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# Kia matatau ki te reo:
# Factors influencing the development of proficiency in te reo Māori with adult learners

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
**Doctor of Philosophy**
at
**The University of Waikato**
by
**Matiu Tai Rātima**

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## Abstract

This thesis sought to answer the question: what factors help or hinder adult Māori second language learners to become proficient speakers of te reo Māori? I ask this question at moment in history when te reo, like other indigenous languages, sits on the edge of a precipice in terms of its survival as a living language. Ambivalence and inaction will almost certainly constitute a push towards oblivion. Nothing less than concerted effort can pull te reo back from the brink. But what kind of concerted effort is needed and how can individual learners optimise their efforts to learn te reo?

Te reo must survive because, as Sir James Henare put it, 'ko te reo te hā o te Māoritanga', meaning 'the language is the essence of Māori culture.' Without te reo the very survival of Māori people as Māori is in doubt. My questions and the thesis occupy a multidisciplinary space, drawing on research from adult second language acquisition, teaching pedagogy and language revitalisation. The thesis makes an original contribution to all three bodies of literature by examining data from a previously untapped source; successful adult Māori language learners.

I interviewed 17 participants. All highly proficient second language speakers of te reo. All learned te reo as adults. Adult second language learning of endangered languages is broadly acknowledged in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) as essential to re-establishing Intergenerational Transmission of Language (ITL) in the home to ensure an endangered language is passed on to future generations.

The interview questionnaire was based loosely on 10 help/hinder factors I identified through a review of the literature from the three research fields (adult second language acquisition, teaching pedagogy and language revitalisation). The ten factors identified in the review were; language aptitude, age, learner attitudes and motivation, learning strategies, instruction, agency and anxiety, wairua (the spiritual dimension), demography, language status, and language planning.

There were three key findings. First, Māori second language learners abilities to establish and maintain loving and supportive relationships with Māori language speakers was crucial to their language development. Second, current theories of motivation in the existing Second Language Acquisition (SLA) literature do not address Māori experiences of language learning. I have proposed 'social service theory' to better account for these participants' motivations to learn. Third, participants experienced language learning as cultural learning and this has two major implications; learners must be open to cultural change; and teachers must understand and live by tikanga Māori (Māori culture).

# He Mihi

Tukua taku wairua kia rere ki ngā taumata

Hei ārahi i aku mahi

Me taku whai i te reo Māori

Kia mau kia ita

Kia kore ai e ngaro

Kia pupuri, kia whakamaua, kia tina

Haumi e!

Hui e!

Taiki e!

Koutou nā, kua haere atu ki tua o pae kite, e kore rawa e haere ki tua o pae mahara, moe mai rā. Waiho iho nei ko mātou ngā pūpā whakaea wāwata o koutou te hunga ngaro.

Rātou te hunga mate ki a rātou, tātou te hunga ora ki a tātou.

Ko ngā mihi nui ki tō tātou reo, e kiia nei ko te hā o te Māoritanga, e kiia nei ko te mauri o te mana Māori, e kiia nei ko te ohooho, ko te māpihi maurea, ko te whakakai mārihi o te tangata. Mei kore te reo kua kore pea te iwi Māori. Nō reira, kia kaha tātou.

Ko ngā mihi maioha ki te hunga nā rātou i whakaāe kia tukuna o rātou urupare ki aku tini urupounamu. Ko ērā kōrero he kai mā te whakaaro, he aho hoki kia whiria he taura ā-whakaaro nei, hei whītiki i ngā hope o tēnei kaupapa rangahau.

Mei kore koutou kua korekore rawa tēnei kaupapa. Tēnā koutou katoa.

Ki ōku hoa mahi i te Centre for Academic Development (CAD) i Te Whare Wānanga o Tamakimakaurau, tēnā anō hoki koutou. E toru ngā whaea i waenga i a koutou i whakapeto ngoi kia eke ai au ki te taumata o te pūkenga whare wānanga. Ko Tākuta Barbara Grant koutou ko Ahorei Helen Sword me Ahorei Lorraine Stephanie. Tēnā koutou e ōku māreikura.

Tēnā koutou AKO Aotearoa, nā koutou te huruhuru kia rere ai te manu. Nō reira Peter Coolbear koutou ko Kirsty Weir, ko Ngahiwi Apanui, tēnā koutou.

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Me tuku ko te tino o ngā mihi ki taku whānau ake ki tōku hoa rangatira. Tasileta ko koe hei pou herenga māku i ngā wā katoa. Nāu ngā tuhinga i etitā, nāu anō ngā tamariki i tiaki i ngā haora e ngaro atu ana a Pāpā i tana tari. Mei kore koe kua kore ēnei tuhinga e puta ki te wheiao. Tēnā koe e te tau o taku ate.

Ki aku tama e toru, e Tai, e Tama, e Toa. Kua oti i au tēnei kaupapa te rangahau i runga anō i te tūmanako, kia āhei ai koutou ki te whai i tō reo Māori ki ngā taumata e ngakaunuitia ana e koutou anō hei oranga wairua, hei tikitiki mō ō koutou māhunga i ngā rā kei te tū mai.

He tohu whakamaumahara tēnei tuhinga ki ōku mātua, ki taku māmā ki a Lois Rātima (nee Baxter) me taku pāpā a Heremia (Jerry) Rātima.

Tēnā tātou katoa.

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First, I acknowledge our Māori language, referred to in our oratory as 'the essence of the Māori culture', the 'life force of Māori power', and described as invaluable, as an object of affection, as a precious adornment. Without it the Māori people may cease to exist. So let us be vigilant.

Thank you to the participants who so generously agreed to respond to my many questions. Your responses form the many threads that I have woven here into a belt with which to gird the loins of this research project. If not for you this study could not have happened. Thank you all very much.

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Most of all I want to thank my whānau and especially my wife. Tasileta, you as always have been my anchor. Thank you for being my editor and for looking after our boys all the hours when Dad was shut away working on the thesis. If not for you this thesis would never have seen the light of day. Thank you my darling.

To my boys Tai, Tama and Toa, I have carried out this study in the hope that you all will pursue your reo to whatever level your hearts' desire, to sustain your spirits, and to instil in you a sense of pride in your ancestors.

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my parents, my mother Lois Ratima (nee Baxter) and my father Heremia (Jerry) Ratima. Mum taught me to love learning and Dad taught me to love and respect all things Māori.

Thank you all.

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## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ITL | Intergenerational Transmission of Language |
| L1 | First language |
| L2 | Second language |
| LdL | Lernen durch Lehren = Learning by Teaching |
| RLS | Reversing Language Shift |
| SLA | Second Language Acquisition |
| MLAT | Modern Language Aptitude Test |
| CPH | Critical Period Hypothesis |
| AMI | Attitude and Motivation Index |
| GLL | Good language learners |
| ESL | English as a Second Language |
| GIDS | Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale |

# Prologue My Journey

This thesis is a product of my journey as a Māori, a second language te reo Māori learner, a university Māori language teacher, an academic, a son, a father and a friend. As such it draws on and is shaped by my own experiences. There are three experiences in particular that I will describe to help clarify, for the reader, the perspectives I bring to the study and its' philosophical and experiential underpinnings.

First, my earliest memories of hearing te reo spoken were as a young boy. Occasionally I would hear my father speaking Māori to his friends or to visiting relations. My curiosity was piqued. I wanted desperately to know what he was saying. When he laughed with his friends I wanted to be in on the joke. My siblings and I were brought up in Invercargill, the southern-most city in New Zealand in the 1970s and the early 1980s (see the map of New Zealand on page 288). There we were part of a very small but tight nit Māori community. Invercargill is situated in the Southland region. According to the 2006 census Southland is the most ethnically homogenous region in New Zealand with 94.3% of residents identifying themselves as Europeans or New Zealanders compared with 78.7% for the rest of the country.[1] In 1970s Invercargill, there was no Māori language at school and there were no Māori medium educational alternatives to mainstream schooling. My father was a native speaker of te reo, he had grown up in a Māori speaking community and was educated at a native school in North Island town of Whakatāne (see the map). Although he never taught us to speak Māori, he instilled in all of his children a strong sense of pride in being Māori. He maintained strong ties to the Invercargill Māori community as a founding member of the local pan-tribal marae (Māori community centre). He also made sure we participated in Māori cultural activities such as tangihanga (funerals) and kapa haka (Māori cultural performance). However, we lived far from our father's Māori

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[1] See David Grant. 'Southland region - Southland people', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 6-Apr-10
URL: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/southland-region/13

family in the North Island and close to our Mother's Pākehā family in the South Island, so essentially, we were raised in a very typical Pākehā New Zealand cultural way. On the one hand, I never thought of myself as having a strong Māori identity; I could not speak te reo and I had only limited exposure to Māori cultural ways of doing and being. On the other hand, my father's belief in the virtue of knowing, practicing and maintaining tikanga Māori (Māori culture) became a part of my own value system and my early yearnings to understand and become conversant with te reo and tikanga Māori have gathered momentum and intensity up to the present time.

Second, acting on my intensify desire to learn te reo, I have taken every opportunity afforded to me to do so. When my parents separated, my Father stayed in the South Island and my Mother relocated to the North Island along with myself and two of my three sisters. When I started high school in the North Island in 1984, I was given my first opportunity to learn te reo as a school subject. I studied te reo through high school and opted to study it further at Otago University as the major subject for my Bachelor of Arts degree which I completed in 1995. After more than a decade of learning 'about' te reo through English medium education, I found I was still not able to converse with native Māori speakers, or with highly proficient second language Māori speakers. I became disillusioned. Eventually I asked a trusted Māori language teacher, what should I do to become a fluent speaker of te reo? She recommended I enrol in an immersion teacher training course at the former Auckland College of Education. On this course te reo was the medium of instruction. This experience has taught me that higher levels of proficiency in te reo cannot be gained by approaches to teaching and learning that privilege English as the medium of instruction.

Third, in February 1994, at the age of 24, I got my first taste of immersion Māori language teaching and learning. I went to Auckland and enrolled on the teacher training course my Māori teacher had suggested. Classes ran five days a week from 9 am to 3 pm. All instruction was in te reo Māori. My proficiency advanced more in that year then it had over the previous 11 years of study combined. So much so that I was offered a job in 1995 in the Māori department at Otago University as a Māori language tutor.

Since that time I have been a student, teacher and avid supporter of immersion Māori language education. I would concede that there is still a place for learning te reo through the medium of English, especially during the first year of study. However, my experience has taught me that unless one is immersed in the target language for extended and regular periods, one is unlikely to ever develop higher levels of Māori language proficiency. As I write this prologue I am about to take up a position as Senior Lecturer at Te Tumu (The School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Development) at the University of Otago. I attribute my development as a Māori and as an academic to that crucial decision made back in 1994, to follow my heart and my teacher's advice and enrol in an immersion teacher training programme.

That decision brought me in contact with Māori language teachers and scholars par excellence. Anituatua Black, Tuki Mate Nepe, Professor Tīmoti Karetū, Professor Te Wharehuia Milroy, Professor Pou Temara and others of their ilk have been amongst my teachers. Some of them are made reference to by participants on this study as exemplars of fine Māori language teachers. They in turn guided me towards regular attendance at immersion Māori language courses run by Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission). There I made life-long friendships, bonds formed under the pressures of high expectations from the aforementioned exemplar teachers. My relationships with my teachers and my companions provided fuel for the fire to keep learning and advancing my knowledge of and proficiency with te reo and in particular of the teaching and learning of te reo as I aspired to be like my teachers and to emulate their better qualities.

In summary, there are three key experiences that have brought me to this study. First, although my Father never taught me te reo, he gave me another gift; a passion and a reverence for all things Māori. In a way my efforts to learn and teach te reo are an expression of my love and deep respect for my Father. In turn I wish to pass that same gift on to my own children and mokopuna (grandchildren) and this thesis is a part of that legacy. Second, my struggle to learn te reo as an adult has taught me that while there may be a place for learning 'about' te reo

through the medium of English, only extended and regular periods of immersion can advance one’s proficiency in te reo. Third, the commitment to developing proficiency in the Māori language requires nothing less that total dedication. To become proficient in te reo Māori, I had to change my entire lifestyle. I moved to a new town. I enrolled in a full time, full immersion course; I developed new friendships and new circles of socialisation that would support my desire to become a proficient Māori speaker. This is not something that can be done half-hearted or part time. If the learner is not up for a radical change then they cannot expect radical results. The hardest part I believe is getting started. Once I made the decision to commit and take action to change, I was overwhelmed with support from friends, teachers, mentors and whānau. That support continues to this day and it provides a never ending source of inspiration to keep learning and keep developing. The pathway to te reo is fraught with challenges, but I know of nothing more motivating than the opportunity to cultivate an ever deepening understanding of oneself and ones ancestors through speaking te reo Māori.

# Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis sets out to shed new light on the teaching and learning strategies that work for adult learners of te reo Māori. Adult learners of te reo are important because they have a crucial role to play in passing language on to children in the home and re-establishing intergenerational transmission of te reo (Chrisp, 2005; Fishman, 2001a; Spolsky, 2003). Through the interpretation of data in the form of case studies and responses from participants, this study provides both theoretical explanation and pragmatic advice to inform the practice of Māori language learners, language teachers, educational institutions, language policy makers and anyone concerned with community and whānau language revitalisation.

## 1.1 Background

Globally there are few indigenous languages that are not under threat of decline or extinction. It has been estimated that of the world's 6,912 known languages, 95% of these are spoken by less than 6% of the population (Lewis, 2009). The forecast that less than 10 percent of the world's living oral languages (in the year 1992) will still be spoken by 2092 (Krauss, 1992) paints a grim picture of the decline in linguistic diversity. The majority of those languages identified as 'moribund' are the indigenous languages of the world. This process of language extinction has been aptly labelled by Skutnabb-Kangas as 'linguistic genocide' (2000). The label highlights the role of formal education systems throughout the world as powerful agents of linguistic genocide.

In New Zealand, the predecessors to a formal education system were the missionary schools, the first established in the Bay of Islands in 1814. They taught literacy almost exclusively in the Māori language (Benton, 2007). By 1840 there were significant numbers of Māori literate in their own language. In the two decades following, the demographic milieu changed dramatically and the Māori population was equalled then surpassed by the white settler population (half from

England and the rest from the wider UK, Europe and America) (ibid.). Formal schooling was established under The Education Ordinance 1847 which provided government funding for mission schools to teach English to Māori students. By the turn of the century white settlers outnumbered Māori almost 20 to 1, primary education was compulsory for all children and Māori language was banned from the classroom, and often from the playground (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Influenced by the misguided, if well-meaning, promise that an exclusive English language education would deliver economic and social benefits for their children, many Māori parents and grandparents were complicit in allowing the ban to be enforced. Some went as far as banning the language from being spoken in the home. In the 1970s Māori parents, grandparents and communities were struck by the realization that their English speaking children were actually worse off than their Pākehā counterparts, and now the very survival of the Māori language was in jeopardy (Benton, 1979a). The reaction was broad demand from Māori communities for the provision of Māori language medium education for their children. Government slowness to respond, often led communities to go outside of the law and set up their own schools and preschools. Many of these are now recipients of government funding and retrospective laws have been passed to legitimize their existence (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

There are two sources of recent data on rates of Māori language proficiency. They are the National Māori Language surveys (2001 and 2006) and a self-report question on language proficiency included in the New Zealand censuses (also run in 2001 and 2006).

The same single question on language proficiency was included in both censuses; 'in which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?' Bauer (2008, p. 56) compared response data from 2001 and 2006 censuses and concluded that in every age band there had been a decrease in the total percentage of proficient Māori speakers. Overall there had been a decrease in the total percentage of proficient speakers (i.e. those able to hold everyday conversations about a range of things) from 25.2% of the Māori population or 130,485 people (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a) in 2001 to 23.7% or 131,613 people in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a).

The decline was most pronounced amongst the 55 – 64 year age band. In 2001, 45.2% of those in the 55 – 64 year band reported being able to hold a conversation about everyday things. In 2006, that percentage had dropped to 37.8%. While this decline might appear significant, it should also be noted that the number of proficient speakers over 55 years of age is smaller (22,182 people in 2006) than the number of proficient speakers under the age of 14 (35,148 in 2006).[2]

These figures indicate an increase in the numbers of Māori speakers as the Māori population increased over the period. They also show a small overall decrease in the self reported percentage of *proficient* speakers. The most significant decline occurred in the 55 – 64 year age band.

It ought to be noted here that other formations of census figures show proficiency in te reo is not distributed evenly throughout the regions. For example, there are sparsely populated rural districts where the Māori populations are relatively high and the self-reported proficiency rates in te reo are also significantly higher than the national averages. For example Tokomaru Bay on the East Cape (see Appendix F, New Zealand map, p.288) has a population of 447, 78.6% of whom identify as Māori and te reo is spoken by 40.5% of the overall population (Statistics New Zealand, 2007c)

Data from the National Māori Language Surveys measured proficiency in greater detail but with a far smaller sample than the censuses. The National Māori Language survey in 2006 found that 27 percent of the total sample (n = 3,858) of people dwelling within Māori households could speak Māori in day to day conversation either ‘very well’ (nine percent), ‘well’ (five percent), or ‘fairly well’ (13 percent).

There has been disagreement in the way these data are interpreted. Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK) is the New Zealand government organisation responsible for monitoring the revitalisation of te reo. TPK’s reporting on data from the national surveys has

[2] Source: Statistics New Zealand Census 2001 and 2006

emphasised an increase in the numbers of speakers who self-report having ‘some degree of proficiency’ in te reo Māori, up nine percentage points between 2001 and 2006 to 51% of Māori surveyed (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008, p. iv). Winifred Bauer, an independent statistician has critiqued the TPK report as overly optimistic. Bauer suggested that TPK had an interest in demonstrating that tax payer money invested in Māori language revitalisation has produced positive results (Bauer, 2008, p. 34). Instead, she found that the actual increase in percentages of those who spoke Māori ‘well’ and ‘very well’ were within margins of error for the survey sample size. This meant that the reported increases might not be real, or that they might in fact be higher than reported.

In any case, it is not likely that the National Māori language surveys are as accurate as census figures since the entire population is surveyed in a census. Either way, both TPK and Bauer agree that reported rates of proficiency in te reo are indicative of an endangered language and there is much work to be done before te reo may be considered safe. Bauer has suggested the need to aim for a figure as high as 80 percent of speakers who can speak Māori ‘well’ or ‘very well’ within any given community of speakers to ensure that a language is ‘safe’ (Bauer, 2008, p. 66). By any interpretation, it is clear at the time of writing that New Zealand is a long way from that ideal.

Even if we accept TPK’s optimism, the gains they herald are modest given the proliferation of Māori language educational initiatives since the early 1980s. These include; Kohanga Reo (preschool), Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary), Wharekura (secondary), Wānanga (Māori tertiary institutions), immersion and bilingual units in mainstream schools; and a multitude of tertiary te reo courses available to learners the length and breadth of the country.

These educational initiatives show increasing recognition in New Zealand society of the importance of language and culture to identity, to social engagement, and cohesion. Richard Benton has said that ‘. . . without te Reo Māori, the Māori language, Māori would not be a people and Aotearoa New Zealand would not be a nation.’ (2007, p.178). Māori language revitalisation is more than just an enriching exercise in heritage preservation, put in its global context, it is a

localised expression of a global movement to protect threatened languages and 'Reverse Language Shift' (Fishman, 2001c). More importantly, it is the means through which Māori communities identify themselves and pass their spiritual and cultural inheritance on to future generations.

It has been argued that genuine language revitalisation does not occur until intergenerational transmission of language has been re-established – i.e. the language is the medium of communication in the home (Fishman, 2001c; Spolsky, 2003). Revitalisation efforts that focus solely on learning the language at school are insufficient if the language is not the medium of instruction and when the language is not reinforced by the parents or caregivers in the home. Much time and energy has been justifiably invested in children's Māori medium education in Kohanga Reo (preschool), Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary), and Whare Kura (secondary). This is also where most of the scholarly research in New Zealand is directed (Bishop, Berryman, & Ricardson, 2002; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Irwin, 2002; G. H. Smith, 1987, 2000). This study is focused on a significant gap in that research – adult te reo Māori second language learners. While there is an abundance of international studies which focus on instructed second language acquisition (see Ellis, 2005 for a comprehensive review of the most recent studies), there is very little on how Māori adult learners experience learning te reo and virtually no research into how to maximise their language proficiency development. Chrisp's (2005) study into Māori families and the factors that support or hinder intergenerational language transmission of te reo Māori is one rare example. Chrisp found that many of the Māori adults who participated in his study were anxious about having their ignorance of te reo made public since they linked te reo so intimately with their own identity as Māori. It was beyond the scope of Chrisp's (2005) study to explore the impact of Māori identity on proficiency development. Chrisp's study did not focus on the factors which contribute to the development of proficiency in the Māori second language learner.

The lack of attention in the academic literature to adults learning te reo means that this study makes a significant contribution to current literature in the field of Māori language learning and indigenous language learning more generally. Since

the survival of te reo is far from secure, a set of research questions that seeks to make sense of the experiences of learners who have successfully developed proficiency in te reo is needed, now more than ever.

## 1.2 Research Questions

The primary research question for this study is: What are the factors that support or hinder adult learners in developing proficiency in the Māori language?
This question can be broken down into the following sub questions:

(1) What is proficiency?
a. How is it defined?
b. How can it be measured?
c. How does it develop over time?

(2) Why do adults want to learn te reo?
a. What part do Māori identity factors play in the development of te reo proficiency?
b. What are the implications for te reo proficiency development?

(3) What are the factors that help or hinder te reo proficiency development?
a. Which factors are under the learner’s control?
b. Which factors are beyond the learner’s control?
c. How do these factors relate to proficiency?
d. How do they relate to each other?

(4) What are the unique localized and contextual factors for learning te reo Māori in Aotearoa?
a. What impact do these factors have on the development of proficiency?
b. Is proficiency the “ultimate” goal for Māori language learners?
c. What other language goals might they have and how do their goals shift over time?

(5) How do the factors and their associated second language theories of learning and teaching apply to learning te reo?
a. Can existing theories be applied universally?
b. Is there a need for contextualised theories to account for the learning of te reo and other indigenous languages?

## 1.3 Research Process

I sought answers to the research questions by exploring the experiences of 17 proficient adult Māori language learners. Language proficiency was measured through the analysis of writing samples from participants and through the analysis of samples of transcribed interview dialogue with participants. Through a review of the literature I identified a range of individual, social-cultural and wider societal factors influencing the development of second language proficiency and these factors are presented in detail in chapter three. The literature review provided a foundation for gathering and analysing data from the lived experiences of "successful" adult Māori language learners. I sought to contextualise and test for the relevance of the key factors identified in the literature review.

For the purposes of this study, proficient Māori second language learners were defined as those who did not grow up speaking Māori but learned to speak as adults and reached a minimum level of proficiency roughly equivalent to level 5 (see Appendix E on p.283) on the Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori (Māori Language Commission) language proficiency scale (Haemata Limited, 2006). There were two criteria from level 5 on the proficiency scale that I was most concerned with. The first was that the speaker 'should be able to convey all of their thoughts, opinions, and emotions clearly and appropriately in Māori according to whom they are interacting with and the context of the interaction.' (see Appendix E, p. 283). This criterion is important because it requires both linguistic and socio-linguistic capacities. In that regard the level 5 criteria resonate with the international literature on language proficiency, in particular with Bachman's (1990) model of language proficiency. Bachman placed emphasis on what he termed organizational competence (essentially linguistic competencies like good grammar, vocabulary and syntax) and on pragmatic competence (sociolinguistic competencies like tailoring speech to suit the listener).

The second criterion of interest to me was that the speaker 'will very rarely, if ever need to switch to English, even when there has been a breakdown in communication.' (see level 5 on p. 283). I chose to focus attention on this criterion primarily because it is very straightforward to detect in a two hour

interview. Had any of my participants needed to switch frequently to English it would have been obvious they were not of sufficient proficiency to be included in the study. In my experience only very proficient second language Māori speakers are capable of sticking with te reo when communication breaks down. The temptation to switch to English is often too great for speakers of lessor Māori language proficiency.

A written language sample was solicited from each participant and every participant was interviewed in te reo. Together the writing sample and the interview transcript provided evidence of the participants' levels of Māori language fluency so as to ensure the data came exclusively from highly proficient Māori second language learners.

## 1.4 Thesis Organisation

This thesis is divided in seven chapters. The first chapter provides an introduction to the overall research programme. Chapter two describes in detail the methodological approach to the study and the specific methods employed to gather and analyse data from the 17 participants. Chapter three is a review of the international and New Zealand literature which identifies 10 key factors for second language proficiency development. Chapter four consists of detailed case studies of three proficient Māori second language learners. The chapter also compares and contrasts the three cases and considers the implications of the learners' stories for students, teachers and educational institutions committed to adult te reo Māori learning. Chapters five and six aggregate the responses from the 17 participants to questions I put to them based on the 10 key factors identified in the review of the literature (page 41). Chapter five sets out participant responses to questions regarding their motivation to start and to persevere with learning te reo. Chapter six describes participant responses to questions regarding their experiences of learning and teaching te reo Māori. Chapters five and six also draw conclusions based on the participants' responses and consider the implications for those committed to the development of proficiency in te reo

Māori. Chapter seven summarises the major conclusions and the implications of the thesis.

## 1.5 Contribution of the Thesis

The contribution of the thesis can be considered in terms of both academic and pragmatic contributions. In academic terms this study has revealed the stories and articulated the views of a previously unexplored group of learners; proficient adult Māori second language learners. Three theoretical constructs have been developed through the study; a 10 point framework of factors influencing Māori second language proficiency; 'social service theory' as a model for conceptualising Māori language learner motivation; and the conceptualisation of Māori language learning as cultural transformation. The 10 point framework is drawn from the literature on SLA, Māori medium education and RLS. The other two constructs were developed as a result of theorising the participant responses. Together, all three offer a platform for a more comprehensive, consistent approach to research design for future studies on adult Māori language proficiency development and may have broader application to other indigenous language learning and teaching contexts. All three help extend an understanding of what learning te reo as a second language means for students and teachers.

This study offers a pragmatic contribution for those committed to Māori language revitalisation. Individual learners, teachers, and educational institutions stand to benefit from examination of the three exemplar cases and from the aggregated participant responses. From the learners' standpoint, the three exemplar cases provide both inspiration and practical advice. For teachers, there is a wealth of feedback from participants on the attributes and actions of effective te reo teaching that can inform professional development. For educational institutions, the generalised responses of successful adult te reo learners can provide guidance as to how to evaluate the effectiveness of teachers and of language programmes. Knowing what successful students think about their teachers and their language programmes can, in turn, help institutions make policy decisions with less reliance on their own intuition and more regard for student perspectives.

More generally, findings from the study contribute to what is known about indigenous second language acquisition from the Māori student perspective. This is a meaningful contribution to the struggles of indigenous peoples to regain and maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage in the face of unprecedented pressures to conform to mainstream and neo-colonial societal norms.

The following chapter sets out the methodology which underpins this thesis.

# Chapter 2 Methodology

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the narrative inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990) and the thematic analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) approaches used in this thesis to identify factors leading to second language proficiency in te reo Māori. The chapter begins with a discussion of the Māori inquiry paradigm which shapes this study. Sections outlining the research strategy, theoretical framework, methods and process of analysis follow. The chapter ends with a discussion on triangulation and criteria for appraisal of the study, information dissemination and ethical concerns.

## 2.2 Inquiry Paradigms

A paradigm is a set of basic beliefs that influence the way we interpret the world and either consciously or unconsciously affects the choices researchers make with every aspect of the research process. The beliefs are basic in the sense that they cannot be proven or disproven and so the researcher must proceed on the basis of faith (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Five distinct research paradigms have been identified by Guba and Lincoln (2005) and these are summarised in the following table.

**Table 1: Basic beliefs of alternative inquiry paradigms**

| Item | Positivism | Postpositivism | Critical theory *et al.* | Constructivism | Participatory |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Ontology* | Naive realism – "real" reality but apprehendible | Critical realism – "real" reality but only imperfectly and probabilistically apprehendible | Historical realism – virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values; crystallised over time | Relativism – local and specific co-constructed realities | Participate reality subjective objective reality, co-created by mind and given cosmos |
| *Epistemology* | Dualist/objectivist; findings true | Modified dualist/ objectivist; Critical tradition/community; findings probably true | Transactional/ subjectivist; value-mediated findings | Transactional/ subjectivist; co-created findings | Critical subjectivity in Participatory transaction with cosmos; extended epistemology of experiential, propositional, and practical knowing, co-created findings |
| *Methodology* | Experimental/ manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative methods | Modified experimental/ manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods | Dialogic/dialectical | Hermeneutical/ dialectical | Political participation in Collaborative action inquiry; primacy of the practical; use of language grounded in shared experiential context |

(source: Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 195)

The delineation of these distinct research paradigms is useful in helping to articulate the ontological (beliefs about the nature of the universe and reality), the epistemological (beliefs about the nature of knowledge and learning) and the methodological (beliefs about the best ways of finding answers to research questions) positions of this study.

## 2.3 Ontological Position

The approach to this study is based on constructivist ontology. This means reality is a subjective, relative, and co-constructed phenomenon (see for example Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Language proficiency is therefore likely to be defined, expressed and experienced differently by participants. While consensus on some aspects is likely, it will not be adequate to seek to account for the proficiency of each participant, as if proficiency itself were some universal quality or state of being. Importantly, differences between and within each participant's experience of proficiency and of its development can delineate its nuances and reveal insights to help account for the ways participants have become proficient speakers of te reo.

## 2.4 Epistemological Position

Similarly, knowledge is also assumed to be co-constructed. That is to say, knowledge occurs first on the social plane and later it is internalised within the individual (Lantolf & Appel, 1994; Lantolf & Poehner, 2008; Vygotskii & Kozulin, 1986). It is therefore particularly important, in seeking to understand second language proficiency development, to account for patterns in socialisation that accompany the development of that proficiency. For example, what part did the participants' evolving relationships with friends, fellow students, teachers, whānau, partners, and others play in the development of their reo?

## 2.5 Methodological Position

Since truth is assumed, from a constructivist position, to be subject to interpretation (hermeneutical), participant perspectives will be a focus for the study. Qualitative approaches to research are common in education and in the social sciences and wherever researchers seek to understand the meanings of a phenomenon from the perspective of those engaged in it. A qualitative research paradigm has its roots in Anthropology and in American sociology (Creswell, 1994). Anthropologists and sociologists have for the most part studied social groups other than their own, for whom there is little academic literature in existence. Exploratory, interpretive approaches are most appropriate in these situations as there is little base-line data from which to make comparisons. Qualitative approaches to research tend to reject positivist desires to test hypotheses and to prove or disprove current theories. Qualitative researchers reject grand narratives and universal theories. Instead they seek to understand that most basic human enigma: the making of meaning. This is best achieved through a dialectical analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2011; Eisner, 1998; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). My intention in this study is to make sense of a social phenomenon - adults developing proficiency in te reo Māori. I set out to do two things. First, to create coherent narratives that tell the stories of my participants through my own lens as a researcher who is also a proficient adult learner of te reo. At times, that includes my own critical reflections on what participants say from my perspective as a learner and a second language speaker and as a teacher of te reo. Second, I seek to build theory grounded in the experience of my participants (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The approach I have taken to this study is best described in the literature on research methodology as narrative inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). This approach holds that humans are essentially story telling organisms. Researchers are both storytellers and characters in the stories of others. Since story telling is such an important part of human meaning making it is an entirely appropriate method for understanding complex social phenomenon. Story telling is both the phenomenon and the method. The learners have told me their stories. That is how

I have come to understand the phenomenon. I then re-craft and retell those stories in the interests of reconstructing a coherent narrative that suits my research objectives. That is the method. My approach in this study goes further than just retelling or integrating the stories of others.

I follow Russell Bishop (1996) in acknowledging the part my own story has in the co-construction of meaning. Bishop carried out a meta-analysis of five research projects he was involved in as a researcher. He sought to develop an understanding of how the concerns for kaupapa Māori (Māori approaches) were addressed within the decision making processes of a cohort of Māori researchers and educational practitioners. He negotiated a series of formal semi-structured in-depth interviews as conversations with his colleagues (Bishop, 1996, p. 23).

Like Bishop, I too have experienced the privilege of access to the world of the participants. This thesis is my attempt to make sense of it from their perspectives as well as from my own so as to allow all of our stories and voices to emerge. But I am under no illusions; the narrative is told in my own voice and viewed through my own lens. This is my story as much as theirs.

### 2.6 A Māori Inquiry Paradigm

Māori researchers (Barnes, 2000; M. M. Ratima, 2001; L. T. Smith, 1999) have raised the point that none of the research paradigms from Table 1 fits neatly into a Māori inquiry paradigm. This is because we Māori have our own unique world views which inform beliefs about ontology, epistemology and methodology. Māori world views are grounded in the unique historical and cultural context of these islands collectively referred to as Aotearoa me te Waipounamu (literally the North and South Islands of New Zealand). Some researchers have developed their own frameworks to define a Māori inquiry paradigm with particular application to health research (for example, Edwards, 2010; M. M. Ratima, 2001). My own world view has been influenced by the work of Māori educationalists, in particular, Linda Smith and Graham Smith. Graham Smith's (2000) six elements of kaupapa Māori research are particularly relevant to this study. Although they

were conceived within the context of Māori immersion primary education, they articulate principles of an ethical code of conduct that is just as applicable to any researcher doing research with Māori participants. These six principles have in recent years been extended to eight principles by other Māori researchers working within kaupapa Māori contexts (Pihama, 2001; Pohatu, 2004 ). The following table summarises the eight principles of kaupapa Māori research[3] and indicates the application of these principles within my current study:

**Table 2: Principles of kaupapa Māori research**

| Principle | Explanation | Application to this study |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Tino Rangatiratanga /Self Determination | Māori making decisions that will affect their political social and economic futures | Participation is subject to on-going negotiation and relationship management. Researcher is an insider and accountable as a friend / colleague / fellow student. |
| 2. Taonga tuku iho /Validating culture and identity | Te reo (Māori language) and tikanga Māori (culture) are central to the research process, participants see the research as culturally relevant | The objective of the research is common to the aspirations of the researcher and the participants: to improve teaching and learning for adult L2 Māori speakers. |
| 3. Ako /Culturally preferred pedagogy | Māori codes and practices of conduct are the means which govern interaction between researcher and participants | All contact with participants is mediated through te reo and with respect to tikanga Māori. |
| 4. Mediating socio-economic and home difficulties | Through shared responsibility for educational outcomes and through process that is not culturally foreign to home life | Efforts to minimise the ‘costs’ for participants in time and money included keeping interviews to 2 hours maximum and using Skype to eliminate the need for travel. |

[3] See http://www.rangahau.co.nz/research-idea/27/ for a list of the principles of kaupapa Māori research

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Whanaungatanga/ Collectivity | Recognition of cultural structures that emphasize collectivity | Whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) relationships, teacher student-relationships and relationships between and within cohorts of learners and their effects on proficiency development are a focus of this study. |
| 6. | Kaupapa / Collective vision | A shared and collective vision are the foundation to kaupapa Māori initiatives | I share in common with the participants a desire to be the best student and teacher of te reo that I can be, and to contribute to the revitalisation of te reo Māori for future generations. |
| 7. | TeTiriti o Waitangi / Treaty of Waitangi[4] (Pihama, 2001) | Affirmation of tangata whenua (indigenous) status of Māori people and their rights as citizens | Revitalisation of te reo is a direct political challenge to the cultural dominance of Pākehā language and culture in Aotearoa me te Waipounamu (North and South Islands) and this study is a contribution to that affirmation. |
| 8. | Ata (Pohatu, 2004 ) | Building and nurturing of relationships | Relationships are based on reciprocity and in gaining consent from participants. In return I have had to provide some service to them. This is a legitimate practice when working with kaupapa Māori research. |

At times research from within the Academy 'on' Māori has been viewed with cynicism by Māori. 'On Māori' is a reference to research where the researcher is depicted as some idealised objective and dispassionate observer. It stands in contrast to research conducted 'by Māori, for Māori and with Māori.' The latter is more subjective, collaborative, and outcome based (L. T. Smith, 1999). The problem with research 'on Māori' is that it provides little or no benefit for

[4] The Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 is New Zealand's foundation document. It established the British right to govern New Zealand through the consent of the chiefs. It also guaranteed certain rights to the Māori tribes. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Waitangi for further information.

participants. This type of research is often purely descriptive and has served to reinforce Pākehā stereotypes of Māori as underachievers (ibid).

In order to be considered worthwhile, research must deliver some direct benefit for participants and for Māori communities. My participants have been forthcoming as they recognise in me a shared commitment and passion for learning te reo and for wanting to be the best speaker and the best teacher of te reo that I can be. I share with my participants a genuine desire to recover and revitalise our identity as Māori and our culture as a taonga to be nourished for the sake of our children and mokopuna.

## 2.7 Researcher's Role

I am a Māori researcher, doing Māori research with Māori participants. My perceptions of second language proficiency development have been shaped by my experiences as a student and teacher of te reo Māori. English is my first language. I began learning te reo at high school and committed myself in earnest to developing proficiency in 1994 when, at the age of 24, I enrolled in a total immersion full time teacher training programme at the Auckland College of Education (Te Kura Takiura o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori). I have more than a decade of experience as a tertiary teacher of te reo Māori. Between 1995 and 2006 I was employed at four different New Zealand Universities as a Māori language teacher. In 2006, I became a licensed Māori language translator and interpreter. The certification process was run by the Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori), a government commission whose job it is to promote and maintain te reo Māori as an official language of New Zealand. Certification requires an 80 percent minimum pass rate in both written and oral tests. I have been a regular attendee of the Te Taura Whiri Wānanga Reo (week long immersion language development hui) since 1997 and Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori (The School of Excellence in the Māori Language) since 2001. Many of the participants on my study became known to me through my personal and professional networks and a few are close friends. I believe my understanding of the context of te reo proficiency development enhances my awareness of and

sensitivity to the challenges and issues encountered as an adult second language learner of te reo. I bring knowledge of the development of proficiency as a student, as a teacher, and as a proficient speaker. I am particularly interested in how participants account for their own success as language learners.

My experiences also bring certain biases to the study. These biases shape the way I view and understand the data. I started this study with the view that proficiency development in te reo is a difficult but enjoyable and rewarding enterprise. It is very much a journey, one with no final destination. One can achieve goals that once seemed so far out of reach only to realise they were mere baby steps on the road to something much more exciting and scary. It is a pathway as equally fraught with frustrations and unanticipated challenges as it is made up of moments of pure inspiration.

My approach to this study is firmly grounded in my own sense of what it means to be tangata whenua (indigenous person). Te reo has always been a part of that sense of identity. From an early age, my family instilled in me a sense that, as tangata whenua, we have a spiritual, physical, and literal connection to this land and this place. We are ‘of it’; we are not ‘in it’ or ‘on it’. We have certain rights and responsibilities that flow from this way of being and knowing. One of those is our right and responsibility to protect and sustain our language and our culture. Te reo is more than a taonga to me; it is also the means through which I gain an ever deeper, ever broader appreciation of myself and my place in the world, and the nature of my contribution to its well-being.

## 2.8 Research Strategy

The strategy for this thesis is positioned within constructivist ontology and it aligns with the eight principles of kaupapa Māori approach set out above in Table 2 (p.21).

### 2.8.1 Objective

I began with the broad question: what factors influence the development of high levels of proficiency amongst adult second language learners of te reo Māori? I was particularly interested in the learners' own accounts of what had led to their language proficiency and their perceptions of what relative impacts certain factors and events had on their learning journeys. This objective is culturally valid to both the researcher and the participants. In other words, the question is valid within the field of academic inquiry **and** within the context of Māori language revitalisation. Māori language revitalisation is a cause with which all the participants on this study affiliated. The focus of the study is therefore in alignment with principle two (cultural validation) of kaupapa Māori approaches to research.

### 2.8.2 Participants

In total 17 participants were recruited into the study (13 males and 4 females). I used a blend of purposive and snowball sampling. I relied first on my own personal and professional networks to identify possible participants, then on participants' networks to suggest other candidates. Although I initially intended to interview as many as 25 participants, I found once I had completed 17 interviews that I was at a point of saturation where the responses from the latter interviews were not sufficiently different from prior responses to justify further recruitment. Table 3 below provides a basic demographic profile of the participants, derived from information gathered through the pre-interview questionnaire[5] (see Appendix B, p.262).

[5] All forms listed in Appendices A-C were provided to participants solely in te reo Māori. The English translations of those forms are given for the benefit of English language readers only.

**Table 3: Participants' demographic information**

| Demographic variable | Participants |
|---|---|
| **Gender** | |
| Male | 13 |
| Female | 4 |
| **Highest Qualification** | |
| Undergraduate Degree | 7 |
| Post Graduate Degree | 10 |
| **Personal Annual Income** | |
| $25000 – 45000 | 3 |
| $45000 – 55000 | 4 |
| $55000 – 65000 | 0 |
| $65000+ | 10 |
| **Age (at time of interview)** | |
| 18 – 35 | 3 |
| 36 – 45 | 12 |
| 46 – 55 | 1 |
| 55+ | 1 |
| **Iwi (main tribal affiliation)**[6] | |
| Ngā Puhi | 4 |
| Ngāti Porou | 2 |
| Waikato / Tainui | 2 |
| Rongomaiwahine | 2 |
| Hauraki | 1 |
| Te Arawa | 1 |
| Taranaki | 1 |
| Whakatōhea | 1 |
| Te Wairoa | 1 |
| Ngāti Raukawa | 1 |
| Ngāti Kahungunu | 1 |

All participants were New Zealand based and located in the North Island from as far south as Wellington to as far north as Auckland, from Hawkes Bay in the east to Taranaki in the west (see the map of New Zealand, Appendix F, p.288). All identified as Māori. Some I met and approached while attending the Taura Whiri wānanga reo (Māori Language Commission immersion residential programmes). Others were recommended to me by mutual friends and acquaintances. The gender imbalance in the sample is likely a reflection of who I am and who I have

[6] Iwi means tribe. For a map of the main iwi and their customary tribal districts see http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/IwiMap.png

access to through my existing networks. Although I did make an effort to attempt to recruit more females, the majority of the Māori speaking friends and associates that make up my network are male. In the end, the majority of those who agreed to be interviewed were also male. A female researcher using the same approach might well have had a different result.

