahi a te ākongā, nō reira, ka roroku te reo ā-iwi, ka mahuta ake ko te reo arowhānui, he reo kāore i tū i mua, engari i kukune mai i ētahi iwi nui e rua o Te Ika-a-Māui'³⁶³. Ko te tukunga iho, hāunga anō te haukotanga o te rere o te reo i tētahi reanga ki tētahi, ko te whakawhāititanga o ngā momo kōrero, tae atu ki 'te whakataukī me te kīwaha'. Ka āpiti mai anō a O'Regan 'ka tae ki te wā, ahakoa kei tēhea akomanga o te motu koe, kua āhua mōhio tonu koe he aha ngā whakataukī matua e 20 ka whakamahia i reira'³⁶⁴.

I uia e Derumert rāua ko Vandenbussche (n.d.) te wāhi ki te whakakotahitanga o te āhua o te reo 'e pūmau ai, e ora ai te reo'. Me tā rāua tāpiri atu, ko te whakakotahitanga, 'ka tīkina atu i ētahi wā hei 'rautaki kāinga rua' e nui ake ai te hua taha whakamahi o te reo'³⁶⁵. Engari i te mea 'he iti te nuinga' o ngā hapori e whakakotahitia ana te āhua o tō rātou reo, ka iti te hua whakamahi. Nō reira, mō te aha rā take, 'e kore tonu pea e taea te whakahoki mai ēnei āheinga reo', tae atu ki tōna 'āhua ... mākohakoha'³⁶⁶. E mea ana hoki rāua kei ngā nukua reo 'te oranga o ngā reo arowhāiti', arā, o ngā reo ā-iwi. Ki a rāua, e tino tika ana kia 'rangahaua anō ngā tepe me ngā mea e taea ana i roto i te whakakotahitanga o te reo e toitū ai, e ora ai te reo'³⁶⁷.

359 Christensen 2001: 29

360 Christensen 2001: 30

361 McLintock 1966b: 14

362 Harlow 2007: 44

363 O'Regan 2012: 94

364 O'Regan 2012: 94

365 Derumert and Vandenbussche 2003.: 464

366 Derumert and Vandenbussche 2003.: 464

367 Derumert and Vandenbussche 2003.: 464

Ki a Harlow mā, ko te 'nunumitanga o te waekupu-hohoko'³⁶⁸ (kei tana matapakinga i te punga 'ka') 'tētahi momo whakamāmātanga'. Me tana āpiti anō, 'ko te whakamāmā o te reo, he haere kōtui anō pea ki te 'whatungarongaro o te reo'³⁶⁹. Ko ētahi āhuetanga e pāpā mai ana ki tēnei tūāhua, ko te 'motunga o te whāngai māori i te reo me te noho mai o ētahi 'kaikōrero kāore nei i pai te reo' hei kaiako' (Harlow et al. 2009: 59). Ina tirohia ngā kōrero a Kelly mō te hunga i pakeke mai ki te reo, me titiro anō ki te horopaki e kōrerotia ana. Koia tēnei: mai i waenganui o te rautau 20, ko te nuinga o ngāi Māori e noho ana, e mahi ana i ngā taiao tāone i te taha tonu o ngāi Pākehā, ā, ahakoa huri ki hea, ki hea, e rongō ana i te reo Pākehā. Ā, kua tūtohu mai a Harlow mā, kei te tino pēnei te āhua ki te hunga i ako tuarua mai i te reo Māori, ko te reo Pākehā kē te reo tuatahi, 'nō muri mai ka mau i a rātou te reo Māori, mā roto tonu pea i ngā akoranga ōkawa'³⁷⁰.

368 Hei tauira o te waekupu-hohoko, ko te hiku takitini 's' o te kupu cats me te 'z' o te kupu 'dogs'. Arā, ko te 'hohoko o ētahi āhua e rua o roto i tētahi waekupu'. Tirohia te whakamārama kei te Papakupu o Oxford i: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/allomorphy>

369 Harlow et al. 2009: 59

370 Harlow et al. 2009: 59

Wāhanga Tuarima – He Kupu Whakatepe

Ngā take reo Māori i puta ake i tēnei arokenga tuhituhi

Kei raro nei ētahi o ngā take me ngā tino kōrero kua hauhakea i te arotakenga o ngā tuhinga e hāngai pū ana ki te whakaoranga ake o te reo Māori. Mā ēnei kōrero anō pea e whakamārama me pēhea te ahunga me te hanga o tētahi hōtaka mahi, rangahau.

Te Rautaki Reo Māori hou

He rongorua ngā kōrero mō te Rautaki Reo Māori hou. Kāore i rawaka ngā whakamārama (e ai ki ētahi tāngata kua kuhuna ō rātou whakaaro ki tēnei arotakenga) mō te take e arotahia ana tētahi wehenga anake o te porihanga, i ētahi whaitua noa iho, ā, e waiho ana māna anake e pīkau ngā mahi whakarauora i te reo Māori.

Me āta tiroiro anō te āputa i waenga i te ngākau pai ki te reo Māori me te tahuri rawa a ngāi Māori ki te ako, ki te kōrero i te reo. Me whiriwhiri me pēhea e rea ai te hunga kōrero kia eke ki te tokopae e horapa noa ai te reo Māori ki te mata o te whenua. Me aro kē te Rautaki Reo Māori ki tēnei pātai: 'He aha te wāhi tērā e pīkautia e ngāi Pākehā, me mātua pīkau rānei e rātou i roto i ngā mahi whakaora i te reo Māori? He aha te wāhi e pīrangi nei rātou mā rātou e pīkau? He aha te pīkaunga e pai ana ki te iwi Māori mā te iwi Pākehā kē e kawē?'³⁷¹

Ko ētahi o ngā āwangawanga i ara ake mō Te Mātāwai, ko te whāiti o tana aronga; ko te whāiti o ōna huānga; ko te iti rawa o te arotahi ki te whakapai ake i te urupare a te kāwanatanga nui tonu; ko te kore e tino mārama, o ngā hinonga e whakahuatia rā i roto i te Pire, ko wai mā e noho haepapa ana ki a wai. Āpiti atu ki tēnā, i te mea ka riro mā te kāwanatanga e whakahaere 'ngā rawa mō te tiaki me te whakatairanga i te reo ... [tērā pea] ko te raru nui katoa, ka kaha ake te noho a te Māori ki raro i te mana whakahaere o te kāwanatanga, kāore e iti ake'³⁷².

371 Albury 2015: npn

372 Godfrey, M. 2015: npn.

Te matatau ki te reo

He mea whakarōpū e Tatauranga Aotearoa te hunga kōrero Māori i runga i tā ngā kaikōrero anō whakatau i tō rātou matatau ki te reo. Kua takoto i a Ratima rāua ko May tētahi atu tikanga hei wehewehe i te hunga mōhio ki te kōrero Māori. He rerekē ēnei whakarōpūtanga e rua, ā, he whāiti ake tā Tatauranga Aotearoa i tā Ratima rāua ko May (2011: 1). Arā anō hoki tā Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, tāna āwhata ine i te matatau, e rima ōna taumata (kei Whakamātauria tō Reo). He aha i oti ngā ngā pānga o ngā kōrero i hua ake i te mahi a Tatauranga Aotearoa, ina whakaarohia ngā whakamāoritanga/inenga rerekē o tēnei mea te matatau?

E mōhio ana kei te heke haere te ōrau o te hunga tino matatau ki te reo Māori, kei te nui haere hoki te awe o te reo Pākehā. He aha te pānga o ēnei āhuetanga e rua ki te reo Māori? He aha ngā pānga ki te tū rangatira mai, ki te tū motuhake mai o te reo Māori tē riro kē ai hei 'reo Māori hou, reo Māori Pākehā nei' ā ngā rā e tū mai nei?³⁷³

He 'iti noa ngā wānanga [i te wāhi ki] te matatau o te hunga pakeke ki ngā reo taketake', i te mea e anga nui kē ana ngā tuhinga mō te whakaora reo ki te whakaakoranga o ngā tamariki i te kura³⁷⁴. E hono mārire ana tēnei ki tētahi kōrero i puta i a Bauer mō te hunga kei ngā wehenga taipakeke 40+ tau ko rātou te hunga kua kaha ake te nui haere o tā rātou kōrero Māori, tēnā i ērā atu taipakeke. I mea ake ia 'he āwhina tonu pea ka hua mai i te mōhio ki te pēheatanga o tēnei tūahua' (Bauer 2008:56) He aha i pēnei ai te āhua? Me pēhea te whakamāori i tēnei āhuetanga? Me pēhea te whakamahi i ēnei kōrero hei tohu i te ahunga pai mō ngā mahi whakarauora ki tua?

'Ka whaihua ki ngā ākongā me ngā kaiako [te āta wherawhera i] ngā āhuetanga whakatupu i te matatau ki te reo Māori'.

- He aha 'ngā āhuetanga katoa ka whai wāhi ki te tupu haeretanga o te matatau?'; (b) E pēhea ana 'te tere o te ako haere i te reo me te eke ki ngā taumata [i ngā whakamahinga katoa o te reo] i waenganui i te hunga ako i te reo Māori hei reo tuarua?'³⁷⁵
- E pēhea ana ngā waiaro me ngā whakaaro ki te whakarauora reo o te rangatahi mā rātou te reo e kawē ki tua?³⁷⁶
- Kia pēhea te roa, kia pēhea hoki te kaha o te rongō me te kite i te reo Māori 'e eke ai te pai o te whakahua i te reo ki tētahi taumata e tika ana' tae atu ki te mōhio ki ngā āhuetanga wetereo?³⁷⁷
- E pēhea rawa ana te kaha o ngā ākongā kua puta i ngā akoranga reo Māori, ahakoa te taumata o ngā akoranga, 'ki te kōrero tonu i te reo Māori i waenganui anō i a rātou, ki ētahi atu tāngata kōrero Māori', ā, ki ... ngā tamariki³⁷⁸ [ā rātou ake, ā wai atu rānei]?

373 Hei taurira: de Bres 2008; Waitangi Tribunal 2011; Albury 2014.

374 Ratima and May, 2011: 1

375 Ratima and May 2011, Keegan et al. 2011

376 Albury 2015: npn me King 2007: 351

377 Keegan et al. 2011: 8.

378 Keegan et al. 2009

- ‘Kia hia rawa te ōrau o te taupori me matatau ki te reo Māori e toitū tonu ai te reo’³⁷⁹?
- Te whakahaere i tētahi rangahautanga pūnahanaha tonu o ngā reo ā-iwi o te reo Māori³⁸⁰.

Ngā rauemi

E kaikā ana a Keegan mā kia kitea he pēhea rawa te whaihua o ngā rauemi whakaako, ako i te reo. Kua tūtohua e rātou ngā rauemi pērā i ngā ‘CD-Rom (hei tauira, tā Niwa, 2003) me ngā pae tukutuku e hora ana i ngā tauira pai o te reo Māori e whakahuatia tūturutia ana (ko te nuinga o ngā kaikōrero, kua taipakeke tonu, kua kaumātua)’³⁸¹. Āpiti atu ki tēnā, e tohu ana te arotakenga tuhituhi me whakauru anō he ‘tauira pai’ o ngā reo ā-iwi, me te tāpiri anō i tētahi aronga nui ki te tika o te whakatakoto i te kupu, i te rerenga.

He aha i mutu ai te kōrero me te ako a ngāi Māori i te reo Māori?

He aha i urupā ai te kōrero me te ako a ngāi Māori mā, ‘takitini, takitahi anō’, i te reo Māori? ‘A ngāi Māori mā [o ngā 1930] ko rātou tonu ngā rangatira o ō rātou taiao pāpori tata i taua wā rā, he taiao Māori tūturu tonu, ā-tikanga, ā-reo’. Waihoki, he aha ētahi atu Māori i kaupare atu ai i ‘te ritenga i whāia e te nuinga’ (mātua anō ētahi i ngā 1970)?³⁸² He aha ngā tino take (hāunga ngā whakapae noa iho) i heke ai te tokomaha e kuhu ana i te kōhanga reo me ērā atu hōtaka rumaki reo Māori, tae atu ki ngā ‘whakaakoranga rumaki nui’³⁸³.

He ahunga aro nui ki te hapori

I runga i te whakaaro kāore te ‘whakaahua o te motu whānui’ e whakaata tika i mea hapori, i mea hapori, i tāpaea te whakaaro ‘me āta rangahau [te reo] i tēnā, i tēnā moka’, kia taea ai te āhua o te reo i aua wāhi te whakaahua, te ine. Mā konei e taea ai te āta wherawhera e pēhea rawa ana te kaha manakohia o tenei mea te whakarauora reo i ia hapori. Ā, kia mōhiotia tērā, ka kitea anō hoki ko wai mā ngā hapori e kaha ake ana ‘te angitū o ā rātou mahi whakaora reo [me ngā āhuatanga] i angitū ai’³⁸⁴, e mātua whakapaua ai ngā kaha ki ērā āhuatanga.

Ko tētahi mea anō e whai pānga ana ki tēnei, ko te matapakinga mō ngā reo ā-iwi. Mā wai rā te okenga nui e mataora tonu ai ngā reo ā-iwi? Me pēhea te whakawhāiti i ētahi āhuatanga o te reo, me te rauhī anō i te matahuhuatanga o te reo ā-iwi?

379 Bauer 2008: 6

380 Bauer 1993, Harlow 1994, Waitangi Tribunal 1986

381 Keegan et al. 2011: 8

382 Benton 1997, Waitangi Tribunal 2011, Bauer 2008.

383 Waitangi Tribunal 2011, Bauer 2008

384 King 2007, Bauer 2008 and Albury 2014.

Te whakarauora i te reo Māori

Ko tā tēnei arotakanga tuhituhi i kite ai, he hanga āhua hou nei tēnei mea te whakarauora reo. Waihoki, kāore i pērā rawa te matahuhua o ngā kawenga whakahauora reo, huri i te ao ki te uru. Ko ētahi, ko ngā mea i tohua e Are (2015) kua whakarārangitia i runga ake nei. Heoi anō, he rerekē ia reo, ā, me whakatakoto, me whakatinana ngā rautaki e hāngai pū ana ki tēnā, ki tēnā reo. Kia pēhea rawa te tokomaha o te hunga kōrero Māori e huri anō ai te ihu o te reo Māori ki Paeora? Me pēhea hoki te whakatītina i te iwi Māori nui tonu – whero mai, pango mai, reo hautū mai, ringa raupā mai – kia kawē ake i te mānuka? He aha te wāhi ki te kāwanatanga hei taupua i ngā mahi? He aha te wāhi ki a ngāi tauiwī?