I experienced two difficulties in attempting to recruit participants from the South Island. The first was that my networks in the South Island were limited. Although I grew up there, the majority of my te reo learning and teaching over the years has been North Island based. Second, there are far fewer numbers of Māori people and of proficient Māori speakers living in the South Island. According to the 2006 census figures, 86 percent of Māori live in the North Island. The total number of people who identified as ethnically Māori at the 2006 census was 565,329 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Of those Māori living in the South Island (62, 300), the percentage of proficient Māori speakers is the lowest of any region at 16 percent (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2008). Low numbers of proficient speakers may have been a factor in attempting to recruit South Island participants. Although I made repeated attempts to recruit two South Island based second language speakers whom I knew through my personal networks to be highly proficient speakers, neither was able to participate on the study.

Many of the participants were employed as Māori language teachers. Most were employed in jobs that required an understanding of te reo and/or tikanga Māori. For example, Māori language broadcasters and journalists, Māori cultural advisors for Government Departments, and independent self-employed Māori language consultants were included in the cohort.

The two broad requirements for participation in the study were: that the participant was a highly proficient speaker of te reo (level 5 on the Te Taura Whiri scale, see Appendix E: Level 5, p.283); and that the participant did not develop proficiency in te reo until age 16 or older. This is the average age where most people have reached puberty and have therefore passed through a major phase of brain development and are thought to have the basic brain structure in place that

will remain with them through their adult life (Long, 1990). Perhaps more importantly, 16 is an age where the social obligations of adult life start to take effect, such as the societal expectation to enter the workforce or to be involved in some form of voluntary education (Baker, 2006). Both factors are thought to place limits on the learner's ability to acquire a second or additional language.

Māori cynicism with regard to research (discussed earlier in this chapter) can manifest as reluctance to participate in research projects. The issue here is trust. The researcher needs to be known by Māori as trustworthy. This is especially true where information provided is of a personal nature. The participants need to be clear about the utility of the data. My strategy to mitigate this factor was to recruit from a pool of participants, many of whom knew me (or knew of me) prior to the invitation to participate, and also knew of my commitment to Māori language revitalisation. I also went to lengths to explain to potential participants what the data were to be used for and how students and teachers of te reo would benefit.

I managed to recruit some participants by first making myself useful to them. I attended a wānanga reo in Ahuriri (Napier, see map, p.288) in January 2011. While there, I was assigned to a work group of 18 advanced Māori language speakers. On the second, day our group was given a task: to engage in a public debate on the statement "Kia kotahi ai te kawa mō te iwi Māori whānui" or "There ought to be one system of Māori cultural protocols across all of Māoridom". Our group met soon after the task was assigned and, as is usually the case with such tasks, feverish negotiations ensued over who would speak for our group. At first, no one volunteered. Before long, I was asked if I would be willing. I told the group I would be happy to oblige and I asked only one thing in return: if I approached any member of the group to be interviewed for my research, they could not turn me down without good reason. Hearty agreement was the response. I consequently secured four interviews as a result of first making myself useful. The application of this recruitment strategy exemplifies the application of the ata principle (principle eight in Table 2, p.21); the building and nurturing of relationships are achieved through reciprocity.

### 2.8.3 Methods

I began the study with a review of literature from SLA, RLS and Māori medium education in order to identify factors leading to proficiency in a second language; with a particular focus on te reo Māori. I then used information from the review to construct and apply three data generating tools. First, a brief (two page) pre-interview written questionnaire was used to gather demographic information (see Table 3, p.26). Second, participants were asked to provide a writing sample of approximately 300 – 500 words. They were given a question they all were likely to have no difficulty in responding to. This part was attached to the end of the pre-interview questionnaire (see Appendix B: Pre-interview Questionnaire p.262). Third, a semi-structured interview questionnaire was used to draw out the participant's story of their learning journey and to elicit their views on factors impacting the development of language fluency (see Appendix D: Interview Questionnaire p.274).

All data gathering and communication with participants was done in te reo Māori at all times. This was consistent with the research focus and the objectives, and it also provided a means to ensure that I was dealing with the right participants. Had any of the participants been unhappy or uncomfortable in communicating at all times and for all purposes in te reo, then they probably were not of sufficient proficiency to be a participant. As it worked out, this was never a problem for any of the participants and I never had any reason to switch to English with any participant at any time through the course of the study. The exclusive use of te reo for engaging with Māori speaking participants is also consistent with principles two (validating culture and identity) and three (culturally preferred pedagogy) on the kaupapa Māori principles Table 2 (p.21).

#### 2.8.3.1 Literature review

Prior to the recruitment of participants, I carried out a review of literature and identified a range of individual, social-cultural, and wider societal factors influencing the development of second language proficiency (M. T. Ratima & May, 2011). Individual factors include: language learning aptitude, motivation, age and timing and learner strategies. Social cultural factors include: type of instruction, agency and anxiety and wairua (the spiritual dimension). Wider societal factors included: demography, language status and language planning. The literature review provided a foundation for generating and analysing data from the lived experiences of "successful" adult second language learners. The semi-structured interview questionnaire was based loosely on the 10 factors identified in the review. One objective of the research design was to contextualise and test for the relevance of the key factors identified in the review with a cohort of "successful" (i.e. proficient) Māori language learners.

#### 2.8.3.2 Pre-interview questionnaire

Once verbal consent to participate was gained, I asked each participant to sign a written consent form, Appendix C: Participant Consent Form (p.269). They were also asked to fill out a brief pre-interview questionnaire, Appendix B: Pre-interview Questionnaire (p.262). The pre-interview questionnaire was used to gather basic demographic data on income and qualifications (as a proxy for socio-economic status), age, gender, family and educational background. This information is aggregated in Table 3 (p.26) in order to give a detailed description of who the participants were.

#### 2.8.3.3 Writing sample

The writing samples were analysed to ensure that each participant was a proficient written communicator in te reo. Since the focus of the study is highly proficient speakers, the aim was that all participants be at the highest level, level 5 on the Te Taura Whiri scale of Māori language proficiency; complete proficiency (see Appendix E: Level 5, p.283). The writing sample also functioned as an exercise to prime the participant for the interview as they were asked to give a written response to the following question:

> He aha ō whakaaro, ō tohutohu rānei hei āwhina i te tangata pakeke kāore tōna reo, e ngākau nui ana ki te ako i te reo?
>
> What thoughts or advice would you like to share with adult learners who do not speak Māori, but have a strong desire to learn?
>
> (see Appendix B, p. 262. This question was not translated into English for the participants)

The second feature for measuring the proficiency of the Māori language learner participants was that every participant was interviewed in te reo (Appendix D: Interview Questionnaire p.274). Together, the writing sample and the interview transcript provided dual sources of evidence of each participant's level of Māori language fluency. These I examined with the level five Te Taura Whiri criteria in mind (Haemata Limited, 2006) in order to satisfy myself that for the purposes of the study each participant was a highly proficient second language speaker of te reo Māori.

#### 2.8.3.4 Semi-structured interview

Most participants were interviewed 'face to face' via the internet using a video conferencing programme called Skype (n=10). This was done for convenience and to minimise the costs in terms of time and travel for participants and for the researcher. Two participants were interviewed by telephone and four were

interviewed in person. All those interviewed by Skype and phone were people I had previously met in person. Interviews ranged in length between 1.5 to 2 hours. The interview was based on a semi-structured interview questionnaire (Appendix D, p.274). The interview questionnaire was semi-structured in the sense that I began with a list of 10 questions based on the 10 factors identified in the literature review (M. T. Ratima & May, 2011). I was also keen to pursue whatever line of conversation that was important to the interviewee. The semi-structured interview format does not force participants to respond in controlled ways (Freebody, 2003). Participants may respond to open questions in ways that are meaningful to them.

The semi-structured interview method was the best tool available to me in order to facilitate the research as a collaborative process in alignment with the first principle of kaupapa Māori; tino rangatiratanga (Table 2, p.21). The semi-structured interview allowed a degree of control by the researcher in the overall design of the interview schedule. The use of open questions also allowed latitude for the participants to respond in ways meaningful to them so they too could exercise agency over the research process. The interview questionnaire was set out in ten sections. Each section corresponded to one of the ten factors identified in the literature review (Chapter three, p.41), as an effective factor in the development of second language proficiency.

Following the first three interviews, some preliminary data analysis was done with Nvivo 9, a computer software programme for analysing qualitative data, which led to the fine tuning of questions within the interview questionnaire for future interviews.

The primary goal of the interviews was to illicit the learners' stories and perceptions about their own journeys to proficiency. This required keeping an open mind, allowing the participant to speak and express themselves but also a willingness to steer conversations back towards issues of teaching and learning, and self-reflection.

All audio was transcribed and all participants received a transcript copy of their own interview. They were invited to feedback on overall accuracy. I did not translate all of the material into English. Only the sections I decided to use in writing up my analysis were subsequently translated for the benefit of the reader not proficient with the Māori language. I have included the original Māori language quotations from interviews in the thesis so as to respect the integrity of the speaker's words. I also wanted to allow their original voice to be heard so that the reader proficient in te reo may have the choice to draw on whichever rendering they prefer, the original or my English translation. I alone am responsible for any unintentional errors in translation that a Māori language reader may detect.

### 2.8.4 Analysis

Two types of analysis have been applied to the interview data in this study: narrative inquiry and thematic analysis. I used narrative inquiry to give as full an account as possible of the stories of three individuals from within the wider cohort group.[7] The three were chosen because their stories demonstrate a level of sophistication that shed new light on Māori second language learning and reached beyond the existing literature to provide a previously untold and compelling rendering of the phenomenon. Narrative inquiry in educational research is premised on the idea that humans make sense of the world through stories. Narrative inquiry is a means of making sense of complex social phenomenon such as the development of proficiency in te reo, through story (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). My role as researcher was to retell the participants' stories in a collaborative way so that both mine and the participant voices could emerge in the telling.

[7] I had intended to use four case studies. One of the case participants however, choose to withdraw their story on the grounds that they were not aware their information would be used to create a case study, at the time of the interview. I of course had to respect the participant's right to withdraw her story and that is the reason why there are three case studies (in chapter 4) rather than four.

The process required transcription of original interviews and checking back to ensure meaning was being captured correctly. For the three case participants this also required seeking permission for public identification. This process led to the production of collaborative narratives of the learners' experiences.

The development of the narratives required the treatment of participants as characters, focalization upon particular meaningful aspects of the story, and the development of structure and coherency through plot (Holley & Colyar, 2009).

A thematic analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) was taken to analyse the broader interview data set. The objective here was to make meaning and generate a narrative of Māori second language proficiency development grounded in the perceptions of the entire participant cohort. A thematic analysis designed to elicit common and divergent attributes of the participants' experiences culminates in a single coherent narrative that encapsulates the phenomenon as lived by the participants and interpreted by me. The approach to analysis of the data is premised on a constructivist ontology where inquirer and the inquired-into are locked into an interactive process of telling and retelling, of construction, co-construction and reconstruction of knowledge and events within a social context (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

### 2.8.5 Triangulation, coherency and utility

In this study, triangulation refers to the process of drawing together multiple sources of data on a particular phenomenon or an event in order to establish a believable and coherent account. Through this study, I have triangulated data from multiple interviews, pre-interview questionnaires, writing samples and from the literature in order to produce a coherent trustworthy account of the experiences of highly proficient Māori second language learners. It has long been recognized by qualitative researchers in education that validity, reliability and generalization, as constructs from the natural sciences, are not appropriate concepts for evaluating qualitative research (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Eisner, 1998). This is because qualitative approaches do not set out to develop

grand narratives or to discover objective truths. They seek instead a more subjective and therefore more meaningful and contextual account of reality. Thick description (Geertz, 2003) and localized insight is the objective.

Researchers developing narratives to convey meaning have suggested a range of alternative measures of quality. Eisner's (1998) three criteria for appraising qualitative research in education have informed this study. First is coherency. Does the narrative make sense? Are the conclusions supported by the evidence? Have multiple data sources been drawn upon? Each narrative in this study has been subjected to the scrutiny of the participant about whom the narrative was created. Each provides evidence in the form of the participant's testimony of their own first hand experiences. At times I have added to, corroborated or challenged the meanings and inferences of these testimonials by drawing on my own experiences and pertinent information from the literature.

Second is consensus. Do the findings or interpretations reported concur with the investigator or the readers' experiences of the phenomenon? Is the narrative persuasive enough to convince other interested parties? It is never possible to gain consensus from all quarters but the objective is that the narrative be worthy of gaining consensus from all quarters which matter. In this study a form of consensus has been gained through collaboration with the participants. All 17 viewed their interview transcripts and had an opportunity to feedback. All three case study participants gave feedback on early drafts of their respective cases and, in some instances, this feedback led to major revisions in the interest of coherency and validity of the information. This procedure was important to a kaupapa Māori approach. Principle one on Table 2 (tino rangatiratanga see p.21), requires the researcher to remain accountable to participants and to acknowledge their rights of propriety over information they provide.

Third is instrumental utility. Eisner (1998) has suggested two kinds of utility: usefulness of comprehension and usefulness of anticipation. Usefulness of comprehension is achieved when a study helps us to understand the phenomenon better than it was ever previously understood. Usefulness of anticipation is

achieved when the study of a particular group goes beyond the particular information given and helps us to anticipate the future. This can occur when a study reveals exemplars of larger types. In my view, both types of utility have been achieved by this study. The stories of exemplar learners have been told in detail and conclusions have been reached that to the best of my knowledge are not present in current literature from SLA, RLS or Māori language revitalisation. This study makes a significant contribution to revealing what learner, teacher and learning environment attributes and resources are required for learners to develop to advanced levels of Māori language proficiency. The three results chapters which follow tell these stories and articulate these conclusions.

### 2.8.6 Theoretical framework

The study of a full range of factors influencing the development of second language proficiency in indigenous languages is an emerging field, and the lack of empirical evidence limits the study to theory building rather than theory testing. The intent of this study is to build empirically grounded theory allowing the data to generate propositions. Using an inductive model of thinking, the study gathers information in order to form themes or categories until a theory or pattern emerges (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

There is however a well-established body of literature on Second Language Acquisition that proposes theoretical frameworks and models which this study will use, particularly to compare with the study findings. The literature review has detailed social investment theory (Peirce, 1995) and the strength of evidence of the influence of a combination of integrative and instrumental forms of motivation on second language proficiency development over time (Dornyei, Csizér, & Németh, 2006). The underlying theoretical framework for this study is the social cultural theory of the mind (Lantolf, 2002; Lantolf & Appel, 1994; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Vygotskii & Kozulin, 1986). This theory conceives of language learning as a social-cultural process which takes place within a historical, political and cultural context. Learning happens first on the social plane before it can be internalised within the individual. The purpose of this thesis was to identify and

explore the influence of a range of individual and social factors on the development of second language Māori proficiency. From the perspective of social cultural theory it does not make sense to study factors in isolation (van Lier, 2008).

### 2.8.7 Information dissemination

The findings of this thesis will be shared with the participants and their whānau for the benefit of their language revitalisation efforts. It is envisaged that this will be done in the form of a hui or wānanga to include as many of the participants and their whānau as possible. A summary report will be sent to all individual participants. Findings will be disseminated to second language acquisition and language revitalisation audiences through a conference presentation and a peer-reviewed article.

### 2.8.8 Ethical issues

#### 2.8.8.1 Consent

My very first interview presented me with my first ethical challenge. The participant was a close personal friend. He was also the type of person who is never afraid to speak his mind. Our friendship was galvanised by sharing the experience of being members of the first cohort of Te Panekiretanga o te reo Māori (the School of Excellence in the Māori language). The course was consistently challenging and rewarding. My friend and I had been through a lot together and had been very supportive of one another over the years. Having explained the objectives of my study, my friend agreed to being interviewed. We met in his office and when I arrived I produced a participant consent form which I had slavishly designed in accordance with the template downloaded from the University's departmental website. He screwed the form up threw it into the bin, turned to me and said 'hei aha tērā rūpahu Pākehā, me kōrero tāua' - 'never mind that white man's rubbish, let's just talk'. For a long time I thought about how and

even if I would reflect this incident as part of the study. The more I thought about it the more I came to realise how important and symbolic an act it was. My friend's intention was to signal a lack of faith in what he saw as 'Pākehā' cultural ways of gaining consent. If we consider the consent form as a cultural artefact and a one-size-fits-all measure, my friend's act was an expression of his view of the form as an entirely inappropriate and meaningless mechanism to reflect the trust between us. The nature of our relationship meant that not only was the form unnecessary, but it intruded on our established friendship. This example highlights for me the tricky ethical ground that Māori doing research with Māori must sometimes negotiate. As learners and teachers, and as Māori language professionals committed to Māori language revitalisation, there was a pre-existing foundation for a relationship between myself and my participants. I entered into a relationship akin to friendship with every participant and their consent was not necessarily gained by signing a form. Informed consent in my study required an on-going negotiation based on trust and it was always subject to who the participants thought I was, as much as how I interacted with them.

#### 2.8.8.2 Intellectual property

In order to remain true to the principles of kaupapa Māori, I had to consider who owns the kōrero (discussion). Two principles are particularly helpful here: whanaungatanga / collectivity (five) and āta / respectful relationships (eight) on Table 2 (p.21). Whanaungatanga (collectivity) applied to intellectual property means that since both researcher and participants are co-creators of the story ownership resides with both. In other words, it would be unethical of me to include material given by an informant if they gave me any indication that material was not to be used. Furthermore, the principle of āta (respectful relationships) places a moral and ethical responsibility on me to include the participant in the construction of their story and to maintain the consent of the participant throughout the study and especially prior to publishing any material they supply.

My original intention was to include four case studies of exemplar learners in chapter four of the thesis. Once all the interviews were complete, I wrote up four cases and gave each of the four case participants a draft copy of their respective case study and I invited each one to first give me their consent to use the case and second to give me feedback on the accuracy. Consent and feedback came from three of the participants. However, the fourth participant, following protracted negotiations and two attempts to anonymise their case, chose to exercise their right to withdraw their case from the study (while agreeing that their responses to my questions could still be used anonymously in my analysis). The reason was that they had not known at the time of the interview that their responses to my questions might later form the basis of a personal case study. They had given sensitive information that they were concerned might cause harm or offence to others. In order to remain true to the principles of whakawhanaungatanga and āta, I of course had to respect the participant's wishes and remove the case and any reference to it from the thesis.

## 2.9 Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the approach used in this thesis to identify and illuminate factors leading to proficiency development in te reo Māori with adult learners. Narrative analysis was selected as the best method to tell the stories of three exemplar learners and reveal some exemplar types. Thematic analysis was selected as the most appropriate means to generate theory grounded in the realities of the entire participant cohort of 17. Chapter four will tell the stories of three exemplar adult Māori te reo learners. Chapters 5 and 6 will aggregate, compare, and contrast responses from the broader participant cohort. My interpretation and analysis is woven through both chapters, as are my reflections on what the implications of the study are for teachers and adult learners of te reo.

The spirit of my approach to this study is subjective and interpretive. I seek first and foremost, to give the reader a meaningful taste of reality from the lives of Māori adult learners. The Reverend Māori Marsden captured it best when he said:

> The route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach. That is more likely to lead to a goal. As a person brought up within the culture, who has absorbed the values and attitudes of the Māori, my approach to Māori things is largely subjective. The charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me; the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model or a map. It is not the same thing as the taste of reality (Marsden & Royal, 2003).

The following chapter presents my review of the literature which informed the research design and laid out a conceptual map for navigating the Māori second language learning terrain. I soon discovered my map to be, as Marsden intimates, a flawed and incomplete one. All the same, it gave me an orientation, a location from which I was able to embark on my quest for a taste of reality.

# Chapter 3 Literature Review

## 3.1 Introduction

This review draws on literature from RLS (Reversing Language Shift), SLA (Second Language Acquisition) and Māori and indigenous language education to identify factors influencing second language proficiency development in te reo. Ten factors, each with the potential to help or hinder the development of second language Māori proficiency amongst adult learners, are identified. The purpose of the review was to inform the development of a semi-structured interview questionnaire designed to test for the relevance of the 10 factors drawn from the literature.

A proliferation of educational initiatives to revitalise te reo in New Zealand since the late 1970s[8] has raised the status of the language within the New Zealand public sector. However, there is currently no evidence of a corresponding growth in the numbers of proficient speakers of te reo (Bauer, 2008; Benton, 2007). While there is some data on self-reported rates of Māori language fluency amongst adults (Research New Zealand Ltd, 2007; Statistics New Zealand, 2002b), there is no empirical base-line data on rates of acquisition and ultimate proficiency amongst second language learners of te reo.

[8] Examples include; Kohanga Reo (pre-school), Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary), Wharekura (secondary), Wānanga (Māori tertiary educational institutions), and many types of Māori language courses offered by a variety of mainstream tertiary education providers.

For the purpose of this study, I have developed the following working definition of the highly proficient adult Māori language speaker:

> **A highly proficient Māori language speaker is able to speak, listen, read and write in te reo Māori. Communication with other fluent speakers is spontaneous. Furthermore, the highly proficient speaker is able to express all of their thoughts, opinions and emotions according to the context and with whom they are interacting.**

This definition is based on recent work done by the Māori Language Commission to set out criteria for assessing levels of Māori language proficiency (Haemata Limited, 2006). It also accounts for the sociolinguistic aspects of language proficiency emphasized in Bachman's (1990) model of language competence (see page 12 for a discussion on the two key aspects of Bachman's model of language proficiency).

Research into the development of second language proficiency for adults has often divided help/hinder factors into two categories: individual and social (Baker, 2006; Harley, Allen, Cummins, & Swain, 1990). Individual factors include language aptitude, age, attitudes and motivation, and learner strategies. Social cultural factors include instruction, and factors related to identity formation such as agency and anxiety. Different researchers following different conceptualisations of the second language learning process have often chosen to place emphasis on one or other sets of factors. Researchers seeking to describe the process, and predict successful acquisition, have focused more on the individual factors (Gass, 1997; Selinker, 1992; Skehan, 1989). Others seeking to explain the process have generally found greater explanatory power in the analysis of the social and cultural factors (Block, 2003; Pitt, 2005; Schumann, 1978).

I have chosen to group factors into three categories by including a third category: wider societal factors. This distinction separates some factors where an individual learner can exercise agency (within their day to day socio-cultural interactions) from other factors where the learner can exercise little or no agency (the wider societal context). For that reason I consider 'demography' (population, proximity

and access to other speakers), 'language status' (legal and cultural) and language planning (government policy and community based) as wider societal factors rather than immediate social cultural factors.

Given the exploratory nature of this review, I gave all three categories of factors due attention. I begin with a discussion of research into individual factors, followed by social cultural factors (immediate) and finally the wider societal factors are considered.

## 3.2 Individual Factors

### 3.2.1 Factor one: Aptitude

In his influential work on language aptitude testing, John Carroll (1962) identified four components that, when tested for, could reliably predict future success in intensive foreign language learning. The following table (Table 4) presents a summary of the four components.

**Table 4: Carroll's four components of language aptitude**

| | |
|---|---|
| Phonetic coding | The ability to recognize, identify and recall certain sounds and their written symbols |
| Grammatical sensitivity | Sensitivity to the functions of words in a variety of contexts |
| Rote learning | The ability to learn complex chunks of language (words, phrases, sentences and expressions) and recall them over an extended time frame |
| Inductive language learning | The ability to infer forms, rules and patterns from new linguistic material with minimal supervision or guidance |

(adapted from Carroll, 1962, pp. 128-130)

The model outlined in Table 4 has endured because it is reliable in predicting future success in foreign language learning. Carroll developed a battery of tests (the Modern Language Aptitude Test or MLAT) based on the model and trialled

them with hundreds of armed forces personnel prior to entry into intensive foreign language programmes. Correlations between pre-entry aptitude scores and their exit proficiency scores as high as 0.84 were achieved (Carroll, 1962, p. 101).

More than two decades on from Carroll's work on aptitude, researchers had done little to extend or criticise Carroll's four point model. In the late 1980s Peter Skehan wrote that aptitude (as Carroll had defined it) was still empirically the most significant factor in predicting success in the acquisition of a foreign or second language (Skehan, 1989, p. 38). Later Skehan (1998) proposed a revised version of Carroll's four component model that collapsed grammatical sensitivity and inductive language learning into an "analytical language ability". This model is important as it proposes that certain elements of aptitude are significant in adult language learning at different times. Phonetic coding is more important early on when proficiency is limited. Analytic language learning is important both early and later as proficiency levels advance. Rote learning and memorization are also important at early and later stages of proficiency. However, exceptional learners tend to utilize exceptional memorization aptitude to develop native or near native language ability.

Carroll also extended his own work by theorising that if a student lacks aptitude, proficiency may still be gained by allowing for more time and a higher quality of instruction (Skehan, 1989, p. 6). He did not elaborate on the phrase 'higher quality of instruction'. Fortunately, others have and I will return to this topic under the section on instruction.

One criticism of aptitude based research in second language acquisition is that aptitude tests like the MLAT may not be measuring "aptitude" at all. They may instead be measuring underlying constructs such as the learner's "test savvy". If this is true then learners who have trouble with de-contextualised language, who might do better with language in more naturalistic settings would be at a disadvantage (Skehan, 1989).

A second related criticism of aptitude tests is that they are primarily concerned with linguistic competence and do not test for communicative competence. Here linguistic competence refers to what Bachman (1990) called organizational competence (including grammar, vocabulary and syntax). Communicative competence refers to what Bachman called pragmatic competence (including socio-linguistic ability such as tailoring speech to suit the listener). As Baker (2006, p. 29) has observed, testing for linguistic competence is easily done with 'pencil and paper' tests. However, testing for communicative competence is more complex, time consuming, and open to the subjective interpretations of examiners. Only testing for both sets of competencies can give a full assessment of a speaker's language proficiency. The limitations of aptitude tests and aptitude studies conceptualised within narrow linguistic definitions of aptitude should be made clear. They may reliably predict future success in developing language skills (of the linguistic de-contextualised kind) but it is not so certain that they can predict success in developing language ability (of the communicative kind).

The distinction between linguistic competence and communicative competence also has implications for classroom pedagogy. My own attempts to learn te reo through teaching methods that privileged linguistic competence were completely unsuccessful (in terms of developing my ability to communicate in te reo). The pedagogical implications of privileging one kind of competence over another are explored further in chapter 6 (see section 6.4.2, Attributes of effective teachers on page 198) where it will be argued that effective teachers prioritise communication in the second language, without ignoring the benefits of linguistic competence for enhancing accuracy of speech.

In brief, research into language aptitude has found aptitude to be one of the most empirically reliable factors in the prediction of second language learning success in intensive language courses. John Carroll's (1962) four component model continues to be regarded as "the model" of language aptitude and this is because of his ability to establish empirically its reliability as a predictive framework. However, where a student lacks aptitude (as Carroll has defined it) they may still achieve high levels of proficiency. This is an important point for students who

could do better learning language in a more naturalistic setting. Current systems of aptitude testing have yet to accommodate a broader definition of aptitude to include communicative competence and this may disadvantage learners who prefer learning language in context. Finally, Carroll suggested that where a student lacks aptitude, proficiency could still be achieved by allowing for more time and higher quality instruction.

### 3.2.2 Factor two: Age, timing and the critical period

SLA researchers have estimated that only about five percent of second language learners will go on to develop the mental grammar of native speakers (Ellis, 1997). The prominent theoretical explanation for such a low rate of ultimate proficiency amongst adult learners is the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH)(Lenneberg, 1967). Based on Chomsky's (1965) universal grammar theory[9], the CPH contends that the younger the age at which one is first exposed to a second language the better the effect on the ultimate proficiency one is likely to attain. The critical period generally refers to age range from two years to puberty. After puberty, it is thought to be unlikely the second language learner will ever reach native-like proficiency. However, there is evidence that some adult learners experience no "critical period" (White & Genesee, 1996). White and Genesee focused on identifying adult second language learners in Canada who were exposed to English as a second language late (16+ years of age) and had gained native-like proficiency. These findings do not deny the effects of age on the ultimate ability to acquire native-like competence in a second language. However, they present a significant empirical challenge to the notion that age is the primary determinant. A recent review of research into the CPH as an explanatory theory (Schouten, 2009), delineated three types of studies: research which affirms and extends upon the age/proficiency link; research that refutes it; and research that seeks to reconceptualise it to include other factors like individual learner attributes and social interactional and environmental factors. Research which reconceptualises the age/proficiency link seems the most compelling,

[9] Noam Chomsky postulated a theory that the human brain has a limited number of rules that can be applied to language, therefore, all human languages must have a common grammar

especially since all of the participants on this current study developed te reo proficiency as adults and all have reached native or near-native levels of competence. This fact does not discount age as a factor in determining ultimate levels of proficiency. However, it does present an empirical challenge to conceptualisation of age as the primary determinant in ultimate levels of proficiency.

Lenneburg (1967) is credited with popularising the term ‘Critical Period Hypothesis’. He conducted research into the first language (L1) acquisition of those who never fully develop language proficiency (for example, the mentally disabled or those who became deaf at an early age). His theory was that, due to structural reorganisation within the brain which occurs during puberty, any language skills not fully developed prior to the restructuring would forever remain under-developed. Research into second language acquisition with non-English speaking immigrants to the USA (Johnson & Newport, 1989; Oyama, 1978; Patkowski, 1980) leant support to this theory when they found that age was the only variable that strongly predicted the ultimate attainment of certain grammatical structures in English.

Subsequent studies have challenged the validity of the CPH. These studies point to the existence of significant numbers of speakers who managed to achieve near native-like performance, despite having little or no exposure to the second language prior to puberty (Bongaerts, 1999; Cranshaw, 1997; van Wuijtswinkel, 1994).

Birdsong and Molis (2001) replicated the Johnson and Newport (1989) study with the exact same methods. Johnson and Newport had studied Korean and Chinese native speakers learning English. Birdsong and Molis studied native Spanish speakers learning English. Their findings, to some degree, challenged the notion of rigid biological constraints on second language acquisition. They described moderate evidence of near-native second language performance in the second language with late learners.

White and Genesee (1996) mounted a much stronger challenge to the validity of the CPH. They too drew attention to the existence of near-native speakers who were late learners (i.e., not exposed to the second language until after 15 years of age). They compared the performance of near-native second language English speakers with native speakers of English and with a control group. They measured performance on language tasks similar to the ones used by Johnson and Newport (Johnson & Newport, 1989). Their evidence, they claimed, showed native like competence was possible for second language learners, even older ones.

Others have accepted the basic premise that age may be a factor in determining ultimate proficiency with the caveat that it is not the only factor. Therefore a redefinition of the parameters of the CPH is required to accommodate a wider range of factors. DeKeyser (2000) argues that not only age but also the verbal ability of adult learners is a key determinant of ultimate near native proficiency. Here 'verbal ability' refers to the ability to analyse the structure of language and utilise language based problem solving strategies. DeKeyser found a strong correlation between high verbal ability and ultimate near native proficiency. Moyer (1999) argues that other non-biological factors like learner motivation, cultural empathy, the desire to sound like a native speaker, and the type and amount of input have been largely left out by researchers. Her study found second language learners who used German as a second language for employment (e.g. translators and journalists) scored significantly closer to native like ability.

Baker (2006, p. 129) in his review of studies comparing adult second language learners with child second language learners found evidence that younger learners tend to eventually reach higher ultimate levels of proficiency in the second language. Baker argued that this does not provide evidence of a biologically restricted period of development. Instead, he suggests that key social differences between younger and older learners are more likely determinants. In particular, the learners' situations and opportunities to produce and practice the second language and the amount of time learners have to dedicate to the second language. Typically younger learners get to spend more time (intensive and extended periods) acquiring a second language than older learners. Furthermore, older learners are more efficient at second language learning in structured contexts.

Age and timing are factors in second language acquisition. It is questionable that this is because of a biologically critical period of human brain development. Strong forms of the CPH have some significant limitations. First, the **existence** of adult learners, including the ones on this current study, however rare, who have reached native or near native proficiency in a second language presents a serious empirical challenge to the CPH. Second, there is a plausible alternative explanation for the tendency of younger learners to achieve higher ultimate levels of second language proficiency. Their learning situations and their length of exposure to the second language is simply more conducive to achieving higher levels of proficiency. Third, the generalisability of the CPH across different second language learner contexts has been drawn into question, in particular, by studies that show second language learners are capable of near-native proficiency (Birdsong & Molis, 2001; White & Genesee, 1996). Fourth, there are other non-biological factors that CPH based studies tend to ignore, such as verbal ability and professional motivation. Recent research has shown these non-biological factors correlate in some instances with higher levels of proficiency amongst adult learners (DeKeyser, 2000; Moyer, 1999)

One could conclude from these studies that it is better to begin learning te reo earlier rather than later. The earlier a person starts the more likely they are to achieve proficiency. However, current research into the CPH does not rule out the

possibility of a dedicated adult learner (a good language learner) achieving native or near native proficiency. Given time, opportunity and the right motivation, high-level proficiency can be achieved.

### 3.2.3 Factor three: Attitudes and motivation

Learner motivation is thought to be amongst the most influential of factors in the successful acquisition of a second or foreign language. This may be because, as Skehan (1991, p. 49) observes, 'it [motivation] can overcome unfavourable circumstances in other aspects of language learning'. Gardner's (1960) research has been instrumental in establishing attitudes and motivation as a legitimate field of inquiry in its own right within SLA research. Gardner made the distinction between what he called integrative and instrumental motivation. Integrative motivation relates to the way a learner feels towards speakers of the target language. If the learner has a desire to relate, interact with or maintain contact with the target community then they are said to have integrative motivation to learn the target language. Thus, the learner's attitude towards the target group affects their motivation to learn the target language. Instrumental motivation refers to the learner's view of whether or not learning the target language will provide any kind of practical advantage. For example, if the learner thinks they are more likely to be employed or to earn more money, or benefit from an enhanced social status as a result of developing proficiency in the target language, then they are said to have instrumental motivation.

Gardner pioneered the development of statistical techniques to provide evidence for the relationship between the learner's attitudes towards speakers of the target language, learner's motivation and the learner's language learning outcomes over time. He developed the Attitude and Motivation Index (AMI). Gardner tested the AMI extensively and was able to use it to correlate attainment in second language learning with integrative motivation and attitudes to a good degree of success within the context of Canadian high school students learning French as a second language (Gardner, 1980). Other researchers using the AMI in different contexts have found attainment to correlate with different aspects of the AMI. For instance,

a study applying the AMI to students learning English as second language in the Philippines found parental instrumental motivation to correlate higher with attainment than integrative motivation or attitude (Skehan, 1989, p. 54).

Gardner (1960, 1980) initially postulated integrative motivation as the more important form because it is personal to the learner and would therefore be less subject to changes in the external environment. For example, a change in government policy to provide financial incentives for learning an indigenous language may affect learner instrumental motivation but would be less likely to impact on integrative motivation. It is now thought that the importance of one form of motivation over the other is more likely to depend on the context. The shift in thinking was initiated by the results of studies where instrumental motivation was found to correlate at least as highly as integrative motivation did with successful acquisition (for example, Dornyei, et al., 2006). Dornyei et al. (2006) found in their study of Hungarian high school second language learners that there was a "threshold effect" on integrative motivation. They observed many students who initially had no or little contact with target language speakers and at first reported an integrative interest in learning the target language. Over time as they learned the target language and had increasing contact with target language speakers, mostly tourists, they reached what Dornyei et al. called a "threshold" of contact and their integrative motivation to learn the target language waned. This finding challenges Gardner's conceptualisation of integrative motivation as the more resilient form and Dornyei et al. suggest a re-conceptualisation of integrative motivation as a factor more susceptible to changes in context than originally conceived by Gardner.

The Dornyei et al. (2006) study represents a significant advance on Gardner's early work. Their study at the time was the largest empirical study into motivation for second language learning. They surveyed over 13,000 Hungarian high school second language learners over three occasions, 1993, 1999 and 2004, and found that there were four statistically significant clusters of motivation types within the sample: (i) those with significant integrative but little or no instrumental motivation; (ii) those with significant integrative and some instrumental

motivation; (iii) those with some integrative and significant instrumental motivation; and (iv) those with significant integrative and significant instrumental motivation.

It may not be surprising that the cluster which produced the greatest success in language learning outcomes was that with both significant integrative and significant instrumental motivation. However, the finding is important because it was the first time this correlation had been validated on such a large scale and in such definitive fashion. It is also important because it provided further evidence that, in the Hungarian case, instrumental motivation was just as significant a factor in successful language acquisition as integrative.

One major limitation of the study was the decision not to consider the effects of instruction on motivation. Their justification (Dornyei, et al., 2006) was that, due to logistic complexity and the sample size, the effects of instruction would be too difficult to gauge. Instruction, and in particular how to optimise second language learning outcomes through instruction, is considered in detail under the section on social cultural factors.

In summary, the research outlined above has established that motivation is a powerful factor in the development of second language proficiency. Motivation reliably correlates with second language learning outcomes over time. It cannot be assumed that integrative motivation is more important than instrumental motivation as research shows variation between different language learning contexts.  Motivation is dynamic. A learner who starts out with integrative motivation may not necessarily retain it over time. Similarly, a learner who is at first instrumentally motivated may develop an affinity with the target language and its speakers and therefore develop an integrative motive. Finally, the best results are achieved when both integrative and instrumental forms of motivation are present within the learner. An obvious conclusion is that a successful learner is a motivated learner. What may not be so obvious is what strategies a motivated learner applies to develop proficiency in the target language.

### 3.2.4 Factor four: Learner strategies

SLA research concerned with the question of what makes a good learner has tended to focus on the cognitive strategies employed by individual learners. The following commonalities in good language learners or GLLs have been identified: they focus on both form and meaning; they take charge of their own learning; they have an awareness of the learning process and of their own learning styles; they are flexible in selecting an appropriate strategy for a learning situation; and they are particularly good at meta-cognitive learning strategies, that is, planning, monitoring, and evaluating their own learning (Ellis, 1997, p. 77; Naiman, Frolich, Stern, & Todesco, 1996; Rubin, 1975).

A study by Norton and Toohey (2001) challenged the explanatory power of the GLL research and showed that, even amongst cohorts of second language learners who appear to employ many of the general strategies and the specific techniques of "good language learners", only a small number excel and reach native-like levels of proficiency. Norton and Toohey (2001) described in detail the experiences of one adult second language learner, Eva, a Polish immigrant living in Canada. Eva appeared to excel over and above the rate of acquisition of her fellow immigrant women cohort, in spite of the entire cohort displaying roughly equivalent abilities with regard to GLL criteria. Norton and Toohey attributed Eva's success in part to the possibilities her community offered – her social cultural milieu.

The GLL studies have been meaningful and useful to second language teachers because they identify and describe good learning practice. Studies based on other individual factors (i.e. age, aptitude and motivation) have been more concerned with the prediction of success and therefore less useful to language teachers. The major limitation of the GLL studies lies in their scant attention to the social and cultural milieu within which the learner strategies occur. Knowledge of the strategies is important, but of at least equal importance is a consideration of the conditions that enable learners to utilise these strategies.

## 3.3 Social Cultural Factors

By comparison to the individual help / hinder factors identified above, the social cultural factors influencing the successful development of second language proficiency represent a less developed field of scholarly interest (within SLA research). Most studies are small scale action research or case studies. They often utilise exploratory and qualitative methods of investigation (Lantolf & Poehner, 2008; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Peirce, 1995). Researchers focused on a particular individual factor like aptitude, motivation, or age, have assumed that each element can be studied in isolation as fragmented factors influencing mental processing. By contrast, a focus on the social and cultural determinants of successful second language learning is underpinned by an assumption that learning is a holistic process that must be studied in its natural and meaningful state and within its social and cultural context. From the perspective of social cultural theory, it does not make sense to study elements in isolation (van Lier, 2008).

There is messiness and a blurring of the lines between factors that is to be expected with a complex interconnected phenomenon. The specific social cultural factors I will deal with here are: instruction, agency and anxiety, and wairua (Māori spirituality). Although attitudes and motivation are covered at length under individual factors, there is mention of motivation here as it relates to agency and anxiety. I have chosen to deal with instruction here as a factor that an individual can exercise a degree of choice over, when more than one choice of instruction is available. All of the wider societal factors (dealt with later) are connected since unequal power relationships in the broader society are played out in the day to day linguistic and social cultural interactions of second language learners.

### 3.3.1 Factor five: Instruction

Rod Ellis (2005) has produced the most comprehensive review of the SLA literature on instructed second language acquisition at the time of writing. He concluded that current research into instruction and second language acquisition does not provide a definitive answer to the question of 'what forms of instruction work best' for second language learners? The ambiguity, he suggests, is due to most research being concerned with proving or disproving various theories from SLA and a lesser concern for practical issues that matter to teachers. He stressed the need for more carefully designed process-product studies in order to better address pragmatic questions. Ellis offered 10 general principles of effective instruction drawn from the SLA research from the previous 15 years. Table 5 provides a list of the 10 principles and Ellis's practical suggestions for teachers and curriculum designers.