Ko tētahi kōrero i puta ake i te arotakanga nei, kotahi anahe te reo e toitū ai tētahi reo tangata whenua, ko taua reo tonu. Tē taea e tētahi reo kē atu, pērā i te reo Pākehā. Engari ko te nui haere tonu o te hūnuku ki te tāone noho ai me te pēhi nui a te reo Pākehā, he āhuatanga me tino uaua e karohia ai. Kei hea koia te rongoā? Kei ngā kōrero pea a Fishman i puta i ngā 1990, arā, kei te whāngaitanga o te reo Māori e tētahi whakatupuranga ki tētahi. Engari me pēhea tēnei e taea ai i waho o ngā whaitua whakaako e whakaputa ana i ētahi kua matatau ki te reo?

He kupu whakakapi

Kua tākina haerehia e te arotakanga tuhituhi nei te wharaunga o te reo Māori, me te whakaata i ētahi whakaaro ki te hauora, ki te haumate o te reo Māori. I tīmata mai te paki i Āhia ki te Tonga mā Rāwhiti, koia te putakanga mai o te whānau reo Austronesian. He uri hoki te reo Māori nō tērā mātāwaka reo.

He mea tautohu e te pūrongo nei ngā tino kaupapa-here i tāraia hei tauwehe mai i te iwi Māori i te reo Māori, ko te kaiuruhi ko ngā whāinga a te Pākehā mō te oranga tinana me te whakawhenua iwi. I te ao mātauranga, ko ngā mahi i whāia māiretia e motu ai te Māori i tōna reo me āna tikanga, i tīmata i ngā tau o ngā 1840. Ka tīmata i reira te pounga me te whāinga o ētahi ture mātauranga. Tērā anō ētahi kaupapa-here i arotahi ki ngā whenua Māori i waenganui o ngā 1800, ko tōna otinga atu ko ngā whawhai o Aotearoa. I waenga o ngā 1900, kua anga nui kē ngā whakaaro ki te whakatenatena i a ngāi Māori kia whakarere atu i ō rātou wā kāinga (i te taiwhenua te nuinga), ka noho kē ai ki ngā tāone rahi. Nō te taenga ki reira, he mea 'tiriwā haere' te Māori kia noho tawhiti tētahi i tētahi i ngā paenoho Pākehā. Riro ana nā tēnei kaupapa-here i whakatutuki te mea i arumia e ō mua atu. Ka tokomaha haere ngā Māori noho tāone, ka taiheke haere te kōrerotanga o te Māori. Kīhai i taro, mōrearea kau ana te reo Māori. Mokoī anō ngā kōkiritanga a ngāi Māori mā i ngā 1970, i huri ai te taiheke o te tokomaha kōrero Māori. Mō ētahi ngahuru tau nei, ko te whakaaro pea, ka ora anō, ka toitū anō te reo. I te wā poto noa, kua mutu te nunumi haere o te reo.

Engari ko tā te arotakanga nei i kite ai, he raruraru kei roto i te whai i ngā kuputohu whāiti mō te momoho o ngā mahi whakahauora ake i te reo. Āpiti atu ki tēnei, me āta titiro anō ki tēnei mea te matatau, ka whakatairite ai i te matatau o nāianei ki tērā o ngā 1970 – āe rānei ko te reo Māori tūturu te reo o ēnei rā, he reo Māori 'hou' rānei?

Ahakoia e āhua pūmau ana te ōrau o te hunga kōrero Māori, kāore anō kia haumarū, kia takuhe te haere o te reo. Me mātātupu te pito mata, te hunga kāore anō i kōrero Māori. E rua ngā whakaaro matua ki te hunga me whakapau atu te nuinga o ngā kaha, o ngā rawa ki a rātou e tokomaha ake ai te hunga kōrero Māori. Ki ētahi, kei te iwi Māori anake te pikaunga ki te ako, ki te kōrero i te reo, heoi anō tā ērā ehara i te Māori, he tautoko, i runga anō tā te Tiriti o Waitangi i whakahau ai. Ki tā ētahi anō, nā runga anō i ngā kupu taurangi o te Tiriti o Waitangi, me ako anō, me kōrero anō a ngāi Pākehā i te reo Māori.

He mahi uaua te whakaora reo, he mahi e anipā ai te ngākau. Me āta whawhai ki te ahurea pēhi nui, mana nui, e ai ki tā tētahi i tīkina atu ai ana kōrero mō te arotakenga nei, koia te ‘mea rahi katoa, huri katoa’. Āpiti atu ki tēnā, i kitea i te arotakenga nei he hanga āhua hou tēnei mea te whakarauora reo, ā, kāore i tino matahuhua ngā kawenga whakahauora reo, huri i te ao ki te uru. Ko tētahi mea anō, kāore i pērā rawa te maha o ngā reo tangata whenua o te ao e kīia ana i angitū tonu ā rātou mahi whakarauora i ō rātou reo.

Ko te rahi o ngāi tātou (Māori mā, tauwi mā) kei te tāone rahi e noho ana i Aotearoa nei, kei te takiwā o te 86 ōrau³⁸⁵, ā, ko te whakapae, kei te piki haere tēnei tokomaha. He nui te pānga o tēnei tūāhua ki te whakaoranga ake o te reo me te whai kia toitū te reo.

Ko te tino mātātaki e whakapikia ai te tokomaha o ngāi Māori he kōrero Māori, ko te tō mai i te hunga kāore e kōrero ki roto i te kaupapa. Kei te hāngai tēnei kōrero ki ngā Māori i ngā paparanga katoa o te porihanga. E ai ki ngā tuhinga, ‘kāore te nuinga o ngāi Māori e tino ngākaunui ki te whakapau i ō rātou kaha ki te ako i te reo kia eke rawa tō rātou matatau ki te taumata e taea ai ngā mahi o te kāinga te kawē ki te reo Māori’. Ko ngā kōrero wairua pai a ngāi Māori mō te reo Māori i te uiuinga o te tau 2006 e taupapatu ana i tērā kōrero, engari ia, ko te takamuri ki te kori ake ki te ako, ki te kōrero i te reo, kei te āhua tautoko tonu i te whakaaro.

385 Central Intelligence Agency 2014

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Appendix one

Summary sheet of the 2009 Māori Language Attitudes Survey

Summary sheet of the 2009 Māori Language Attitudes Survey

Language and Attitudes

The Māori language is the heritage language of the Māori people and an official language of New Zealand. The health of the Māori language declined significantly over the course of the 20th century. By the 1970s, it was recognised that the survival of the Māori language as a language of everyday communication was under threat because of its declining use within families. Since then, Māori groups and communities have developed a range of initiatives to increase the health of the Māori language. The Government has responded to these efforts with funding, policies and programmes designed to support Māori aspirations for their language.