**Table 5: Ellis's ten principles of effective instruction** Adapted from (Ellis, 2005)

| Principle | Suggestion |
|---|---|
| 1. Develop a repertoire of formulaic expressions and rule based competence | Teaching should initially focus on wrote learning of formulaic expressions and delay the analysis until later. |
| 2. Focus predominantly on (pragmatic) meaning | Instruction should not exclude activities focused on semantic meaning, but teachers must make an effort to use language for communication. |
| 3. Also focus on form | Instruction can focus on form: by teaching specific grammatical features; by encouraging 'noticing' of grammatical features; through tasks requiring learners to process grammatical features, by allowing time for 'on-line' planning; or through corrective feedback. |
| 4. Develop implicit knowledge while not neglecting explicit knowledge | Instruction should be directed at both forms of knowledge but Ellis offers no suggestion as to how this might be achieved. |
| 5. Take into account learners' "built-in syllabus" | 1) Adopt a "zero grammar" or a task-based approach (after Krashen, 1981) with no attempt to predetermine the linguistic content<br>2) Teach target features when learners are developmentally ready (not practical for large classes)<br>3) Focus on explicit knowledge rather than implicit as the later is subject to developmental constraints. |
| 6. Provide extensive L2 input | Maximise the use of L2 in the classroom as means of instruction.<br>Create opportunities for students to receive input outside the classroom. Provide graded reading material appropriate for student levels. Where resource allow, provide self-access centres students can use outside of class time. |
| 7. Provide opportunities for output | Ask learners to perform tasks that require both written and oral language. |
| 8. Interaction in the L2 is central for proficiency | Give students opportunities and reasons: to use language; to express their own personal meanings; to participate in activities just beyond their current levels of proficiency; to deliver "full performance" in the language. |
| 9. Take account of individual differences in learners | Offer different types of both analytic and experimental (task-based) learning activities<br>Develop instructional clarity, an appropriate pace of delivery, and accept that it is a teacher's responsibility to motivate students. |
| 10. Assess free as well as controlled production | Teachers should include the assessment of performance of tasks. 'Closed' tasks are the most practical to assess (e.g., spot the difference where learners must interact to find the answer). |

Teachers might ask the important question: “does research show that instruction makes a difference in second language acquisition?” This question was addressed in a comprehensive study by Michael Long (1983) who found there was some evidence (although not overwhelming) that instruction does help the acquisition of a second language for children and adults.

Ellis’s (2005) review of the literature on instructed second language acquisition also offers a partial response to this question and we may draw out three important points from his work as follows. Instruction may be effective when 1) opportunities for students to engage in communication based activities are given priority, 2) opportunities for students to interact and express their own meanings are emphasised and 3) students’ opportunities for learning the second language are extended beyond the classroom.

For the most part, Ellis’s approach to instruction has been dominated by an input/processing theoretical model of second language learning. This model views second language learning as an internal mental process where the social cultural and contextual factors in learning are at best modifiers to internal mental process (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 312). Social cultural theory views second language learning as a process where learners appropriate the utterances of others in the context of particular historical and cultural practices. From the social cultural perspective, learning first takes place on the social plane before it can later be internalised by the individual (Lantolf & Appel, 1994; Vygotskii & Kozulin, 1986). Researchers must pay attention to the social and cultural practices within the learning context if they are to understand how the learner gains or is denied access to the linguistic resources of the language community. The following section will extend the focus beyond the classroom and into the realm of social cultural theory and consider the effect of conceptualising second language learning as identity formation.

### 3.3.2 Factor six: Agency and anxiety

> The success of language learning may be affected by the wealth or restriction of opportunities for identity development in new networks (e.g., acceptance, rejection) . . . . Language learning is not just a cognitive activity operating in the mind, but is also about becoming part of a new language community and developing multiple identities. (Baker, 2006, p. 138)

> In restaurant was working a lot of children, but the children always thought that I am-I don't know-maybe some broom or something. They always said "Go and clean the living room." And I was washing the dishes and they didn't do nothing. They talked to each other and they thought that I had to do everything. And I said "No." The girl is only 12 years old. She is younger than my son. I said "No, you are doing nothing. You can go and clean the tables or something."
> (Martina, an immigrant English Second Language (ESL) learner working in a Canadian restaurant, in Peirce, 1995, p. 22)

The first quote makes two points relevant to this review. First, second language learning may be conceptualised as the development of new or multiple identities. Second, successful second language learning may depend on the learners' ability to access new social networks and assert new social identities. The second quote gives a specific example of this identity formation process in action. Martina's young fellow workers initially reject her as an inferior due to her limited command of English. They ascribe to her the role of lowly "broom". She asserts her agency and rejects this ascribed identity by reaffirming another of her own multiple identities, that of mother. Her words convey her underlying message – I am not your inferior. Peirce interprets this act of agency through a feminist lens and concludes that Martina's social identity is a site of struggle where Martina has borrowed from her family role as leader, organiser and superior in order to defend the status of her workplace identity. She asserts herself as a person with a right to speak and be spoken to with dignity. An important part of Martina's ability to be able to convey her message to her fellow workers is her command of English. As her linguistic capacity develops so too does her identity as a fellow worker. In fact the two are inextricably linked.

In the case of Martina her identity as a mother and her responsibilities to her children provided a powerful source of motivation for her never to give up trying to learn to speak English. She was fearful that if she did not learn English she would jeopardise her children and her family's ability to access the benefits of a good life in Canada. Like Martina, Māori parents surveyed in Chrisp's (2005) study reported a motivation to ensure a better future for their children. Chrisp interviewed 50 Māori parents through eight focus groups over a two month period. The participants were asked questions regarding their knowledge and use of te reo. The research was based on the assumption that intergenerational transmission (ITL) of te reo is crucial to language regeneration. The desire to be able to pass the ancestral language on to children was a key motivating factor for those parents choosing to learn te reo and for those choosing to speak Māori to their children. This may be seen as an expression of agency and as an assertion of Māori parents identities as Māori. Peirce warns that motivation in the real world is not as simple as Gardner's (1960) *instrumental* and *integrative* orientations suggest. The very forces that motivate a learner can also produce anxiety and anxiety can silence second language learners.

Some Māori parents within Chrisp's (2005) study reported elevated levels of anxiety when entering Māori language classrooms and when attempting to engage with fluent speakers of te reo even though the same participants identified these very acts as a motivating force. The following excerpt from Peirce's (1995) study of adult female migrants to Canada illustrates this complexity.

> Mai, who came to Canada for her life in the future and depended on the wishes of management for her job security and financial independence, was most uncomfortable speaking to her boss. Katarina, who came to Canada to escape a communist and atheistic system, and had a great affective investment in her status as a professional, felt most uncomfortable talking to her teacher, the doctor, and other anglophone professionals.
> (Peirce, 1995, p. 19)

Peirce concluded that the dominant model of motivation in SLA at the time (Gardner's) could not adequately account for the contradictions apparent in the social and cultural lives of second language learners. Peirce proposed that second language learners bring aspects of their multiple identities to bear on their learning situations. They "invest" time, energy, and their own *social capital* into the business of acquiring the target language, often in spite of difficult circumstances. The investment they must believe will be justified by the social dividend they will accrue, i.e., access to the economic and social resources of the target language community, as a result of their developing capacity. Peirce's (1995) economic model builds upon Pierre Bourdieu's (1991) metaphor of social capital which learners bring to any learning situation. Learners who possess the "right" kinds of social capital have an advantage over others. All learners possess social capital but the particular type and its appropriateness depends on factors like language, dialect, social class, cultural characteristics, physical appearance, personality, and so forth. Peirce makes a strong case that the way second language learners successfully or unsuccessfully deal with complex issues like anxiety must be understood in terms of their social identities and the type and magnitude of the investment they make in learning the second language.

Notwithstanding the anxiety that many second language learners report, some manage to excel and reach levels of proficiency over and above their fellows. One example is Eva from the Norton and Toohey (2001) study. As mentioned earlier, Eva was able to develop second language proficiency (in English) much quicker and to higher levels than other immigrant women on the same study, even though she was no different to the other participants in terms of the GLL criteria. An input/processing approach might have sought to explain Eva's success in terms of her motivation, aptitude, or some other individual trait. Norton and Toohey, following social cultural theory, choose to explore two elements within Eva's social and cultural world in order to seek a better understanding of her success. They focused on the dialectic between Eva's agency as an second language speaker and the opportunities and constraints on offer within the social and cultural practices of her workplace.

Eva took a job at a fast food restaurant, Munchies, in order to learn English. The social cultural language practices at Munchies initially were not ideal for developing Eva's linguistic capacity. Conversations between staff and customers and between fellow staff were generally short as the objective was to serve customers as quickly and efficiently as possible (except for break times when the staff would chat). In addition Eva's limited English meant she was allocated the tasks that require little or no talking (the most undesirable tasks like cleaning and preparing food for cooking). Munchies policy to help sponsor a monthly social outing for staff gave Eva her first opportunity to be seen by other staff, including her manager, as a desirable person to talk to. In this different context, Eva's youth and good looks became assets which she could leverage in order to engage her workmates in conversation. Her partner often helped provide transport for staff on these outings and this too had the effect of raising Eva's appeal as a desirable interlocutor. Eva was also able to utilise her intellectual resources to reposition herself as a person fellow staff would want to talk to. One Canadian colleague had a Polish husband and was happy to learn some basic Polish language from Eva. Other colleagues had an interest in visiting Europe as tourists and Eva was able to use her knowledge of Europe to engage them in conversations.

By exploring the social cultural context of Eva's developing second language proficiency, Norton and Toohey (ibid) have shown how a good language learner can use their agency to reposition themselves and redefine their second language identity, even when conditions may not be optimal. Norton and Toohey speculate that things might not have worked out so well for Eva had she not been white, slim, good looking, and in possession of desirable knowledge (ibid, p.318).

> It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to - or is denied access to - powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak. (Peirce, 1995, p. 13)

In the case of Eva we can see clearly what Peirce is saying. Eva used what limited language she had to negotiate a new identity as a worthy English language speaker. She used knowledge and social assets to gain access to the language networks of her workplace, access that was initially denied on the basis of her limited English.

Currently, no such in-depth studies to reveal the social cultural lives of good Māori second language learners exist. This kind of a study has an appeal. The focus shifts from the evidence of production of specific linguistic features, as with most SLA studies, towards understanding the social and cultural processes which can obstruct or assist with te reo acquisition and these must be addressed for wider language regeneration to occur.

Chrisp (2005) identified what he called psychological barriers to learning te reo that some Māori parents exhibit. Chrisp gave two examples of these barriers. First was the tendency for Māori parents to have unrealistically high expectations, to be hard on themselves when they failed, and to be whakamā (ashamed) about failure, "I am Māori so I should know this". Second, was the tendency to put off learning te reo with the avoidance strategy of saying "I will learn it when I move back home". "Home" here is a reference to the tribal district, often rural, whereas most Māori live in the city areas.

Just like Martina and Eva, adult te reo learners will face adversity in order to develop high levels of proficiency in the target languages. This adversity is often expressed as anxiety and is related to perception of the learner as an inferior. The power of and over language resides with the dominant group or with target language speakers. That power must be met with assertion and agency from learners in order for gains to be made.

### 3.3.3 Factor seven: Wairua (the spirit)

Browne (2005) carried out a study on wairua and second language learning of te reo within the Te Ataarangi programme. [10] She interviewed a range of teachers and adult students from the programme and proposed a theory of wairua as a paralinguistic phenomenon activated by karakia (prayer) with the power to bring a "balanced wholeness of being" to those engaged in learning. "Paralinguistic" in this sense means a phenomenon with more than just linguistic qualities. She concluded that wairua was an affective factor in the second language acquisition of te reo. Browne theorised that as te reo increasingly became the learners vehicle for the nurturing, growth and development of the spirit, so too would the language proficiency of the learner grow and develop.

As a Māori second language learner and an insider to Māori culture and custom, Browne's conclusions resonated with my own learning journey. In my experience, spirituality is so integral to learning te reo and to all Māori cultural contexts that it is largely taken for granted and sometimes requires outside eyes to point out its salience. For example, all te reo classes I participate in begin and end with karakia (prayer), including those held in secular mainstream institutions. All formal speech making (whaikōrero and karanga) includes addressing of the deceased, God (or the gods), and the ancestors. To neglect any one of those aspects is generally considered a display of ignorance. As my proficiency in te reo develops over time, so too does my spirit. The external manifestation of this growth is that I have become more able and more needed to make a contribution to the communities I serve. This is not to say that learning te reo (or one's native language) is the only path to spiritual growth. However, my experience reinforces Browne's conclusion: developing proficiency in te reo occurs in parallel with the growth and development of wairua. Browne's wairua "hypothesis" offers a plausible case for wairua as an affective factor in the acquisition of te reo. However, in comparison to the other factors considered in this review her theory is preliminary. Important questions remain: is spiritual growth a co-requisite for te

[10] Te Ataarangi is a community based immersion Māori language programme for adults. See http://www.teataarangi.org.nz for more information.

reo proficiency development? Is it conceivable to develop proficiency in te reo without spiritual growth? What is the nature of the relationship between the two? More research is needed to address these questions and to ascertain the relative importance of wairua as an affective factor in the acquisition of te reo.

In this section we have reviewed examples of how wider inequitable societal power relations are played out within the context of individual's day to day interactions (Baker, 2006; Peirce, 1995). Differentials of power between second language learners and speakers of the target language make second language learning a site of struggle and second language learners must constantly negotiate for access to the linguistic, social and cultural resources of the target language community. It has been argued that wairua is an affective factor in developing proficiency in te reo for adult learners, although it is not well understood from a second language learning perspective.

## 3.4 Wider Societal Factors

The following section will explore the wider societal factors that can impact the opportunities second language learners have to develop their linguistic capacities. These include: demography; language status; and language planning.

### 3.4.1 Factor eight: Demography

The population and distribution of ethnic minorities is an important factor in revitalising a language and maintaining an environment where opportunities for second language learners to engage in naturalistic conversations abound (Baker, 2006, p. 56). The number of speakers and their saturation within a specific area has a bearing on language maintenance. For example, the high concentration of Spanish speakers in Miami helps to maintain a vital Latino community. In New Zealand, there are two small rural towns well known amongst Māori language speakers. They are Tokomaru Bay on the East Coast of the North Island, a stronghold of the Ngāti Porou tribe, and Ruatāhuna in the central Bay of Plenty,

within the traditional tribal district of the Tūhoe people (see the map of New Zealand, Appendix F, p.288). Both towns have a high Māori population density. Tokomaru Bay has a total population of 447, 78.6% of whom identify as Māori and te reo is spoken by 40.5% of the overall population (Statistics New Zealand, 2007c). Ruatāhuna is within the Matahina-Minginui district which has a total population of 1,464 of which 55.6% identify as Māori and te reo is spoken by 33.8% of the people (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b). These towns, through their isolation and high concentrations of Māori speakers, have managed to maintain bilingual Māori/English speaking communities. However, there are instances where lively minority language social networks remain intact, in spite of relatively low numbers of speakers.

Baker (2006, p. 56) offers three examples of how a small number of speakers can continue to maintain language networks when located within a dominant majority language environment. First, language maintenance can occur when there are strong religious beliefs associated with the minority language group. Second, when speakers can travel relatively easily between their homeland and their place of residence language maintenance can occur. Third, whenever speakers within a large city or border areas are socially and culturally active in their minority language, maintenance may occur.

All three examples hold some relevance to the case of te reo in New Zealand. Often where there is a Māori immersion language nest (kohanga reo), an immersion primary school (kura kaupapa Māori), or an immersion high school (wharekura), there will be an active wider Māori community network to promote language maintenance and provide opportunities for second language learners to develop proficiency. Hoani Waititi marae, based in the Auckland City suburb of Glen Eden, is an example of a Māori institution comprising all three types of Māori immersion schooling listed above (pre-school, primary and secondary). These institutions provide not only for educational needs but also strive to integrate the religious and cultural practices of their communities. New Zealand is sufficiently small enough that travel to and from the tribal homelands, while difficult, is possible for many urban dwelling Māori. The very existence of such

Māori institutions as Hoani Waititi raises the status of te reo at home and abroad. The following section will consider the impact that the status of the second language may have on the second language learner.

### 3.4.2 Factor nine: Language status

Baker (2006, p. 55) identifies three elements which affect the overall status of a language and may motivate "shift" of speakers towards or away from speaking that language. They are: economic status; social status; and symbolic status.

If a minority language is connected with widespread unemployment or deprivation, a shift away from speaking that language can occur. This was the case with te reo from around the turn of the twentieth century. Māori communities struggled to recover from loss of lives through European introduced disease and loss of lands (confiscated or alienated by other means following the land wars of the 1870s), with many became impoverished as a result (Belich, 1998). Learning English was touted as the only way for Māori children to gain access to the benefits of a British education and associated material wealth.

When a majority language is seen as providing access to higher social status, power and prestige, a shift towards speaking that language can occur. This has been the case with the English language in New Zealand. By the 1970s, Māori had taken so emphatically to speaking only English in school, at home and at work that Richard Benton (1979b) declared the Māori language to be in danger of extinction. Many Māori elders and community leaders, who had long been concerned by signs of language loss, were alarmed by the empirical evidence provided by Benton. His research added momentum to a powerful language, culture and rights based Māori renaissance movement through the 1970s and the 1980s. The Māori Renaissance effectively elevated the social status of te reo me ōna tikanga (Māori language and culture).

A heritage language may be important as a symbol of ethnic identity. This is certainly the case for te reo. This sentiment is captured in the often quoted expression "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori", meaning that the Māori language is the life force of Māoridom (Sir James Henare cited by Waitangi Tribunal, 1986 in section 6.1.21). At the time of writing, the Māori language has symbolic status as a Heritage language in Aotearoa/New Zealand, not just for ethnic Māori peoples but also as a heritage language for the nation. The nature of this status is expressed through the degree of priority the language is given within national institutions (the law, parliament, schools and workplaces). While Māori still has a secondary status to English there has been a quantifiable increase in its use and access, and therefore in its influence, since te reo was made an official language of New Zealand by an act of Parliament in 1987 (Benton, 2007, p. 171).

Benton (2007) offers an alternative to Baker's (2006) way of conceptualising the status of a language based on the Māori concept of mauri. The double meaning of mauri is, in one sense, "the life force" and, in another sense, an actual physical object within which a life force may be instilled by means of incantation and ritual. With this dual concept in mind Benton sets out to answer the question "is te reo a mauri or a mirage?" After a review of the statistical and historical evidence he concludes that it may be viewed as both. On one hand, it is a mauri in the sense of the latter meaning as a physical object carrying a life force. Even though as few as 26% of Māori people speak te reo, so long as someone somewhere speaks it then remains a symbol of Māori identity (Baker's symbolic status). More importantly, concepts which define and delineate Māori culture (whanaungatanga, mana, manaakitanga)[11] can continue to be meaningful so long as someone continues to understand and express them through te reo. On the other hand, te reo's status as an "official language" of New Zealand is something of a mirage given the low numbers of Māori speakers and the secondary priority it is allocated within New Zealand's societal institutions: the law, schools, home and the workplace.

[11] Whanaungatanga = relationships based on kinship connections. Mana = spiritual power, pride and status. Manaakitanga = generousity and responsibility to care for others.

Both Baker (2006) and Benton's (2007) conceptualisations of language status are useful. Both recognise that where proficiency in a language mediates access to economic and social rewards, the status and the impetus to develop and maintain the language is strong. Both conceptualisations also recognise that, as with te reo, when a language is connected with the ethnic identity of a people, there may be a powerful impetus to preserve and revitalise. Benton's mauri concept illustrates his key point: while te reo may have a secure symbolic status (as the 'life force' of Māoridom), its economic and social status are not on such firm footing.

### 3.4.3 Factor ten: Language planning

Examples from countries such as New Zealand, Norway, and Canada, show that language planning can strengthen the status (economic, social and symbolic) of an indigenous or minority language (May, 2003). The following section considers language planning, particularly with regard to Reversing Language Shift (RLS), and identifies language planning priorities to create conditions conducive to the second language acquisition of indigenous languages.

In democratic societies across the world there is increasing recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples to self-determination and to the preservation of their culture, language and customs as they see fit. Joshua Fishman (2000) and Stephen May (2003) have argued that the right to speak one's language and to raise one's children in your native or ancestral language is a basic human right. The United Nations has provided considerable moral force to the Fishman and May positions through articles 13 and 14 of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2007). Article 13 asserts the right of all indigenous peoples to be able to maintain their native languages. Article 14 asserts the right of access to an education in the native language. These are rights that monolingual English speakers take for granted in English dominant countries around the world.

The position clearly articulated by scholars like Fishman and May, and expressed in the Declaration is: the systematic neglect or the intentional suppression of an indigenous language may be seen as a direct human rights violation. In the bigger picture, indigenous (and minority) language rights must be protected in order for human ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity to remain intact. Language planning is one mechanism through which human linguistic (and therefore cultural and ethnic) diversity can be afforded some protection. RLS is the scholarly field that most clearly articulates an agenda for language planning to protect and revitalise indigenous languages, and create the conditions for proficiency to develop.

Fishman is generally regarded as the "father" of RLS theory. He has defined RLS as:

> . . . the linguistic part of the pursuit of ethnocultural self-regulation which democracies and international bodies are increasingly recognising as a basic right for indigenous (and often also for immigrant) populations. (Fishman, 2000, p. 452)

In the New Zealand context, "ethno cultural self-regulation" is expressed as "tino rangatiratanga" or Māori self-determination. Language planning is crucial to identify priorities for linguistic self-determination, especially when resources are limited. Fishman identified two types of language planning activities, corpus planning and status planning (Fishman, 1999).

Corpus planning refers to planning for the development, revision and expansion of lexicons (dictionaries), orthographies (systems of symbols for writing), grammars, and phonologies (patterns of speech sounds), and the growth of a corpus of print and multimedia material in the target language. Corpus planning is essential to second language proficiency development because language learners require an abundance of quality material (print and multimedia) in the second language in order to develop proficiency (Krashen, 1985).

Status planning refers to planning for broadening the functional range of the language to include power-related functions. A power-related function is one which mediates access to the material and social resources of the society. If a language is needed in order to work or to be educated, then that language has a power-related function. The development of grass-roots (in New Zealand flax-roots) Māori immersion education at all levels of formal schooling and at the tertiary level, are examples of the extension of te reo into the power-related functions of New Zealand society. This process is essential to second language proficiency development as it can create employment and provide instrumental motivation for second language learners to gain proficiency in te reo.

In order to help identify priorities for threatened languages to expand into power-related functions of language, Fishman developed his own theoretical model known as the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale or GIDS (see Fishman, 2001b, p. 466 for a detailed description of the model). There are eight stages on the model, with stage 8 being most threatened and stage 1 being least threatened. Fishman's model illuminates the importance of adult second language learning as an integral part of the regeneration of an endangered language.

Fishman describes stage 6 on the GIDS as the "pivot" of the model. At stage 6 the minority language is being passed from generation to generation and is being used in the community. According to Fishman, if an endangered language is to survive, it is essential to re-establish or maintain intergenerational transmission of language (ITL). In other words, for the language to be saved, children must be bonded in the social networks of the target language community. Their most intimate relationships, i.e. with their caregivers, must be mediated by the threatened language. Only then can true ITL be re-established and reversal of language shift achieved (Fishman, 2001a).

Based on his GIDS model and the pivotal stage 6, Fishman identifies four crucial and interlinked areas to concentrate efforts for RLS activity:

(1) Acquiring the threatened language as a second language for adults of child-bearing-age;
(2) At the same time, the second language learning of adults must become the first language of family-home-neighbourhood-community life;
(3) Schooling through the first language acquisition of the threatened language; and, finally
(4) Post-school adolescent and young adult activities in the threatened language, as first language acquisition (adapted from Fishman, 2001a, p. 15).

The four areas are thus logically, naturally and functionally linked. It is the linkage that enables the threatened language to become a first language of a new generation. The key point for this review is that the four areas set out the ideal conditions for the development of second language proficiency in te reo – a family-home-neighbourhood-community environment where te reo is spoken as a living language.

In summary, an ideal set of wider societal factors for the development of second language te reo proficiency would include the following features. First, an optimal demography where high concentrations of adult te reo speakers live in close proximity. Alternatively, an active social cultural or religious network of speakers may provide sufficient conditions for second language language acquisition, even where the speakers are widely dispersed amongst a dominant language population. Second, where the status of a language is strong, i.e., proficiency in te reo is linked with employment, social status and identity, opportunities for second language learning are further optimised. Third, language planning for both corpus and status can directly lead to the creation of learning material to support second language acquisition, meaningful employment to motivate learners, and to the fostering of a family-home-neighbourhood-community life where a high level of second language proficiency in te reo may develop.

### 3.5 Conclusions

In this review I have identified 10 help / hinder factors influencing the development of Māori second language proficiency with adult learners. I divided the factors into three distinct clusters: individual factors, social cultural factors, and wider societal factors. The individual factors include: aptitude, age and timing, attitudes and motivation, and learner strategies. The social cultural factors include: instruction, agency and anxiety, and wairua. The wider societal factors include: demography, language status and language planning. The review reveals a significant gap in the literature. Very little is known about the Māori adult language learner experience. While it is clear that second language learning is a site of struggle, we don't know what it means to struggle to learn te reo. It has been argued that learning te reo is as much a spiritual journey as an intellectual one, but still we have only a limited understanding of how wairua affects the development of proficiency in te reo. We know that agency and anxiety can influence opportunities for second language proficiency development, but we do not know a great deal about the specific identity issues te reo learners face or how they may succeed in spite of them. This study explores much of this uncharted territory.

This review sets in place a framework for research into the developmental journeys of adult second language te reo learners upon which the semi-structured interview questionnaire was based and interviews with participants were conducted. The following chapters four to six report on the results of the study. Chapter four reports the case studies of exemplar learners. Chapters five and six report on the aggregated responses from the 17 proficient Māori second language learners. The objective was to test the 10 factor framework upon which this chapter is based, for relevance to the lives of the participants.

# Chapter 4 Findings

## Three Case Studies of Highly Proficient Learners

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of three case studies of exceptional Māori second language learners. I begin by outlining who the three learners are, why they were chosen, and what their stories add to current knowledge on adult second language learning. Next, each case is presented separately as a story in its own right. My intention here is to allow as much as possible for the voices of the participants themselves to be heard and so I have made extensive use of verbatim quotes from interviews. However, I am the story teller. I have crafted each case into a form that achieves three objectives. First, I establish and reinforce some aspect or aspects of the learner's character that I believe is particularly pertinent to their success as a learner of te reo. Second, through each case, I have reconstructed a sequence of events (a plot), where I highlight significant crises, challenges or moments that had an impact on the learner's journey to proficiency. Third, I focus on the meanings these events hold for the participant and I reflect on what I think they mean, from my own perspective as a learner and teacher of te reo Māori. In essence, I present three parables of adult Māori language learning. Finally, I take a step back and reflect on the three cases as a whole in the discussion section; I summarise the elements of the stories that are common to all three cases, I reflect upon the differences, and I consider the implications of the cases for this study and for Māori language learners and teachers.

**The three cases: who and why?**

Although I had intended to include four cases for analysis, one case participant choose to withdraw their story on the grounds that they were not aware at the time of interview that their information might be used to write up a case study. This left me with three case studies. The three cases are: Scott Morrison (Te Arawa), Te Rita Papesch (Waikato / Tainui) and Julian Wilcox (Tūwharetoa / Ngā Puhi). They were chosen from the wider pool of 17 participants in this study on the basis of three criteria. First, this is an exemplar study and they were judged to be the three most proficient Māori speakers across the cohort.[12] Second, each is renowned for their achievements as scholars, teachers or exponents of te reo Māori and each serves as an example to those who aspire to be proficient te reo speakers. Last, each had an inspirational story that I deemed worthy to be told in its own right.

**What contribution do the cases make to the literature?**

There are four significant ways the cases extend the literature. First, these cases all offer some insight into Māori identity factors which influence Māori language development. All four participants were motivated to learn te reo from a desire to know more about themselves and to explore their own identities as Māori. This stands in stark contrast to the majority of SLA literature which is focused for the most part on immigrant peoples motivated to integrate into the dominant language group and thereby increase their chance of prosperity in the new country (for a discussion on a number of these kinds of studies see page 46 and page 58 in the literature review, chapter three). In Aotearoa New Zealand learning te reo is not generally associated with improving one's chances of getting a good job. Notwithstanding the fact that every one of the three case participants has accrued significant social and economic rewards as a consequence of developing high levels of Māori proficiency, this was not their primary concern or goal. These participants all sought first and foremost to connect with Māori culture and to explore their identities as Māori people.

[12] To establish who the three most proficient speakers across the cohort were, I analysed a 2 page sample of each participant's transcribed interviews for grammatical errors in speech. The three case participants were those from the wider cohort with the least amount of grammatical errors in speech. I also compared writing samples from the pre-interview questionnaire with the 2 page interview transcript samples to verify the accuracy of this assessment.

Second, the cases show that for all three participants integrative motivation was greater than any instrumental motivation, i.e. the desire to know oneself and to contribute to the well-being of one's whānau, hapū and iwi had more influence on participants than concerns for economic and social rewards. This presents a challenge to recent second language research into motivation which has found that the combination of integrative and instrumental motivation is likely to lead to the best results for proficiency development over time (Dornyei & Ushioda, 2009).

Third, the cases offered here do not fit neatly into existing social cultural theories of language acquisition. Social investment theory (Peirce, 1995) offers some useful ideas, such as the assumption that all language learning is based on power relations between target language speakers and those who seek access to the target language. However, the utility of this theory is hamstrung by the assumption that the learner's primary motivation is access to the social capital of the target language group.

Fourth, each case offers some insight into how crucial relationships are between the learners and their teachers, mentors and fellow learners for proficiency development. All the participants exhibit an exceptional level of self-awareness with regard to their learning and how it has been influenced by the people in their lives. They all concurred that if not for the love, trust, support and companionship of their teachers, mentors and fellow learners; they may never have been interested in learning te reo, let alone have been able to ascend to the levels of proficiency they currently command.

## 4.2 Case One: Scott Morrison

### Te Mumu Reo - The Language Warrior

Few if any Māori speakers at the time of writing will not know Scott Morrison. An adjunct professor, Māori language broadcaster and actor, Scott is probably best known as the lead Māori language news presenter for Television New Zealand's 'Te Karere' which airs on public television. Scott is held in the highest regard by first and second language Māori speakers the length and the breadth of the country for at least two reasons. First, for his skilful use of te reo (in the classroom, on the marae and through radio and television broadcasts) and second for his reputation for bold acts of language revival. As a language scholar, Scott has developed a habit of unearthing Māori words and phrases once common in the vernacular but now defunct as language domains and numbers of Māori speakers dwindled from the beginning of the 20th century. Scott breathes new life into these words and phrases by weaving them through his news presentations, classroom teaching, and formal speechmaking. These acts of linguistic resuscitation don't always meet with enthusiasm from listeners and viewers. He receives the occasional noisy complaint, usually from older native speakers who say 'kāti te hanga kupu!' - 'stop making up words!' In his usual good humour, he will respond 'e hoa, kei roto tonu i te papakupu!' - 'friend, it's right there in the dictionary!'

When I think of Scott Morrison my mind conjures a medieval knight with full body armour and sword in hand, battle ready. Scott may well find this metaphor unflattering. As a long time kapa haka exponent, he may prefer to be compared to the warrior chiefs of yore, but they were cunning sentinels, born to an age when battles were won by stealth rather than force. Scott's temperament better suits the directness of the armoured knight, his six foot athletic frame a testament to good genes and a lifetime obsession with sport. A steely gaze complements the air of deliberation with which he moves. On first meeting, he can be cool and aloof, seemingly detached. Those who he brings into his confidence know better. Once trust is gained he displays a keen wit, a love of laughter and a willingness to confess vulnerability. When we meet for his interview he is immaculately dressed

in a suit and business shirt, the consummate professional. Under the suit he is a man's man, an alpha male, and a true Ngāti Chur Doi "one of the boys."
Scott and I are no strangers. We have known one another for many years through attendance at wānanga reo (residential immersion courses) and as colleagues at Massey University in 2001. In my company, Scott's aforementioned qualities come to the fore and though he is never crass, our interview is buoyed by his masculine sense of humour.

**Te Ao Hākinakina – The World of Sport**

Scott grew up in Rotorua amongst his Te Arawa kin, playing sport on his own marae, with a strong sense that he was Māori and that being Māori was something to be proud of. However, no one in his household spoke Māori and there was never any great value placed on te reo, nor were he or his siblings encouraged to learn te reo. Instead there was a strong family tradition of sporting prowess. Scott followed suit and his passion while at school was for sport:

> Heoi anō, ko te poirewa, me te whutupōro ngā atua i te kura tuarua, heoi ko rāua ngā atua kāore i ko atu i a rāua, engari i roto hoki au i te wharekarakia o ērā atua e rua. Ko ērā te mahi pō te ao, ao te pō, rā atu, rā mai, poirewa, whutupōro, poirewa, whutupōro. Kāre i aro nui ki ngā mahi o te kura. Maumahara ana au i te wā i tonoa mai ai mātou o te kapa whutupōro matua e te kaiako kapa haka, kia uru atu mātou ki te kapa haka. Kāore mātou i paku rata ki tērā tono. Nō reira i pērā o mātou whakaaro i taua wā, kāre mātou i tino whakauara i te reo, i whakauara rānei i te tikanga Māori, i te mātauranga Māori. Ehara tērā i tō mātou ao, ko tō mātou ao kē ko te ao hākinakina.
>
> So, volleyball and rugby were the gods at secondary school, they were the gods. There was nothing beyond those and I was a member of the churches of those two gods. That was what we did, night and day, day and night, day in and day out, volleyball, rugby, volleyball, rugby. I never paid much attention to school work. I remember the time when we, the first 15 rugby team, were invited by the kapa haka teacher to join the kapa haka. We were not the slightest bit interested in that invitation. So that's how we thought at the time, we didn't value te reo, nor did we value tikanga Māori, or Māori knowledge. That wasn't part of our world, our world was sport.

At high school, Scott was placed into a class for more advanced learners. Unbeknown to him at the time, the school's language teaching policy was to offer those students considered more academically able the choice of studying German or French. Those placed in the less academically able classes were offered the choice to study te reo Māori. So Scott did not study te reo while at high school. Although he did not become aware of the policy until after he had left school, to this day he harbours some resentment about the way the school ascribed a second class status to te reo Māori.

> Mehemea he tangata matatau koe, anei ngā reo hei ako māu. Mehemea kāore i te pērā rawa tō matatau anei te reo Māori hei reo ako māu. Kāore au i mārama koira te āhua i taua wā, engāri nō tāku hāerenga ki te whare wānanga kātahi anō au ka mārama, me taku riri hoki i tērā āhuatanga.
>
> If you are an intelligent person, here are the languages you may learn. If you are not so intelligent, then here is te reo Māori for you to learn. I didn't realise that was what they were doing at the time, not until I went off to university then it dawned on me, and I was really angry about that treatment.

**Nā te reo au i kimi - The language chose me**

At university, Scott initially had no particular interest in learning te reo. The gods of sport continued to hold sway.

> Ehara i te mea nāku te reo i kimi, engari nā te reo kē ahau i kimi, me te mea ka noho au ki te whakarite i taku rātaka mō te tau tuatahi o te Whare Wānanga o Waikato. Arā, ko taua āhua tonu o te kura, *whakaakoranga hākinakina, whakaakoranga hākinakina*. Ko ērā āku kōwhiringa i roto i tāku rātaka nā runga anō hoki i ngā tohutohu a ōku hoa tauira o taua wā. Mea ana rātou "Ahakoa pēhea, me wātea te Rāmere o ia wiki." Nō reira hei pūhia ake pūrangatia ake ko ngā kaupapa ako katoa ki ngā rā e whā tuatahi o te wiki mai i te Rāhina ki te Rāpare kia wātea ai koe i ngā Rāmere. Ok, whakaaro pai tērā. Nō reira i āta noho au ki te kōwhiri i ōku kaupapa ako, ka whakauru atu au ki roto i taku rātaka mō te wiki, engari kotahi noa iho te āputa i roto i taku rātaka. I āta whakaaro au "Ok, me kimi kaupapa mō tēnei āputa nē? Kia oti ai au i taku rātaka mō te wiki." Ka kimi, ka kimi, ka kimi, ka tae a kotiti ki ngā whārangi o te pukapuka o te whare wānanga ki te kimi i te kaupapa tika mō tēnei āputa i roto i te rātaka, mea rawa ake i te kotahi noaiho, kotahi noaiho i uru atu ki taua āputa, ko Te reo Māori nē? "A … Ko te reo Māori, ka pai, kua oti … kua oti taku rātaka mō te wiki." A, koia rā te tīmatanga o taku ako i te reo.
>
> I didn't choose te reo, but te reo chose me, and I was sitting down organising my timetable for the first year at the University of Waikato. And it was just like school, sports lesson, sports lesson. Those were my selections in my timetable and I was following the advice from my classmates at the time. They said "Whatever you do, keep the Friday of each week free." So you should clear out and gather up every subject into the first four days of the week from Monday to Thursday so you keep Friday free. Ok, that's a good idea. So I settled down to choose my subjects, and I put them into my timetable for the week, but there was this one gap in my timetable. I thought "ok, I've got to find a subject to fill this gap eh? So I can complete my timetable for the week." I searched, and I searched, and I searched, and I zig zagged from page to page throughout the university calendar in search of a topic to fit into this gap in my timetable, in the end there was only one option, only one would fit into that gap, that was te reo Māori eh? "Ah ... Te reo Māori, good, done ... my timetable for the week is complete." And that was the beginning of my learning te reo.

**Hoa ako – Friendships**

As Scott began learning te reo through his university study, he came into contact with fellow students, who, unlike him, grew up speaking te reo. Scott attributes much of his proficiency development to the relationships he formed early on in his te reo journey. He places great emphasis on the importance of having friends who are more proficient in te reo than you are:

> Ka tino hoa ētahi o mātou i te mutunga o te tau, ka whakatau ētahi o mātou "Oh … me noho tahi mātou ki roto i te whare kotahi mō te tau tuarua." Taku maumahara ake, kāre au i whai i ngā whakaakoranga reo Māori o te whare wānanga i te tau tuarua, engari kua takoto te tūāpapa o taku whare kōrero i te tau tuatahi. Ka noho mātou ko ngā hoa tokorua nei ko Phinny Davis rāua ko Timi Te Pō Hōhepa. Ana i tipu rāua … ko ō rāua reo tuatahi ko te reo Māori, ā, tipu ake i te reo, pai kē atu kia rāua te kōrero Māori ki te kōrero Pākehā. Nā reira koira i te kāinga. Nā koira te wā i tino whanake ake ai taku reo i roto i taua tau tuarua rā, i noho tahi ai mātou ko Phinny, ko Timi.
>
> Some of us became great friends by the end of the year, some of us decided "Oh .. we should live together in the same flat for the second year." As I recall, I never continued with te reo classes in the second year of university, but the foundation of my 'house of speech' were laid in that first year. So we moved in together, my two friends and I, Phinny Davis and Timi Te Pō Hōhepa. They grew up ... their first language was te reo Māori, so they grew up with te reo, they would prefer to speak Māori rather than English. So that was home. That was the time when my reo really developed during that second year when Phinny, Timi and I lived together.

Not only did Phinny and Timi provide exemplars from which Scott could learn, both actively challenged and encouraged Scott to continually improve his reo.

> Phinny, i tino manawanui mai a Phinny. Ētahi wā kei te tunu kai ia i roto i te kauta ka karangahia mai ahau e ia, “haere mai, haere mai. Āwhina mai.”
> “Ok.”
> “Kōrero Māori anake i roto i te kauta”, ka mea ia “Anei. E mōhio ana koe he aha tēnei?”
> “He carrot.”
> “He aha te kupu Māori?”
> “Aua!”
> “He aha te kupu Māori? Kāroti.”
> “Kāroti? Oh ok.”
> “Tapahia ngā kāroti pēnei, anei te tapahi.” [Scott performs the action of chopping a carrot]
> Ka pērā ētahi wā. So you know, nā rāua … kei te kī au i … nā rāua te kākano o te reo i whakatō, nā rāua tērā i whakatō, i tāuwhiuwhi anō hoki kia kōhure mai, kia māhuri mai.
>
> Phinny, Phinny was very patient with me. Sometimes when he was in the kitchen cooking he would call out to me, “come here, come here. Give me a hand.”
> “Ok.”
> “We only speak Māori in the kitchen”, he says “Here. Do you know what this is?”
> “A carrot.”
> “What is the Māori word?”
> “I don’t know!”
> “What is the Māori word? Kāroti.”
> “Kāroti? Oh ok.”
> “Chop the carrots like this, this is chopping.” [Scott performs the action of chopping a carrot] So that’s what we did sometimes. So you know, it was those two ... I’m saying that ... it was those two who planted the seed of the language, they planted it, and watered it and made it sprout and grow.

Scott's experiences in meeting and befriending other young Māori men who were already competent Māori speakers provided him with both opportunity and potent integrative motivation to learn how to speak Māori himself.

> Ka noho hoki ahau i ētahi o ōku hoa hou i te whare wānanga, ka noho tahi mātou ka tīmata rātou ki te kōrero Māori. Kāore au i mārama. Ko taku tino hiahia ki te mōhio he aha te tikanga o ngā kōrero. Ko ērā anō hoki tētahi āhuatanga i whakatītina mai i ahau kia ako i te reo, ēnā momo. Me taku mīharo hoki, i whakaaro ake au, "he rawe tēnā, kei te kōrero Māori rātou, chur, mīharo." I tīmata rātou ki te kōrero, "nōu tēnei reo, koia nei kē te reo tika mōu, kaua ko te reo Pākehā." I tīmata au ki te wherawhera i ērā momo kōrero, ki te wānanga i ērā whakaaro, ana, ka whakatau te ngākau. E tika ana a rātou kōrero, me ako.
>
> I was sitting with some of my new friends at university, we were sitting together and they began speaking Māori. I didn't understand. I really wanted to know what they were saying. That was one thing that inspired me to learn te reo, those kinds of things. I was really impressed, I thought, "that is excellent, they are speaking Māori, chur, amazing." They started saying, "this is your language, this is the right language for you, not the English language." I started to think about what they were saying, and really considering those ideas, and then I made a decision. What they said was right, I had better learn.

After a year of domicile with Phinny and Timi, a year when Scott had taken no formal Māori language courses, he decided to continue with formal study of te reo. He went to speak to one of the Waikato University Māori department's te reo lecturers to seek advice as to which reo course he should enrol in. There he received very positive feedback on how much his reo had advanced in the previous year.

> Ka hoki au ki te Tari Māori i te tau tuatoru ki te whai anō ngā whakaakoranga reo Māori. Ka uiuitia ahau e Hirini Melbourne. Ka noho ia, ka kōrero Māori anake māua, nā, i te otinga o tērā hui a māua ka kī mai ia ki ahau, "kua oti i a koe te tau tuatahi, engari au ka whakarongo atu ki a koe, matatau rawa koe mō te tau tuarua, mō te tau tuatoru. Kotahi atu koe ki te tau tuawhā, "Te Kōhuretanga." Ka haere atu au ki reira. Kātahi au ka whakaaro, oh, kua pērā rawa te pikinga ake o tāku mōhiotanga ki te reo i roto i taua tau, nā tāna whakawā mai i au, i mea ia, "hei aha te tau tuarua me te tau tuatoru, kotahi atu koe ki te tau whakamutunga, te tau tuawhā." So, koira pea te tohu o te pikinga ake, te whanaketanga ake o tōku reo i roto i taua tau tuarua.

> I went back to the Māori department in my third year to resume Māori language lessons. I was interviewed by Hirini Melbourne. He sat down, we spoke only Māori, then, at the end of our meeting he said to me, "you have completed first year, but as I listen to you, you are too advanced for second year, or for third year. You will go straight to fourth year - Te Kōhuretanga." That is where I went. And I thought, oh, that's how much knowledge of te reo I have gained in that year, from his assessment of me, he said, "never mind second year or third year, you go straight to the final year, the fourth year." So that was an indication of the gain, of the development of my reo within that second year.

As Scott's relationships with his Māori speaking friends had grown, so too had his proficiency. As they supported and challenged him with his language development, he found te reo was making a place for itself in his heart. This led to another decision; to train as a bilingual teacher. His bilingual teaching course brought him into contact with a wider network of speakers who could help his reo to further flourish.

> ...tērā ka whakauru ahau ki tētahi rōpu reo rua nā te mea i te kura toi tangata au i tērā wa, koira te kura whakangungu kaiako. Nā, ka whakauru au ki tētahi rōpu reo rua … ngā kaiako reo rua, ana, ko te nuinga o ā mātou mahi e haere ngātahi ana me te rōpu rūmaki. Ana, i roto i te rōpu reo rūmaki i taua wā ngā mea matatau, ngā mea i tipu ake i te reo, anā e haere ngātahi ana mātou me rātou i roto i a mātou mahi katoa. Nā ka tīmata te … ka waia haere ōku tāringa ki te reo. Nā wai, nā wai, ka tīmata te urunga mai o te reo ki roto i te whatu manawa me te hinengaro, me te ngākau, te wairua, ērā mea katoa.

> ...from there I went into a bilingual group because I was at Te Kura Toi Tangata at that time, that's the teacher training school. Then I went into a bilingual group ... bilingual teachers, most of our work was done together with the immersion group. So, in the immersion group at the time were the very proficient people, the ones who grew up with te reo, and we were going along with them for all of our lessons. From there it started ... my ears were becoming accustomed to te reo. Time passed, and te reo began to make its way into the emotions and the mind, and the heart, and the soul, and all that goes with it.

**Ngā iho pūmanawa – Role models**

Once inspired to learn, Scott became even more determined to put himself into situations where his reo could develop. His first motivation had come from his friends and fellow students, but he was about to encounter inspiration on a whole other plane. Scott was fortunate in that his choices brought him into close contact with some of the country's most revered and respected Māori language scholars, teachers and exponents of te reo. Scott acknowledges a plethora of fine teachers who helped him in a myriad of ways. But there were those who rose a head and shoulders above the rest. These giants were more than just good teachers and mentors, they were rangatira (leaders) in their own right, and Scott wanted to emulate their finer traits.

> I tūtaki au ki ngā momo pērā i a Wharehuia mā me tōku whakaaro ake, "kātahi te rangatira ko tērā." Ngā iho pūmanawa i kōrerotia nei, ngā tino tauira i kōrerotia nei, ka whakaaro ake koe "Aa … Ko taku hiahia kia rite au ki a rātou." Ka huri āku whakaaro, ka tīmata tāku matapopore i te reo, tāku hāpai ki te reo, tāku whakatairanga i te reo, a, ka kite anō hoki au i te hua o te ako i te reo (Morrison, 2011, p.11).
>
> I met people like Wharehuia and others and I thought, "that is an exceptional leader." The role models we spoke of, the exemplars we discussed, they made you think, "ah ... I really want to be like them." My thinking was changing, I began to value te reo, to support te reo, to exalt te reo and I could clearly see the benefit of learning te reo.

By the time Scott finished University his passion for sport had been overtaken by a new passion for te reo Māori and he began to apply himself to the act of pursuing the new passion with the same zeal characteristic of his earlier commitment to sport. But it wasn't just te reo or a desire to be able to speak Māori that was motivating him now. He was drawing inspiration from the qualities of those Māori speakers whom he most admired:

> I whakaaro ake nei au ko Taini anō hoki tētahi. Ka mātaki au i a ia i roto i tāna mahi whakahaere i te rōpū, tino rangatira tērā wahine. So, i rerekē ngā iho pūmanawa o tōku ao, i te tīmatanga ake ko ngā kaitākaro whutupōro, āku kaiako hākinakina, ērā mea katoa. Nā wai, nā wai, ka huri … ka rerekē ngā iho pūmanawa i tīmata au ki te whakatairanga i ngā mea …pēnei i a Wharehuia, a Taini, a Hirini Melbourne, ērā momo tāngata, me te whakaaro ake ko te pūkenga reo i ētahi o rātou, … he rawe tērā pūkenga.
>
> I think that Taini was another one. I watched her managing the group, that woman is an excellent leader. So, my role models changed, at first they were rugby players and coaches, and so on. Over time, things changed ... my role models changed and I began to admire people like Wharehuia, Taini, Hirini Melbourne, those types of people, and I thought the language skills some of them possessed, .... those are excellent skills.

While there is plenty of evidence of Scott's integrative motivation to develop his reo, he also jokes about the instrumental motivation which inspired him to want to be like his role models:

> I kite anō hoki au i te pai o te mahi a Te Wharehuia mā. I whakaaro au, "oh … kaiako whare wānanga, pai tērā mahi." [laughs] Haere atu au ki tana tari, kāre ia i reira, pātai au ki tāna hekeretari, "kei hea a Te Wharehuia?"
> "Oh kei Ngāruawāhia e hahau pōro ana."
> "Oh Jeez … pai tērā mahi." [Laughs]
> Pēhea tutuki ai? Tuatahi me matatau i te reo te āhua nei. Me tohunga koe ki te reo.

> I could also see what good jobs Te Wharehuia and others had. I thought, "oh .... university lecturer, that's a good job." [laughs] I would go to his office, he's not there, I would ask his secretary, "where is Te Wharehuia?"
> "Oh he's in Ngāruawāhia playing golf."
> "Oh Jeez ... that is a good job." [laughs]
> How does one achieve it? First, it seems you have to master te reo. You must be a master of te reo.

**Ko aku tino kaiako – My favourite teachers**

When I asked Scott who were his favourite teachers and what made them his favourites, this is how he replied:

> Ko Wharehuia rāua ko Tīmoti, nā runga noa i te tino matatau o rāua … te tino ihumanea anō hoki o rāua, te ngākau nui o rāua. E mōhio ana tāua ki a rāua. ko Wharehuia … me pēhea e kore ai e rata atu ki tērā kaumatua, i te mea he ngākau māhaki, he hūmarie, he taringa whakarongo i ngā wā e tika ana kia whakarongo ia. Engari ko tana āhua anō hoki he āhua o te rangatira, he rangatira ahakoa pēhea i roto i tēhea horopaki, ka rangatira tonu tērā tangata. Engari ki te kauanuanu koe ki te whakaute koe i te ... mōhio, me te mātauranga o tō kaiako, ka oti i reira ngā raruraru katoa. Koina tāku. Mēnā e whakaaro ana koe, e rangirua ana rānei koe i ō whakaaro mō tō kaiako me tāna matatau ki te kaupapa e whakaakona ana ia ki a koe, ka raru koe, nā te mea kua kore koe e tino whakapono atu. Koia rā hoki tētahi mea nui, kia whakapono koe ki tō kaiako, a … kei a Te Wharehuia tērā momo pūkenga e whakapono ai koe ki a ia, e ngākaunui ai koe ki a ia, e hiahia ai koe ki te mahi i ngā mahi katoa kia harikoa mai a ia ki a koe, kia whakahīhī mai ai rānei ia ki te āhua o tō mahi i mahia e koe māna.... Ko tāna mōhio ki te whakairo i te kaupapa, tāna mōhio ki te whakamārama i te kaupapa, tāna mōhio ki te whakarārangi i te kaupapa, tāna mōhio ki te whakatenatena i a koe, kia whakapau kaha koe ki te kauapapa ....

> Wharehuia and Tīmoti because of their mastery.... and their exceptional intelligence, and their passion. You and I know how they are. Wharehuia ... how could anyone not be fond of that elderly gentlemen, because he is kind, humble, he listens carefully at the appropriate time. But it's also his demeanour, he has the demeanour of nobility, he is noble no matter what the context, that man will be noble. But if you respect and value the knowledge ... and the wisdom of your teacher, well there will be no problem at all. That's my opinion. If you are thinking, or if you have doubts about your teacher's knowledge of the topic they are teaching you, you have a problem, because you can't believe in them. That is a very important aspect, to believe in your teacher, and ... Te Wharehuia has that kind of ability, you can have faith in him, you can put your trust in him, you want to do all your work to please him, or to make him proud of the standard of the work you have done for him…. Their knowledge of how to articulate the topic, their knowledge of how to make the topic clear, their knowledge of how to organise the topic, their knowledge of how to encourage you to invest all your energy in the topic ...

Here, Scott places an emphasis on three sets of qualities for good teachers; subject mastery, personal qualities (passion, integrity, trustworthiness), and professional skills (ability to build relationships with students, organisation and communication). Scott is aware of these qualities because they are the ones he aspires to emulate as an expert learner and teacher of te reo. His comments regarding Professor Tīmoti Karetu, one of Scott's esteem teachers in his time at Waikato University, give us a clue as to one further quality he strives to equal; absolute excellence.

> I te whare wānanga, oh, i mataku mātou i a ia, mataku pai mātou i a ia, he koi te ārero, kaha hoki ki te haukerekere i a koe mō te kore noaiho i ētahi wā. Ka mutu ētahi, kāre i manawanui, ētahi i manawanui tonu. Ko ngā mea i manawanui, kua tino eke ki ngā taumata. Ahakoa te mataku o mātou ki a ia, te kaha mōniania o mātou i āna whakaakoranga, mōhio tonu mātou ko ia te tino. Ki te pīrangi koe kia rite tō mōhio ki tōna mōhio, me haere ki ōna whakaakoranga.

> At university, oh, we were scared of him; we were terrified of him, the barbed tongue, giving you a good thrashing sometimes for no apparent reason. In the end some did not persevere, others did. Those who did, elevated themselves to great heights. Even though we were scared of him, and frightened in his classes, we knew he was the best. If you wanted to be as knowledgeable as he, you had to go to his classes.

Scott did persevere because he wanted to be the best he could be, and with his eyes on the prize, he was willing to run the gauntlet of Tīmoti's wrath. This is an important example of Scott's determination to achieve his objective to master te reo.

**Kia manawanui – Persevere**

When I ask Scott if there were ever times when learning te reo was a struggle for him, he impressed upon me that although he had never experienced anything but support and collaboration from his teachers and fellow students, there were times when learning te reo had been a struggle. In the following passage Scott elaborates on one internal struggle and his philosophy for dealing with it.

> ... i te whare wānanga ko te hiahia ki te haere ki ngā whakangāhau [Laughs] … Ko ngā whakangāhau tētahi mea pōrearea i te ata. Ko tētahi mea nui ki a manawa tonu pea, kia pūkeke, ki te kore he manawanui e kore e oti i a koe te aha, e kore rānei koe e ako i te aha i te mea ētahi wā he wā roa e taka ai te kapa. Pēnei nā i ngā rerenga kōrero tūāhua nei, wā roa i pau i au kātahi anō ahau ka mārama ki te tikanga o ērā kōrero. So koira tētahi uauatanga … well … He uauatanga, engari koira tētahi mea hei maumahara ake kia kaua koe e pōhēhē ka ako koe i ngā mea katoa i roto i te poto noaiho, i ētahi wā roa kē ka tau, ka mau ai i a koe ētahi āhuatanga o te reo. Nā reira, waimarie pea au he… āhuatanga hoki pea tēnei i whakatōkia mai ai e āku kaiako hākinakina …Kia manawanui kia kaha tonu koe ki te whai i ō hiahia ahakoa ngā tairo a Kupe, ngā uauatanga, ngā taiapa rānei, ngā tauārai rānei…, me tohe tonu koe kia mau i a koe.

> .... at university there is the desire to party [laughs] ... Partying is one thing that will ruin your mornings. Perhaps commitment is an important aspect, determination, if you don't persevere you'll never finish anything, and you won't learn anything because sometimes it takes a while for the penny to drop. For example, stative sentence structure, it took a long time before I understood how those sentences work. So that's one difficulty ... well ... It's a challenge, but it's something you have to know so you don't think you will learn everything in a short time, it takes a long time for you to cement and to grasp some aspects of te reo. So, perhaps I was fortunate ... that was something that was introduced to me by my coaches ... To persevere, to pursue my goals in spite of the obstacles, in spite of the difficulties, or the fences or the barriers, you have to fight to achieve.

There is little doubt that Scott has achieved extraordinary results in pursuit of his reo. But even now he insists that his Māori language maintenance and development continues to present him with challenges:

> Mohoa noa nei, ēnei rā tonu nei ka whakaaro ake au, "koretake au ki te …" He pērā i te …, ētahi wā ka whakaaro ake koe, he pērā i te hahau pōro, i ētahi wā kei te koikoi, ētahi wā kei te tino koretake koe. Nōku ake tērā kōrero mō te reo i te mea kei te pērā anō hoki au. I ētahi wā, oh māmā noaiho te āta kōtuitui i ōku whakaaro, te pai o te rere o te reo, ērā mea katoa, korekore rawa e tapepe… he aha rānei, ... i te rā i muri mai anō nei kāore tāku mōhio ki te kōrero i te kupu kotahi. He pērā aye?

> Right up to the present, to this very day I think, "I'm useless at …" Like …, sometimes you think it's like playing golf, sometimes you are sharp, at other times you are useless. To me the same can be said about te reo because I'm just like that. Sometimes, oh it's so easy to string my thoughts together, the language flows, all of that, faultless … and so forth, …. The next day it's as if I don't know how to say a single word. It's like that aye?

When I suggest that some might be surprised to hear that one who many consider a preeminent scholar and exponent of te reo, still has struggles with it to this day, he responds:

> Tēnā pōhēhē tēnā [Laughs]. Ko tāku tino kōrero ki a rātou, kia kaua rātou e pōhēhe he wā tōna ka mutu te ako. Mōhio ana au ki ētahi tangata whakahīhī mai ana, anō nei kei te mōhio rātou ki ngā mea katoa engari … I say, "kei te pai hoea tō waka." Engari mōku ake he nui ngā mea, he nui tonu ngā mea … kore hoki ngā āhuatanga katoa, ngā hohonutanga katoa, ngā whānuitanga katoa o te reo e ako i roto i te aro o te tangata, koira tāku. … Engari i au e ako ana i te reo, he wā anō ka whakaaro pērā koe, "e kore rawa e mau i au tēnei mea, e kore rawa au e ako i te reo. He aha te hua o te pao tonu i tōku ūpoko ki tēnei pātu mārō nei?" He uaua rawa māku…
>
> That's what they think [Laughs]. To them I would say, don't think that there is ever a time when learning ends. I know some people can be arrogant, as if they know everything, but … I say, "fine, row your boat." But for me, there is so much, so very much … there are so many dimensions, so much depth, so much breadth to the reo, it's beyond the comprehension of a single person, in my opinion. … But when I am learning te reo, sometimes you think like that, "I will never get this, I'll never learn te reo. What is the point of banging my head against this brick wall?" It is hard for me …

Scott is passionate in the pursuit of his goals. He is habitually dissatisfied with his current level of ability. He is constantly striving to reach the next level. He went to lengths throughout our interview to impress upon me how important it is to commit fully to the enterprise of learning te reo if you want to make gains. In his view, te reo cannot be learned by stopping and starting. You must commit and you must be prepared to sustain that commitment for a very long period, perhaps forever, if you are serious about learning te reo.

> Ka mutu ki te kore koe e manawanui…, ki te kore koe e hoki tonu, hoki tonu, hoki tonu ia wiki ki ō whakaakoranga e kore e mau i a koe. Ki te kore koe e whakamahi i to reo ia rā, ia rā, ka memeha haere i roto i a koe. Nō reira he mahi nui te ako i te reo, he mahi nui te kawe tonu i te reo, he mahi nui te kōrero tonu i te reo i te mea ehara tēnei i te ao Māori, he ao Pākehā kē tēnei. Nō reira me whawhai tonu me whawhai tonu. Engari, pai tonu te whawhai!
>
> In the end if you don't persevere ..., if you don't come back, and back, and back again every week to your lessons, you will not get it. If you don't use your reo every day, it will diminish within you. So it is a huge task to learn te reo, te reo is a big job to undertake, and it takes a lot to keep speaking Māori because this is not a Māori world, this is a Pākehā world. So you have to fight and fight. But it is a good fight!

**Titiro whakamua – Looking ahead**

At first, Scott's motivation to fight came from his friends, his classmates and his teachers and mentors. Since meeting his wife, and since the birth of his two children, his motivation to fight and to keep fighting has changed:

> Kei te titiro whakamua ināianei. I te wā e ako ana i te reo whakaaro ana au, "pai tēnei, kei te pīrangi au i tēnei taonga māku ake, hei oranga mōku ake", ināianei kei te titiro whakamua. Kei te whakaaro ake me pēhea e whakatō ai i tēnei reo kia tino pūmau ai tana noho ki roto i ngā tamariki, kia kore ai rātou e mate ki te whawhai mō te reo, kia kore ai e mate ki te whawhai mō te reo engari, kia māori ai te noho o te reo ki roto i a rāua.
>
> I am looking to the future now. When I was learning te reo I thought "this is good, I want this as a treasure for myself, to sustain me", now I am looking to the future. I am thinking about how I can best instil this language with permanence into my children, so they won't have to fight for te reo, so they won't have to struggle to learn te reo, so it will be a natural part of who they are.

**Whakatau mutunga - Conclusion**

Volleyball and rugby are metaphors for war. Scott's approach to life and te reo was tempered in the flames of combat. To survive and thrive he learned from his parents and his coaches how to set goals and how to train hard to achieve them. The mantle of language warrior fits him like a well-tailored suit. Motivated by the desire to take his rightful place amongst Māori speaking friends, and later inspired by the qualities of his teachers and mentors, he applied the lessons from sport with due diligence and achieved outstanding results. All this was accomplished in spite of the struggles, both internal and external, through his determination to fight and keep fighting for something he had come to see as worth fighting for; Māori language and culture.

The days of fighting for himself are behind him now, but the battle is far from over. Never one to rest on his laurels, he has turned his attention towards a new campaign; the one to ensure that his children will grow up with te reo as an everyday part of their lives. He fights so they will not have to. His warrior spirit carries him forward through adversity as it has done before and will again.

## 4.3 Case Two: Te Rita Papesch

### Te Māreikura – The Matriarch

To describe Te Rita Papesch as an extraordinary woman doesn't do her justice. At age 60, she is an icon of Kapa Haka[13]; in 1979 she won the inaugural prize at the national kapa haka competition for best female leader for the University of Waikato Kapa Haka troop, she is a former university lecturer at Waikato University and a former head of Māori studies at Canterbury University. At the time of writing, she is a PhD student and a judge in regional and national kapa haka competitions. Perhaps her most distinguished accomplishment is that she is the matriarch of a kapa haka dynasty. Every one of her seven children and 27 grandchildren are kapa haka performers and many are, or have been, kapa haka tutors. Te Rita has not only succeeded in developing her own proficiency in te reo, she is also the protagonist in the transformation of her entire whānau (extended family) into a Māori speaking clan. Every one of her children and grandchildren are proficient Māori speakers, the older four children learned te reo along with Te Rita as an additional language. Her two younger children and all of her grandchildren are native speakers having been educated at kohanga reo (immersion pre-school) and kura kaupapa Māori (primary), as well as being exposed to te reo Māori as the primary language of communication in the home. Te Rita and her whānau are an exemplar par excellence of whānau based language revitalisation.

[13] Kapa Haka is a reference to the animated song and dance style of the Māori people. Kapa Haka has developed in New Zealand into a legitimate performance art with bi-annual National competitions. In recent years these competitions have gone international as teams formed by expat Māori living in Australia have travelled to the competitions here in New Zealand to compete. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kapa_haka.

Te Rita (Bernadette) was raised in the country at Pirongia in the Waikato. She grew up on her own marae, which her Pākehā father had helped to build, in close contact with her grandparents and extended family members. Te reo was spoken by the older people, both her mother and father spoke te reo but not to Te Rita and her siblings. Consequently, she became familiar with the sounds of the language, by hearing it spoken and by learning to sing Māori songs, but she could not speak or understand te reo, beyond a few words.

My connection with Te Rita goes back to 1997 when she was my colleague in the Māori Studies department at Canterbury University and my Head of Department in 1998. If I had to summarise Te Rita in a word it would be māreikura or matriarch. In the Māori tradition the measure of the matriarch, and of any leader, was their ability to set a vision, to care, and to bring prosperity to those in their charge (Katene, 2010; Winiata, 1967). Te Rita exemplifies those qualities. When I think of her, the phrase ‘benevolent dictator’ comes to mind. Benevolent, in that her every thought and action is dedicated to the well-being of those in her charge. Dictator may be a strong word, but it conveys a sense of certainty about her leadership style. Everything about her is chiefly. She is a tall, broadly built woman with a back as straight as a board. She always appears drawn to full height, the benefits of formal training in singing and of many years on the stage performing kapa haka. Her ample form is elegantly adorned with tāmoko (traditional tattoo), including the moko kauae (traditional woman’s lips and chin tattoo), the dark thin lines of her tāmoko accentuated by her fair complexion.

She has the look of a woman who means business. Her disposition is direct but kind. She always speaks her mind, but not without consideration for others. Those who have found themselves in her care, or taken under her wing – and I include myself in their number – inevitably become fond of and loyal to her, just as she is fond of and loyal to them. She invests extraordinary levels of pastoral care into her students and junior colleagues, sometimes prioritising their needs over her own. Many of her former students have gone on to become te reo teachers and highly proficient Māori speakers themselves. Notwithstanding all that she has done as a te reo and kapa haka teacher and university lecturer, she is a dedicated

mother and grandmother and her greatest accomplishment, by her own judgement, is her whānau.

**Te tukunga o te mana māreikura - The passing of the mantle of matriarch**

The passing of Te Rita's mother was a watershed moment for her. She was struck by the realisation that if anyone was going to act to instil te reo within her family, it was going to have to be her. She had left school before completion when she became pregnant with her first child. When her mother died, she was in her late 20's and had three young children.

> ... ka whānau mai aku tamariki tokotoru, katahi ka mate taku māmā, ka huri au me te whakaaro, "mā wai te reo e kawe mō tō mātou whānau? Kua mate taku koroua, kua mate taku kuia", … āe i tōku papa tonu te reo engari kāre i kōrero mai ki a mātou, ā, kua mate taku māmā. I te matenga o taku māmā i whakaaro au, 'me ako, kei ngaro i tō mātou whānau nui tonu." Tekau o mātou i tō mātou whānau, kāre tētahi i kōrero i te reo.
>
> ... my three children were born, then my mother died, I thought, "who is going to transmit te reo for our family? My grandfather has passed on, my grandmother has passed on" ... yes my father speaks it, but he never spoke it to us, and my mother has died. When my mother died I thought, "I have to learn, or it will be lost from our entire extended family." There were ten of us [siblings] in our family, not one of us could speak te reo.

So she decided to go to university and learn te reo. Not just for herself but for the sake of her whānau and of future generations as yet unborn. She had a vision of her entire whānau as a Māori speaking whānau. She set the direction and made the first step towards her goal. She and her children would all learn together as a whānau.

**Te ahuahunga o ngā tohunga – A protégé of the high priests**

Te Rita got a late start on learning te reo, she was 27 years old when she first committed herself fully to developing fluency in te reo and 30 before she could communicate with some fluency:

> He uaua nā te mea i tērā wā ko ahau hoki te akonga pakeke o tēnei takiwā, karekau he wahine Māori hei kaiako i tērā wā, nā reira i riro maku ngā mahi karanga mō tēnei whare. He aha i pera ai? Aua, nā te mea kāre i ahau te reo. Engari tōku waimarie i konei a Te Rangihau, nāna ahau i whakaako ki te karanga, kaua ko Tīmoti … nā Te Rangihau. Nā reira i konei rātou ko Te Wharehuia e kaha tautoko ana i ahau. Nō muri mai ka kuhukuhu mai he wāhine hei kaiako ka āhua tohaina ngā mahi, engari tū tonu au hei reo matua mō tēnei takiwā.
>
> It was hard because at the time I was the oldest student in the place, there were no Māori women teachers [at the University], so I got the job of karanga (formal caller) for this institution. Why? I don't know, because I couldn't speak te reo. But I was fortunate Te Rangihau was here, he taught me how to karanga, not Tīmoti ... it was Te Rangihau. So they were all here, and Te Wharehuia, really supporting me. Later some female teachers came along and we kind of shared the load, but I remained one of the main voices for this place.

Any disadvantage this late start may have caused was more than made up for by the readiness of mentors to take Te Rita under their wings. Some of those mentors included; Professor Tīmoti Karetu, Professor Te Wharehuia Milroy, the late Sir Robert Te Kotahi Māhuta, and the late John Rangihau. All of these men were revered speakers of te reo and each one was a tohunga (expert or high priest) in their own right on matters of Māori custom, history and heritage.

Te Rita and I spoke about her relationship with Professor Tīmoti Karetu:

> Ka haramai au ki konei [te whare wānanga o Waikato] ki tērā whare kei kō, ka pātōtō ki te kuaha o Tīmoti me tana karanga mai, “kuhu mai mēnā he ātaahua koe.” Kāre au i te paku mōhio he aha tana i kōrero ai. Ka kuhu tonu au ki tana ruma. Kāre au i tino mataku nā te mea he tino hoa ia nō mātou te whānau. Ka hoki mai ia i Rānana, nā taku māmā ia i tiaki kia waia haere ki tēnei hāpori, nō reira matua mōhio māua ki a māua me tana *ohorere* i taku kuhunga ki tana ruma. He goes “ka pai, he aha te take i konei koe?” ... me tōku kī atu, “kei te hia ako i te reo.”
>
> So I came here [to the University of Waikato] to that house over yonder, I knocked on Tīmoti’s door and he called out [in Māori], “come in if you’re beautiful.” I had no idea what he had said. I just walked into his room. I wasn’t really scared because he was a good friend of our family. When he came back from London, my mother took him in until he got used to this community, so we knew each other well, and he was *surprised* to see me coming into his room. He goes, “oh good, what are you doing here?” ... and I said, “I want to learn te reo.”

This willing network of accomplished mentors presented opportunities for language and tikanga development. In a television documentary episode on Te Rita’s life, made for TVNZ’s Waka Huia programme[14], Te Rita spoke about being called into John Rangihau’s office shortly after being pronounced best female leader at the national Kapa Haka competitions. He offered her the opportunity to be taught how to wield the traditional Māori short club or patu, to enhance her performance. When she asked why he had offered her such a privilege, he told her that her mother had been a generous friend to him and his family over the years and that he hoped for an opportunity to repay her mother’s kindness. He added that he also hoped one day Te Rita would show the same kindness to one of his own should the opportunity arise.  This form of reciprocity (utu) is an important part of Māori culture, as is genealogy (whakapapa) (Barlow, 1994). Te Rita had both factors working in her favour when she arrived at Waikato University. Not only did her teachers have a connection to her through her mother (whakapapa) but they also felt they owed a debt of gratitude (utu), which could be repaid in kind by doing what they could to help Te Rita.

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[14] http://tvnz.co.nz/waka-huia/s2011-e11-video-4163953.

**Whakatika – error correction**

And help her they did. Having been a conscientious student of other languages while at school, Te Rita found the reading and writing aspects of learning te reo were not difficult. However, when it came to speaking and communicating she experienced a debilitating anxiety. She was not sure how to deal with this anxiety and assistance from her mentors was particularly helpful here:

> Engari nā te mea he pakeke au, kua waia haere au ki te pānui me te tuhituhi. He pai noa tērā huarahi ki ahau, i ako tonu au i te reo. Ko te mea kino kē, kāre i tino patua taku whakamā ki te kōrero. I ako au … taku maumahara A's katoa taku whiwhinga, nā reira kāre i te uaua ki au, engari ko te mea uaua māna pea mā te kaiako e patu i taku whakamā… kāre hoki au i te mōhio me pēhea te patu i taku ake whakamā i tērā wā. Nā reira kāre au i kaha kōrero. Heoi anō, nā Tīmoti rāua ko Te Rangihau …, i āhua māmā a Te Wharehuia ki au, ka whakatika rāua i ahau i ngā wā katoa. Ina ka whiua e rāua he rerenga kōrero ki ahau, ka whakautu au, kua hē katoa taku whakautu, ka whakatikangia. Mai i tērā wā kua tika katoa. Ina ka whakatikangia i taua wā tonu, kāre e wareware i au … i mau pono mārō tika i a au i runga i te mataku, aua. Heoi anō, me taku mōhio i runga i taku hiahia kia mōhio au ki tōku reo …
>
> But because I was older, I was used to reading and writing. I liked that approach; I learned the language that way. But the problem was I hadn't overcome my anxiety about speaking. I learnt ... from memory all my grades were A's, so that was not difficult, but the difficult part for them, for the teacher was how to overcome my anxiety ... I had no idea how to deal with my own anxiety at the time. So I hardly spoke. However, it was Tīmoti and Te Rangihau, .... Te Wharehuia was a bit soft to me, but those other two corrected me constantly. Whenever they threw me a statement, I would respond, my response would be totally wrong, they would correct me. From that moment on I got it right. If it was corrected on the spot, I wouldn't forget ... I would lock it in true, hard and correct out of fear, I don't know. But I do know that it was because I really wanted to know my reo ...

For Te Rita, there is little doubt that her mentors helped her to do two things; first to overcome her fear of speaking, and second to develop more grammatically correct speech. This required her mentors to constantly prompt her to speak or to "throw statements" and then to correct the errors in her responses. Their part was important, but Te Rita's part was equally important. Driven by the desire to "know her reo" and to get it right, she seized the opportunity by actively responding to prompts.

**Ko aku kaiako ko aku tamariki – My children are my teachers**

Te Rita acknowledges how fortunate she was to have had the support of such incredible mentors. However, through the course of our interview she returned time and time again to discuss the importance of the part her tamariki played in her language development:

> Nō muri mai ko āku kaiako ko āku ake tamariki, nā te mea i tīmata mātou ko aku pakeke [tamariki] ki te ako tahi. I te kura tuarua rātou; i konei au [i te whare wānanga]. Nā reira i waimarie mātou tokowhā… tokowhā i te tuatahi, tokoono nō muri ake, engari mātou ko aku pakeke kua whai rōpū kōrerorero, whānau kōrerorero, nā reira hoki ana ki te kāinga i taea e au te kōrero ki āku tamariki, i te reanga i reira mātou katoa.
>
> After that my teachers were my own children, because my older children and I all started learning together. They were in secondary school; I was here [at university]. So we four were fortunate ... four of us at first, six of us later on, but me and my older children had a conversation group, a family of interlocutors, so when I came home I could talk to my children, at the level we were all at.

For Te Rita, her mentors provided essential exemplars of advanced language speakers. Just as important, were her children, who provided access to fellow speakers at the same level of proficiency. Te Rita had the best of both worlds. When her children finished school they each went to the university and studied te reo too. At home they formed an environment where together they moved away from English to Māori as the dominant means of everyday communication, in the space of just a few years.

**Rūmaki i te kāinga – Immersion at home**

At first, Te Rita and her children simply didn't know enough reo to move directly to full immersion at home. They pressed on with their formal lessons and with speaking as much Māori at home every day as their developing proficiency would allow. They became even more motivated by the impending arrival of child number six, Te Ingo, to move to full immersion at home for the sake of the new baby:

> I te tīmatanga kāore mātou i te nui o te reo kia pērā [rūmaki], āe i huri ki te reo Pākehā. Ko tō mātou waimarie i whakaaro au ki te whakawhānau pēpi anō [laughs], arā ko Te Ingo tērā. Koia tō mātou whakamatautau nui i a mātou anō, ka whānau mai a Te Ingo, kua kore he reo Pākehā i roto i tō mātou kāinga. Nāna te ture i whakatau [laughs]. I tērā wā kāore he reo Māori o tana pāpā, engari nā tā mātou pūmau ki te reo i ako ia. Ka kōrero Pākehā tonu ia ki tana pēpi, me tana mārama ki tōna reo, engari i miharo au ki taku tāne, nā te mea i tino ngana ia ki te ako i a mātou … i tana pēpi me kī. Nā reira ka eke ki ana rua tau he reo Māori kōrerorero tō tana pāpā, .... Kua whai mokopuna kē au i mua i te whānautanga mai o taku pēpi kua kōrero Māori rātou, nā reira kua tino whāngai reo Māori mātou … kāre he take o te reo Pākehā i tō mātou whare. .... Ahakoa ka rongo koe i te reo Pākehā i roto i tō mātou whare, e mōhio ana āku mokopuna me āku hoa he wāhi kōrero Māori tēnei, nā reira ki te hia huri noa mātou ki te reo Māori, aroha ki ngā mea kāre i te mārama, but kei te pērā te whare … me te mōhio o ōku hoa e haramai ana kāre ā rātou reo Māori, *me tatari noa kia mutu ngā kōrero ka whakamarama mātou [te whakanui a te kaikōrero]*, engari kia rongo tonu ngā mokopuna i te reo i te ao, i te pō.

> In the beginning we didn't have enough reo to do that [full immersion], yes we did revert to English. Luckily for us I thought about having another baby [laughs], that was Te Ingo. That was our great experiment on ourselves, when Te Ingo was born, the English language was removed from our home. She set that rule in place [laughs]. At the time her father could not speak Māori, but through our dedication to te reo Māori, he learnt. He would still speak English to his baby, and he understood what she said, but I was amazed with my man, because he really strove to learn from us ... from his baby I should say. So by the time she was two years old her father had conversational reo, ... I had grandchildren before my baby was born and they all spoke Māori, so we really nourished them with te reo Māori ... there is no reason for English at our house. .... Although you may hear English at our house, my grandchildren and my friends know this is a Māori speaking environment, so when we want to speak Māori, sorry to those who don't understand, but that is how our house is... and my friends who come and don't speak Māori know, *they just have to wait until we finish talking, then someone will give them an explanation [speakers emphasis]*, so the grandchildren can hear the language all day and all night.

From the time of her mother's passing, Te Rita's every thought and action has been focused on the needs and the well-being of her tamariki and mokopuna. She set a clear the vision – to create a Māori immersion household, but without her children's support it could never have come to fruition. The level of commitment she was able to generate and maintain from her children and her mokopuna is a testament to her status as māreikura (matriarch). Her charisma and indefatigable, at times uncompromising, approach to speaking te reo at home, coupled with the support of her whānau led in just a few years to the realisation of the vision. The above passage shows how, by remaining committed to the vision, they were able to negotiate at least two factors that could have been major obstructions. First, Te Ingo's father, Quentin, had no reo when Te Ingo was born. Instead of compromising the vision and speaking English for his benefit, the whānau persevered and spoke only Māori at home. Quentin had to sink or swim. Fortunately, he chose to swim. Second, when non-Māori speaking guests come to the home, the whānau do not compromise on the vision. They know they cannot because to compromise would be to sell out the next generation of Māori speakers.

Perhaps one reason why Te Rita's older children were so supportive was that they had experienced, along with Te Rita, how difficult it was to learn te reo as a second or additional language:

> Nā reira, ērā whakaaro i te haere tahi i a mātou e ako ana. Me pēhea ngā tamariki kei te whai mai? He aha mā rātou? Nā te mea i uaua mā āku mea pakeke i ako kē i te kura tuarua me te whare wānanga pērā i au nei. Pēhea ngā mea pakupaku? So i whakawhānuihia tā mātou titiro o te whānau ki te reo i au e whakaako ana. Ehara i te mea ka ware noa au ki te whakaako me te ako, ka whakaaro hoki mō nga mea kei te whai mai me te whakatū wāhi ako i te reo mō rātou.
>
> So, those thoughts went along with us as we learnt. How will it be for the unborn children? What will it be like for them? Because it was difficult for my older children learning at secondary school and at university like I did. What about the little ones? So our family perspective was widened, with regard to the reo while I was learning. It wasn't as if I was just consumed with learning and teaching, I was also thinking about the next generation and about setting up a place where they could learn te reo.

**E kaingākau ana au ki te waiata – I am passionate about song**

Long before Te Rita and her whānau had committed fully to learning te reo, they were fully committed to kapa haka. Te Rita impressed upon me her view that the family commitment to kapa haka gave them a significant advantage when it came to learning te reo:

> Engari ko te mea tino mahi tautoko pea o tā mātou ako i te reo ko te kapa haka, mai te wā e tamariki ana rātou, ka kawea mai e au ki te whare wānanga i te ao, i te pō. Ko tēnei tō rātou kāinga tipu e taea te kī. Mai i ngā māhanga kua noho rātou ki tēnei whare wānanga hei pēpi, ana, kua tipu ake i konei.
>
> But perhaps the most helpful thing for our learning te reo was kapa haka, from the time they were kids, I was bringing them to the university day and night. This is where they grew up it can be said. Since the twins [4th and 5th children] they have lived at this university as babies, they have grown up here.

For Te Rita, waiata (song) was a favourite method for learning te reo:

> Nā reira, ka haere mātou ki te pari karangaranga, ka meatia te rīpene … te ūpoko aha rānei ki roto, ko au tērā noho noa iho whakarongo ki ngā waiata mō te wā roa tonu me te ako [Laughs]. Ka rongo au i a Murumāra e pēhi ana i tana pātene,
> "*Te Rita, kua mutu te wāhi waiata me ako i te reo.*" [Laughs]
> "*Oh, aroha mai pāpā, kāre au i mōhio i te whakarongo mai koe ki ahau.*"
> Nā reira ka taea hoki pea te kī, i tana kume i ngā waiata a Hīrini ki roto i ngā mahi i tino mau au, nā ngā waiata, me te māmā o te reo i roto i ngā waiata, ara anō te whakamaramatanga … te hohonutanga o te whakamaramatanga, engari māmā te whakatakoto pērā i te haiku [Japanese poem], e whā ngā rarangi o ia whiti, e toru whiti noa iho pea. Mōhio ana koe ki ana waiata, he mea mā ngā tamariki pakupaku, he mea o te taiao. Nā reira i taea e au te tere tīkapo i aua kōrero hei pūtea reo mō taku kete me kī.
>
> So, we went to the language lab, put in the tape ... whatever the chapter, in it went. There I was just sitting and listening to the songs for a very long time and learning [laughs]. Then I hear Moorfeild [the lecturer] pressing his button,
> "Te Rita, song time is over, learn some reo." [laughs]
> "Oh, sorry sir, I didn't know you were listening to me."
> So, I think I can say, when he brought Hirini's[15] songs into the exercises I really got it, because of the songs, and the simplicity of the language in the songs, the explanations were another thing..., the deeper meanings, but the structure was simple like a haiku [Japanese poem], four lines in each verse, just three or so verses. You know his songs, ones for small children, ones about the natural world. So I was able to quickly snatch out those phrases as provisions for my storage, you could say.