Language health is directly affected by the attitudes of both speakers and non-speakers. Negative attitudes create disincentives for speakers and potential speakers to use a language. On the other hand, positive attitudes typically support learning and use of a language.

Surveys of Attitudes toward the Māori Language

In order to measure progress towards achieving the fifth goal of the Māori Language Strategy, the Government commissioned four telephone surveys of attitudes towards the Māori language (in 2000, 2003, 2006, and 2009). Each of these surveys had a sample size of approximately 1500 respondents. The surveys measured knowledge, attitudes and general values about the Māori language among both Māori and non-Māori respondents.

Table 9: Attitudinal Statements about Maori Language, 2000–2009 (Māori respondents)

% Agree/strongly agree	2000	2003	2006	2009
Well spoken Māori is a beautiful thing to listen to	97	96	95	96
It is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori on the marae	91	98	98	98
I have a lot of respect for people who can speak Māori fluently	89	94	93	95
It is a good think that Māori people speak Māori in public places, such as the street or supermarket	68	89	94	89
All Māori should make an effort to learn Māori themselves	63	77	77	75
Some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for Māori children	41	66	61	61
Some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for all children	–	67	65	68

Table 10: Attitudinal Statements about Maori Language, 2000–2009 (Non-Māori respondents)

% Agree/strongly agree	2000	2003	2006	2009
Well spoken Māori is a beautiful thing to listen to	78	82	80	78
It is a good thing that Māori people speak Māori on the marae	90	95	96	97
I have a lot of respect for people who can speak Māori fluently	74	84	81	87
It is a good think that Māori people speak Māori in public places, such as the street or supermarket	40	73	80	77
All Māori should make an effort to learn Māori themselves	51	57	57	66
Some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for Māori children	21	54	43	58
Some Māori language education should be compulsory in school for all children	–	54	56	64

Appendix two

Timeline of events that impacted te reo Māori

Year	Event
1800	Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand. It is used extensively in social, religious, commercial and political interactions among Māori, and between Māori and Pākehā. Education provided by missionaries is conveyed in Māori.
1814	Missionaries make the first attempts to write down the Māori language.
1815	Thomas Kendall's <i>A korao (korero) no New Zealand</i> is the first book published in Māori.
1820	<i>A grammar and vocabulary of the language of New Zealand</i> is published. This lays the orthographic foundations of written Māori.
1827	The first Māori translation of selected biblical texts is published in Australia. Other selections are published there in 1830 and 1833.
1835	The first pamphlet printed in New Zealand, a translation into Māori of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to the Ephesians, appears. The first complete New Testament in Māori is published during 1837.
1840	Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori is the predominant language of New Zealand.
1842	The first Māori language newspaper, <i>Ko te Karere o Nui Tirenī</i> , is published.
1844	The first edition of <i>Williams's Māori Dictionary</i> is published.
1850	Pākehā population surpasses the Māori population. Māori becomes a minority language in New Zealand.
1853	Sir George Grey's <i>Ko nga moteatea, me nga hakirara o nga Māori</i> (<i>The songs, chants and poetry of the Māori</i>) is published.
1854	Sir George Grey's <i>Ko nga mahinga a nga tupuna Māori</i> (<i>The deeds of the Māori ancestors</i>) is published.
1865	Parliament's revised Standing Orders stipulate that Māori petitions be translated prior to being presented, and that the Governor's speeches to the New Zealand House of Representatives and Bills 'specially affecting' Māori be translated and printed in Māori (<i>Journal of the House of Representatives or JHR</i> , 1865, Pp. 103–104).

1867	Native Schools Act decrees that English should be the only language used in the education of Māori children. The policy is later rigorously enforced. Māori were required to donate the land for the schools, and contribute to the costs of a building and teacher's salary, although the latter two requirements were removed in 1871.
1868	An interpreter is appointed in Parliament. Interpretation was provided because some Māori MPs were not conversant in English.
1868	It is resolved that a 'simple text-book' of parliamentary practice be published in Māori, tabled papers be translated and relevant sessional papers also be translated and printed in Māori.
1870	Following the New Zealand Wars, society divides into two distinct zones, the Māori zone and the Pākehā zone. Māori is the predominant language of the Māori zone.
1872	The first Bill (the Native Councils Bill) is translated and printed in Māori.
1875	The issue of translating parts of <i>Hansard</i> into Māori is raised in the Legislative Council (<i>NZPD</i> , Vol. 18, 1875, Pp. 369–370 and Vol. 23, 1876, Pp. 664–665 and 708).
1879	In 1879 the 57 native schools were transferred to the Department of Education, which had been established in 1877. See Calman 2012
1879	The Legislative Council orders that all Bills translated into Māori be bound into volumes and put in the Parliamentary Library. From this point on, more Bills are translated and volumes deposited (<i>NZPD</i> , Vol. 33, 1879, p. 502).
1880	Parliament's Standing Orders are printed in Māori under the title <i>Ture Whakahaere Korero Me Nga Tikanga Mahi a Te Whare i Pootitia, Mo Nga Mahi a Te Katoa</i> .
1880	From the 1880s there are three interpreters (two in the House and one in the Legislative Council).
1881	From 1881 to 1906 a Māori language translation of the <i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (Hansard)</i> is produced under the title <i>Niu Tireni — Nga Korero Paremete — Nga Whai Korero a nga Mema Māori</i> . This contains Māori and Pākehā members' speeches on legislation considered particularly relevant to Māori.
1890	Many Māori language newspapers publish national and international news. Māori is the predominant language of the Māori zone.
1894	Education becomes compulsory for Māori children.
1896	Māori population, as recorded by official census, reaches lowest point. A Māori population of 42,113 people is recorded.
1901	A Māori MP cannot, without leave of the House, have their time enlarged [sic] because they speak through an interpreter (<i>NZPD</i> , Vol. 119, 1901, p. 970).
1909	There is a reduction to one interpreter in Parliament.

1913	Speaker of the House Frederic W. Lang rules that Māori MPs should speak in English if able to do so (<i>NZPD</i> , Vol. 163, 1913, Pp. 362 and 368).
1913	Ninety percent of Māori school children are native Māori speakers.
1913	<i>Te Puke ki Hikurangi</i> , <i>Te Mareikura</i> and other Māori newspapers publish national and international news and events in Māori as well extensive coverage of farming activities.
1920	The provision of interpreters in Parliament lapses after 1920. In the following years Māori MPs are able to speak briefly in Māori if they provide a sequential interpretation.
1920	By the 1920s Māori grammar is taught in only a few private schools.
1920	Sir Āpirana Ngata begins lecturing Māori communities about the need to promote Māori language use in homes and communities, while also promoting English language education for Māori in schools.
1925	Māori becomes a language unit for the Bachelor of Arts degree in the University of New Zealand (the actual teaching of courses starts at Auckland University in 1951).
1930	Māori remains the predominant language in Māori homes and communities. The use of English begins to increase, and there is continued support for English-only education by some Māori leaders.
1940	Māori urban migration begins. This has an impact upon the use of the Māori language.
1943	William (Wiremu) Leonard Parker is appointed New Zealand's first Māori news broadcaster.
1945	Māori becomes a School Certificate subject.
1950	Māori urban migration continues. Māori families are 'pepper-potted' in predominantly non-Māori suburbs, preventing the reproduction of Māori community and speech patterns. Māori families choose to speak English, and Māori children are raised as English speakers.
1951	Speaker Matthew H. Oram re-imposes Speaker Lang's 1913 ruling (<i>NZPD</i> , Vol. 296, 1951, Pp. 1193–1198). The ruling is relaxed in the 1960s with Māori MPs permitted to speak briefly in Māori if they provide an immediate interpretation.
1951	Māori population is recorded in official census as 134,097 people.
1953	Twenty six percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.
1960	Playcentre supporters encourage Māori parents to speak English in order to prepare Māori children for primary school.
1960	The Publications Branch of the Education Department begins publishing a Māori language journal for use in those schools where Māori is taught.
1961	J. K. Hunn's report on the Department of Māori Affairs describes the Māori language as a relic of ancient Māori life.
1970	Concerns for the Māori language are expressed by Māori urban groups including Ngā Tamatoa and Te Reo Māori Society.