[15] The late Hirini Melbourne of Tūhoe was reknown Māori Language singer song writer. For information on Hirini and his music see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hirini_Melbourne

Te Rita utilised the familiar medium of song to extend upon her vocabulary and gather in new words and phrases and to store them, in the form of song, for later retrieval. Learning in this way was clearly a pleasurable activity, and in Te Rita's view it was also a very effective technique for learning. Beyond its utility for pleasure and learning, Te Rita spoke of an increasing awareness of the spiritual and medicinal properties of waiata:

> Tuatahi nā te mea e tino mōhio ana au e kaingākau ana au ki te waiata, he mea whakatau ai i ngā raru ki roto i ahau, hāunga tana kaupapa, he mea hei whakatau i te hopo, he mea whakatau ai i ngā raru … i rongo au i tērā wā ka waiho ki rahaki … Ki au nei … and i ako mātou i tēnei i a Pania [daughter] i roto i te hohipera e kai ana i āna rongoa kino. I tukuna mai e tētahi o āku hoa he kōrero i kitea i te ipurangi mō te whakapai i te te tinana me te hinengaro, te mahi whakapai a te waiata i te tinana me te hinengaro, me kī he rongoa hei rongoā. Nā reira i ngā wā katoa ka hui mātou ki reira ki tōna taha ka waiata mātou, ki te kore mātou e waiata ka oho ia me te kī,
> "*Hoi, kaua e mutu.*"
> "*Pōhēhē mātou i te moe koe, i te waiho mātou kia moe.*"
> "*Āe, ka moe pai au inā ka rongo au i a koutou.*"
> Me tana kī ahakoa kāre he mea kikokiko nei i rongo ia … i rongo tonu tōna kiko kia whakapai i a ia anō nā tā mātou waiata.
>
> First, because I know how much I love song, it's something that can placate my inner turmoil, whatever the song is about, it reduces anxiety, it can quell the, problems ... I feel at the time are brushed aside ... to me ... and we learnt this when Pania was in the hospital on her brutal course of medication. One of my friends sent me an article they found on the internet about the benefits for the body and the mind, the benefits of song for the body and the mind, you could say sound as medicine. So all the time we would gather there by her side and we would sing, if we didn't sing she would wake and say,
> *"Hey, don't stop."*
> *"We thought you were asleep, we were leaving you to sleep."*
> *"Yes, I have a good sleep when I can hear you."*
> And she said even though it isn't a physical thing she could feel it ... her body felt better because of our singing.

Te Rita's observations resonate with Māori cultural perspectives on the co-existence of the seen and the unseen worlds, of the connection between the physical and the spiritual world (C. W. Smith, 2000). Here waiata is more than just a means of entertainment and relaxation. It is the mechanism with which the spirit is engaged. When you soothe the spirit with song there is an equally soothing effect on the body. Throughout her life Te Rita has at times consciously and at times unconsciously utilised the healing and engaging properties of waiata in her learning to placate anxiety and to quell problems that might well have otherwise obstructed her ability to learn.

**Karakia – the power of prayer**

Like waiata (song), karakia (prayer) is often used in a more direct and conscious way to engage the spirit and prepare both mind and body for learning. When I asked Te Rita what strategies she applied to overcome anxiety with regard to learning te reo this is how she replied:

> ...paku kōrero mō te taha karakia. Kāre hoki … i karakia au ki a au anō engari mō te whakahaere karāehe i tukuna mā ngā ākonga me taku mōhio kāre pea te katoa i te Karaitiana i te aha rānei, ētahi pea he agnostic he atheist, he aha rānei … engari ka kī atu au ki a rātou mēnā he whakaaro tōu whakamahia hei karakia, mēnā he whakatauki tāu whakamahia hei karakia, a Pākehā, a Māori rānei, ... nā te mea ki au nei he karakia te katoa but kāre rātou e whakaaro pērā nā reira kia kaua e kī me karakia.... ko te mea ka whakatau i a koe, ko tō koha ki te karāehe … koina hei whakarite i a mātou.
>
> ... a few words regarding karakia (prayer). It's not ... I pray to myself but when I am running a class I let the students lead the karakia and I know perhaps they are not all Christian or any other denomination, some could be agnostic, an atheist, or something else ... but I say to them if you have an idea use it in place of a karakia, if you know a proverb use it in place of a karakia, in English or Māori, ... because to me they are all karakia but they don't think that way so I can't say they must do a karakia .... what you offer, is your gift to the class ... that is what provides us with a focus.

Te Rita makes a clear distinction between “prayer” and karakia. To her any thoughts offered as a gift from one person to their classmates can be thought of as a karakia. The gift ought to be useful to the students to help provide focus for the learning about to transpire. Another underlying dimension is connection. Karakia is intended to establish connection between the person offering the karakia and the listeners, and within and between all the participants. This connection is based on the meaning and significance the listeners find in the words of the karakia to their lives and to their learning.

Te Rita and I discussed the debilitating effects of anxiety, something she felt acutely, being at times the oldest student in her classes. She also admitted to feeling it still, even now, though she is a proficient speaker and after many years teaching te reo. When I asked how she overcame that anxiety she spoke about her use of kapa haka (song and dance) and karakia (prayer) as a resource for dealing with anxiety:

> He karakia āku, me whakapono au. He karakia āku nā Te Rangihau i hōmai mō āku mahi katoa. I tīmata i te mahi kapa haka, ko ērā karakia ehara i te mea he mea huna ko “tūruki whakataha” tētahi , “e koro mā i te pō ko ahau tēnei” … tuarua. He mea māmā noa iho engari he mea whakaaro i au ki tāku e mahi nei me te kī, “*me mutu te rongo ia i te whakamā, i te hopo, mahia te mahi.*” Engari e pono āku kōrero kei reira tonu, he pakeke noa iho au koira anake te mea e taea au te huna mō te wā poto. Mā te waiata tētahi huarahi whakatau i tērā hopo … ki ahau nei he mea nui te waiata … me tahi, me rua ngā waiata i mua i te karāehe kia tau ai te ākonga, pai. Koira anake pea taku tino rauemi tautoko i au.
>
> I have my karakia, and I must have faith. I have karakia that Te Rangihau gave me for all of my activities. I begin with kapa haka, those prayers are no secret “turuki whakataha” [name of a particular prayer] is one, “e koro mai te pō ko au tēnei” [name of another prayer] ... the second. They are simple but they make me focus on the task and say, “stop feeling embarrassed, and anxious, do the job.” But I’ll be honest it is always there, I am older now so that means I can hide for a short time. Song is the way to quell that anxiety ... song is so important to me ... one, two songs before class to settle the student, good. That is probably my greatest most helpful resource.

**He aha hei mahi kia eke ai te tangata? What does it take to learn te reo?**

I asked Te Rita what it takes for an adult to learn te reo Māori and she replied:

> Ko te hiahia. Ki te kore e hiahia e kore rawa e tutuki. Ko te rapu hoa kōrerorero, ko te uru ki ngā mahi o te reo.
>
> Desire. If there is no desire then it will never be achieved. Seek companions for conversation, and participate in the tasks of the language.

I pressed her for an example of this kind of desire, commitment and participation from her life. She gave me the example of her recent 60th birthday celebrations which her children organised.

> Ko Te Kaihautu te MC o te pō and ko tana kī mai,
> "*reo Māori, reo Pākehā?*"
> Kī atu au, "*reo Māori.*"
> *"Pēhea te minenga?"*
> *"Hei aha tā rātou, kua haere mai rātou ki te tautoko i te karanga o āku tamariki, ā, e mōhio ana rātou ki a mātou. Ki te kore rātou e hiahia ki te whakarongo ki te reo Māori i ngā wā katoa kaua e haramai.*"
> Kua tino pono mātou ki tērā, engari kua rongo hoki mātou ko ngā mea e hiahia ana ki te pā tata ki a mātou ka haramai tonu ahakoa te aha, tata te whā rau ngā tangata i tae mai. Nā te mea i reira āku mokopuna. He aha te tauira ki a rātou inā ka huri mātou katoa ki te reo Pākehā? Kāre i te pērā, he mea nui tērā.
>
> Te Kaihautu [friend of the family] was the mc [master of ceremonies] for the evening and he said to me,
> "Māori or English?"
> I said, "Māori."
> "What about the audience?"
> "Never mind what they want, they are here in response to the request from my children and they know who we are. If they don't want to hear te reo Māori at all times then don't come."
> We are really true to that, and we also feel that those who want to be close to us will still turn up, come what may, nearly four hundred people were in attendance. Because my grandchildren were there. What kind of

> an example would that be if we all turned to English? Well we didn't, and that's important.

This level of commitment, not just from Te Rita but from all of her children too was motivated by a clear vision, which Te Rita set and her children bought into whole heartedly. It required a willingness to invest time and energy but more importantly it required a flat out refusal to compromise on the vision just for the sake of making others feel comfortable. It could be argued that this is a fatal trap that many aspiring second language te reo Māori learners fall into. They tend to turn too quickly to English whenever others come along who do not speak Māori. This acquiescence to English language dominance can severely undermine progress towards proficiency in te reo. In Te Rita's case, it also would have set a poor example for the children for whom the vision was set. Te Rita and her whānau successfully negotiated this potential trap by creating a Māori speaking environment that existed not only within the physical setting of the family home, but more importantly within the model of social interaction that comes into play whenever and wherever two or more of her whānau members are together. Regardless of the company they are in they do not compromise their shared whānau vision of passing te reo to the next generation. By modelling its constant use for all purposes and at all times, they set the best example they can for the children and grandchildren. No doubt there were instances when one or more of the whānau faltered and slipped into the occasional word, phrase or sentence of English, but they always had one another to remain accountable to and the results speak for themselves; seven adult children and 27 grandchildren, everyone a proficient Māori speaker.

**Titiro whakamua – Looking ahead**

I asked if Te Rita's aspirations and motivations had changed since she started out learning te reo. Here is what she said:

> Kao kei te rite tonu. Nā te mea kua kite au he tino moemoeā tōku mō te ao whānui, mō te ao Māori, kāre i tutukingia. Ngā wawata ngā tūmanako i au i roto i ngā tau, kāre i tutukingia. Kei te tutukingia e tōku whānau ake, ka taea e au te kī. Ka taea e au te matua kī tērā, engari i tere kite au i te wā i whakatūria te kura kaupapa, ana, ka whai hoa a Te Ingo, ana, ka haere ia ki ō rātou whare noho ai ka hoki mai ia ki te kāinga me te kī mai "*Mum, kāre rātou e kōrero Māori i te kāinga*." Kātahi au ka whakatūwhera i taku whare ki ōna hoa kia haere mai ki a mātou. Kua pērā anō mātou, ka huri rātou ki te kōrero Pākehā engari e kore rawa au mō te kōrero Pākehā ki a rātou, ka kōrero Māori tonu. Ināianei ko ērā tamariki katoa kua pakeke ka haramai tonu ki te kāinga ko te reo Māori ka puta, haunga tā rātou ake, ka haramai ki Wilson Street mōhio ana rātou ko te reo Māori te reo ka kōrerohia, he pai te rongo i tērā. Nā reira kua tino pouri au i roto i ngā tau, ahakoa kua mau mārō mātou ki tā mātou e mōhio ana ka whai hua. Kei te rongo koe i a māua ko Maria [daughter]ka kōrero Māori tonu. Ka waea mai a māua tamariki, ka kōrero Māori tonu. Kāre he whakaaro, he mea noa. Me āku mokopuna katoa, ka taea e au te kī tokorua anake o te rua tekau mā whitu kāre anō kia kōrero, he pēpi rāua, atu i tērā he reo Māori tō te katoa.
>
> No they are still the same. Because I have a dream for the wider world, for Māoridom, that hasn't been realised. The wants and aspirations I had over the years, have not been achieved. They have been achieved by my own family, I can say that. I can really say that, but I soon saw when the kura kaupapa [immersion primary school] was established, well, Te Ingo made friends, then, she went to their houses to stay over and when she came home she said to me, *"Mum, they don't speak Māori at home."* So I opened my home to her friends so they could come to us. We did what we always do, they would speak English but I never spoke English to them, I continue to speak Māori. Now all of those children have grown up and they still come home and their reo Māori comes out, not at their own place, when they come to Wilson street, they know te reo Māori is the language that is spoken, and that's good to hear. So I have been really disappointed over the years, even though we have stuck to what we know produces results. You heard Maria [daughter] and I still speaking Māori. When our kids call we keep speaking Māori. We don't even think

> about it, it's just normal. And all my grandchildren, I can say only two of the 27 have not yet spoken, they are babies, other than that they all speak Māori.

**Whakatau mutunga – conclusions**

Te Rita epitomises the transformational heroine leader, te māreikura. She dared to dream of a Māori speaking world and a Māori speaking whānau; she committed herself to that vision. She used the leverage provided by her whānau's existing commitment to kapa haka; along with the leverage she gained as part of her mother's legacy, to become a protégé to the high priests. She maneuvered her willing whānau into a transformation from English to Māori speaking in just a few years. There were challenges. At first she had no idea of how to overcome her own anxiety, often being the oldest learner in the class. She drew on the support of her mentors and her children and she learnt to apply the familiar strategies of karakia and waiata to negotiate the difficult times. Her vision for her own whānau has been fully realised and she can now take tremendous pride in what her whānau have achieved. However, for Te Rita this is just the realisation of one part of a broader vision. Her dreams of a wider Māori speaking world stretch out before her like a distant horizon. She has already made in-roads through the influence her whānau has on all those who have become part of their lives. The price of admission to the inner circle is commitment to speaking te reo and, as always, there is no compromise. Anything less than full commitment would be tantamount to selling out on future generations of unborn children. That is something Te Rita, te māreikura, could never permit.

## 4.4 Case Three: Julian Wilcox

### Te Korokoro Tūī – The Orator

Julian Wilcox is one of the most gifted Māori orators of his generation. His resume is impressive; it includes Māori language broadcaster and host of the lead indigenous current affairs television programme in the country - Native Affairs[16]. He is a former university te reo lecturer, and Māori language radio host and sports commentator. He is often first choice as master of ceremonies for Māori community events and festivals the length and breadth of the country. He is eloquent in both Māori and English and has so far managed to fend off recruitment efforts from mainstream media – he currently works for Māori television - because his passion lies first and foremost with te reo Māori and te ao Māori (the Māori world).

In the Māori tradition, the orator is the 'māngai' or the mouthpiece of the people. They are not merely gifted wordsmiths; they must channel and convey the mood, the sentiment and the views of those they represent. They must be intelligent, competitive and persuasive, since a part of Māori oratory is engagement in the 'war of words' (Rewi, 2005). The mana (prestige) of one's status as orator is intimately connected with the mana of the people. A poor performance reflects poorly on one's own whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe). This is an awesome responsibility. It is one that Julian is acutely aware of, and yet he takes it in his stride. Showmanship is an important prerequisite for the job as good oratory should be tantalising, thrilling and electric. Presentation is important to Julian. He understands oratory as a visual as well as auditory experience. Even when the cameras are off, he is always well dressed, formal or casual. A gym buff, he takes care of his physique and his hair rarely gets an outing without a spruce of gel.

[16] http://www.maoritelevision.com/default.aspx?tabid=636&pid=212.

Julian is an artist and like all great artists he pours countless hours into the constant refinement of his technique. He is a scholar, and like all great scholars he has an insatiable appetite for knowledge and learning, he is constantly engaged in research to broaden his knowledge base and to make connections between and within fields of interest.

It was my privilege to work with Julian from 2001 – 2006 in the faculty of Māori Development at Auckland University of Technology (AUT) in Auckland city. He is a good friend and a generous colleague and, even though I am older, he has often been a mentor and a role model for me. Julian is an exemplar of dedication to one's craft. He is driven by the endless quest for the perfect performance. For the most part, his decisions and sacrifices are made either consciously or unconsciously in service to this higher objective.

He grew up in Wellington, one of three siblings, his parents instilled in their children a positive sense of Māori identity, simply by being themselves; proud strong Māori role models. However, like many urban Māori speaking parents of their generation, they never spoke Māori to their children at home and they rarely took their children back to their Te Arawa, Tūwharetoa and Ngā Puhi marae while they were growing up. They did send Julian to Te Aute College[17], a Māori boarding high school, hoping to awaken within him an appreciation of his Māori heritage.

[17] Te Aute College in the Hawkes Bay, a boarding school for Māori boys. The school is historically significant to Māoridom as it is the countries oldest remaining Māori boarding school and many of its graduates have gone on to become great leaders in Māoridom. For more information on the school see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Te_Aute_College

**Te tū ki mua i te whakaminenga – Performing for an audience**

At Te Aute, Julian began to learn te reo. There were regular opportunities to display his knowledge, or lack thereof. Some early experiences were awkward and embarrassing and had a profound effect on Julian's motivation to learn.

> Ka mea mai tētahi o ō mātou kaiako .... kōrero Māori anake koutou katoa i tēnei wā. Nā te mea he whakahīhī ahau, he tangata whakapehapeha i ahau anō, i whakaaro ake au ā, ka pai. Nō reira, i puta te whakaaro i a au me haere au ki te wharepaku. Kia pai ai taku tū i mua i te aroaro o ngā ākonga me kī ake 'me haere au ki te wharepaku' i roto i te reo Māori. E rua ngā kupu i āta mōhiotia e au ko te 'wharepaku' me 'haere'. Nō reira, ka tirohia te tikinare, ka rapu atu i te kupu 'au', ka rapu au i te kupu 'me' e noho mai hei rerenga kōrero tōtika. Nō reira, ka tū atu au ka mea atu:
>
> 'matua'
> 'Āe, he aha tō take?'
> 'wharepaku me au' [both laughing]
> 'wharepaku me au' [laughs]
>
> Ka huri te kaumatua rā ka mea, 'whakaāe katoa ana au ki tēnā, engari he aha tō take?' [both crack up]. [laughs] Me taku whakamā, riri ki ahau anō, nā taku whakamā ka kī taurangi ki au anō, e kore au e patua e te whakamā haere ake nei haere ake nei.
>
> One of our teachers said ... everyone will speak only Māori for this period. Since I was arrogant, I was full of myself, I thought, oh good. So, it occurred to me that I should go to the toilet. To look good in front of the students, I needed to say "I need to go to the toilet" in te reo Māori. I only really knew two words; 'wharepaku' [toilet] and 'haere' [go]. So, I looked in the dictionary, I looked up the word 'au' [I], I looked up the word 'me' [should/need] to make a correct sentence. So, I stood up and said:
> 'sir'
> 'Yes, what do you want?'
> 'toilet I am' [both laughing]
> 'toilet I am' [laughs]
> The old man turned to me and said, 'I agree completely, but what do you want?' [both laughing]. And I was so embarrassed, and angry with myself, I was so embarrassed that I promised myself I would never again allow myself to be so embarrassed from that day on.

This story conveys meaning on several levels. It gives an insight into one motivating factor for Julian to learn te reo, to avoid future humiliation. It showcases one of Julian's key personality traits, his self-deprecating sense of humour. It also demonstrates one skill important to his prowess as an orator, the ability to craft a story. This story is brief but it contains the key elements of a good story: character development, plot and moral. He starts with the character, himself, and develops the character by suggesting he is arrogant and full of himself. The plot is expressed in the form of a challenge: how will our cheeky young man use te reo to get to the toilet and look good doing so in front of a room full of his peers. Finally, the character's epic failure and humiliation lead us to focus on the moral or message to the story: shame can be a great teacher, it is not necessarily something to recoil from because if you can learn your lesson, you can use the shame as motivation to achieve the objective.

**Te matemate-ā-one – Longing for home**

At age 16, Julian was sent by his mother to live in the USA, to see the wide world. His time in America was somewhat traumatic for him. He did not like the cultural differences he experienced and, over time, he became increasingly homesick for Aotearoa and more especially for his Māori language and culture. Three months into a planned six month stay, his aunt passed away from cancer and for Julian this was a crisis point.

> I whakapā mai tōku whaea ki au me te kī mai kua mate te tuahine o tōku pāpā. Na, nōna te ingoa o taku tamahine. Ka mea au 'Kua wehe au i Amerika ināianei.'
> Ka mea a Mum, 'no no, e toru marama ka whaiwāhi koe ki te hoki mai.'
> I mea atu au, 'no, kua hoki tika atu i tēnei wā.'
> Ka mea mai taku māmā, 'kāore koe i te whakarongo mai ki au.'
> Ka mea atu au, 'hoatu te waea ki tō hoa', [sly laugh] 'hoatu te waea ki tō hoa, kua mutu tā tāua kōrero.'
> Ka kohukohungia au e taku māmā, kātahi ka whiua atu te wāea ki tana hoa ki taku pāpā. Ka mea mai taku pāpā ki au, me tana tangi, i te hinganga o tana tuahine, ka mea mai ki au, 'kua kore e āhei bro. ko te tangihanga āpōpō.'

> My mother contacted me and told me my dad's sister had died. The one whom my daughter is named after. I said, 'I am leaving America right now.'
> Mum said, 'no no, you can come back in three months time.'
> I said, 'no, I am coming back right this moment.'
> My mother replied, 'you are not listening to me.'
> I said, 'give the phone to your husband', [sly laugh] 'give the phone to your husband, our conversation is over.'
> My mum gave me a good telling off, then she threw the phone to her husband, to my dad. My dad said to me, and he was crying, because he had just lost his sister, he said to me, 'can't do it bro. The tangi (funeral) is tomorrow.

In the wake of that moment, Julian made another promise to himself. To return to Aotearoa, to return to his school, and to dedicate himself to te reo and tikanga Māori. Before Te Aute, he had in his own words been raised as an "ignorant Pākehā"; he saw no value in te reo and no reason to learn it. His time at Te Aute opened his eyes to the accomplishments of some of the great Māori leaders of the past and the present. They became his new heroes and since te reo and tikanga Māori were integral to who they were and what they had accomplished, Julian came to place great value on those attributes. His time in the USA exposed him to what he described as some of the worst aspects of 'Pākehā' culture:

> I kore e pai ai ki te whenua o Amerika, ko ngā tāngata o reira!!! Hahaha! He ao kē, he tangata kē! He taonga te whakahīhī, he mana tō te whai rawa. Ko Amerika hoki te tīmatanga me te mutunga o ngā mea katoa. E hoa, he rerekē noa atu ērā tū āhuaranga ki ngā taonga nui i pai ki a au.
>
> I did not like America, it was the people there!!! Hahaha! It is a different world, and the people are different! Arrogance is a virtue, money is revered. America is also considered the beginning and the end of all things. My friend, all of those things they value are completely at odds with the things I hold dear.

He came home feeling that he had seen enough of Pākehā culture. He had a good command of the English language; he had done well at school, now it was time to turn away from te reo Pākehā and tikanga Pākehā and towards te reo Māori and tikanga Māori.

**Ngā manu kōrero – Competitive speech making**

Turning away from English soon hit a snag. As an aspiring young orator, Julian wanted to represent his high school at the national Māori speech making competitions in the te reo Māori category. But at the regional competitions, there could be only one speaker per category per school. Julian was not selected for the Māori language category. Instead he was recognised for his talent with the English language and his teachers put him forward in that category. He won first the regional competitions, then the national ones. When he returned with the trophy the entire school celebrated the victory. He was happy but not content. The experience only hardened his resolve to put English and Pākehā (European) culture to one side and focus on te reo and that has been his primary focus to the present day.

**He huarahi Māori – A Māori approach to teaching te reo**

Julian was first exposed to immersion teaching in te reo at age 16, his school certificate year.[18] A handful of his teachers at Te Aute were of an older generation who had gained their knowledge of te reo and tikanga Māori not from books, but through listening to and modelling the language and behaviours of their kaumātua (elders). This in turn was the style in which they preferred to teach their students. Reflecting back on the experience, Julian is convinced that this for him was the best method to develop proficiency in te reo:

> Ko tētahi o ō mātou akomanga, nā Te Ao Pēhi i whakahaere ... ka tīmata te akomanga, karakia, engari ko tana mahi tuatahi whai muri i te karakia, he āta titiro ki ngā kākahu e mau nei mātou, ko te tika o te noho, ērā mea katoa. Ko tā mātou mahi he whakarongo; ko tāna he kōrero. Ka noho mātou mō te hawhe haora ... mō te haurua tuatahi o te akomanga he whakarongo te mahi. Kātahi ka tukuna mātou ki te marae, ka whakatūngia mātou e te kaumātua rā. ...Ko te mahi a te kaumātua nei he whakatauira i tāna i ako mai ai. He whakamātautau anō hoki i a mātou, kia tūpono kite atu mēnā kua whakarongo ki tāna i kī mai ... ko ētahi o

[18] The New Zealand School Certificate or School Certificate was a former New Zealand secondary school qualification for high school students in Year 11 (Form 5). To gain School Certificate proper, students had to achieve an average score of at least 50 percent and a 'C' grade (50-64%) or better in at least four subjects (including English and mathematics).

> ngā kaiako kua kitea rā e au i roto i ngā tau, he whakapukapuka i ngā kōrero, he tuhituhi rānei ngā kōrero ki te papatuhi, me te pōhēhē mā kōna ka aro i te hinengaro Māori, te tamaiti Māori, te ākonga rānei. E whakapae ana au, ehara tēnā i te huarahi māmā ki te whakaako i te reo. Ahatia i tipu ake au i te ao, he taonga te tuhituhi. He rawe ki au te whakamātautau mai a ērā taniwha i a mātou.
>
> One of our classes, Te Ao Pēhi [an elder] was in charge.... the class would start, prayer, but the first thing he did following the prayer, he would inspect the clothes we were wearing, the way we were sitting, all of that. Our job was to listen; his was to speak. We sat for half an hour... for the first half of the lesson and our job was to listen. We were then sent out on to the marae, the old man stood us all up.... then he would demonstrate what he had been talking about. He would also test us, to see if we had listened to what he told us ... Some of the teachers I have seen over the years, put everything on paper, or write everything up on the board, thinking that is the way the Māori mind, the Māori child, or the student will understand. I am suggesting that is not the easiest way to teach te reo, even though I grew up in a world where writing was highly prized. To me it was excellent the way those virtuosos tested us.

So Julian was privileged to have experienced at a relatively young age (16 years), methods of teaching te reo and tikanga Māori that had two key features: first, was the complete prohibition on speaking English; second, was the emphasis on listening, watching and then doing. His teachers were attempting to replicate the manner in which they themselves had learned about te ao Māori (the Māori world) from their elders. This was the first of a diverse range of approaches to language learning Julian would experience as a young adult at Te Aute and later while studying at Victoria University in Wellington.

**Ngā momo ako – pedagogies of Māori language learning**

I asked Julian what modes of learning he was familiar with through learning te reo. They included; classes at school, Te Taura Whiri kura reo (week long marae-based immersion residential courses), classes at university, wānanga-ā-iwi (tribal weekend residential courses), and interaction with mentors whom he accompanied to many hui (gatherings) on numerous marae (Māori community meeting houses) around the country. Every source he listed had its own unique pedagogy and I was interested to know more about those which he felt were the most valuable in terms of developing his proficiency in te reo.

**Kimihia he pou whakawhirinaki māu - Hēnare Kīngi and Iris Whanga**

> Mēnā he tino maringanui ana te tangata ki tētahi pou whakawhirinaki, pou whakahihiri rānei i aia anō, ko te reo Māori tāna i tipu ake nei, kāore i tua atu i te mau-ā-taringa. Nā te mea kei kona tērā tangata ia rā ia rā hei haumaru i a koe. He pērā rawa i aku mahi me te kaumātua nei me Henare Kīngi. E rima ngā rā i te wiki ka noho atu au ki a ia, kei te ora tonu te kaumātua rā, kei ngā rāngi whakatā ka haere au ki te whare o te kuia nei Iris Whanga. Kua mate noa atu tērā kuia iāianei nā. He mokopuna nā Kāwiti. Ka roa taku noho atu koia te kaumātua rā, kātahi ka tīmata, ka rerekē noa ake tōku reo nē. Ka taurite ki tō te kuia te kaumātua nei, āe nā te mau-ā-taringa i pēnā ai, me te kaha tata o tō māua noho tētahi ki tētahi.... engari ko te mate kua auaura ngā mea pēnā, ngā mea mātau pēnā me te kaumātua nei e taea ai hei pou whakawhirinaki mō te tangata. Engari kāhore i tua atu i tērā huarahi ki au.

> If a person is lucky enough to have someone to depend on, or to energize them, who grew up speaking te reo Māori, there is nothing better than learning by listening. Because if that person is there every day to mentor you. That’s how it was with this elder and I, with Hēnare Kīngi. Five days a week I stayed with him, he is still alive that old man. In the weekends I would go to the old woman’s house, to Iris Whanga. She passed away a long time ago. She was a granddaughter to Kāwiti [a revered northern chief]. So I lived with those elders for a long time. Then it started, my reo began to change. It became like the old woman and the old man, yes and it was learning by listening that made it happen, and because we were so

> close to one another.... but the problem is, people like that are all occupied supporting others. But that is the best method in my view.

Time with these two wise elders, both native speakers of te reo, talking with them and listening and watching them speak Māori in formal and informal settings, but above all else, being a companion to them and developing an attachment to them, led to Julian's language becoming like theirs. They were so kind to him and put so much energy into him that it was no surprise when I asked him who his favourite teachers were, they were at the top of a very long list.

**Wānanga-ā-iwi – Tribal wānanga**

While at university Julian started regularly attending tribal wānanga (educational gatherings). There traditional knowledge was passed on to students in time honoured ways. Māori was the medium of instruction and students were expected to learn the material by listening and recitation, they were specifically asked not to write any of it down so as to preserve the sanctity of the knowledge.

> Ka tīmata te hokihoki atu ki ngā wānanga, arā ki te taha o taku rahinga. Ka tīmata te hokihoki ki ngā wānanga te whakakākā kē i ngā mahi. Tā rātou i hiahia ai hei pūkenga ako nē. Koira te huarahi i whakatakotoria e rātou hei ako mā mātou e mātau ai mātou ki ngā karakia ki ngā whakapapa, ērā mea katoa. Engari kia pono taku kī atu ki a koe, he māmā kē atu te tuhituhi [laughs]. Ki au he māmā kē atu te tuhituhi ki tērā i te whakakākā mai a tētahi tangata i ngā kōrero ko tau he whakataurite i a koe ki tāna e whakapuaki ana. Engari e whakapae ana au te take i pērā ōku whakaaro i runga anō i te kaha Pākehā o taku whakatipu ake i te ao nei.
>
> I started regularly attending the wānanga, along with a group of others. We would attend the wānanga and do the recitation activities. They wanted us to develop those learning skills. That was the method they set for us to learn, for us to become proficient with karakia and whakapapa and all of that. But I will be honest with you, writing it down would have been easier [laughs]. To me writing it would have been easier than having one person saying it and your job is to repeat it exactly as he expresses it. But I suppose the reason I think that way is because I was brought into this world and raised so very Pākehā [European].

Julian conveys here a sense of being disadvantaged as far as traditional Māori approaches to learning go, on account of his very Pākehā (European) upbringing. Notwithstanding any disadvantage there may have been, he kept on with the recitation exercises and before long became so proficient with the material that he was invited by the organisers to be a relief teacher at the wānanga (educational gatherings):

> Te mea hanga harikehi ka huri kē au...hei kaituruki mō ngā tāngata e whakaako mai ana i a mātou. Ana, kua kore tētahi e taea, kua noho au hei kaituruki. He māmā kē atu mō te kaiako te mahi whakakākā nei. Ka mutu he rawe tērā huarahi ako ki au. Engari mōku ake he māmā kē atu te tuhi nē? .... engari kei roto i ōku whakaaro te huarahi e pai kē atu ana ko te whakakākā .... ka roa, ka roa, ka whakatangata whenua tērā āhuaranga ki roto i tō hinengaro ana ka māmā kē atu nē? E hanga pēnā ana iāianei.
>
> The funny thing was I then became ... a reliever for the people who were teaching us. So, if someone couldn't make it, I would be the reliever. It is much easier for the teacher to use recitation. So then I really liked that pedagogical approach. But for me writing would be easier you know? ... but I think the best method for learning is recitation .... over time, your mind becomes accustomed to that method, then, it is so much easier you know? That's how it is for me now.

Even though the method employed by his teachers was at first foreign to him, Julian was determined to develop his language proficiency. He persevered with the unfamiliar method until it effectively became a natural part of his own learning preferences. I wondered what kind of a work ethic is required to achieve mastery of skills that are at first completely unnatural. Julian gave me some idea with his response to my questions about his personal study habits.

**Te whakapakari reo - Personal study habit**

> E rua haora i te rā, ia rā ia rā, ko noho ahau me tōku kotahi. He pānui pukapuka ....Ka noho au me aku pukapuka me taku mahi he rangahau, *rangahau*. Ehara i te mea he wānanga whakatikatika reo te wānanga e kōrerohia nei, engari he wānanga hei whakawhānui ake i te kete mātauranga nē? Ngā kupu hou, ngā rerenga kīwaha, whakapapa tātai, ērā mea katoa .. engari he mōteatea, .... nā te mea kei roto i ngā mōteatea ko ngā tikanga o ngā kupu ērā mea katoa. Nō reira, he rua haora i te rā. Atu i te iwa karaka i te pō ki te 11 karaka i te pō, koira taku mahi he rangahau haere.

> Two hours a day, every day, I sit down by myself. I read ... I sit and read my books and I do research, *research*. This is not study for correcting reo, this study that I am talking about is study to broaden my knowledge base, you know? New vocabulary, expressions, geneologies, all of those things, .... and laments, .... because the laments carry the meanings of words and all that. So two hours per day. From 9 pm to 11 pm, that is when I'm doing my research.

Julian has a formidable work ethic. Over time, the hours he puts into his reo have become more of a habit than an effort. He puts in far more than the two hours per day he reports here. When we worked together at AUT, I noticed whenever he was not engaged in an activity requiring full concentration he would close his eyes and switch into a kind of mental rehearsal trance like state. He was silently reciting a karakia (prayer), chanting mōteatea (traditional song), or practising for an oration to be given later in the day or the week. It has taken many years to build these habits of mind. I wondered what kept him motivated to invest so much time and energy. I asked him if his motivation to keep developing his proficiency had changed over the years.

**Te hiahia – Motivation**

> Heoi anō, ka hoki ōku mahara ki te wā i patua au e te whakamā, ka aroha kē. Nō reira āe, kāore anō ōku whakaaro kia rerekē noa ake ki ērā i te wā i tīmata ai taku ako i te reo Māori. Ko te mea kua āhua rerekē ake ko te mātau. Mātau ki te reo. Ehara i te mea kua tino mātau rawa. Ka mutu, me pēnei noa taku kōrero, ehara i te mea he hiahia nōku kia kake ki ngā tihi ki ngā ikeikenga o te maunga o te reo Māori kia noho mai au hei kīngi mō te reo Māori. Ko te mea hei whakakaha ake i a au kia ako tonu atu i te reo. Taku māharahara tuatahi ka ngaro te reo, ka haramai tētahi wā ka ngaro i a au, ka hē rānei tētahi o aku kōrero, ka patua rānei au e te whakamā. Nō reira koira te mea whirikoka i a au, te whakapakari tonu atu i tōku reo.
>
> Well, I remember the time I was embarrassed, it was awful. So yes, my thinking has not changed from the time I first started to learn te reo Māori. The thing that has changed somewhat is my knowledge. Knowledge of te reo. Not that I am all that knowledgeable. But I should say this; I never wanted to climb up to the top, to the summit of the mountain of te reo Māori, so I could sit there as the king of te reo Māori. The thing that drove me was the learning of the language itself. My first fear was that the language would disappear, that there would come a time when I would lose it, or I would say something incorrect, and I might be overwhelmed with shame. So that is what fortified my resolve, the very act of developing my reo.

Julian's primary motivations always lead back to his sense of himself as an orator and to the endless quest for the perfect performance. The time he invests in his study of the language is to him a small price to pay for the high he gets from the delivery of a moving and powerful oratory. He is like a moth to the flame. On the one hand, he seeks to avoid the burn of shame, on the other hand, he is drawn to the spotlight that oration provides. He is addicted to the danger that the 'war of words' represents, and acutely aware of the consequences of a flawed performance:

> Ki te kore au e whakamahara e whakapau kaha rānei ki te whakangungu i a au anō ia rā ia rā, tērā tētahi wā ka ākina au kia tū, kua kore ā mātou mea. Kua kore rānei e oti i a au he tātai tōtika atu ki te hunga e whakaeke mai, kua hē rānei tētahi kōrero ka pahawa anō i te waha. Nā ka patua tōku iwi e te whakamā.
>
> If I don't worry about or work hard at preparing myself every day, a day will come when I will be asked to speak, and we will have nothing. Or I won't be able to make an appropriate connection to the people coming on, or I will say something in error that might cause offence. Then my people will be humiliated.

In formal Māori speech making, an orator never speaks on their own behalf. They are always the representative of a people, the hosts or the guests. Their primary task is to make connections between the hosts and guests. To make an error or to give a poor performance reflects badly on the people you represent. I asked Julian if these high stakes ever gave him cause to be anxious. His reply was, "there is no purpose to anxiety."

**Kāore he take mō te hopo – There is no purpose to anxiety**

Julian claims never to have felt anxiety in the context of public speaking. Instead, he says, it is more important to realise when you make a mistake, you need to find out what the mistake was and fix it, then learn your lesson. He gave an example of being challenged over an alleged error while speaking on a marae during a tangi (funeral). There are two important points to make for the reader's benefit before the passage is read. First, the kaumātua Julian mentions was known to both Julian and I. We both had similar but separate prior experiences of this particular person that led us to agree he is a person to be wary of in the context of formal speech making. We had both witnessed in him a penchant for publicly dismissing or degrading young speakers, we believe, in an effort to appear superior. Second, communal responsibility is a feature of Māori oratory. If an elder puts a younger person forward as a speaker, in the event that the young person errs in their execution, the elder must accept some responsibility for the error as the young person's sponsor. Julian's account of the incident follows:

Ka mea te kaumātua nei.. ka mea mai "māu te kauhau"..... Kātahi ka oti i a au tētahi kōrero, i tōna tikanga he kōrero harikehi, ka kata mai te iwi. Ka mutu taku kōrero ka mea mai,

"e hoa, he kauhau anō te kauhau, he katakata anō te katakata."

Ko ngā kaumātua i mea atu, "āe tika, āe tika." Ka noho te kaumātua. Ka haere atu au. Ka mea atu, "tēnā kōrero au. I rongo ai i te wairua o tēnā kōrero. Āe ko te wairua o tēnā kōrero he kōhaehae."[laughs]

"he aha te tikanga o tērā kōrero. He aha koe i mea atu he kōhaehae?"

"he kōhaehae koe. Kāore koe i mātau ki tērā kōrero. Ka riro mā te tamaiti kē tērā kōrero e taki ka hōhā koe kātahi koe ka whakaaro me pēhea au? Me pēhea hoki mātou ngā kaumātua e whaimana ai? Ā, kāti ko tāu mahi he tānoanoa i a au."

He pai tērā. Koirā ētahi tangata he kiriweti ahakoa pēhea... E kore te kaumātua e tika ana i ngā wā katoa. Engari kia mātau ai koe he aha ia nei ngā hē i oti i a koe, nā te aha i hē ai, ērā mea katoa. He akoranga kei roto. Engari mō te hopo, kāre he take o te hopo ki au.

This old man said .. he said "you can do the sermon".....Then when I had finished speaking, it was meant to be a humorous speech, and the people laughed. When my speech was finished he says, "my friend, a sermon is sermon, a joke is a joke."

The elders said, "yes that's right, that's right." The old man sat down. I went over.

I said, "what you said, i felt the spirit of your message. Yes, the spirit of your message was jealousy." [laughs]

"What do you mean by that. Why do you say jealousy?"

"You are jealous. You didn't understand the message. And since it was a young person who delivered it, you became agitated and you thought; what will I do? How can we elders retain some dignity? And then you had to put me down."

That was good. Some people are jealous come what may... Elders are not always right. But you need to know where and when you go wrong, and why you went wrong, all of that. There is a lesson in it. But as for anxiety, I see no reason for anxiety.

This passage demonstrates the kind of confidence Julian brings to bear on his role as orator. He could have cowered in response to the challenge or acquiesced by remaining silent. But he did not see the challenge as legitimate and so he went to the issuer and questioned the challenge. He has no reason to feel anxious because he knows, if a legitimate challenge comes, then it should be viewed as an opportunity to learn. If an illegitimate challenge comes then he will not hesitate to refute it.

**Whakatau mutunga – Conclusions**

Julian's passion for te reo began at Te Aute college where he was first inspired by stories of the great leaders of Māoridom. He soon realised that so many of them were great orators and this is what he wanted to be. His longing for home while overseas threw fuel on the fire of his yearning for te reo and tikanga Māori. A close bond between himself and his mentors advanced his proficiency and his appetite for learning.

For Julian the learning itself was its own reward, but it was not his only motivation. His early success with public speech making led him to seek further challenges on the public stage. Like all orators he was drawn in by the thrill and the danger of putting one's skills to the test before an audience. In the quest for the perfect performance, he developed a formidable work ethic that over time helped him to advance his proficiency. He has never lacked confidence; even in the face of humiliation, he can see humour. His confidence is based on a belief in his own ability, a commitment to learning from his mistakes, and most of all, a commitment to delivering the best performance he can. Not just for himself but for those he represents.

## 4.5 Discussion

In this section, I will discuss the common themes which emerge from the cases, as well as some significant areas of divergence within the themes, and I will reflect on what their implications may be for learners and teachers. There are three common themes that emerged from the cases; Māori identity factors as motivation for learning, the primacy of social relationships for learning, and the ability to transfer skills and practices from past experiences and apply these to the learning of te reo Māori.

### 4.6.1 Māori identity as integrative motivation

All three stories are underpinned by the participants desire to discover (or recover) knowledge and a connection to their own identities as Māori. Scott Morrison spoke of being affected by the words of friend who said to him:

> "English is not your language, Māori is your language, if you want to know what we are saying, then learn it."

He thought long and hard about it and, in the end, he concluded his friend was right. He had better learn. Te Rita Papesch had a grave fear when her mother passed away that her children and grandchildren would grow up disconnected from their identities as Māori if they could not speak te reo. She was not prepared to let that happen so she set her entire whānau on the pathway to proficiency in te reo. Julian Wilcox developed an affinity for te reo through his years at Te Aute College. A traumatic period of exile in the USA pressed home to him the importance of te reo and tikanga Māori and, when he returned, he committed himself to acquiring as much knowledge of Māoritanga as he could.