1972	Petition number 42 with 30,000 signatures calling for courses in Māori language and culture to be offered in all New Zealand schools is presented at Parliament (JHR, 1972, p. 228). This presentation leads to the annual celebration of Māori Language Day.
1972	First Māori Language Day resulting from Petition 42.
1973	NZCER national survey shows that only about 70,000 Māori, or 18–20 percent of Māori, are fluent Māori speakers, and that most are elderly.
1975	Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Āti Awa initiate Whakatipuranga Rua Mano (Generation 2000), a 25 year tribal development plan, emphasising Māori language development.
1975	The first Māori Language Week is celebrated.
1975	Less than 5 percent of Māori school children can speak Māori.
1975	Positions for resource teachers of Māori were established to provide specialist advice to primary schools on te reo and tikanga Māori (Māori language and customs), and Māori advisers for secondary schools were introduced.
1978	Petition number 18 with 30,576 signatures calling for the establishment of a Māori television production unit within the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation is presented (JHR, 1978, p. 335).
1978	Ruatoki School becomes the first bilingual school in New Zealand.
1979	Te Ataarangi movement is established to restore Māori language knowledge to Māori adults.
1980	Experiments in Māori radio broadcasting lead to the establishment of Te Upoko o te Ika and Radio Ngāti Porou.
1980	During Māori Language Week a march is held demanding that the Māori language have equal status with English.
1981	Te Wānanga o Raukawa is established in Ōtaki.
1981	Petition number 22 signed by 2,500 people calls for Māori to be made an official language of New Zealand (JHR, 1981, p. 372).
1982	Te Upoko o Te Ika, the first iwi radio station to broadcast, starts operating. Another three iwi radio stations are established at Mangamuka, Whakatāne and Ruatōria during the late 1980s.
1982	Te Kōhanga Reo is established to promote the Māori language among Māori pre-schoolers. By 1993, the number of students using kōhanga services reaches 14,514 but declines to 9,370 in 2010.
1983	The first Māori-owned, Māori language, radio station (Te Reo-o-Poneke) goes to air.
1985	First kura kaupapa Māori is established to cater for the needs of the Māori children emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo.
1985	MPs may address the Speaker in English or Māori (NZPD, Vol. 464, 1985, p. 5898).

1985	Te Reo Māori claim WAI II brought before the Waitangi Tribunal by Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori.
1985	The number of Māori speakers is estimated to have fallen to about 50,000 or 12 percent of the Māori population. (Ministry of Social Development 2010)
1985	The WAI II Te Reo Māori Claim
1986	The Reo Māori Report released by Waitangi Tribunal. This recommends that legislation be introduced to enable Māori language to be used in Courts of Law, and that a supervising body be established by statute to supervise and foster the use of the Māori language.
1987	Whatarangi Winiata's report <i>A Global Approach to Māori Radio</i> . The model that emerged from this became the iwi radio network.
1987	Māori Language Act passed in Parliament; Māori declared to be an official language and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori is established. Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust is also established.
1988	The 'Matawaia Declaration' is issued. Here bilingual school communities call for the creation of an independent, statutory Māori education authority to establish Māori control and the autonomy of Kaupapa Māori practices in the education system.
1988	Claim lodged objecting to the transfer of broadcasting assets to the new State Owned Enterprises.
1989	The Government reserves radio and television broadcasting frequencies for use by Māori.
1989	Broadcasting Act – Sections 36 and 37
1989	Education Amendment Act provides formal recognition for kura kaupapa Māori and wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions).
1990	Success in securing FM frequencies for Māori language broadcasters to attract youth audiences.
1990	Ngā Tamatoa raise awareness of lack of Māori representation and of Māori language content in the media.
1990	Speaker Thomas Kerry Burke rules that an MP cannot be required to give a translation of their remarks following an address to the House in Māori (<i>NZPD</i> , Vol. 508, 1990, p. 2336).
1991	Broadcasting Assets case initiated.
1991	Census records Māori population as 435,619.
1992	Parliament's Standing Orders Committee recognises that Parliament needs to develop an interpretation and translation service.
1992	The Ministry of Education launched <i>Te Marautanga o Aotearoa</i> , a curriculum for Māori-medium education based on Māori philosophies.
1992	A survey finds 58 percent of non-Māori and 89 percent of Māori agree that Māori should survive as a spoken language.

1993	More than 20 iwi radio stations broadcast throughout New Zealand.
1993	The Crown gave official recognition to Te Wānanga o Raukawa under the new Educational Amendment Act 1990.
1993	Peter Tapsell becomes the first Māori Speaker.
1993	The Māori broadcasting funding agency Te Māngai Pāho is established to promote the Māori language and culture. This follows litigation by the New Zealand Māori Council and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori.
1994	P. Day's book <i>Radio Years, a history of broadcasting in New Zealand</i> identifies Māori as being marginalised by policy that targets a majority culture audience.
1994	New Zealand passports start using te reo Māori on the inside pages, and on the cover from 2009.
1995	Te Māngai Pāho is established to fund and oversee Māori broadcasting.
1996	Aotearoa Television Network broadcasts a trial free-to-air television service in the Auckland area.
1996	The Aotearoa Māori Television Network broadcasts in the Auckland area (the Network ceases operating in 1997).
1996	Mai Time, Māori and Pacific focussed youth television programme pilot launched.
1996	Mai Time, now broadcast on a weekly basis.
1996	The census form is released in te reo Māori.
1997	Speaker Doug L. Kidd rules that MPs speaking in Māori do so as of right and an interpreter is provided.
1997	The Cabinet agrees that the Crown and Māori have a duty, derived from the Treaty of Waitangi, to take all reasonable steps to actively enable the survival of Māori as a living language.
1997	The first Māori Language Strategy is published.
1997	A total of 675 Te Kōhanga Reo and 30 developing Te Kōhanga Reo cater to 13,505 children. There are 54 Kura Kaupapa Māori and three Whare Wānanga. Over 32,000 students receive Māori-medium education and another 55,399 learn the Māori language.
1998	Government announces funding for Māori television channel and increased funding for Te Māngai Pāho.
1998	The Government establishes a Māori Television Trust to manage the UHF frequencies.
1998	Government also announces that it has set aside a \$15M fund for Community Māori Language Initiatives.
1999	<i>Tūmeke</i> , a Māori language youth programme, begins screening on Television 4.
1999	A full-time interpreter is appointed in the House.