An obvious conclusion is that the desire to understand one's identity as Māori is the primary motivation for these learners. It is important to note that every case exemplar began life with a positive view of Māori people, something that is

considered essential to integrative motivation (Dornyei, et al., 2006; Gardner, 1960). However, Scott and Julian initially saw no reason to want to learn te reo, they saw no value in it. Te Rita, had both a positive self-identity as a Māori and an affiliation with te reo through her experiences growing up on her own marae and through her familiarity with te reo through waiata and kapa haka. Yet all eventually came to the realisation at some point that te reo was of value, even essential as a doorway leading to a deeper understanding of their Māori identities. In each case, seeing the value of te reo as the means to a deeper understanding of Māoritanga was the prerequisite, the catalyst and the primary motivator to begin and maintain a commitment to learning te reo.

### 4.6.2 The primacy of social relationships

The second common theme is social relationships. The social cultural theory of the mind is based on the assumption that language is a social phenomenon. All learning, including language learning, happens first on the social plane through interaction with others, then on the individual plane where new knowledge is internalised (Lantolf & Appel, 1994; Lantolf & Poehner, 2008). In other words, language development cannot occur without the building and maintenance of social relationships. The opportunity to establish meaningful and productive social relationships with others depends in part on what the learner brings to the situation which makes them a desirable person for others to connect with. Of course, none of this is news to Māori teachers and learners. We know this intuitively. What is instructive and newsworthy are the specific examples from the cases which show how the participants made and maintained these connections. Scott's Māori speaking flatmates genuinely enjoyed his company, Te Rita's children wholeheartedly shared in her vision, and Julian was loved by Hēnare and Iris. Every relationship was based on a meaningful human connection, an expression of love, and every relationship bore fruit in the form of language proficiency development. Each case sheds new light on the old proverb:

> He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata he tangata he tangata!
> What is the most important thing in the world? It is people, people, people!
> (Māori proverb source unknown)

### 4.6.3 Transferable skills / transferable identity

The third common theme is transferable skills. Every case demonstrates the transfer of some particular skill set developed in an earlier period in a participant's life, which they applied to the process of learning te reo Māori, to produce excellent results. Scott learned from his coaches how to set goals and to train and work hard to achieve them. Te Rita was a seasoned competitive exponent of waiata and kapa haka, which demands discipline and commitment to training. She had a passion for song that was easily transferable to the Māori language learning situation. Julian had already distinguished himself as an orator in the English language before turning his hand to mastering te reo Māori.

Peirce (1995) has described this process of transfer in terms of identity and power relations. She argued that additional language learners can achieve success when they are able to bring aspects of their identities from other parts of their lives and apply them to social situations, where they interact with target language speakers to elevate their status as desirable people to speak to. If we apply that idea to our cases, we can see that it is not just the transferable skills that are important but it is also the participant's sense of identity as a worthy person, and the recognition of that worth from target language speakers and fellow learners.

In Scott's case his past experience as a successful sportsman meant he knew how to set goals, map out a training plan and execute the plan with due diligence to reach his goals. He knew from sport that in order to make gains, one must make sacrifices. He knew that if you want to be the best you have to play with the best and be willing to take the hits in order to build strength over time. Most of all, he had experienced success and he knew he was capable of achieving it in situations outside of sport.

Te Rita's identities first as a mother and second as an acclaimed exponent of kapa haka were important to her success with learning te reo. With the passing of her own mother she set herself and her whānau on the pathway to reclaiming te reo. The application of her identity as a mother meant she was able to establish and cultivate her own whānau as a primary learning cohort. Together, they provided

one another with crucial access to fellow speakers of te reo. Rather than transferring her skills as a mother and leader into a different context, Te Rita transferred language learning into her whānau group context and into the home. To sustain her whānau group learning, she first needed to gain access to excellent teachers and mentors. Here she applied her identity as a kapa haka exponent and she capitalised on her own mother's legacy to become a protégé to the high priests. When the going got tough, Te Rita was able to rely on the familiar skill set of waiata and karakia to bolster learning and to mediate the effects of anxiety.

Julian Wilcox already had a strong sense of identity as an orator prior to committing fully to te reo Māori. The orator's skill set includes a sense of humour, persuasion, competitiveness, an ability to craft a story, a commitment to research for the maintenance and development of vocabulary and expressions, and a formidable work ethic. All these skills were easily transferable and advantageous to Julian when applied to learning te reo.

### 4.7 Implications

There are three major implications which can be drawn from the three cases. First, developing proficiency requires openness and full commitment. The student must become aware of this very early in the process if proficiency is their goal. The teacher's job therefore should be to make the student aware of it and to facilitate te reo learning as a journey of self-exploration, discovery and development. Some te reo teachers begin their first class by asking their students, 'why do you want to learn te reo?' The question is motivated by the belief that the adult learner must have a clear vision of their destination if they are ever to arrive there. One key implication from these case studies is that, to be successful, the te reo learner must also understand that learning te reo is about change, self-exploration and identity formation. If the learner is not open to change, or views te reo as just another subject of study, then they cannot expect to ever become very proficient.

Second, the relationships you are able to cultivate are the key to advancing proficiency over time. Be a good friend, be a diligent student, be a loving

supportive mother and whānau member, because your relationships with your teachers, mentors and fellow learners will become your primary resources for proficiency development. The teacher's role here is to make sure students understand how important relationship building and maintenance is for language development. The teacher should provide students with opportunities to bring their social capital into the classroom. Teachers must strive to foster an inside and outside of class environment conducive to students forming good relationships with one another and with themselves.

Third, successful learners transfer the skill sets and the identities they have from other parts of their lives where they have experienced success. In every case, the participant had a sense of themselves as a successful person with an accompanying skill set, which they were able to bring with them and apply to the challenge of learning te reo. Within the three cases, these identities include competitive athlete, kapa haka performer, and orator. The transferable skills included goal setting, planning and execution of plans to realise training goals, discipline and commitment to training and the honing of skills, humour, storytelling and argumentation. These exemplar learners brought everything they had to the new learning task and applied their skills with due diligence to achieve excellent results. The implications for teachers are that they need to make space for students' identities and for the skills they may already have. This can be achieved with some imagination and by creating language development exercises that allow a degree of latitude for students to have some say in what they will produce, how it is to be presented, and even in how it might be assessed. For students, the implications are that they need to be aware of how they can creatively assert aspects of their identities in the language learning context. They need to be looking for opportunities to utilise existing skill sets to achieve the objectives of the language learning environment.

It is not an easy pathway, it is fraught with challenges, but the cases here offer some excellent examples of how these challenges can be negotiated. With hard work and some strategic application of skills that many learners may already possess, no goal is beyond reach.

The following chapters shift the focus from the three case studies to the wider cohort of 17 exemplar learners and to their responses to my questions regarding motivation (chapter 5) and the learning and teaching aspects of their language learning experiences (chapter 6).

# Chapter 5 Findings

# Learner Motivation

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a description of the reasons why the participants first took up learning te reo, how they remained motivated and how their motivations changed over time. A separate section follows where I discuss these findings in relation to previous research. I then propose a theoretical model I have called 'social service theory' as a means to better understand the participants' motivations to take up and to persevere with learning te reo. The chapter concludes with the implications of these findings.

## 5.2 Why learn te reo Māori?

I asked the 17 participants two key questions with regard to their motivation: 'why did you start learning te reo, and has your motivation to learn changed since you began?' Most responses from participants indicated integrative (to integrate socially with target language speakers) or intrinsic (personally meaningful or enjoyable) forms of motivation as the primary incentives. These included the desire to know more about their Māoritanga, the need to avoid shame, the desire to be able to speak Māori to their children, a love of learning languages, a twist of fate that presented an opportunity to learn, the passing of a Māori speaking loved one, and the influence of Māori speaking whānau members. In many cases, participants developed new forms of motivation over time while learning te reo. These new forms were sometimes the result of major life changes or events. At other times they were the result of a change in perspective, brought on by a deeper understanding and a broader vision of te reo.

When participants were asked why they started learning te reo, the responses fell into two categories; those who expressed a desire to learn te reo for their own benefit and those who saw their development of te reo proficiency as a way of being able to contribute to the well-being of others. These two types of motivation were not mutually exclusive, however, for many participants what began as a focus on the benefits for oneself, would later be overshadowed by a desire to make a contribution to the survival of te reo, and a concern for the well-being of their wider whānau (extended family), hapū (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and marae (community meeting house).

### 5.2.1 Taku Māoritanga – My Māori culture

A common response from participants when asked why they began learning te reo was that they wanted to know more about their Māoritanga. This response was interesting because it was evident among participants who, according to their own accounts, grew up with little or no exposure to te reo and tikanga Māori **and** amongst those participants who did. The following quote comes from a participant who, from their own account grew up Pākehā:

> Ko te ako i te reo mōku ake tērā, kia mōhio ai au … kia tīmata ai au ki te mōhio ki tēnei ōku ... engari mā te reo te tatau e huaki, mā te reo te tatau e whakatūwhera. Ki au i te pērā hoki ahau, i tino hiahia ana ahau ki te mōhio i taku Māoritanga, tino hiahia ana ahau kia mōhio he aha tēnei mea i roto tonu i ahau e noho tauhou ana ki ahau. Taku whakapae i taua wā, mā te ako i te reo ka taea te mōhio ki tērā taha ōku.
>
> Learning te reo, that was for my benefit, so I would know ... so I could begin to know this part of myself ... but te reo would reveal the door, open the door. That’s how it was for me, I really wanted to know my Māoritanga, I really wanted to know what was it inside of me, this mysterious part of myself. At that time I thought, by learning te reo I could know that side of myself (Participant 13).

So participant 13 saw learning te reo as a way of finding out more about himself. He also saw te reo as intimately connected with a Māori identity.

> ..te wā i tīmata ai au ki te takahi i te ara reo, ko te wawata ko te tūmanako kia matatau au ki te kōrero Māori. I tērā wā i whakaaro ake ahau mā te reo ka *tino* Māori ahau [laughs]. Me tika tonu taku kōrero. Mā te reo ka ratarata mai ngā wahine ki au [laughs].
>
> ..when I started to traverse the pathway of te reo, the desire, the hope was that I become a proficient Māori speaker. At the time I thought te reo would make me a *real* Māori [laughs]. I should tell the truth. I thought te reo would be a way to make the ladies want me [laughs] (Participant 11).

The second quote is from participant 11, who grew up in his own tribal area, and was exposed to te reo at home and on his own marae as a child. Both quotes illustrate a common assumption; in order to know one's Māoritanga, one must become proficient in te reo. To know oneself, one must learn te reo. To become a "real Māori", one must learn te reo. To be a "hit with the ladies", participant 11 felt he needed to learn te reo. Not only did he want to know his Māoritanga, he also wanted a partner who would appreciate the ability to speak Māori and would therefore also value Māoritanga.

Te reo may or may not be required for one to be seen as a "real Māori." In any case, the quote shows just how synonymous te reo is with Māoritanga (a Māori identity) and therefore with tikanga Māori (Māori culture and custom). If te reo and tikanga are thought of as the first and second dimensions of Māoritanga, then wairua (Māori spirituality) could be conceptualised as the third dimension.

Below are two responses from participants in this study that help to further articulate wairua as a third dimension of Māoritanga. Wairua encapsulates the spiritual significance of learning te reo. The participants spoke about wairua in reference to the avoidance of shame.

### 5.2.2 Hei ārai i te whakamā - To avoid shame

> Engari mō ngā mahi ako i te reo he mea nui tērā te whakaaro ki te wairua o te tangata, mō tōna reo he rerekē rawa atu te ako i *tētahi* reo hei reo tuarua i te ako i *tō* reo hei reo tuarua, mārama ana koe? And koia tētahi o ngā tino rerekētanga ki ahau, koia hoki te wāhi ki te wairua o te tangata i te mea ki te hē te tangata … ka hē au mō taku reo Wīwī … well kua hē, ka hē au i taku reo Māori kua takahi ahau i tētahi āhuatanga ōku ake, kua takahi ahau i ahau anō, nē?
>
> But when it comes to learning te reo it is important to think about the human spirit, for their language. It is very different learning *a* language as a second language from learning *your* language as a second language, do you follow? And that is a major difference to me, that is where the human spirit comes in because if a person makes an error ... if I make a mistake with my French, well I make a mistake. If I make an error with my Māori then I have trod on some aspect of myself, I have trampled myself, you see? (Participant 13).

For participant 13, there is a wairua dimension when learning te reo that is not the same for learning any other language. This is because the learner is learning *their own* language. A learner may become anxious about making errors when learning te reo, precisely because they have an awareness of the cultural significance of the language. For many Māori learners, they are not simply engaging in language learning. They are also acutely aware of the potential spiritual consequences of an error. These may come in the form of shame, humiliation and a trampling of some aspect of themselves. In order to develop proficiency in te reo, all 17 participants had to develop strategies for coping with such anxiety. For some, the avoidance of shame became a powerful form of motivation to learn te reo and to keep learning te reo over time. This message was pressed home to me through a conversation with one participant. He described a very private incident that occurred between him and his father:

> Ko tētahi atu mea kāore anō au kia kōrero atu ko te wairua i roto i a au i taua wā tonu. I rongo ake au [i] te wairua i roto i tōku Pāpā i taua wā tonu. Maumahara tonu au, koina tētahi o ngā wā he tino kōrero tapu, engari e maumahara tonu au i heria e au ētahi mahi kāinga o te kura tuarua ki taku Pāpā ...., kare au i te tino mōhio, kīhai taku Pāpā i matatau rawa atu ki te reo Māori. Nō reira i haere atu au ki taku Pāpā i runga noa i te mōhio … āe he Māori tōku Pāpā, kāore e kore he tangata mōhio rawa ki ngā mahi kāinga, nō reira haria taku mahi kāinga ki a ia, i kite atu au te whakamā i roto i a ia me te rere mai o ngā roimata i taua wā tonu ... mō tōna kore mōhio ki te reo Māori, i toko ake te tino hinapouri i roto i a au, nā te mea ko taku Pāpā he tangata aroha, he tangata rangimarie i te nuinga o te wā, engari i reira i kite ai, i rongo ake ai ahau te whakamā i roto i a ia, nō reira tērā pea koira te wā i toko ai te whakaaro, i puea te whakaaro ki roto i au, ka kore rawa au e ... e tipu ake pērā ana .... ka kore rawa aku tamariki e tipu ake pērā ana, nō reira, ka kaha kōrero Māori ahau ki a rātou ināianei.
>
> One other thing that I haven’t spoken about is the spirit within me at the time. I felt the spirit within my Dad at that time. I still remember, that was one of those times which I never speak about, but I still remember, I took some homework from high school to my Dad …., I didn’t know my Dad couldn’t really speak Māori. So I went to my Dad thinking …. Yes my Dad is a Māori, no doubt he knows about this homework, so I took him my homework, I saw the shame in him and he wept right then and there … because he didn’t know how to speak Māori. I was really upset by that, because my Dad is such a lovely person, he is placid person most of the time, but it was there I saw, I felt the shame within him. So I think that was the time it occurred to me, I decided I would never …. grow up like that…. and my children will never grow up like that. So, I speak Māori to them now all the time (Participant 14).

In the Māori understanding, wairua establishes connection beyond the physical and intellectual capacities of human beings. It can operate as a means of communication that does not necessarily require words. The participant’s father passed on to him the spiritual and cultural significance of te reo without saying a word. His reaction spoke for itself and it left my friend with an enduring and acute memory. His father’s unspoken message was, *“I should know this, but I don’t. I wish I could pass this knowledge on to you son, but I can’t.”* The sting of that

memory remains vivid to the present day with my friend and he has used it as a source of motivation to commit to and remain committed to learning te reo, to avoid shame, and to pass te reo onto his children.

### 5.2.3 Mā ngā tamariki – For the children

Many of the participants on the study spoke of the importance of passing te reo on to the next generation as a motivating factor to learn and to keep learning te reo. The following is an example of a participant response when asked why he took up learning te reo:

> ...ko āku kōtiro. I taua wā hē nohinohi tonu rāua tahi. I tīmata kē taku mātāmua engari kāore anō kia tīmata i te kura, taku pōtiki. I taua wā kāore kau he reo o mātou.... Kāore he nui ngā whakaaro mō te reo Māori. Engari āe. Ko aku kōtiro te tīno take ... I pīrangi au ki te whakauru i te taha Māori, engari me taku mōhio kāore au i tino mōhio i tērā mātauranga, nō reira me tīmata i ahau, katahi ka tahuri atu ki te tuku iho.
>
> ... for my girls. At the time they were both still little. My oldest had started but my youngest had not yet started school. At the time we never had any reo at all.... We had never even thought about te reo Māori. But yeah. My girls were the real reason .... I wanted to instill in them a sense of the Māori dimension, but I knew, I myself didn’t have that knowledge, so I had better start, then I could turn to passing it on (Participant 7).

This kind of response was typical of participants who already had children when they took up learning te reo. For others, whose children came along after they had begun learning te reo, the arrival of children added a new dimension of motivation to learn:

> .. kōrero ana ki a rāua … kotahi te kōrerotanga atu, kua mau. Me te rite tonu o te whiu pātai mai, “He aha tēnei? He aha te kupu mō tēnei? He aha tēnei?” Nō reira e hoa, kei taku taha te matatiki i ngā wā katoa, kei taku taha māui anā, ko te Wīremu … te Reed rānei ki taku taha katau. I te mea i ētahi wā ka pātai mai rāua “He aha te kupu mō tērā? He aha te kupu mō tērā?” and kāre i ahau te kupu, mate ana au ki te kimi.

> I'm talking to them …. I say it once and they have got it. And just as quick they throw me the question, "What is this? What is the word for this? What is this?" So my friend, I have the Matatiki [dictionary] on me at all times, on my left I have the Wīremu [dictionary] … the Reed [dictionary] is on my right. Because sometimes they ask me, "What is the word for that? What is the word for that?" And I don't I know the word, and I'm straining to find it (Participant 2).

Participant 2 is stimulated and excited by his children's hunger for te reo. Like many other participants, their children provide them with both motivation and the means of continuing to develop their te reo proficiency. Most of the participants are parents who are motivated to ensure their children grow up speaking te reo. Most felt their children stimulated them to continue developing their own proficiency in te reo. As their child's proficiency develops, the parent's proficiency must develop in order to keep pace with the new language domains the child wishes to explore in their ever expanding world:

> Kei te whakapakari au ka pēhea rā au e whakamārama te āhuatanga o te hiko …, "mō ngā mātua anake tēnā, kia tūpato mō te tō, he wera rawa atu tērā." … koira tā māua ko [Spouse] i kōrero ai, "mō ngā mātua tērā", me ngā tiakarete me ērā kai [Laughs]…. engari me āta noho māua ki te whakapakari … kaua ko te reo, engari ki te whakapakari i ngā rautaki kia noho rūmaki, kia kōrero Māori ki tēnei haututu a [daughter] nei nē?
>
> I am learning how to explain what electricity is …, [to my daughter] "this is only for grown-ups, be careful of the oven, that is very hot." …. that is what [my wife] and I say, "that is for grown-ups", and chocolate and those kinds of foods [laughs]…. But we have to really sit down and develop …. Not just for the reo, but to develop the strategies for immersion, to speak Māori to this challenging [daughter] here right? [said to daughter sitting on participant's lap] (Participant 1)

### 5.2.4 Taku whānau kōrero Māori - Māori speaking whānau

Although none of the participants on the study grew up speaking te reo, many were exposed to te reo as children through contact with a Māori speaking parent or grandparent. These early experiences had an effect on the participants desire to learn te reo. Some were affected in subtle ways:

> ... i tīmata hoki au ki te waiata i te reo Māori i ahau e tamariki ana … tē marama ki au he aha tāku i waiata ai. Heoi anō, ka whai tonu ahau i ngā pakeke, koira noa iho. I te marae i reira mātou ... hei tamariki e āwhina ana ... e haere ana ki ngā mahi marae katoa o ngā mātua me te koroua i noho ki tō mātou taha … me tōna reo Māori tūturu, heoi anō kāre i kōrero mai ki a mātou. Kia wehe i te wahi o tuawhenua ka haere ki te taone, katahi ka whakaaro au, "*He aha tērā tūmomo kāre i ahau engari kei ētahi atu pakeke o te whānau?*"
>
> .... I started singing in te reo Māori when I was a child … I never understood what I was singing about. But, I just followed the grown-ups, that's all. At the marae, we were there … as kids helping … going to all of the marae activities with our Grandfather who lived with us … and he was a native speaker, however, he never spoke Māori to us. When we left the country and moved to the town, then I thought, *"What is it about me that is missing, but some of the elders in my family have?"* (Participant 15).

For others the influence of whānau members was more direct:

> Ōku mātua me taku iramutu, he kōtiro, me taku hae, taku kōhaehae ki aia. You know ka hoki mai ahau ki te kāinga, ka kōrero atu ki a Māmā rāua ko Pāpā i reira taku iramutu. Ka kōrero Pākehā atu ahau ki a rāua, mehemea i te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero mātou katoa ka huri rāua ki a [iramutu] me te kōrero Māori [laughs], ka whakahoki kōrero Māori ia, ka huri mai ki ahau ka kōrero Pākehā. Me taku humph, ehara tēnei i te mea, well, he mea ātaahua. Engari taku kōhaehae i raro iho i aua āhuatanga. Taku mōhio i tīmata i reira te tino hiahia ki te kuhu atu ki tērā, me tango au . . me kuhu au ki tō rātou ao

> My parents and my niece[19], a girl, and I was jealous, I was jealous of her. You know I would go back home, I would talk to Mum and Dad and there was my niece. I would speak English to them, if we were all talking they would turn to [my niece] and speak Māori [laughs], she would reply in Māori, they would turn to me and speak English. And I would go humph, this is not, well, it is a beautiful thing [ambivalent tone]. But I was jealous underneath all that. I think that is where it started, the strong desire to enter into that, I had to take … I had to enter into their world (Participant 6).

For both participants 6 and 15, the influence of interacting with Māori speaking family members culminated in a desire to belong. They wanted to be like their whānau, they wanted to understand what was being said. They wanted to gain access to a part of the family life they felt they were being denied. Te reo Māori was the key to gaining entry into that world. These experiences gave them a very clear vision of what they had to gain by learning te reo Māori.

### 5.2.5 Whakawhanaungatanga – To follow my mates

Another common form of motivation was whakawhanaungatanga (camaraderie). Many participants reported the need for Māori companionship as a driver to take up and to continue with learning te reo. This was especially prevalent, although not exclusive to, those who were younger or did not have children when they first began learning te reo.

> I uru atu au ki roto i te karaehe mātou katoa. He rite tonu mātou, he mea nui tērā ki te rangatahi kia whai koe i ngā mahi a ōu hoa .... me taku kite atu he ngahau i aua wā, mātou, ngā Māori i ngā whare wānanga, i ahau e whai ana i tōku tohu kaiako. Te hunga Māori he tino whānau mātou, piri mātou ki a mātou anō. Ka haere ngātahi mātou ki ngā hui reo, ki ngā tangihanga ki hea rānei. Te whanaungatanga i waenganui i a mātou he mea nui, i ahau e whai ana i taku tohu.

[19] The Māori word for niece is iramutu. It is a non-gender specific word that can also mean nephew, hence the speakers explanation, "a girl".

> I went into the class, all of us. We were all the same, that's important to a young person to be doing what your friends are doing .... and I saw it as fun at the time, us, the Māori in the universities, when I was studying for my teaching qualification. The Māori crew, we were a real family, we stuck together. We went to all the language gatherings together, to the tangihanga [funerals], to wherever else. The bond between us was so important, when I was studying for my degree (Participant 8).

The need for belonging, for healthy supportive relationships, and for fun, was a motivating factor for many participants. While some sought these relationships out amongst their own whānau, others created and maintained whānau-based relationships with their friends and fellow learners. The participants sought te reo as a means of establishing and maintaining a social and a spiritual connection to others. As one participant put it:

> I whai atu au i tērā [te tohu pae tahi] mō te reo, engari kia noho ki te taha o ētahi Māori, hei oranga ngākau mōku.
>
> I pursued that [Māori language immersion undergraduate degree] for the reo, but to be with other Māori, to keep my heart strong (Participant 1).

### 5.2.6 He mamae aroha – Passing of a loved one

Another common form of motivation to learn te reo was the passing of a Māori speaking loved one. Often at this time, the participants felt they were inheriting a mantle of responsibility to ensure the continuation of the language and the culture:

> Ko taku Pāpā te mea kōrero Māori i taku kāinga. Te wā i mate atu taku pāpā 16 pea taku pakeke i taua wā. Koira pea te wā i whakatokaina i roto i au, oi! Me ako au i tēnei reo. Ki te kore au e ako i tēnei reo, mā wai rā hei whāngai atu ki ngā tamariki, mā wai rā te taha ki te whānau hei tautoko. Aku whanaunga kāore e taea e rātou ērā tū āhuatanga.

> My father was the Māori speaker at my place. When he died I was around 16 years old at the time. Maybe that was the time when I decided within myself, hey! I better learn this language. If I don't learn this language, who will feed it to the children, who will support the family [culturally]. My relatives were not able to perform these duties (Participant 16).

This passage articulates the responsibility felt by the participant and the significance of te reo from the participant's point of view. The images of children left to starve and of a family left bereft of support, indicate the magnitude of the importance of te reo and tikanga Māori. Participant 16 is not speaking of the physical or economic needs of the whānau; their meaning is of cultural and spiritual nurturing. They clearly see the cultural and spiritual well-being of the whānau on a par with physical and economic needs. Participant 12's comments below help to elaborate the nature of this responsibility to whānau and the reasons why, for many participants, precision of language is a priority:

> I mate taku koroua … ko taku Pāpā kāore he reo Māori, nō reira, i tukua tērā hōnore ki ahau hei tuku mihi ki te iwi … ērā momo mahi mai i tana matenga tae noa ki tēnei wā tonu. Nā reira, i mōhio au ki te tika taku kawe i tērā honore, me tika hoki taku reo, me whai tonu au i tērā ara, āe.
>
> My Grandfather died ... my Dad had no reo Māori, so, that honour was passed to me to greet the people [formal speech making]... all of those kinds of duties from his death until the present day. So, I knew if I was to live up to this honour, my reo had better be correct; I should pursue that course with vigour, yes (Participant 12).

### 5.2.7 He ngākau nui ki ngā reo – A love of languages

In contrast to the motivation to contribute to the well-being of others, there was evidence of motivation to pursue one's own passions. Two participants mentioned a love of learning and in particular of learning languages as an early motivation for taking up the study of te reo Māori:

> I ahau e tipu ake ana, ka hiakai ahau ki ngā reo, koia noa iho … ko tōku ārero waiwai nei ki te reo. Ahakoa he aha te reo … i ahau e tipu ake ana, ko te reo Wīwī e whakangata ana i taua hiakai. Ahakoa tērā i mōhio tonu au i taua wā ko te reo Wīwī he mea pai, engari ehara nōku.
>
> When I was growing up, I was hungry for languages, that's all ... My mouth watered for language. Whatever the language .... when I was growing up, the French language satisfied that hunger. Even though I knew full well at the time, French was great, but it wasn't mine (Participant 13).

Participant 13 was motivated by a long standing love of language and awareness that te reo Māori was special amongst other languages because it was "hers". Even with no or little knowledge of how to speak it, she felt some ownership or right to it. She had some understanding of it as personally and culturally significant and connected to her.

> He pai ki au tēnei mea te reo, he pai ngā reo katoa, reo Pākehā reo Ingarihi reo Māori, āe. Nā tērā, me taku whakaaro kei roto i te reo, mā te reo ka kite koe i te ngākau o te tangata, i ōna whakaaro, ōna wawata, ērā mea katoa. Nō reira, koina, nō te wā e tamariki ana, e pai ana ki ahau te mātakitaki i te tangata, te whakarongo ki wāna kupu, te mātakitaki i wāna mahi kia mārama pai au ki aia.... Maumahara au he pai ki ahau ko wēnā āhuatanga, taku whainga kia mārama pai ai ki ngā tāngata katoa. Te kaiako, tōku whānau ake, ōku hoa. Te āta pānui, me kī, he momo pānui i te tangata.

> I loved this thing te reo, I loved all languages, the Pākehā language, the English language, the Māori language, yes. There was that, and I thought in the language, through the language you can see the person's heart, their thoughts, their aspirations, all of that. So from the time I was a child, I have enjoyed watching people, listening to their words, watching them work so I can really understand them..... I remember I always liked those things, I wanted to really understand all people. The teacher, my whānau, my friends. To carefully read, you could say, a type of reading of the person (Participant 8).

Both participants 13 and 8 loved languages. Learning language is ultimately an exercise in understanding and connecting with others. For Māori, learning te reo Māori, it is an opportunity to understand and connect not only with others but with some neglected part of ourselves.

### 5.2.8 Employment – The promise of a job

All of the responses considered so far relate to the integrative or the intrinsic forms of motivation that inspired participants to take up te reo or drove them to continue learning. However, there were some rare examples from the participants of instrumental motivation as a factor in learning te reo. Just one participant gave a response to indicate that he had an instrumental motive to begin learning te reo:

> ... i a au i te kura tuarua, ko taku tino hiahia kia mahi hei pirihimana... ko te tangata nāna i tuku i ngā ingoa ki te police college nei, koia tētahi o ngā hoa o tōku Pāpā. So i haere au ki tōna whare me taku hiahia, "e hiahia ana au ki te mahi hei pirihimana." Ka mea mai aia ki ahau "o well, me haere pea koe ki te ako i ngā mea o te rorohiko, kia māmā ake tō urunga atu ki te police college." O, i haere atu ki reira, ka puta au i te mahi rorohiko, ka pātai anō au ki aia, "ā hea au ka uru atu ai ki te police college?" He goes "pēhea tō reo Māori?", I said, "he itiiti noa iho ngā kupu e mōhiotia ana e au." "o well me ako." So taku tau tuatahi ka haere au ki te pōwhiri ... mai reira ka tō te kākano o te reo Māori ki roto i a au. So taku tino rata ki te reo Māori, kāore au i hiahia ki te mahi pirihimana anō.

> .... when I was at secondary school, I really wanted to work as a policeman…. The man who put the names forward to the police college, he was one of my Dad's friends. So I went to his house with my request, "I want to be a policeman." He said to me, "oh well, perhaps you should go and learn about computers to make things easier for getting into the police college." Oh, that's where I went, I finished my computer course, and I asked him again, "when will I get into the police college? He goes, "what is your Māori language like?" I said, "I only know a few words." "Oh well you better learn." So [I enrolled in a polytech te reo course and in] my first year [at polytech] I went to the pōwhiri [welcome ceremony] ... from there the seed of te reo Māori was planted within me. So I really loved te reo Māori, I never wanted to be a policeman again (Participant 10).

What began for this participant as instrumental motivation; the desire to get a good job as a police officer, led to an opportunity to learn te reo. Once he started learning te reo, he very quickly changed his mind about becoming a policeman. This was not him being fickle. He first completed a course on computing in order to help achieve his goal of entry into Police College. It was then suggested to him that learning te reo would further help with his application. Unlike computing, he discovered that learning te reo was something he loved. The seed had been planted and his desire for te reo overcame his desire to become a policeman. Instrumental motivation led him to a choice. The choice was to continue to pursue a career as a police officer or keep learning te reo.

Participant 13 spoke about the common public perception that knowledge of te reo is not an attribute that employers are interest in, as a barrier to Māori language learning in New Zealand.

> Mōhio ana koe ki tētahi o ngā āhuatanga uaua o tēnei motu o Aotearoa nei, ko te nuinga o te iwi whānui o Aotearoa, Māori mai, Pākehā mai, Hainamana mai, aha atu, he mea aroiti ki ngā reo o te ao. Nō reira te nuinga o tātou ka whai i te reo kotahi; te reo Ingarihi. Nō reira, he pērā hoki taku māmā. I mōhio ia he reo anō i tua atu i te reo Ingarihi, engari ki a ia he mea whakangāhau noa iho, whakarata tangata. Koia noa iho te

> mahi o ērā atu reo. Ka kite ia i te painga o te mōhio ki te reo wīwī, inā haere koe ki tāwāhi, o te mōhio i te reo itariana, inā haere koe ki tāwāhi, ka whakanui hoki ia i te āhuatanga o aua momo reo nō tāwāhi tonu i te mea kua whakarangatira ia i aua momo reo, engari ki a ia ko te reo Māori, tokomaha ngā tangata kua pēnei mai ki ahau, "where will that take you? Where's that gonna get you?" Nō reira, he uaua te ako i tētahi reo i Aotearoa nei.
>
> You know one of the difficult aspects of this country of here in New Zealand, most of the general public of New Zealand, Māori, Pākehā, Asian, and so on, pay little attention to the languages of the world. So the majority of us adhere to just one language; the English language. So, it's just like my mother. She knows there are languages other than English, but to her those are just for fun, for peoples amusement. That's all those other languages are good for. She can see the value in knowing French, when you go overseas, or knowing Italian, when you go overseas, she values those kinds of languages from overseas because she respects those types of languages, but when it comes to te reo Māori, and many people have said this to me, "where will that take you? Where's that gonna get you?" So, it is hard to learn a language here in New Zealand (Participant 13).

### 5.2.9 Hei hāpai i te iwi – Social service

All the responses discussed thus far relate to the reasons why participants began learning te reo. The next response – social service - came from some participants as a factor for taking up the learning of te reo, while for others the response was articulated as a factor which developed *through* the learning of te reo.

Participant 11 started out learning te reo with a clear vision of learning as a way of empowering himself to contribute to his whānau and his local marae:

> Engari ko te wawata, kia tika tonu taku kōrero, ko te tino wawata i te tuatahi kia mātau au ki te kōrero Māori, kia matatau ahau ki te kōrero, me te mōhio ātahi rā ko au tēnā ka hikina te rākau i tōku marae. Māku te taha tikanga, reo, aha atu, aha atu e kawe mō tōku ake marae.
>
> But the hope was, seriously, the ultimate objective was first that I become knowledgeable in the Māori language, I become a proficient speaker, and I know one day I will take up the responsibilities of my marae. I will be responsible for the customs and the language and all of those things for my marae (Participant 11).

This quote exemplifies a trend through the whole cohort. Of the 17 participants, nine reported having grown up in, or having spent some time living in, their tribal areas and being exposed to Māori culture and language on their own marae as children. Of those nine, seven, including participant 11, reported the desire to contribute to the well-being of their own whānau and marae as motivation to begin learning te reo. As for the eight participants who reported little or no exposure to their marae, or to te reo and tikanga Māori while growing up, none reported a desire to contribute to their marae or hapū as motivation to begin learning. However, six of those who initially were not motivated to contribute to their wider whānau, marae, hapū or iwi, *developed* a desire to do so through the process of learning te reo. As they became aware of the threatened position of te reo within New Zealand they became motivated to contribute to its survival.

> I te wā i tahuri atu au ki te ako i te reo … i te whai au i te reo mōku anō, mō tōku whānau anō. Engari ka haere koe ... ki te Kura Reo, ka rongo koe i ngā kōrero ... mō te oranga tonutanga o te reo whānui i Aotearoa, i te Waipounamu, i te ao. Kātahi ka whakaaro koe “tēnei mahi e whai nei tātou, he oranga mō te tangata, he oranga mō te iwi Māori, he iwi mō te ao … kia ora ai te Māori ki tēnei ao.” ... Ko te reo kei te kawe i ngā tikanga. Kāre au i te paku whakaaro mō tērā taha i te wā i tahuri mai au ki te reo.

> When I first began learning te reo ... I was learning te reo for myself, for my own whānau ... but you go to the Kura Reo and you hear the discussion ... about the survival of te reo across the North Island, and the South Island, and the world. Then you think, "this work we are doing, it's about human survival, the survival of the Māori people, as a people of the world ... so we may survive in this world." The language carries our culture. I had no concept of that when I first began learning te reo (Participant 16).

This quote, from a participant who grew up with little exposure to his Māori culture, captures an essential transformation in the learner. As he gained knowledge of the plight of te reo, and as his understanding of the intimate connection between te reo and the Māori culture deepened, he changed. His orientation towards te reo was, at first, to view it as something he could benefit from personally. Over time he shifted to see te reo as something he could contribute to. His task (learning te reo) became a contribution to the survival of the language and to the survival of Māori people as Māori.

Even those who started out learning te reo already motivated by a desire to support others (their hapū and marae) experienced a similar shift. They too began to see the act of learning te reo as a contribution to its survival:

> Nō reira, ahakoa ōku whakaaro tuatahi ... kei te kite hoki au i te uauatanga ka noho ki ō tātou pokowhiwhi. Ki te kore tātou e kōrero e whakaora rānei i tō tātou reo Māori, ka hinga tātou katoa, nō reira, kua āhua rerekē taku titiro, ōku whainga anō hoki mō te reo. Kei te whai kē au i tōku reo kia tuku atu ki te iwi, kia āwhina hoki i te tangata. ... He hapa nui tērā.... Ki te mōhio ngā tangata Māori katoa, ki te hinga tō tātou reo ka hinga te ao Māori, kāore e kore ka piki ake ngā nama, ka ū rawa atu te tangata ki tāna e whai nei.
>
> So, in spite of my first intentions .... I can [now] see the weight that rests on our shoulders. If we don't speak or revive our Māori language, we are all done for, so, my perspective has changed, my goals also for te reo have changed. I am now learning my reo to pass it on to the people, to help others.... That is a great deficiency.... If all Māori people knew that if our reo dies then the Māori world dies with it, surely our numbers would

> multiply, and people would be more committed to the endeavour (Participant 12).

Both participants 12 and 16, notwithstanding their differences in initial orientation to te reo, were transformed by the learning process. Both came to see the act of learning te reo as a contribution to its well-being. For both participants the survival of te reo Māori and of the Māori people emerged as a motivating factor to continue learning te reo.

I put a second question regarding motivation to the participants; 'how has your motivation to learn te reo changed over time?' This question elicited responses which help to further articulate the nature of the transformation described in the previous quotations.

## 5.3 The Tikanga Transformation

In response to this second question, participants expressed the idea that language learning is cultural learning.

> Ko te reo, te reo. Ko te mea e ngata ana au, e ngakaunui ana, e manawanui ana ehara ko te reo. Koia te mea kawe i tō tātou nei tikanga. Ko te tikanga te mea nui ki ahau .... Ko tērā te kitenga matua, te akoranga matua pea i roto i taku ako i te reo; kua ako hoki au i ngā tikanga
>
> The language is the language. The thing that really satisfies me, that I love, that I aspire to, is not the language. That is the vessel for our tikanga [culture and customs]. Tikanga is the most important thing to me ..... That has been the great revelation, the main lesson perhaps in my learning te reo; I have also learned tikanga (Participant 7).

Like many of the participants in this study, participant 7 discovered, through learning te reo, that te reo Māori and tikanga Māori are intimately connected. Te reo was variously described by participants as the vessel, the pathway, or the doorway to tikanga Māori and to Māoritanga. Participant 7 impressed upon me the importance of the willingness to change in order for proficiency to advance.

When we discussed what attributes a learner needs to achieve proficiency in te reo, he gave the following response:

> Ko ētahi o ngā tangata ..... te koi. Ētahi ka ū hoki. Ētahi i whakaaro ake au, e mōhio marika au, i mahi kaha rawa, e ū rawa ki te kaupapa, kāore tonu rātou i eke. Ko taku whakapae, he whakapae i taunakihia, nā tō rātou [tauira]; Kāore e āhei ana rātou te tahuri, *mō te wā poto noa iho*, ki te tikanga o ngāi tāua. Nā te mea mōhio tāua kei te haere ngātahi te reo me ōna tikanga... Nō reira ko aua tangata rā he Pākehā rāua tahi. Ahakoa te koi rawa o rāua tahi, kāore rāua i eke. Taku whakapae ... kāore rāua i pīrangi ki te uru he waewae ki roto i te ao Māori. Pai noa iho ki a rātou te pukapuka, te kōrero, te noho i te akomanga, engari kāore rātou mō te haere ki te marae. Kāore rātou mō te haere ki te tangihanga. Kāore rātou mō te haere ki tētahi kapahaka. Ehara tērā i tō rāua whainga.
>
> Some of the people .... are sharp. Some really commit. Some, I thought, well I knew they worked so hard, they stayed on task, but still they did not excel [in proficiency]. My contention is, and it's a contention supported by their [example]; they cannot bring themselves, *even for a brief time*, to our tikanga. Because you and I know, te reo and tikanga go along together .... So those people, they are both Pākehā, even though they both are very intelligent, they have not excelled. I suggest ... they did not want to put a foot into the Māori world. They like books, and speaking, and sitting in a classroom, but they would never go to the marae. They would never go to a tangihanga [Māori funeral], they would not go to a kapahaka [Māori cultural group]. That is not what they seek (Participant 7).

The essence of Participant 7's contention is that effective learning of te reo requires *cultural change*. In order to excel one must accept the cultural transformation that accompanies proficiency in te reo. One must seek opportunities to participate in the cultural life of Māori. The marae, the tangihanga, and kapa haka are all proxies for Māori cultural competence. It is not just about understanding tikanga on an intellectual level, it is about thinking, feeling and functioning as Māori do within Māori cultural contexts. It is about accepting tikanga Māori as your tikanga.

The stories of the participants in this study also align with participant 7's contention. As mentioned above, of the 17 participants, nine reported early exposure and familiarity with te reo and tikanga Māori and a pre-existing commitment to their respective hapū and marae. Seven of the nine reported the development of a broader commitment to the survival of te reo Māori which came about through learning te reo. Seven out of the 17 started out with little exposure and little commitment to their hapū and marae. Of that seven, five reported changes in themselves and in their views towards te reo which motivated them to have some commitment and involvement in their wider whānau, hapū, marae and iwi and to contribute to the survival of te reo. The majority of the cohort (12 from 17) reported shifts in motivation and in their perspectives towards te reo, and these shifts could also be seen as evidence of the kind of *cultural change* that is required for proficiency in te reo to develop.

The participants' experiences resonated with me. I too could give examples of gifted learners, and hardworking students (both Māori and non-Māori) I have known through my experiences as a University te reo teacher, who did not excel for the same reason; they could not or they would not change. They either did not know how or they were not comfortable engaging in Māori cultural contexts like the marae, tangihanga, pōwhiri, kapahaka, mau rākau[20], or other forms of Māori community gatherings where te reo may be experienced in a meaningful practical context.

The nature of the relationship between te reo and tikanga Māori is such that in order to gain full access to one, the learner must develop some proficiency with the other. It is unlikely that one could ever become very proficient in te reo without a complementary familiarity with tikanga Māori.

[20] Mau rākau is a martial art that involves training in a range of traditional Māori weaponry.

### 5.4 Discussion

This section will discuss three themes that emerged from participant responses to my questions on motivation with reference to the current theories of second language learning and student motivation and also with reference to some key aspects of Māori culture. I then propose a theoretical model for understanding motivation in indigenous language (re-)learning[21] based on the three themes. I call the model *social service theory*. Finally, I reflect on the implications of the model and of the three constituent themes for learners and teachers.

The three themes are; the dominance of intrinsic and integrative motivation to learn te reo, the wairua dimension of motivation for Māori learning te reo, and the community service ethos.

#### 5.4.1 Intrinsic and integrative forms of motivation

Current SLA literature on motivation delineates two kinds of motivational factors; integrative and instrumental (Dornyei, et al., 2006; Gardner, 1960). Integrative refers to the motivation to integrate with or to have close relations with speakers of the target language. Instrumental refers to the learner's perception of the rewards, either social or economic, that they will receive when they develop proficiency in the target language. For the most part, intrinsic (where learning itself is the reward) and integrative forms of motivation dominated the participants' responses in this study. These included the desire to understand Māoritanga, the need to avoid shame and ensure cultural continuity, to pass language on to the next generation; the influence of Māori speaking whānau, the need for fellowship, the passing of a Māori speaking loved one, a love of languages, and the desire to make a contribution to whānau, hapū, marae and iwi. While there was one case (participant 10 see p.144) of a person who initially started learning te reo because it had been suggested to him that this might make

[21] (re-)learning refers to the process indigenous peoples, who have lost their indigenous languages through colonisation, engage in to learn their ancestral language as a second language.

him more employable, his choice to stay with te reo was certainly not motivated by instrumental factors. No other participant at any time gave any indication that economic or social rewards were a source of motivation to take up learning te reo. Nor were economic or social rewards indicated as motivating factors for continuing to learn te reo over time. This is probably not surprising given the common public perception that there are few jobs in the New Zealand job market that require Māori language proficiency.[22] Running contrary to that perception, every one of the 17 participants on this study, including participant 10, was or had been employed in occupations that required some level of Māori language proficiency at the time of interview. For many, Māori language proficiency is an essential requirement of their current jobs. Like participant 10, many participants discovered, once they became proficient in te reo, that there were very good employment opportunities for proficient Māori speakers.[23]

The lack of evidence of instrumental motivation provides a significant challenge to the relevance of conclusions reached by Dornyei et al. in their longitudinal surveys of Hungarian high school students (2006) to this current study. Dornyei et al. found that over time, those learners with both integrative and instrumental motivations to learn a second language achieved the best gains in second language proficiency. The findings from this study do not appear to align with Dornyei et al.'s study. Evidence from participants on this study suggests that instrumental motivation was never more than a minor factor. There are two obvious contextual factors that may explain this lack of alignment. First, in the Hungarian case there are significant instrumental motivational factors for learners to want to learn English and German as second languages. It is common knowledge in Hungary that a good command of either English or German can improve one's prospects of employment. These factors do not apply to the case of Māori learning te reo in Aotearoa. Second, the desire to learn about one's own language and culture is a powerful form of integrative motivation that is relevant for Māori. This kind of motivation is far removed from the Hungarian situation and indeed from most SLA research studies which sample migrant participants. Notwithstanding these

[22] See p.143 for an example of this negative perception of employment prospects with regard to te reo Māori.
[23] See 4.2 Case One: Scott Morrison in chapter 4 as an example.

limitations, some of the theory developed by Dornyei out of his studies may still be relevant to understanding the factors motivating participants on this current study.

Dornyei and others proposed a theoretical model of motivation in second language learning (Dornyei, et al., 2006; Dornyei & Ushioda, 2009; Yashima, 2009) known as the 'L2 self system'.[24] Based on developments in the field of psychology on the study of the self and identity, the model sets out three powerful factors of motivation for learners of a second language: the ideal second language self, the ought to second language self and the second language learning experience. First, when learners have a clear vision of their ideal selves as speakers of a second language, this can provide motivation to learn. Second, when learners believe they 'ought to' be able to speak a second language in order to avoid some negative consequences, this too can provide powerful motivation to learn. Third, factors connected to the immediate second language learning environment or experience may also provide motivation to learn.

Findings from this current study do align with the three parts of Dornyei et.al's L2 self system. First, there were examples of Māori participants having a clear vision of their ideal second language selves. Participant 15 and participant 6 spoke about the influence of their Māori speaking whānau on their desire to learn te reo (see p.139). Exposure to parents and grandparents who were native speakers gave these participants a vivid picture of what they would be able to do when they became proficient Māori speakers. Participant 15 made clear associations between leadership of whānau and the ability to speak te reo. Participant 6 clearly associated te reo with full family membership. She was jealous when her parents spoke Māori to their niece in the family home and her lack of te reo proficiency meant she could only contribute to the conversation in English. Both participants set about learning te reo as a means of fulfilling these visions of their ideal selves as proficient Māori speakers.

[24] L2 is an abbreviation for second language.

Second, there were examples from the current study of participants who had a vision of their ‘ought to’ selves. Participants 13 and 14 spoke of the importance of learning te reo in order to avoid shame (see p.135). Participant 13 felt that Māori often equate making errors in te reo with trampling some aspect of themselves. Participant 14 shared his story of the shame his father felt for being a Māori who could not speak te reo Māori. Both participants’ experiences helped form images of the way they had ‘ought to’ be in order to avoid the negative consequences of not being able to speak Māori.

Third, there were second language experience (or environment) factors that participants identified as providing them with motivation to learn te reo. Participants 1 and 8 provided examples of whakawhanaungatanga or the camaraderie experienced through learning te reo as a source of motivation to learn (see p.140). A love of learning languages was a second experiential factor identified by participants 8 and 13 (see p.143).

Another theory of second language motivation that has some explanatory relevance to these findings is Peirce’s (1995) theory of ‘social investment’. In essence, social investment theory holds that when a target language learner can see a clear social reward for their ‘investment’, i.e., their time, energy and sacrifice, then they will engage in opportunities to learn the target language. The theory acknowledges that learners’ identities are multiple, complex and ever changing. There are some aspects of this theory that have appeal. For example, if we consider participant 11’s identification of the desire to be a ‘hit with the ladies’ in light of social investment theory, his identity as a young male becomes salient (see p.133). We could conclude that he saw a clear social reward associated with his ‘investment’ in learning te reo Māori, i.e., attention from interested females. Even his later assertions that he wanted to be able to contribute to the well-being of his marae as formal speaker could be seen as a form of social reward falling within the parameters of social investment theory.

Notwithstanding their partial utility, there are some significant explanatory shortcomings to the two theories of motivation in SLA (the ideal L2 self system and social investment theory) as I have applied them thus far to the findings of this particular study. Neither theory adequately accounts for two pervasive forms of motivation identified by participants on this study; the desire for Māoritanga and the desire to make a contribution to one's wider whānau, hapū and iwi. Nor does either theory account for the wairua (spiritual) dimension of learning te reo identified by many of the participants. This is perhaps not surprising since both theories were conceived of in SLA contexts far removed from the study of indigenous peoples (re-)learning their own indigenous languages.

The remaining two themes directly address the inadequacies of the SLA theories by proposing two home grown alternative theories. These localized conceptualisations are drawn from data from this study and they offer greater explanatory power for understanding the motivation to learn te reo Māori.

### 5.4.2 The wairua dimension - A 3D view of learning te reo

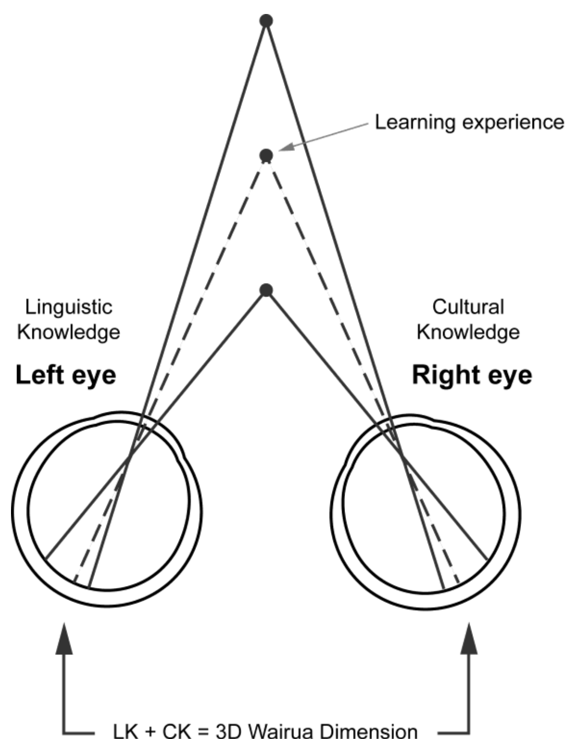
The second theme emerging from the findings is the wairua dimension. To help understand how wairua applies to this study in particular, and to the learning of te reo in general, I will articulate a simple metaphor. Human beings are able to perceive depth by virtue of the fact that each eye views a single object at a distance, from slightly different angles. The difference may be small but together the eyes and the brain use the difference in the two images to judge how near or how far away an object is. The actual process is a lot more complicated but this simplification is sufficient to establish the metaphor. As the learner's te reo proficiency develops (left eye capacity), so too must their familiarity with tikanga Māori develop (right eye capacity) in order for the viewer to perceive the depth of their experience. This dual model of development enables the learner to appreciate the spiritual dimension to their learning (the 3rd dimension). Let us accept for the moment, Browne's (2005) proposition that wairua is a paralinguistic phenomenon operationalized by the learners knowledge of te reo (left eye), through a waiata or karakia or ordinary speech. Add to this the learner's ability to interpret the

significance of the waiata or the karakia through their appreciation of tikanga Māori (right eye capacity). Now we have a learner who has an appreciation of the wairua or the spiritual significance of the act of singing, praying or speaking te reo for any purpose (depth or the wairua dimension).

Te reo and tikanga operate like the left and the right eyes respectively. Together, they offer the viewer a form of depth perception that is not possible with one eye shut. While it may be theoretically possible to perceive the world through te reo and with no appreciation of tikanga Māori, it would be a flat, two dimensional view, lacking the full appreciation of the third dimension.

We can apply this understanding of wairua to the case of participant 14, who spoke of his father's shame for not being able to speak Māori. We may conclude that the father's vulnerable spiritual state (wairua dimension), came about due to his lack of knowledge of te reo (left eye capacity) combined with his appreciation of the cultural significance of te reo (right eye capacity). We can similarly apply participant 13's comments regarding the way Māori often equate making errors in te reo with a trampling of some aspect of themselves. Here again we can see that those learners are lacking in te reo capacity (left eye), yet they do have an appreciation of the cultural significance or sanctity of te reo (right eye). Again, the result is a compromised spiritual state that may manifest itself in this case as anxiety related to speaking te reo. Figure 1 below offers a graphic depiction of the 3D wairua dimension for learning te reo Māori.

**Figure 1: The 3D Wairua Dimension**




### 5.4.3 Community service ethos

The final theme emerging from the responses was a pervasive community service ethos. Some participants began learning te reo with a clear vision of how te reo proficiency would empower them to make a contribution to the cultural lives of their wider whānau, hapū, iwi and marae through formal functions like whaikōrero (speech making) and karanga (female welcome call). Most of those participants grew up in proximity to their own marae and with close connections to their wider whānau and hapū. They had an awareness and familiarity with Māori culture. Those participants who did not grow up with Māori culture often developed a desire to contribute and reconnect to their wider whānau, hapū, and iwi and to contribute to the revitalisation of te reo Māori as their proficiency in te reo developed. For both sets of learners the desire to serve was a powerful form of motivation. This will come as no surprise to readers who are familiar with Māori culture (or other indigenous cultures) since the most fundamental values of Māori and other non-western cultures of the world place greater emphasis on the needs

of collectives over the needs of the individual (L. T. Smith, 1999).

While there are dangers in assuming that certain cultural priorities apply across ethnic groups, there are some foundational Māori cultural concepts that help to contextualise the prevalence of the community service ethos amongst participants on this study. They include; whakapapa, mana, manaakitanga and utu (see Barlow, 1994 for detailed abstract explanations of each concept).

Whakapapa or genealogy is perhaps the primary concept of importance in Māori cultural contexts. Prior to the arrival of Europeans in Aotearoa (New Zealand), Māori settlements and day to day living were arranged in accordance with whakapapa or genealogical connections. People understood their relationships with one another and with the natural world in terms of whakapapa. Today many Māori organisations remain organised on the basis of whakapapa. Many of the marae (Māori community centres) that participants refer to in this study are presided over by whakapapa based groups.

Mana, meaning power, authority, prestige or status, is of importance in understanding the motivation to serve. Mana has a spiritual connotation in that it is believed to be, in part, an inheritance from the gods. Personal mana in the Māori understanding is not dependent on salary, qualifications or rank. Instead, it is connected to the mana of one’s people and to the ability to bring prosperity to one’s whānau or to those in one’s care.

Manaakitanga means to care for others. It literally translates as ‘the power to nurture.’ In the context of this study, those who enter into Māori cultural contexts have a duty of care towards their fellow learners and teachers and similarly they can rightly expect the same kind of treatment from others.

Utu means reciprocity. In the Māori culture, there is an expectation that when one receives help from others you owe them a debt of gratitude. This may not necessarily be paid back to the people who first came to your aid but it could be ‘paid forward’ to others. Participants on this study spoke about the debts of gratitude they felt for the generosity of many people, shown to them on the course of their journey to proficiency in te reo (see p.174).

Quotations from participants 11, 16 and 12 are given above as examples of the desire to serve the Māori community (see p.146). Participant 11 spoke of his clear vision of taking up responsibilities on his marae for his whānau. Whakapapa is made meaningful here. The participant’s mana is connected to that of his marae and his whānau, and is dependent on his ability to help carry out the cultural responsibilities of welcoming guests through formal speech making.

Participant 16 spoke of the dawning realisation that his language learning (and teaching) was making a contribution to the revitalisation of te reo and in turn to the cultural survival of the Māori people. There are aspects of manaakitanga and utu underpinning this example since the efforts one puts into learning te reo can be seen as a contribution to preserving te reo for future generations (manaakitanga). Utu also places a responsibility on the participant to teach te reo or to pass it on to future generations and this is another dimension to participant 16’s desire to make a contribution.

Participant 12’s assertion that if we fail in our efforts to revitalise te reo then Māoridom is lost, equates the mana of the reo with the mana of Māori people. As with participant 16, he is driven to serve the language revitalisation agenda since to not do so would mean to stand by and allow Māoridom to slip into oblivion.

### 5.4.4 Social service theory

Since current theories of motivation in second language learning are of only limited use for understanding learner motivations within this study, I propose an alternative model which I call *social service theory*. *Social service theory* better fits the lived realities of Māori struggling to (re-)learn their own indigenous language and to revitalise their cultural aspirations.

The basis of social service theory is as follows: when Māori learning te reo can see clear benefits for themselves, their whānau and the communities they serve, they will commit to and engage with opportunities to develop proficiency in te reo. This theory has been derived or adapted from social investment theory (Peirce, 1995). Instead of positing social investment in anticipation of a social or economic reward as the primary source of motivation, I am suggesting, based on participants responses to my questions, that enhanced capacity for social service is a powerful source of motivation. My reasoning is straightforward. The concepts of investment and return are deeply rooted in western world views. Peirce is clear that her theory is in turn derived from Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991). Capital, capitalism and investment and the preoccupation with the individual are not appropriate foci in the context of this current study, hence my preference for social service over social investment. The concept of social service aligns more harmoniously with the views expressed by participants in this study and with key concepts in Māori culture, as outlined above.

The three assumptions of social service theory correspond to the three themes emerging from this chapter; intrinsic and integrative forms of motivation, the wairua dimension, and the community service ethos.

The first assumption is that intrinsic and integrative forms of motivation are the primary source of motivation for learning te reo. This is a logical assumption since, in the context of this study, the promise of social or economic rewards as a source of motivation to learn was mentioned once only as a minor factor, and once as an obstacle rather than a motivating factor.

The second assumption is that te reo learning is tikanga learning. For a learner's proficiency to develop in te reo, there must be a corresponding development of tikanga knowledge. The successful integration of both forms within the learner leads to an appreciation of the 3rd dimension of te ao Māori (the Māori world): the wairua dimension. An awareness and appreciation of the wairua dimension of learning can provide a powerful source of motivation to learn. This also means that in order for proficiency to advance, learners must be open to *cultural change*.

The third assumption is that learning te reo will either begin with or lead to a desire to serve one's whānau, hapū, iwi, community or other organisation committed to the survival and the revitalisation of te reo. This assumption is underpinned by core concepts in Māori culture that emphasise service to community over the pursuit of rewards for the individual. The desire to serve is also a powerful form of motivation to learn.

### 5.4.5 Implications of social service theory

First, since intrinsic and integrative forms of motivation are the primary drivers leading to proficiency in te reo, the implications for teachers and educational providers are that learning objectives, curriculum and assessment ought to be aligned with these forms of motivation. Specifically, course design could help facilitate and guide the process of exploration of Māoritanga in contextualised and meaningful ways. Taking learning to the marae, incorporating kapa haka,

allowing opportunities for participation in tangihanga and other kinds of Māori community engagement are all possibilities that resonate with the forms of motivation identified by participants in this study. Courses should encourage and facilitate whakawhanaungatanga inside and outside of class.

Second, given that the development of appreciation of the wairua dimension is an important form of motivation for developing te reo proficiency, balance between attention to te reo and tikanga needs to be achieved. That is to say, te reo should become the medium through which knowledge of tikanga is approached. Only with developed complementary capacities in both kinds of knowledge can students come to fully appreciate the spiritual significance of te ao Māori, and proficiency can be advanced.

Third, students need to be proactive outside of class in seeking opportunities to develop their connections with their wider, whānau, hapū, iwi, and other Māori community groups. Service to Māori communities and efforts to revitalise te reo Māori complement student's own struggles to (re-)learn te reo. They make learning meaningful and inspiring. No participant in this study approached te reo as a 'subject' of study. Most saw their learning te reo as an expression of a commitment to a cause and as a form of service to Māoridom. Teachers and educational institutions can help by setting learning objectives and designing assessment that is flexible enough to incorporate service to the community.

## 5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have proposed *social service theory* to explain learner motivation for developing proficiency in te reo. This theory is underpinned by intrinsic and integrative motives, by an appreciation of the wairua dimension to learning te reo and by a pervasive community service ethos. The theory emerged from my interpretation of participant responses to my questions on motivation. It is my contention that the theory may have broader application to indigenous language (re-)learning contexts where there are similarities with Māori language

revitalisation in Aotearoa. The following chapter will consider participant responses to questions regarding the learning and teaching experiences.

# Chapter 6 Findings

## Aspects of Learning and Teaching

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter is set out in three sections. First, I present the responses from participants given to a range of open questions about their learning and teaching strategies. Second, I discuss the relationship between these responses and the relevant literature. Third, I close the chapter with the implications of these findings for learners, teachers and educational institutions committed to Māori language proficiency development. Each section is further broken down into three subsections which focus on: the character attributes of participants on this study; the strategies they used to excel; and the experiences of effective teaching that aided their Māori language proficiency development.

### 6.2 Personal Characteristics

#### 6.2.1 Ngākaunui – Passion

Without exception, every participant in this study had a passion for te reo Māori. They all seemed blissfully unperturbed by the titanic proportions of time and energy each had invested in learning and speaking te reo. This was because, at the heart of matter, most saw every moment of the learning journey, even the difficult ones, as a privilege and as an investment in their own well-being. The following quote from participant 11 captures the spirit of this passion. When I asked him if there was a time when he struggled with learning te reo he replied:

> Kao, i te mea ko te reo taku aronga nui. Koira taku kaupapa matua. Ki te kore tētahi i te pai ki te reo, kāore ahau i te paku aro atu ki a rātou. Nā reira, ehara i te mea kua pēhingia ahau e tangata kē, nā taku reo Māori.

> Ko tōku reo he mea hei hāpai i ahau mai te wā i tīmata ahau ki te takahi i tēnei ara tae noa ki tēnei rā
>
> No, because te reo is my main sense of direction. It's my major foundation. If anyone doesn't like te reo, I don't pay them any attention. So, no one has ever been able to make things difficult for me on account of my te reo Māori. My reo has raised me up, right from when I first began to walk this path, up to the present day (Participant 11).

The participants' passion is the foundation for their commitment to learning te reo, but there were a range of other characteristics the participants either exhibited or discussed in our conversations that I came to see as crucial to their success as Māori second language learners. Some were fiercely competitive, many were ambitious when it came to their learning objectives, all showed a determination to succeed, many were infectiously optimistic, some felt arrogance in certain contexts was an asset, others stressed humility, and most demonstrated high levels of self-awareness when it came to their own limitations as learners and speakers of te reo.

### 6.2.2 Whakataetae – Competition

When I asked the participants what had helped them to remain motivated to keep learning te reo, six participants directly identified having a competitive nature as an asset to learning te reo. Here is what participant 12 had to say:

> Kua roa au e noho nei e whakaaro ana. Ki au nei, he tangata tino whakataetae ahau e hoa [Laughs]… Ka haere atu au ki tērā kura tuatahi ka whakaaro, "ā, pai kare! Ka hoki mai au a tōna wā, ka pai *ake* taku reo." Ehara i te kī atu he pai ake ki tangata kē atu, engari koina pea i rerekē ai i tērā wā.
>
> I have been thinking about that for a long time. I think, I'm a really competitive person my friend [Laughs] … When I went to that first school [Māori immersion residential hui] I thought, "well, my goodness! When I come back here again, my reo *will* be better." I'm not saying better than

> any one person in particular, but that is what changed at that time (Participant 12).

Participant 12 did not see himself in direct competition with any one person. His competition was with himself. He had been exposed to a higher standard of te reo by attending the residential language course mentioned above. His competitive nature compelled him to aspire to that standard and he set himself a target to improve before attending the next hui. By contrast, participant 10 did see himself in direct competition with another individual. For him competition provided powerful motivation to improve his te reo.

> Engari i taku tau tuatahi, i te marama tuarua pea i [tertiary institution], i kōrero mai tētahi ki ahau, i kōrero mai tētahi tāne ki ahau. Kāore au i te paku mōhio he aha tana kōrero, ow, i tū tekoteko noa iho au ki aia, 'he aha? Anō? Anō?' Me tana kī mai ki au, 'he tangata koretake koe, kāore koe i te mōhio ki te kōrero Māori.' I tāua wā tonu tino pukuriri ana ahau. He wero tērā ki ahau, he wero! Mai taua wā, i mau au i tērā whakaaro kino mō ngā tau e toru pea. Ka kite anō au i aia me taku mihi atu, taku kōrero atu ki aia, kī mai aia 'e hoa kāore au i te tino mōhio ki tō kōrero.'
> 'Ā, he tangata tino koretake koe, nā te mea kāore koe i te mōhio ki te kōrero.' [both laugh].
>
> But in my first year, around the second month at [tertiary institution], this person spoke to me, this man spoke to me. I didn't understand what he said, ow [exclamation]. I just stood there like a statue and said to him, 'what? Say again? Again?' And he said to me, 'you are useless, you don't know how to speak Māori!' At that moment I was so mad. That was a challenge, a challenge! From that time I carried that evil thought, for around three years. I saw him again and I greeted him, and I spoke to him, and he said to me, 'my friend I don't really understand what you are saying.'
> [I said], 'oh, *you* are a *useless* person, because you don't know how to speak [Māori].' [laugh] (Participant 10).

There are two points to make in order to provide context for participant 10's above story. First, it is always difficult to convey on the page just how humorous a story is when delivered in person by one so adept in the comedic arts as participant 10. Second, humour can be culturally bound. This kind of humour is

likely to resonate with those familiar with Māori culture because it reflects the principle of utu or reciprocity. 'Utu' can mean that one good deed deserves another, or in the case of the above quotation, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth should be the penalty when someone wrongs you. In any case, the story shows how participant 10's competitive nature, along with his cultural awareness of the significance of knowing how to speak Māori, motivated him to transform his lack of proficiency over a period of three years. Motivated by the desire for 'utu', he set himself on a pathway to linguistic and cultural transformation. The cultural significance of te reo conveyed by the insulting comment was internalised as a personal challenge and learning te reo was elevated as a priority.

Participant 5 gave another example of competition, this time as a part of the learning culture within a cohort of learners; a communal commitment to competition as motivation to improve:

> Ko te rawe o ngā tāngata kei ō mātou taha. Arā, ko te hāpori ako. Nā te mea i roto i o mātou akomanga ko tā mātou mahi he whakataetae ki a mātou anō, kia pai atu au i a koe, kia pai ake ia i a au, ērā momo āhuatanga katoa.
>
> It was the excellent people we had around us. It was the learning community. Because in our classroom we would compete with one another, so I could be better than you, and he could be better that me, all those kinds of things (Participant 5).

Thus the learning culture of the cohort, characterised by a commitment to healthy competition, provided a source of motivation for the learners to keep challenging one another and to keep outdoing one another. There was a self-perpetuating cycle of reinforcement in place that acknowledged and promoted te reo as a legitimate and desirable form of knowledge.

To summarise, many of the participants felt their competitive nature was an asset for developing proficiency in te reo. A competitive nature was given expression in three ways. First, competition with oneself was harnessed so the learner could aspire to a higher standard of te reo. Second, motivation came from being in direct

one to one competition with another individual. Third, a communal commitment to competition within a learning cohort helped to bring out the best in the learners. All three types of competition reinforce the cultural importance of te reo as a desirable form of knowledge. This set in place the conditions for a cultural transformation within the learners, which occurred over time as the learners' proficiency developed.

### 6.2.3 Te hiahia ki te tautoko – The Ambition to serve

Another common character trait amongst the participants was ambition. Many of the participants set ambitious objectives for their own learning. Some spoke about learning te reo as a life long journey with no final destination. As soon as one objective was achieved there was always another on the horizon:

> Ko ētahi o ngā tāngata ka noho tonu i te pouaka, i tō rātou ake rohe, i tō rātou whānau, hapū, iwi, takiwā rānei, ā, kua eke ia ki te taumata, ā, ka puta i tērā wāhi, ka kite atu, "aue, kei te tīmatanga noa iho tēnei e tū nei." Nā reira koina te painga o ngā kura reo, atu i ngā tāngata … te hunga tae atu ki reira, ko te kāhui tonu ko Tīmoti rā. Koina ki au nei he ngākau nui nei ki tērā kaupapa.
>
> Some people sit inside the box, in their own place, with their own whānau, hapū, iwi, or district, and they have reached a plateau, and if they get out of that place, they would see, "wow, I'm only at the beginning." So that is what is so great about the kura reo [residential language hui], beyond the people … who attend, there is Tīmoti and his ilk. That is why I am passionate about that programme (Participant 12).

This passage expresses the inspiration participant 12 derives from being exposed to 'Tīmoti and his ilk'[25] as exemplars of Māori language proficiency. His ambition is expressed as the desire to be like them. The cultural transformation for participant 12 began first with his initial desire to serve his hapū and marae. He then attended a kura reo and became inspired by exposure to exemplar speakers

[25] For a profile and a video message from Professor Tīmoti Kāretu see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fpW-9hYra60

outside of his own hapū and iwi. With a fresh awareness of the possibilities for his language development he set himself new learning goals. In pursuit of his new goals he underwent a cultural transformation.

Another participant expressed his ambition in the form of setting significant challenges for himself with regard to his language development. Participant 7 set himself the task of writing his PhD thesis in te reo even though at the time he knew his proficiency in te reo was not yet up to the task. He had confidence in his ability to develop his proficiency in the time allocated to get the thesis written.

> I riro i ahau he kaiārahi e āhei ana te ārahi atu i tērā... e rua ngā take i te pīrangai au ki te mahi i tērā. Ko tētahi i kite au he ruarua noa iho ngā tuhinga i roto i te reo Māori. Nō reira, i taua wā tonu kua tino hiahia au ki te tautoko i te kaupapa o te whakaora i te reo, whakamāui reo. Ko tōku wāhanga ko te tuhinga roa nē? Waihoki, i kitea he rautaki tērā hei whakapakari i ahau anō. Nā te kaha tuhituhi i roto i te reo Māori me ako au i ngā kupu maha me ngā pūkenga e taea ai e au te whakatutuki tērā moemoeā ōku i taua wā. Nō reira, ko tērā anō te mea whakakipakipa i ahau ki te piki ki taumata kē.
>
> I got myself a supervisor who was capable of supervising that…. There were two reasons why I wanted to do that. One was that I saw how few theses were written in te reo Māori. So, at that time I really wanted to make a contribution to the revival of te reo, to the revitalisation of te reo. My contribution would be my thesis you see? Also, I saw it as a strategy to improve myself. Doing so much writing in te reo Māori would make me learn vocabulary and the skills to be able to achieve that dream of mine at the time. So that is what drove me to keep ascending to the next level (Participant 7).

The two examples both demonstrate the ambition to serve. Participant 12's ambition to emulate the example set by superior speakers of te reo was primarily motivated by the desire to return this knowledge back to his iwi and his hapū. Participant 7 spoke of the desire to not only develop his own skills by writing his thesis in te reo, but he also wanted his thesis to be a contribution to the revitalisation of te reo. If we consider cultural transformation as a change in values and orientation towards te reo, it becomes clear that both participants

underwent cultural transformations as they learned more about te reo. Participant 12 set a new direction inspired by exemplary speakers. Participant 7 discovered that very little academic writing in te reo existed and promptly set a goal to help address the situation. Both showed an ambition to serve and both were willing to take on challenges in order to improve their te reo proficiency.

### 6.2.4 Māia – Perseverance and determination

When I asked participants what kept them motivated to apply themselves to learning te reo over the years, another common response was 'maia' or perseverance.

> Ko tōku tino, ko te ū ki te kaupapa. Āe, te ūpoko mārō. Nā te mea .., e mea ana ētahi 'he tere koe ki te whakamau i .. te reo Māori.' Ki au nei kāore he tino tere. Nā te mea i rūmaki[hia] ahau .. i te ao i te pō. Nā reira, ehara au i te tino kakama .... kua 45, kua hipa kē te wā o taku rangatahitanga; te wā e ngawari ai te urunga mai o tētahi reo.
>
> My strength is my commitment to the objective. Yes, the hard head. Because some say to me, 'you are quick at learning … te reo Māori.' To me I'm not so quick. It's because I am immersed in it … day and night. So, I am not a fast learner …. I'm 45, my youth is behind me; the time when learning a language is easy (Participant 7).

Participant 7 was the oldest in the cohort. He was 40 years old when he began learning te reo and 45 years old at the time of the interview. Participant 7 attributes his success to his ability to persevere and he sees this as a personal attribute; 'my strength' and 'the hard head.' In his view, he did not make gains in proficiency by having a talent for language learning or by being a 'fast learner'. His gains were made by continuously applying himself day in and day out for years to learning and speaking te reo.

For another in the cohort, one much younger than participant 7, her ability to persevere with te reo grew through the learning process. This personal growth was

also connected to another of her personal attributes; she thinks deeply about the things which matter most to her:

> He tino rerekē taku āhuatanga … i te wā i tīmata ai au ki te ako i te reo. Ko au tērā e noho moke pūihi nei i te karāehe. Ko au tērā e whakamā ki te kōrero ...Tētahi o ngā āhuatanga i kite ai au ka whakamā te tangata mō tana whakatipu nē? Ka whakamā te tamaiti mō tana whakatipu, i oti i ahau te whakaaro ... kāre au mō te whakamā ki tētahi āhuatanga i pā mai ki au. Tērā pea ko tētahi o ngā pūkenga ōku i taua wā he āta whakaaro ki te āhuatanga. I ētahi wā he tino mate hoki tēnei, kia mōhio koe. Engari, ka wetewete, ka wānanga, ka āta whakaaro ahau mō ngā āhuatanga, kei te pērā au mō te reo me ngā whanonga me ngā whainga hoki; ka tino whakaaro ahau. I oti ahau, ka whakaaro, “Kao, kāre au mō te whakamā.” … ki te hē āku mahi ka whakamā, engari ka tukua [e] ahau, …
>
> I was so different ... when I first started learning te reo. I was the lonely wall flower in the class. That was me, too embarrassed to speak … One of the things I saw was that one can be embarrassed about one’s upbringing you know? A young person can be ashamed about how they were raised, it occurred to me …. I will not be ashamed of something which happened to me. Perhaps one of my talents at that time was I really thought about things. Sometimes this can also be a curse, just so you know. But, I analyse, I study, I think carefully about things, that is how I am with te reo, and with behaviour, and with objectives too; I really think. And when I was done I thought, “No, I will not be ashamed.” … if I make an error I will be embarrassed, but I will let it go (Participant 13).

Through her tendency to reflect deeply on her own classroom behaviour, participant 13 came to realise that she was carrying the shame of something over which she had no control; her upbringing. Once she realised that she might be sabotaging her own progress, by holding on to the past, she made a commitment to let it go. Once she was able to let go of the past, her determination to succeed was able to come to the fore. So much so that she soon began holding her teachers to account for their responsibility to explain the topic in a clear and precise fashion:

> I ētahi wā ka noho te kaiako i ngā karāehe Māori ko āna mahi hei whakarangatira pea i tōna reo, ka whakauaua ia i tēnei mea te ako i te reo, ... ā, ko tētahi o āku pūkenga pea i taua wā, kāore au i whakaāe kia pērātia mai te kaiako ki ahau. Ehara i te mea he pakanga … i ētahi wā he pakanga, engari i roto tonu i ahau kua māro ahau ki tērā momo āhuatanga. Kāre au mō te tuku i aku kaiako kia mea mai ki ahau, "tērā pea kāre koe e āhei te mārama i tēnei wā, ka Māori haere koe ka mārama."
>
> Sometimes the teacher sits in Māori class and may try to make their language complex, they make it difficult to learn te reo, … and perhaps one of my skills at the time was that I don't allow the teacher to do that to me. It's not that a battle ensues … well sometimes there were battles, but inside myself I have hardened against that kind of thing. I do not let my teachers say to me, "perhaps you are not capable of understanding right now, when you become more Māori, you will understand" (Participant 13).

Through learning te reo, participant 13 underwent an incredible transformation; from wilting wall flower to tough robust student. This transformation came about due to two personal attributes. First, she is a deeply self-reflective thinker, who came to realise that she had no cause to be ashamed by the fact that she had not been raised with an understanding of Māori culture. Once she was able to put this behind her and commit to learning in an unfettered way, her second personal attribute; her perseverance, came to the fore. She would no longer tolerate any teacher who tried to abdicate their responsibility to explain material in a clear and precise way. She would no longer accept a teacher's sophisticated avoidance strategy of blaming the inadequacy of the learner's knowledge of tikanga Māori.

One central argument in this thesis and in this chapter is that learners do need to 'become more Māori' (i.e., develop their cultural knowledge), in order to develop proficiency in te reo. However, this is given as advice to learners and not as an excuse for teachers upon whom the onus of explaining material in terms meaningful to students must still firmly rest.

Most participants saw their own perseverance and determination as one of the keys to their success. Some brought perseverance and determination as a long standing personal attribute to their learning experiences. For others it developed with and through the learning of te reo.

### 6.2.5 Taku waimarie – Optimism

As the interviews with participants progressed, I became aware of a pervasive spirit of optimism throughout the cohort. One phrase that I heard repeated over and over again from almost all the participants was: ‘taku waimarie’, meaning, ‘I was fortunate.’ In spite of the fact that most had made extraordinary sacrifices and some had suffered harrowing hardships in order to remain true to their hearts’ desires for te reo, they never surrendered their spirit of indomitable optimism. The following extracts typify this optimism.

> Mōku nei nā i waimaria[26] ahau i te mea, he tauira anō o taku whai wāhi ki tētahi tangata matatau, ā, mā te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, te pāhekoheko hoki ki a ia ka kite au, ko ētahi anō ka rongo, i roto i aku kōrero … *“Kua eke tō reo ki tētahi taumata hou.”*
>
> To me I was fortunate because, this is another example of an opportunity to be around a proficient speaker, and through discussion with and interaction with them [my teachers] I saw, and others heard, in my speech … [they said] *“Your reo has developed to whole new level”* (Participant 4).

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[26] Waimaria = waimarie = lucky or fortunate

> ...waimarie ahau i tāua wā. I reira a Materoa a Hīria, a wai ake, ngā tino kaiako o te reo. Tino waimarie ahau i tāua wā hoki. Materoa. Ko taku tino waimarie ki reira te kaumātua o tōku marae. Nō reira ko te nuinga o ngā kaupapa e hāngai ana ki a Kahungunu ki taku marae hoki, kātahi te waimarie ko tērā!
>
> ...I was so fortunate at the time. Materoa and Hīria were there, and others, the very best of te reo teachers. I was so very lucky at the time. Materoa, I was so lucky to have the elder of my own marae. So, most of the topics were focused on Kahungunu [my iwi] and my marae too, how lucky is that! (Participant 10).

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> Engari tino waimarie mātou nā te mea ko ngā kaumātua i te kura i tērā wā, he taniwha i roto i te ao Māori. Ko tētahi o ō mātou kaiako ko Te Ao Pēhi Karapu. Ko tērā ko te māngai mō Te Atairangi Kāhu Te Arikinui. Ko Anaru Takurua he taniwha i runga i te mahi hakahaka ērā mea katoa. Ko Ngāhiwi Tangaire nō ngā Tangaire o Te Tai Rāwhiti, mātau ki te reo me te mita o tērā reo me ērā mea katoa
>
> But we were so fortunate because the elders at our school at the time, they were the virtuosos of the Māori world. One of our teachers was Te Ao Pēhi Karapu. He was the orator for the Māori Queen. Anaru Takurua was an adept exponent of haka [song and dance] all of that. Ngāhiwi Tangaire from the Tangaire's of the East Coast, knowledgeable with the reo and with his particular dialect, all of that (Participant 5).

These quotes illustrated for me the Māori cultural practice of 'mihi' or acknowledgement of what others have done for us (based on utu or reciprocity). Language learning is a process of social connection and to maintain those connections and relationships we must acknowledge others and the part they have played in our accomplishments. We could not have achieved anything alone. Language proficiency is meaningless without reference to others. The importance of the participants' acknowledgments is not so much in the statement of fact. It is the expression of a mind-set. It shows an orientation towards one's learning that keeps the learner forever in debt to others. It provides an endless source of motivation to do right by those who have put so much effort into us and into our learning.

### 6.2.6 Me whakahīhī i te karāehe - Be arrogant in class

One participant made an important observation regarding her own experiences as a te reo teacher. She felt that perseverance and arrogance too ought to be thought of as more than just personal attributes that one either has or does not have. We must think of perseverance and even arrogance as learning strategies, rather than just personal attributes. It is then conceivable that a student, who is a shy person outside of class, can use arrogance as a technique within class to enhance their learning:

> He aha atu ngā pūkenga ako? Ki ahau nei ko ngā āhuatanga o te tangata. Kāre au mō te kī atu he āhua noa iho te maia i te mea mōhio pai au he tangata maia koe ehara rānei, he tangata kaha nei te kōrero ehara rānei, engari ki ahau ka whakamahi[a] te maia hei pūkenga ako, ka puta atu i te karāhe ako [ka] reo hūmarie tonu te tangata. Engari ka noho ia i tō karāehe, ko tētahi o ōna pūkenga ako reo nei he whakahīhī, mā te whakahīhī ia e maia ai ki te tū ki kōrero, mā te kōrero ka whakangūngū haere āna whakahua, mā tērā ka pakari haere tana reo.
>
> What other learning skills? To me it is the aspects of the personality. I'm not saying that perseverance is only a personal attribute, because I know that you are either a person who perseveres or you're not, you may be a talkative person or you may not. But perseverance can be used as a learning skill, and when one leaves the classroom they can go back to speaking humbly. But when they are in your class, one of their language learning skills is arrogance, through arrogance they will persevere with standing up and speaking, through speaking they will learn to express themselves, that way their language will develop (Participant 13).

One person's arrogance is another's confidence. The assertion from participant 13 is that there is a place for arrogance in learning te reo; within the confines of a safe learning environment. She was not the only participant who felt this way. In Chapter four, Julian Wilcox attributed part of his success as a language learner to arrogance (p.111) . He felt that his arrogance averted any feelings of anxiety about public speaking. For those familiar with kaupapa Māori and tikanga Māori the

promotion of arrogance as a learning strategy may be difficult to reconcile. There is a strong cultural tradition of ‘whakaiti’ or humility expected from both teacher and learner. It is important here to emphasise that the participants are not advocating arrogance as an all-purpose strategy for learning te reo. They are saying that there are times learning a language, when the ability to act in a way that might be seen in other contexts as arrogant, can be advantageous. It can create for the learner crucial opportunities to speak and to have others give feedback on what you say. Those who are too humble in the classroom, and rarely speak, simply don’t get as much opportunity to practice and to receive corrective feedback.