1999	The Government announces objectives and monitoring indicators for its Māori Language Strategy.
2000	<i>Tūmeke</i> changes broadcasters and its name to <i>Pūkana</i> and now shows on TV 3.
2000	The Cabinet agrees that the establishment of a Māori television channel is a Government priority within the Māori broadcasting policy area.
2000	Responsibility for Māori broadcasting transferred from Ministry of Commerce to Te Puni Kōkiri.
2000	A simultaneous interpretation service in Māui Tikitiki-a-Taranga (the Māori Affairs Committee Room of Parliament House) is introduced.
2000	A survey of attitudes toward the Māori language finds that 94 percent of Māori and 90 percent of non-Māori believe it is good for Māori people to speak Māori on the marae and at home. Another 68 percent of Māori (40 percent of non-Māori) believe it is good for Māori to speak Māori in public places or at work.
2001	Government announces its support and management structure for Māori Television channel. Government also announces that it will soon begin allocating the \$15M fund.
2001	Survey on the Health of the Māori Language shows there are approximately 136,700 Māori language speakers and indicates that nine percent of Māori adults can speak Māori 'very well' or 'well'.
2002	Mā te Reo Fund established to support Māori language growth in communities.
2002	<i>Te Tangata Whai Rawa o Wēniti</i> (the Māori language movie version of the <i>Merchant of Venice</i>) is released.
2003	The Māori Television Service (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act is passed in Parliament. <i>The channel achieves its largest audiences to date with 2.6 million viewers watching broadcasts in both September and October 2011.</i>
2003	Māori Television Service Act enacted.
2003	Revised Government Māori Language Strategy launched.
2004	Māori Television Service begins broadcasting for 6–8 hours per day as at 28 March.
2004	There is a permanent full-time Kaiwhakamārama Reo position for interpretation, transcription and translation service in Parliament. There are three interpreters.
2004	First inaugural Māori Language Week Awards held in Wellington 14 September.
2004	The Māori and New Zealand English (MAONZE) Project studying the pronunciation of te reo Māori starts.
2005	The Māori Language Commission launches the interactive <i>Kōrero Māori</i> website.

2005	<i>Microsoft Office</i> and <i>Windows</i> in te reo Māori are launched.
2006	A survey of attitudes toward the Māori language finds that 98 percent of Māori and 96 percent of non-Māori believe it is good for Māori people to speak Māori on the marae and at home. Another 94 percent of Māori (80 percent of non-Māori) believe it is good for Māori to speak Māori in public places or at work.
2006	According to Statistics NZ, 131,613 (23.7 percent) of Māori can converse about everyday things in te reo Māori, an increase of 1,128 people from the 2001 Census. Fourteen percent of Māori adults indicate that they can speak Māori 'very well' or 'well'.
2008	The second Māori Television channel, Te Reo, is launched.
2008	The first monolingual Māori dictionary is launched by the Māori Language Commission.
2008	Google Māori, the Māori interface of online search engine Google, is launched.
2009	An independent panel, Te Kāhui o Māhutonga, completes a review of the Māori Television Service Act (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) 2003.
2009	Four staff provide interpretation, transcription and translation services in Parliament.
2009	Common te reo Māori words are recognised in the predictive text message function and auto voice dialling on certain Telecom handsets.
2010	Simultaneous interpretation of te reo Māori into English becomes available in the House and galleries, and on Parliament Television.
2010	The Minister of Māori Affairs announces a review of the Māori Language Strategy and sector.
2010	Victoria University of Wellington's Faculty of Law announces the completion of the Legal Māori Corpus and the Legal Māori lexicon.
2011	Te Paepae Motuhake, an independent panel, completes a review of the Māori Language Strategy and sector. Principal recommendations include a Minister for the language, and revitalisation through re-establishing te reo Māori in homes.
2011	The Waitangi Tribunal releases its <i>Ko Aotearoa Tēnei</i> report into the place of Māori culture, identity and traditional knowledge in contemporary New Zealand law, government policy and practices. The report indicates the language is 'approaching a crisis point' with Māori and the Crown sharing responsibility for its revival.
2012	Māori Television launches a new te reo Māori website for children.

2012	The Waitangi Tribunal releases a pre-publication version of its report into the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust's kōhanga reo claim. The tribunal expresses 'deep concern at the vulnerable state of te reo Māori', and calls on the Crown to formally acknowledge and apologise for Treaty of Waitangi breaches. Recommendations include redeveloping the engagement between government agencies and the Trust.
2012	It is announced that social media site 'Facebook' can be viewed and translated into te reo Māori.
2012	There are 16,792 students involved in Māori medium education, and 140,945 involved in Māori language in the English medium.
2013	Māori Television launches a new website.
2013	The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination expresses concern over the Waitangi Tribunal's finding that the Māori language is at risk of erosion. According to the Committee, specific measures to preserve the language should be taken with adequate funding, and the development of a new Māori language strategy expedited.

Sources:

Parliamentary support; Research papers: <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLEcoRP14031/the-maori-language-selected-events-1800-2014>

The Māori language: selected events 1800–2013. Summary – outlines key events and dates since the early 19th century relating to Māori language. <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/research-papers/document/00PLSocRP2013041/the-m%C4%81ori-language-selected-events-1800-2013>

Te Taura Whiri: www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/english/issues_e/hist/

Appendix three

More about dialects of te reo Māori and changes to te reo Māori

Historical

Commentators on the variation of te reo Māori began with Joseph Banks in the late 1700s. He was, undoubtedly, helped by Tupaia³⁸⁶, and he devised a list of words as spoken by northern and southern Māori that also made a comparison with the same words in Tahitian³⁸⁷. Harlow states that ‘... it is significant that even after such short contact with the language Banks was aware that there were regional differences he felt needed recognising’³⁸⁸.

The practice of recording aspects of dialects continued from the early eighteenth and into the current century. Some contributions to this field of study by early recorders of the southern dialect of te reo Māori included:

- The first phonetic version of any dialect of te reo Māori that appears to have captured a number of aspects that mark this dialect out from its northern counterparts³⁸⁹.
- A word-list of South Island Māori that continues to be referred to today. The list appears to possibly be capturing changes in the southern dialect that Harlow suggests are the result of the influence of northern dialects through Māori whaling crews³⁹⁰.
- The collection and publication of traditions of the local Māori, but, through ‘correcting’ to a northern dialect³⁹¹, ‘obscure[d] dialectal subtleties ... thereby mask[ing] tribal identity in the oral traditions’³⁹².
- A word list of the South Island dialect, marking words that were synonymous with northern varieties³⁹³.

386 ‘When the Endeavour sailed over the Tahitian horizon, Tupaia, a high priest and intellectual, could see change coming and made the decision to embrace an opportunity. He became a diplomat, politician, artist and interpreter on the British ship. When they arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, it appeared to Māori as if it was he, not Captain James Cook, who commanded the Endeavour’.

See: www.worldview.org.uk/film/tupaia-endeavour/ for more information.

387 Banks 2005

388 Harlow 2007: 41

389 Starke 1986

390 Harlow 1987: 74

391 Harlow 1979

392 Haami 2004: 125

393 Anderson 2012

The Williams family's³⁹⁴ dictionaries consistently marked 'a large number of items as coming from one or the other of six dialects³⁹⁵, but this practice has been discontinued since 1975 due to dialect levelling³⁹⁶. Harlow explains the following: Maunsell (1862)³⁹⁷ distinguished seven leading dialects of the north island³⁹⁸ that are roughly similar to those identified in the Williams' dictionary, (though Ngāi Tahu is not identified³⁹⁹). Colenso (1868) lists 10 'principle subdivisions'. Skinner (1921) uses the term 'culture areas' that he considers have 'distinctive dialects' that included, 'Moriōri, Murihiku, Kaiapoi, and West Coast (= Taranaki)⁴⁰⁰. Buck (1949) mentions regional phonological differences, but provides no classifications⁴⁰¹. Others who have commented on dialectal differences as noted by Harlow are: Biggs (1961) who, according to Harlow, mentions only the Western and Eastern as the two main dialects of Māōri; Biggs (1971), Hohepa (1967), and Krupa (1967) provide similar classifications and each of these authors 'assert that South Island MAO is extinct'⁴⁰², which generally means there are no speakers left.

After the first 100 years of colonial government the Kai Tahu language was all but extinct. Tikao (Beattie 1939) laments the loss of traditional language and the poor quality of the Māōri being spoken by the young people of his time.

Potiki 2010: npn

Some notes on changes in te reo Māōri over time

The MAONZE (Māōri and New Zealand English) project is the source of the information that follows⁴⁰³ in the first section to Grammar. The MAONZE project is examining changes in the pronunciation of the Māōri language over the last 100 years. The speech of three age groups is analysed and compared to identify changes. The age groups are: Mobile Unit (MU) speakers who were born in the 1880s; Kaumātua, born in the 1930s; and Young who were born in the 1980s.

394 The family has the longest history in Aotearoa as lexicographers of te reo Māōri, having produced the first dictionary in 1844.

395 Harlow lists them on pp. 123–124 of his 1979 article as: 'Arawa, Kahungunu, Maniapoto, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou, Rarawa, Raukawa, Takitimu, Ngāi Tahu, Tainui, Taranaki, Tūhoe, Waikato, Whanganui'.

396 Harlow 1979: 123

397 In Maunsell's Grammar of the New Zealand Language (1862) <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-MauNewZ-t1-body-d1.html>

398 Harlow 2007: 'Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi, Waikato, Bay of Plenty, East Cape and its neighborhood, including Rotorua (though some little differences are to be noted), 'the line of coast between Port Nicholson and Wanganui' (Maunsell 1862:v). He considers that the Taupō dialect is a mixture of Rotorua and Waikato (Maunsell 1862).

399 Keegan (2009) notes: There are also gaps in Williams's coverage of traditional Māōri terms, perhaps more so in dialectal variation in the use of words.

400 Harlow 1979: 124

401 Harlow 1979

402 Harlow 1979: 124

403 The linguists involved in this project have been analysing 'the pronunciation of fluent native Māōri speakers of earlier generations, made possible through an archive of recordings of speakers born in the late 19th century, and compare these with modern speakers of Māōri of different ages. This analysis will show how pronunciation of the Māōri language has adapted over time in on-going interaction with English while retaining its own character'

Long and short vowels

The figure below illustrates the differences in the articulations of the long and short vowels in the speech of the three age groups – the vowels with colons (e.g. u:) indicate the long vowels. Pronunciations of vowels have changed over time in their length (some coming closer) and locations of articulations in the mouth are generally becoming more peripheral. (Please note, the squares crudely represent the mouth. The front is on the left of each square and the back at the right; the top and bottom of each is the equivalent of the top and bottom of the mouth.)

Figure 6: Pronunciations of the long and short vowels by Mobile Unit⁴⁰⁴ Kaumātua and Young speakers



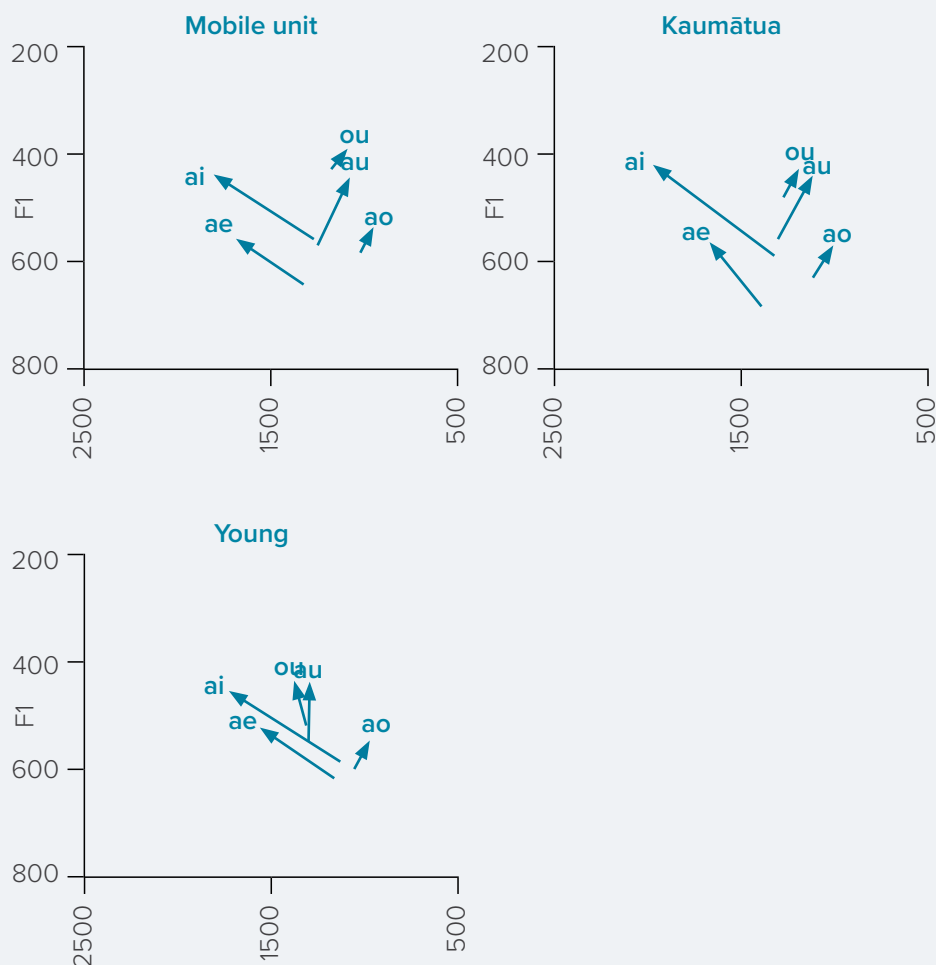
Source: King et al. 2009: 89

404 The Mobile Unit (MU) archive is an historical archive collected by members of the NZ National Broadcasting Service between 1946-8. [The speakers were born between 1860 and early 1900s. See <http://www.canterbury.ac.nz/nzilbb/research/onze/>]

Diphthongs

A similar finding was made of changes in diphthongs⁴⁰⁵ (ai, ae, au, ao and ou). The major finding was that the Mobile Unit speakers and Kaumātua kept their diphthongs separate, but the young speakers' 'separations' were 'substantially diminished'. Figure 8 compares the articulations of each of the groups and show the extent to which the young clustered their diphthongs.

Figure 7: Diphthong plots of Mobile Unit, Kaumātua and Young speakers



Source: King et al. 2009:91

This claim is based on the analysis of the English of MAONZE speakers that was found to be similar to the English of similarly 'matched non-Māori speakers of English. Thus, it is likely that their vowel production for English is influencing their pronunciation of Māori⁴⁰⁶. Kelly explains that 'any habitual language errors shared by such a substantial majority would be likely to be heard often, and

405 That Smyth does not describe as such and the pronunciation of which Bauer questions.

406 Watson et al., 2008. See also www.teara.govt.nz/en/speech-and-accent/page-3 for an outline of the pronunciation of vowels in NZE.

then perhaps even accepted as correct⁴⁰⁷. She warns, though, that not checking these grammatical features is at the expense of the integrity of te reo Māori. The consequence of allowing the incremental Anglicisation of te reo Māori may be that it becomes a ‘clone of English’⁴⁰⁸.

Grammar

Some te reo Māori issues are arising from some common fundamental grammatical errors. Some are due to the shortening of vowels as discussed, i.e. the ‘weakening of the distinction in long and short vowels’⁴⁰⁹ and the closing of the gap in the articulations of diphthongs. An example is the tense particle ‘ka’⁴¹⁰ that, as Harlow explains, has two spoken versions; i.e. kaa and ka – that, historically, have been used depending on the number of vowels⁴¹¹ in the verb phrase it introduces. The results of the study of this particle in the speech of the MAONZE speakers found that the distinction existed in the speech of both groups of older speakers, but that it ‘no longer exists for most of the younger speakers’⁴¹².

The examples provided below are from Kelly (2014) and typify common grammatical errors she encounters in her teaching of te reo Māori. She explains that they are made by reo speakers regardless of whether their reo is their first or second language⁴¹³:

- the ‘ā’ and ‘ō’ categories of possession – for example, ‘te kohurutanga ā te wahine’ and ‘te kohurutanga o te wahine’. The first phrase refers to the murder by a woman; and the second refers to the murder of a woman⁴¹⁴.
- the particles ‘i’, ‘ki’ – The grammatical particles, ‘i’ and ‘ki’, ‘cannot be used interchangeably’ and provides the following examples. ‘Pērā’ means ‘like (that)’: where ‘ki’ means ‘to’ in the first phrase, the ‘i’ connects the verb ‘pērā’ to the object, ‘your Pāpā’⁴¹⁵:

Kaua e kōrero pērā ki tō Pāpā! Versus Kaua e kōrero pērā i tō Pāpā!
Don't talk like that to your father! Versus *Don't talk like your father!*

407 Kelly 2014: 25

408 Kelly 2014: 258

409 The authors associate this practice with that of NZE that shortens the same types of words, for example, the word ‘to’ in contexts where, traditionally, the full form would have been used (for example, in front of vowels – ‘to Africa’ the traditional form of which would have been used, i.e. /tu:/, but is now often heard as the short form /tə/ [to rhyme with tip]. Watson et al. 2008: 158

410 Harlow et al. 2009

411 See also Bauer 1981.

412 Watson et al. 2008: 158

413 Kelly 2014: 260

414 Te Rito 2009: 6

415 Kelly 2014: 261

The following examples of changes may be influenced by the English language:

- personal and possessive pronouns especially dual and plural forms:

Traditional form	Regularised form
mōhoku/mōkū	Mō ahau
māhana/mana	Mā ia
nōhou/nōu	Nō koe

Kelly (2014) suggests that this occurs 'maybe because the equivalents in the plural are: mō rātau; nā kōrua; mā tātau'⁴¹⁶ and that the incorrect use could be due to familiarity with the English forms, i.e. 'for me', 'from you' and 'for him/her'.

- stative verbs – Kelly provides examples of mistaken use with statives where she notes a tendency to use the statives 'oti' (and 'pakaru') as though they were the equivalents of the English terms, 'to finish' and 'to break' and to use them as active verbs in action sentences rather than describing the state of the object, for example:

Kua oti au i aku mahi. *I have finished my work.*

'Oti' is the stative verb and describes the state of the work, i.e. 'finished'. 'I' indicates who caused the work to be finished, i.e. me; showing that 'i' means, 'by', 'because of'.

A note on historical pronunciation of vowels and the digraph /wh/ Vowels in combination with other vowels

Bauer's (1981) discussion on pronunciation was on whether vowels in combination (for example, diphthongs) were said as single sounds or whether as diphthongs. Her paper focussed on the word 'haere' and the issue was whether it should be pronounced as 'hae.re or ha.e.re'. Interestingly, advice given by Smyth (1946: 5) is 'Remember always ... That every vowel is pronounced. That there are no diphthongal sounds in Māori'. A very early comment on this is by Maunsell (1862) who advises caution on the basis of the 'diphthong' as being a 'portion of Māori literature as yet but little explored' so to expect 'considerable discrepancy of opinion' (1862: 3). Citing Smith:

'A diphthong,' he says, 'I would define to be two simple vocal sounds uttered by one and the same emission of breath, and joined in such a manner that each loses a portion of its natural length; but from the junction produceth a compound sound equal in the time of pronouncing to either of them taken separately, and so making still but one syllable.

Maunsell 1862: 5

416 Kelly 2014: 264

The Digraph /wh/

Wh: There is some difference of opinion in respect to the correct pronunciation of the *wh* sound. It is not a compound of *w* and *h*, but represents the single voiceless consonant corresponding with *w* and is pronounced by emitting the breath sharply between the lips. Most tribes in New Zealand today assimilate the sound to that of *f* in English. From the phonetic spelling that was adopted by the early missionaries and settlers it would appear, however, that the use of the sound *f* for *wh* is a comparatively recent innovation. This is the view supported by Buck who contends that the use of the English *f* sound for *wh*, such as *fafai* for *whawhai* (to fight), is a post-European development adopted by some tribes. The student should practise the sound by pronouncing the *wh* as in the English word 'when'; it is pronounced without letting the teeth touch the lower lip.

McLintock 1966b: 6

Advice in older pronunciation guides

Maunsell (1862) describes two sounds for /w/: one is the simple sound as in 'wind', the other is aspirated as in 'when, where, ... whai [and] where'⁴¹⁷. Kohere (1949: 104) advises: 'Sound wh as in when, never as f. To sound wh like f is certainly degenerate Māori'. Smyth explains:

The **wh** sound is generally given the **f** sound for convenience, but this is incorrect. This was the last consonant to be included in the final Māori alphabet. The correct sound is gained by forming the w sound while the breath is being continually respired, as in a sigh: begin a sigh before forming the w sound: try to pronounce the wh as wh is pronounced in the English word 'when'.

Smyth 1946: 8

417 Maunsell 1862: 9



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