### 6.2.7 Me whakaiti – Elsewhere be humble

While acting arrogant (or confident) might be a valid classroom strategy for learners in the early stages. ‘Whakaiti’ or humility is a quality held in high esteem in Māori cultural contexts. One participant articulated the idea that learners, especially those at more advanced levels of proficiency in te reo, should always remember to remain humble:

> Me tētahi mea nui, kia hūmarie koe i a koe e ako ana i te reo, he … tino taonga tēnei. Nōu te waimarie ki te whāngaihia ki a koe, me hūmarie koe, kaua e whakaiti… Kua kite au i ētahi tangata, ka ako ana rātou i te reo ka tae atu ki tētahi taumata o te matatau ka pōhēhē rātou, “Kua rangatira au. Me hoki au ki te tohutohu ki ētahi, [ka] tū rānei au ki te marae.” Me whakaaro koe… i ngā wā katoa e haere ngātahi ana me tō ako i te reo ko te hūmarie.
>
> One important thing is to be humble while learning te reo, this is very special thing. You are very fortunate if it is being taught to you, be humble, don’t belittle others…. I have seen some people, who while learning te reo, they reach a certain level of proficiency and they think, “I am awesome. I should go and tell others what to do, or I should speak on the marae.” You must remember … at all times learning te reo and humility go together (Participant 2).

Participant 2's point regarding the importance of humility does not contradict participant 13's on utilising arrogance as a learning strategy. In fact, the two pieces of advice for learners are complementary as they apply to learners at different stages of language proficiency. Arrogance (or acting arrogant) in a classroom setting as a beginner can lead to more opportunities for practice and for feedback. However, as the learner becomes more adept with te reo, there will be greater cultural expectations for them to be humble in Māori social contexts.

### 6.2.8 Summary

This section has reviewed a range of personal character attributes evident within the cohort of participants. These are the attributes of highly successful Māori second language learners. This is not to say that all participants exhibited all of the attributes discussed here. However, all participants did demonstrate at least some of these attributes. Every participant's character is unique but the discussion here has highlighted some of the more common prevalent character attributes that participants themselves identified or that I have observed which impacted on the learner's proficiency in te reo Māori. These included: passion for te reo; a penchant for competition; the ambition to be of service to others; perseverance and determination; optimism; arrogance at one time and humility at another. Many of the examples discussed show a dialectical relationship between learning goals and cultural transformation. Often when a participant learned something new about te reo or about themselves this led to a cultural transformation which, in turn, took the participant down a new path leading to more new learning and new learning goals. This reiterative cycle of adaptation was fundamental to the maintenance of motivation and ultimately to the development of proficiency in te reo. The following section will focus on learner strategies to achieve learning goals.

### 6.3 Effective Learning Strategies

This section aggregates participant responses to my questions regarding the learning strategies most beneficial to them and regarding their preferred approaches to learning te reo. The participants identified the following strategies: taking responsibility for one's learning, planning your own learning, selecting appropriate strategies for your level of te reo, mastering the basics first, mimicry of more competent speakers, finding an expert to learn from, blocking out English entirely, dealing with your anxiety and being prepared.

#### 6.3.1 Māu anō koe e kuhu - Take responsibility

Through our conversations, many of the participants spoke about the learning strategies they felt had been most successful for them. The one most often mentioned was taking personal responsibility for your own learning. Participant 13 spoke of this strategy with reference to the students in her own te reo classes. When I asked, who were her most successful students she replied:

> Ko rātou pea e mōhio ana he kawenga tō rātou i te karāehe. Kāre i te tae poka noa mai ki te karāehe. Mēnā ka kitea o rātou ake whainga i te karāehe, ka mōhio hoki ahau kei te pēnei ngā whainga o tāku ake mahi. Ngāwari noa iho tō whakawhanaungatanga, ngāwari noa iho te whakahoahoa me te whai hua hoki o tā māua noho ngātahi. Nō reira ko rātou, ka mōhio rātou, "ok, ko te tikanga māu tēnei wāhanga, māku tēnei. Māku e kawe taku wāhanga, ko tāu nā he whakaako mai i ahau." Ko rātou ngā mea ka tino eke.
>
> Those perhaps that know they have a responsibility in class. They don't just wander in aimlessly. If it is obvious what they want out of the class, then I will also know how I can set my objectives for them through my teaching. Your relationship with them is straightforward, they are easy to get along with and our relationship will be a fruitful one. So it's them, those who know, "ok, this is your responsibility, and this is mine. I will do my part and yours will be to teach me." They are the ones who really excel (Participant 13).

This passage exemplifies an orientation towards learning te reo based on a partnership between student and teacher. The student's responsibility is to be an active participant in their own learning; to think about and plan their learning objectives in collaboration with the teacher. The teacher's role is to provide the student with and to help them understand the material that will best suit their learning objectives in a timely manner.

### 6.3.2 He whakamahere ako - Plan your learning

Participant 13 elaborated on the nature of the student responsibility for setting their own learning objectives when we discussed the skills that te reo learners require to excel:

> Ko ngā momo pūkenga e whakaaro nei au; he whakamahere ako, te whakaraupapa, te mahi whakarite. Kua roa au e kōrero ana … mō te āta whakarite i tō whāinga ako. He mea tino nui ki ahau. Tokohia kē ngā tāngata ka haramai ki taku tari ka noho ki kō tonu ka mea mai ki ahau, "… you know tino hiahia ahau ki te whakapakari i taku reo." Ko tāku, "Pai, mā te aha? He aha tō whāinga mō te wā poto nei? Mō te kotahi haora ia wiki e noho ana koe ki taku taha?" I tētahi wiki ko te ako kupu hou pea. I tētahi wiki ko te whakatika whakahua, ēnei momo āhuatanga, āta whakarite i tō rautaki ako, koia tētahi pūkenga pai ki au, ko ngā mea i tino eke i taku karāehe ko rātou i āta whakarite i a rātou whāinga iti noa iho nei.
>
> The kind of learning skills that I think of are; planning the learning, organisation, and preparation. I have long been talking … about carefully planning your learning objective[s]. That is so important to me. So many students come to my office and sit right over there and say, "… you know I really want to develop my reo." I say, "Good, how? What is your objective for the short term? For the one hour each week that you will be with me?" One week it might be learning new vocabulary perhaps. Another it might be correcting pronunciation, these kinds of things. Carefully plan your learning strategy. That is one important skill in my opinion. Those who really excel in my classes are those who carefully plan their objectives in minute detail (Participant 13).

The suggestion is that those who are able to plan their learning in greater detail are likely to be more successful learners over time. This means it is insufficient to rely on the broader learning objectives that teachers often set for their students at the beginning of a course. The ability to plan in detail however, may be dependent at least in part on the relationship between the teacher and student. The student must be willing to take responsibility for their own learning through detailed planning. The teacher also needs to be responsive to and to help shape the student's developing vision for their own learning. Both conditions need to be met in order for ako (learning/teaching) to be optimised.

### 6.3.3 Kia hāngai ki tō taumata reo - Match strategy to level

It is important to recognise that there are different learning strategies for learners of differing proficiency. As the following passage shows, beginners may have a more limited range of strategies as compared with more advanced learners:

> Tērā pea he pai ake au ki te rangahau i te reo ināianei. I te tīmatanga ko taku tino pūnaha rautaki hopu i te reo … ko te whakarongo me te kākā, engari i tēnei wā ka taea e au te wetewete, ka taea e au te rongo ake i ngā hapa i roto i ahau, i roto i ētahi atu hoki. Nō reira, kua tae kē atu au ki tētahi taumata e āhei ana te aromatawai, te arohaehae ngā āhuatanga o te reo Māori
>
> Perhaps I'm better at analysing te reo now. In the beginning my main system or strategy for absorbing te reo … was listening and mimicry, but now I am able to analyse, I am able to detect the errors within myself, and with others as well. So, I have reached a level where I can evaluate, and break down the aspects of the Māori language (Participant 14).

Participant 14 makes the point here that when he began learning he had fewer learning strategies to choose from compared with more advanced learners. As the learner's proficiency develops they may make use of more advanced strategies. The basic strategies must be mastered prior to moving on to the more advanced strategies. There is a balance that needs to be struck between knowing one's limitations and seeking to engage in more challenging tasks with more

sophisticated learning strategies. Those who have not yet mastered basic skills like listening, mimicry and correct pronunciation are not yet ready to begin trying to analyse the grammar and structure of a sentence.

### 6.3.4 Me tīmata i te tīmatanga - Master the basics first

Participant 2 elaborated on the importance of getting a good grounding in the basics through the metaphor of building a house:

> Nō reira, ko tāku e mea nei mō te tau tuatahi, me tīmata koe … i te mea ko taua tau tuatahi rā he whakatakoto i te tūāpapa o tō whare kōrero, nō muri mai o tērā ka tīmata koe ki te whakanikoniko i tō whare ki ngā kōwhaiwhai o te reo, ki ngā whakairo o te reo, ki ngā tukutuku o te reo … ērā mea katoa. I taua tau tuatahi me āta whakatakoto koe i te tūāpapa o tō kōrero, ākona ngā kupu whānui, ētahi rerenga kōrero, ērā mea katoa.
>
> So, I am saying for the first year, you should begin … because that first year is for laying the foundation of your house of language, after that you can start to adorn your house with the intricate designs of te reo, with the elaborate carvings of te reo, with the woven panels of te reo … all of those things. In that first year you should carefully establish the foundation of your language, learn a range of vocabulary, some expressions, those kinds of things (Participant 2).

The metaphor helps to make salient the importance of mastery of the basics. The suggestion is that the house built on a shaky foundation will not stand up to challenges which may test its structural integrity. In other words for a learner to cope with the challenges of learning te reo at an advanced level, they must first have a good foundation based on the ability to listen and to mimic native and advanced speaker language, they must have good pronunciation, they must have learned a range of vocabulary, they must have memorised some common expressions. Without these basic skills, learners will struggle to cope with the demands of advanced learning challenges.

Other participants spoke about being made to go back and re-learn the basics as a welcome opportunity to make sure their foundation was properly set before moving to advanced levels of te reo Māori learning.

> I te wā i mahi au i tērā [tohu paetahi]… ko ngā pepa tīmatanga ko te "A E I O U" tonu, engari ahakoa i riro kē i au tētahi pepa o te whare wānanga… i whakaaro ake au, ka tīmata au i te tīmatanga … ki te pīrangi i te tohu paetahi me tīmata i te tīmatanga. Ko ētehi o āku hoa i mōhio au … kāore i tino pukuma'i nā runga i te mea i mōhio kē rātou ki te, "A E I O U", ki ngā "koe, kōrua, koutou", engari i whakaaro ake au ka pukuma'i kia pakari rawa atu taku tūāpapa. Nō reira he pai tērā, te hanga tūāpapa i te tīmatanga.
>
> When I did that [immersion Māori language undergraduate degree], the first courses were the "A E I O U" [basic pronunciation], even though I had completed that course earlier at university … I thought … I will start at the beginning. If you want to do the immersion Māori BA [undergraduate] degree you have to start at the beginning. Some of my friends I know … they did not work hard because they already knew about "A E I O U", and "you, you two, you three"[personal pronouns], but I thought, I will work hard so my foundation will be strong. So, that was good, building a foundation at the beginning (Participant 1).

Participant 1, unlike some of his class-mates, chose to work hard on building a strong foundation, even though he had already completed similar courses on the basics of te reo. Many participants emphasised this strategy as essential to future progress. Some of the most basic strategies remain important, even at advanced levels of te reo. For example, listening and mimicry is an important strategy at all levels of Māori language learning.

### 6.3.5 Te whakakākā - Mimicry at all levels

Participant 2 identified listening and mimicry as the most productive strategy in his learning experience for developing proficiency:

> Ko te hātepe ako reo i tino whai hua ki au, ko te tāwhai i te reo o te hunga matatau. Koira pea i tino whanake ai taku matatau ki te reo i roto i taua tau tuarua rā i te whare wānanga, i te mea … [ko aku hoa whare] he matatau ki te kōrero Māori. Ka noho au ki te whakarongo ki te āhua o a rāua reo, i te āhua o tā rāua whakairo i te kōrero, i te āhua o tā rāua whiu i te kupu, i te āhua tonu rānei o ngā kupu i kōrerotia e rāua i roto i tō mātou whare. Ka tīmata au ki te tāwhai i taua reo. Nā reira i te otinga ake, i āhua rite tōku reo ki ō rāua i te mea koira te reo i rangona mō te katoa o taua tau tuarua. I āianei, kei te whakarongo ki ngā mea pēnei i a Tīmoti, pēnei i a Wharehuia, me te tāwhai i ō rāua reo, te āhua o tā rāua whakatakoto i te kōrero, "ō, pai tērā momo rerenga kōrero." Ka kapohia atu, ka tāwhaitia atu tērā momo rerenga.
>
> The language learning process most productive, to me, is mimicry of proficient speakers. That is perhaps the way my proficiency in te reo really developed during that second year at university ... [my flat mates] were very proficient Māori speakers. I would sit and listen to *how* they spoke, to their articulation, to their spontaneity, or to the the choice of words they used at our house. I began to replicate that language. So eventually, my language became quite similar to theirs because that was the language I heard for that entire second year. Now, I listen to people like Tīmoti, people like Te Wharehuia [both former University Professors], and I replicate their language, the way they structure a sentence, "oh, that's a good expression." And I grab it, and I replicate that type of expression (Participant 2).

The above passage demonstrates two co-dependent learning strategies employed by the participant: first, he chose to get as close as he could to his proficient Māori speaking friends and, second, he listened carefully to and attempted to replicate their language. The passage also demonstrates the importance of mimicry as a strategy for both beginners and advanced learners of te reo Māori. In the early stages, participant 2 attempted to replicate his flatmates' language. Later, he followed the example of more advanced speakers of te reo.

### 6.3.6 Kimihia he pou whakawhirinaki - Find an expert

> Mehemea ko au e whakaaro atu ana kia akona te reo Wīwī, ka haere atu au ki tētahi tangata e mōhio ana ki te hītori, ki te kaupapa o te reo Wīwī, ka kaha patai atu au, "Hey, e hiahia ana au te tīmata i taku akoako i te reo Wīwī." Kare au e pirangi ki te haere atu ki tētahi tangata rūpahupahu. E hiahia ana ahau ki te haere atu ki tētahi tohunga, "hōmai ki ahau ētahi ingoa." Kātahi ka tīmata au ki te rangahau, engari āhua pakeke ērā whakaaro eh? [Laughs]
>
> If I was considering learning the French language, I would go to a person who knows the history and the essence of the French language and I would ask them, "Hey, I want to start learning the French language." I wouldn't want to go to some charlatan. I want to go to an expert, "give me some names." Then I would start doing some research [on those people], but that is all a bit advanced that kind of thinking eh? [Laughs] (Participant 14).

This passage expressed sage advice from participant 14, also supported by other participants; find an expert to learn from. However, some participants conceded that the appropriateness and the level of expertise of a Māori language teacher is often difficult for beginners to gauge. Their advice for learners was to ask around and get more than one opinion on the quality of a teacher and a programme before committing to a course of study. They also conceded that the appropriateness of the teacher can depend on the level of proficiency of the learner:

> Ki au nei me titiro rānei ki te taumata o te tauira. Mehemea kei te tīmatanga noa iho tērā tauira, ā, kei te paku hapa tonu te kaiako e pai ana, engari mehemea ka eke atu i tērā maunga whakahirahira o tātou me eke anō hoki te kaiwhakaako. Nō reira ki au nei, kei te pai tonu ētehi o ngā kaiwhakaako e paku hapa ana, engari ko te mea nui kei te whai tonu ia i te huarahi kia piki ake ai ia i tērā taumata. He koretake noa iho mehemea kei te pai ake te tauira i te kaiwhakaako. Me kaua rawa e pērā te hanga. He pai tonu te hapa engari me ū tonu te kaiako ki te whakapiki ake i a ia ki taumata kē atu.

> In my view the student's level of proficiency should be taken into account. If they are just a beginner and the teacher has some faults that is acceptable, but if they are to climb that grand mountain of ours [te reo] then the teacher ought to be climbing too. So to me, it is acceptable to have some teachers with minor faults, but the main issue is that they are pursuing their own development to advance beyond their current level. It is pointless if the student is superior to the teacher. That should never be the case. Faults are acceptable, but the teacher must commit to their own [language] development (Participant 12).

The second passage depicts a more pragmatic orientation to the appropriateness of the te reo teacher. It is unlikely that all learners can access tohunga or 'experts' in te reo, given the relatively low numbers of Māori speakers. Also it may not be necessary for a beginner learner to have immediate access to the 'experts' until after they have mastered the basics. So long as a learner has confidence that their teacher is committed to language development, this may be sufficient until the learner has a good grounding in the basics and is ready to advance to the next level. That is probably the better moment to go looking for an expert to learn from.

### 6.3.7 Āraia te reo Pākehā - Block out English

Participant 1 shared with me what he felt was one of his most effective strategies for learning te reo. Once he committed himself to learning te reo in earnest, he did his best to block out English altogether:

> Ka taea e au te kī, inā oho he wā ako … i te mea i āhua pōrangi āku mahi i aua wā, i āraia te reo Pākehā. Kāre au i pānui niu pepa Pākehā, kāre au i whakarongo reo irirangi Pāke'ā, kāre au i whakarongo ki ngā waiata Pāke'ā, ka Māori katoa. Ka aukatingia te reo Pāke'ā kia rongo anake au i te reo Māori. Mēnā ka rongo au i te reo Pākehā i aua wā ka whakamāorihia ki taku hinengaro. Nā runga i tēnā ka taea e au te kī, i aua wā i ngā wā oho he wā ako i te reo Māori [Laughs].

> I can say, whenever I was awake, I was learning te reo … because what I did was kind of crazy at the time, I blocked out English. I did not read the English newspaper, I didn't listen to English radio broadcasts, I didn't listen to English language songs, everything was Māori. English was blocked out so that I could just hear te reo Māori. If I hear English spoken at that time I would translate it into Māori in my head. So I can say at that time, waking hours were hours spent learning te reo Māori [laughs] (Participant 1).

This quote brings us back to the central argument of this thesis: learning te reo is an act of cultural transformation. When participant 1 exercised the strategy to block out English and hear only Māori, this was not just a linguistic choice it was also a cultural one. The ideas and cultural norms conveyed to him through the media of print, radio, song, etc. were now, almost exclusively, Māori cultural ones. Pākehā language and culture had a greatly reduced influence on his thinking and his development during this period. Take, for example, reading only Māori news reports. These reports are not mere translations of Pākehā news reports. They report on issues from a Māori cultural perspective. They may not even deem the same items newsworthy that mainstream Pākehā media do. The implications are that the listener will, over time, become more familiar with Māori cultural perspectives and priorities and could become more critical of Pākehā culture and perspectives on the world.

In effect, participant 1 was doing what many other participants also recommended aspiring te reo learners do; he was transforming his world into a Māori one. Although he was not entirely aware of it in these terms at the time, in hindsight he came to see what he did as akin to moving to a country where another language is spoken in order to learn that language. The difference being a shift of mind rather than a geographical one:

> Engari koira te āhua o te ao i tēnei wā. Ki te pīrangi te tangata ki te ako i te reo Wīwī, te reo Hainamana rānei, kāre i tua atu i te haere atu ki taua wāhi, ā, ka no'o rūmaki. Karekau he paku huarahi kē atu. Ki te pīrangi au te kōrero Wīwī, ka haere au ki tētahi whenua kōrero Wīwī ana me te mōhio kāre e taea te aha, me ako…. Ināianei ka titiro whakamuri au ki aua wā tērā pea i hanga au i tōku ake wāhi pēnei i a Wīwī.

> But that is how the world is today. If a person wants to learn the French language or the Chinese language, there is nothing better than going to that place and being immersed. There is no better way. If I want to learn to speak French, I go to a French speaking country and I know there is nothing I can do, I must learn … Now when I look back to those times, [when I started learning te reo] I think perhaps I built myself a place like France [referring to creating his own Māori speaking world] (Participant 1).

The principle exemplified above is ***whakamāoritia tō ao*** or transform your world into a Māori one. This is an action that all participants in this study did, to greater and lesser degrees. Scott Morrison moved in with Māori speaking flatmates for a year (Case one chapter four, p.76). Julian Wilcox spent 5 days a week with Hēnare Kīngi and the two remaining days were spent with Iris Whānga for 7 years (Case three chapter 4, p.111). Others completed formal courses of Māori language study where they were immersed in te reo for one to four years. All participated in some act of transformation comprising both linguistic and cultural dimensions.

### 6.3.8 Patua te taniwha o te whakamā - Deal with your anxiety

The cultural transformation to develop proficiency requires exposure to Māori speaking people and environments often new and foreign to the learner. This can result in a kind of 'culture shock' that manifests within the learner as anxiety about speaking te reo. All but one participant (Case three chapter four, p.111) reported feeling the effects of anxiety about speaking Māori with or in the presence of "superior" speakers when they first began learning te reo. For some, these effects were acute and at times debilitating. Yet everyone in the study managed to adapt and overcome. I questioned participants on their strategies to overcome anxiety. Their responses were, for the most part, philosophical ones that fell roughly into three categories: first, making mistakes was seen as important for learning; second, the learners represents others, and; third, there is no other access to Māoritanga other than te reo Māori. Some participants also offered a fourth response as a useful practical strategy for overcoming anxiety; be prepared.

First, some participants spoke of the importance of realising that if you don't speak regularly and prolifically, then you won't make mistakes and then you won't learn from your mistakes:

> Tuatahi kōrerotia, ahakoa he iti, ahakoa kei te hapa tonu... ka hapa tonu te tangata. Nō reira kōrerotia, hei aha te mataku. Kua tino rerekē i ēnei rā engari me mōhio ia mehemea ka tū marae koia anake te wāhi me tika tō reo, engari i a tātou e kōrero noa iho nei pai noa iho ki te hapa. Pai ake te hapa i ētahi wā ki te tika kia mōhio ai koe, arā, tētahi taumata kē atu hei whakatikatikatanga māu.
>
> First speak, even if it's brief, even though it may be in error... human beings make mistakes. So speak, forget your fears. Things have changed in recent times but one should know that if you stand on the marae, that is the only place where your reo should be perfect, but when we are just having a conversation it is fine to make mistakes. A mistake is sometimes better than being correct, so you will know there is another level which you need to bring yourself up to (Participant 12).

Second, by accepting that when one speaks in a Māori context they don't just speak for themselves, they have a responsibility to speak for others, and thus failing to speak may reflect badly on others as well as yourself:

> Āe, he hunga kaha [te iwi Māori] ki te tū. I runga i te whakaaro matua ki ō rātou nei whānau, ō rātou nei iwi. Ehara [i te mea] mō rātou ake, engari mō te iwi, hei māngai mō rātou. I runga i te whakaaro, ki te kore rātou, tērā tangata e tū, mā wai e pīkau i te kōrero o te hunga? Nō reira ko te iwi Māori tētahi iwi kāore i te pērā ki te iwi Pākehā. Ko te Pākehā e tū ake ko ia anake i reira hopo ai. Engari ko te whakaaro Māori, "ka tū au ka tū ko mātou. Nō reira ki te hē au, kua hē ko mātou." [laughs] Engari he pai ake te hē i te kore

> Yes, [Māori] are a people who are always standing up [to speak]. Because the main concern is for their whānau, for their people. Not for themselves, but to represent others. The idea is that if they don't, if that person doesn't stand up, who will speak for the people? So the Māori people are not like Pākehā people. When the Pākehā stands up it is he alone there feeling anxious. But the Māori philosophy is, "When I stand, we stand. So when I make an error, we all make an error." [laughs] But making an error is preferable to not speaking (Participant 7).

Third, by understanding that there is no other access to Māoritanga (Māori culture and identity) other than through speaking te reo, and if you do not try and keep trying, you will never gain access to your Māoritanga:

> Engari koia te take i hopo ai au, he pōhēhē nōku ki te hē taku mahi, ki te riri taku kaiako he tohu tērā ehara au i te Māori. I pēhea hoki au i eke? Kia pono nei i tino tika āku mahi engari i te mutunga iho i kite ai au ehara te pai o taku mahi i te kī taurangi ka pā taku kaiako mai ki ahau. Nō reira, mā te āta whakaaro ki ōku ake whāinga, mā te whakatau i ahau, "he tino aha tēnei, taku Māoritanga .... He aha hoki te kuaha kia tae atu ahau ki reira?" Mā tērā i tau ai taku mauri. Hopo tonu au engari he rerekē te momo hopo, kāre i te pā hohonu nei ki tō wairua.
>
> But, that was the reason I was anxious, because I thought that if my work was incorrect, if my teacher was angry, that was a sign that I wasn't a Māori. How did I get over it? Honestly, my work was always of the highest standard but in the end I saw that the standard of my work was no guarantee that my teacher would care about me. So, it was by thinking carefully about my own objectives, by deciding for myself, "this is important, my Māoritanga .... What other point of entry is there?" That is how I gained confidence. I was still anxious but it was a different sort of anxiety, not the kind that penetrates your soul (Participant 13).

Fourth, the key strategy applied by the participants for dealing with their anxieties was to try to be as prepared as they could possibly be for the opportunity to speak:

> Ko taku rautaki me kī hei whakatau i tēnā … mehemea e mōhio ana au ka haere au ki tētahi hui kei reira ētahi tino tohunga ki te reo Māori, ka haere au ki tētahi horopaki hōu ka āta whakarite au i aku kōrero … i runga pepa i ētahi wā i roto rānei i taku hinengaro, engari i ētahi wā ka puta tene mai ngā kōrero.... he momo parakatihi, he momo whakarite i ō kupu, i ō kōrero e pā ana ki tētahi kaupapa, tētahi hui rānei. I ngā wā ka hoki au ki te wā kāinga e mōhio ana au ka taea e au ēnei kupu, kāre e taea ēnā atu. Ehara i te mea ka māharahara au engari ka whakatau, ka aukati au i taua māharaharatanga mā te whakareri i ahau anō.
>
> My strategy for settling that [dealing with anxiety] ... if I know I am going to a hui where some real experts of te reo Māori will be, if I am going into some new context, I carefully prepare what I will say ... sometimes on paper or else in my mind, but sometimes you do an impromptu talk ... [my preparation] it's a form of practice, a way of preparing your words, or your speech on a given topic, or for a particular gathering. When I go back home [to my tribal area] I know these are the words I am proficient with, and not so with others. I am not nervous, but I can settle myself, I can avoid the anxiety by preparing myself (Participant 7).

The responses from participants as to how they dealt with their anxieties over speaking te reo in formal and informal situations offer two important guidelines for aspiring learners. First, when it comes to speaking Māori in informal settings, learners need not worry about trying to be perfect. In fact, making mistakes are crucial to developing proficiency. In such situations, the best strategy is just to do it and rest assured that making mistakes is not just acceptable, it is *essential* in order to receive corrective feedback from others and to continue to develop your proficiency. Second, anxiety regarding formal speaking is natural as the stakes are higher than with informal speaking. The experts may well be listening. The best strategy in these situations is to be as best prepared as you can be. Think carefully about what you will say, even write your speeches out in full if it helps, practice in your head and out loud as much as you can prior to an anticipated opportunity to speak. Being well prepared is no guarantee that you will not be nervous, but it can mitigate the sometimes debilitating effects of anxiety with

regard to formal speaking (see for example case two, chapter four, Te Rita Papesch on page 93).

While the strategies offered above are probably applicable to any second language learner in any second language learning context for these participants they are underpinned by Māori cultural imperatives. Speaking te reo is commonly considered the only pathway to a depth of appreciation of Māoritanga, it is therefore important to make the most of all informal conversational opportunities. When one is asked to speak in formal Māori cultural contexts, a poor performance or the failure to speak can reflect badly on one's whānau and iwi. While the broad strategies may be generalizable, the specific application of those strategies is *culturally located*.

### 6.3.9 Taku huarahi pai – Preferred approaches

I was particularly interested to know of the participants' views as to which approaches to learning te reo had been more beneficial to their language development. I asked which they felt had been of greater value for developing proficiency, grammar based approaches to learning or more communicative and contextualised approaches to learning? There was no clear consensus on a favourite approach across the cohort. Instead, responses were distributed on a spectrum. At one end were a few who felt their proficiency gains were due mostly to communicative contextualised learning. In the middle most participants attributed their gains to both kinds of approaches. At the other end, a few felt that most of their proficiency gains came about through the close study of grammar.

The following is an extract from one participant who clearly attributed his proficiency development to communicative contextual learning:

> Mōku ake, ki tāku mōhio, kāre i pērā rawa te pai o aku mahi i te tau tuatahi, ko te "C" me te "C+" noa iho taku whiwhinga … i te tau tuatahi o te ako i te reo. Te mea waimarie kē ko tāku noho tahi kia [Friend's name] i roto i taua whare... i te tau tuarua. Koira te wā i tino whanake ai te reo. Nō reira ko te āhua nei ko te hātepe ako pai ki au hei whāinga atu māku mēnā kei te ako reo hou ahau, ko taua momo reo e kite atu ai … taua momo reo i te wā e mahi ana au i tētahi mahi, pēnei i te [mahi] i roto i te kauta. Koira pea te hātepe ako pai ki au i te wā e mahi ana au, kei te kōrerotia te reo i taua wā, inā kei te rongo, kei te kite, kei te mahi.
>
> For me, in my opinion, I did not do so well in the first year [with formal grammar based learning], a "C" and a "C+" is all I got … in that first year learning te reo. I was fortunate to be able to go and live with my friends [Māori speakers] under the same roof … in the second year. That is when [my] te reo really developed. So it seems the best process for learning te reo, for me to follow if I am learning a new language is one where the language is seen in context … the kind of language appropriate when I am doing something, like working in the kitchen. That is the best learning process for me, learning while doing, the language is spoken at that time, when it is heard, seen and done (Participant 2).

Most participants were somewhere in the middle of the spectrum of opinion and felt that proficiency gains were due in more or less equal proportions to both the study of the grammar of te reo and to having plenty of opportunity to learn and practice the language in context. For example, participant 4 said:

> Ehara i te mea e whakahē ana au i tērā momo ako [grammar based teaching], engari e mea ana au me maha pea ngā tūmomo ako e taea ana e te tangata e ako ana i te reo Māori. Kia whai wā te tangata ki te ako i ngā ture, ki te kōrero i te reo, ki te tuhituhi i te reo. Ehara i te mea ka mau apōpō te reo e tētahi ka timata ki te ako i te reo i te rangi tonu nei, engari ko ia anō me ū ki te reo, ko taua hiahia whakaroto nei me tana ū ki ana mahi. Ko taua mataatuatanga hoki …

> I'm not saying that approach is flawed [grammar-based teaching] but I am saying perhaps one who is learning needs to be exposed to multiple ways of learning te reo Māori. They need opportunities to learn the rules [grammar], to speak te reo [in context], to write te reo. It's not as if they will get it tomorrow, if one starts learning today, but they must commit to te reo, they need the inner desire and the commitment to the task. They must be proactive too… (Participant 4).

At the other end of the spectrum, a few participants felt that their gains in proficiency were for the most part attributed to the close study of the linguistic aspects of te reo. The following is an example from participant 13:

> Kia mōhio nei koe, ko te mea tino whakahirahira ki ahau mō te whakatika i taku reo ko te huri ki te wete reo nē? Koia tāku whai wāhi ki te tino whakapakari, ki te whakangūngū, titiro whatu toto ki tōku ake reo, koira i tika haere ai.
>
> Just so you know, the thing that was most important to me for correcting my reo was attention to the linguistic aspects you know? That was when I devoted time to really strengthening, really training, really taking a microscopic look at my own reo, that's what really improved it (Participant 13).

There are two important observations to make here. First, participant 13 is attributing the correction of her reo to the study of the linguistic aspects of the language. She is not attributing the initial development of her ability to speak Māori to the study of grammar, just the improvement in the quality of her speech. Participant 2 at the other end of the spectrum, is attributing the development of his reo to the opportunities he had for learning te reo in context and in a naturalistic or communicative way. So while the two examples place emphasis on the importance of two very different approaches to learning te reo, they are not irreconcilable perspectives because they focus on different aspects of language development at different moments on the learner's journey. A logical conclusion is that communicative approaches may be important early on in the learning process to develop the learner's ability and confidence to speak Māori. Learners need to start speaking so that they can develop a language proficiency base. This

base consisting at first of mostly rote learned expressions and lists of vocab, and manifest in grammatically flawed utterances, can later on be corrected, as with participant 13, through the study of grammar. At this point, the learner who has already developed a preliminary level of communicative capacity can begin to analyse their own speech and that of others with the rules of grammar in mind. They can then begin to self-correct and work on improving their own reo.

### 6.3.10 Summary

This section has reviewed the successful learning strategies applied by learners in the development of their proficiency in te reo. Participants identified the need to take responsibility for one's own learning. This included planning learning in collaboration with their teachers and being clear about their learning objectives. Selecting appropriate strategies for their level of te reo was considered important since learners who have not yet mastered the basics should not move on to more sophisticated language tasks until they are adequately prepared. Some spoke of mimicry of more competent speakers as the most productive strategy for their development. Finding an expert to learn from is another important strategy related to mimicry. Some spoke of blocking out English entirely as especially relevant to cultural and linguistic transformation. Two strategies for dealing with anxiety were identified. First, participants reminded themselves that speaking Māori frequently and consistently is the only way to access te ao Māori. Second, whenever participants anticipated formal speaking opportunities, they went to great lengths to prepare their speeches.

Responses regarding participants learning preferences revealed no consensus with regard to the value of communicative approaches to language teaching compared with grammar based approaches for proficiency development. Participant responses did reveal two things.

First, communicative approaches may be more useful in the early stages of proficiency development in order to establish a language base. This point is consistent with Ellis's principles 2 (focus on meaning), 4 (develop implicit

knowledge) and 8 (interaction in the L2) of effective second language instruction (see Table 5 on p.56). Second, the study of grammar is useful for self-correction once a basic level of proficiency has been built. This point aligns with Ellis's principle 3 (focus on form) also in Table 5, p.56. I will return to discuss these finding in greater detail in the discussion section of this chapter (6.5).

## 6.4 Effective Teaching Factors

This section discusses participant experiences of effective teaching based on their interactions with their te reo teachers and mentors and their experiences as teachers of te reo. I was particularly interested to know what influence both kinds of experiences had on the development of the participants' own proficiency in te reo Māori.

### 6.4.1 Mā te whakaako ka pakari – When I teach I learn

It is probably not surprising that there was broad consensus from those participants with experience teaching te reo (14 out of 17), that teaching provided a powerful impetus for further proficiency development. As the following passage shows, the stakes are higher when learner becomes teacher.

> Kua timata kē au ki te … whakahaere i ētahi wānanga reo i te kainga, nō reira ahakoa ko au te kaiako, ko au hoki e āta aromatawai, āta arohaehae ana i ahau anō. Nō reira, mōku ake, he pai ērā nā te mea he pai ... te whakarongo atu ki a [list of experts] me etahi atu kaiako, engari ko te painga mēnā ka tū koe ki te whakaako ki mua i te aroaro o te hunga tauira ... ki reira ka tino wānanga atu ai mēnā e tika ana tau mahi rangahau, tau mahi whakaako rānei.
>
> I have begun ... running some residential language courses at home [home marae], so even though I am the teacher, I am also carefully evaluating and analysing myself. So, to me, those are good because it's ok ... listening to [list of experts] and other teachers, but the benefits of standing up and teaching in front of students are ... that is where you really analyse whether your research or your teaching has been correctly executed (Participant 14).

Errors are forgivable, even expected, in formal and informal learning contexts and when one is a learner. Once the learner becomes teacher, as many of the participants in this study have done, errors take on a whole other meaning. As a te

reo teacher, the quality and precision of one's reo is expected to be of a much higher standard, if not error free. These are the participants' own expectations of themselves when they became te reo teachers.

### 6.4.2 Ngā nui o te whakaako - Attributes of effective teachers

I asked participants to tell me how their own teachers had helped with the development of their reo. What did they see as the qualities, attributes and actions of effective te reo Māori teachers? My summation of their responses is as follows. Effective te reo Māori teachers: love teaching te reo; are proficient speakers of te reo; understand tikanga Māori and live by tikanga Māori; know their students, and hold their students accountable for their own learning; know how to teach; and they understand the grammar of te reo.

#### 6.4.2.1 Me ngakaunui ki te reo - Love teaching te reo

The most commonly discussed attributes of an effective te reo teacher was the love of te reo and the love of teaching te reo:

> ...ngā mea kua kitea e au, te aroha ki te reo, te hiahia ki te whakaako i te reo. Ki te pērā te tangata, ahakoa te pātai... e mōhio ana koe he nui hoki ngā pātai ka pātaihia, te uaua hoki oo! [exclamation] Me pēhea te whakautu oo! [exclamation], you know? Ngā pātai! 'He aha i kōrero pēnā koe?' O koira te āhuatanga o te reo Māori. Koira tāku, me tino aroha te tangata te kaiako ki te reo i te tuatahi.
>
> …the ones I have seen [great teachers], it's the love of te reo, the desire to teach te reo. If the person is like that, whatever the question… you know there are so many questions asked, and they are tough oo! [exclamation] How can they be answered oo! [exclamation], you know? The questions! 'Why did you say it like that?' 'Oh, that's what te reo Māori is like.' That's what I think, the person, the teacher must really love the language first (Participant 10).

This passage conveys, in a light-hearted manner, a sense of the pressure that te reo teachers sometimes feel. The participant perceives a weight of expectation that he must have the answers to the sometimes complex questions his students put to him. In order to overcome these challenges, the teacher must be driven by an indefatigable desire to teach and to keep developing their own knowledge of te reo. Another participant also commented on the importance of being able to answer students' questions as the measure of an effective te reo teacher. When asked what he felt were the attributes of a great te reo teacher he replied:

> Kia ngakau ki te tangata. He pūkenga ako ōna. Kia mātau te tangata ki te whakawete kaupapa, whakawetewete reo. Kia āhei te kaiako hoki [ki] te whakautu pātai ā te ākonga. Engari, me te whakamārama i te tikanga he aha i pērā ai tana whakautu ki te ākonga. I te mea ko ētahi … o ngā kaiako, ka whiua te pātai ki te kaiako, 'he aha i pērā ai?' Ka mea atu te kaiako, 'nā te mea!' [laughs] Ka mutu ki reira [laughs]. He tohu tērā kāore koe i te paku mōhio he aha i pērā ai. Me tōna kore mōhio me pēhea te whakawete i tērā rerenga kōrero, tērā tikanga aha atu aha atu. Nā reira ko ngā kaiako pai, pērā i a Pānia, Pānia Papa. He tino pūkenga tērā i te mea, mēnā ko te reo te kaupapa, ahakoa te pātai, ka taea e ia te whakamārama he aha i pērā ai eh?
>
> They must love people. They must have the skill to teach. They must be capable of analysing a topic, and of analysing language. The teacher must be able to answer student questions. But, they must be able to explain why they have answered a student question in a particular way. Because some …. teachers, when they are asked, 'why is that so?' The teacher will say, 'because!' [laughs] And that is the end of the matter [laughs]. That is a sign you [they] have no idea why it is so. And they don't know how to analyse the sentence in question, or the custom being examined or whatever it is. So the best teachers, like Pānia, Pānia Papa. That one is a real expert because, if te reo is the topic, whatever the question, she can explain why it is so, eh? (Participant 11)

The two previous quotes from participant 10 and participant 11 together demonstrate the importance of the moment when a student asks a question. The first quote from participant 10 gives a sense of the weight of that moment. The second quote gives a sense of the potential for learning that moment offers. There is a well-known Buddhist saying, 'when the student is ready, the teacher appears.'

When a student asks a question, it is likely that they are open and receptive to learning. The question may or may not be well formed, either way it represents the immediate state of the student's comprehension of the topic and of their desire to learn. It shows that the student is ready to exercise agency and become an active participant in their own learning.

On the one hand, effective teachers are ready to capitalise on those moments by offering students timely, well thought out answers and reasoning, or perhaps by exercising their judgement and deciding which questions are best left for discussion after class. On the other hand, ineffective teachers are likely to let those moments slip away.

Effective te reo teachers can respond with due diligence to student questions because they love te reo and they love teaching te reo. For many of the participants, the love of te reo and the proficiency of the speaker were qualities difficult to separate. As one participant put it, a great te reo teacher is:

> He tangata matatau ki tana kaupapa. Kua ruku ki ngā hohonutanga o tana kaupapa nē? Kua wherawhera ki ngā .. toro atu ki ngā wāhanga whānui o tana kaupapa, i ngā … kōrero whānui, kaupapa take whānui i roto i tana kaupapa. He tangata e kaingākau ana ki tana kaupapa. E pai ana e hihiri ana ki tana kaupapa. Ka rongo koe i tana ngakaunui arohanui ki tana kaupapa. He kaiako pai tērā; matatau ki tana kaupapa, ngakaunui ki tana kauapapa
>
> A person who is well versed in his subject. One who has explored the depths of his subject you know? One who has examined … probed the broad dimensions of his topic, the diversity of stories and issues within his subject. One who loves his subject. One who enjoys and is stimulated by his subject. You can sense his awesome love for his subject. That is a great teacher; proficient with his subject and passionate for his subject (Participant 2).

#### 6.4.2.2 Me matatau ki te reo – Are very proficient speakers

The importance of having a teacher who is a very proficient speaker of the second language is particularly intensified in the case of te reo Māori. This is because there are few proficient speakers and few sources of quality second language input for learners. Under these conditions, learners can become dependent on the teacher as a primary and in some cases sole source of spoken Māori language. The danger here is that without multiple sources for comparison, the teacher's language defects can be passed on to the students.

> Me matatau tōu kaiako. Kāore i tua atu i te kaiako matatau. Waimarie koe i ēnei rā kia whiwhi i a koe tētahi pērā. Heoi anō, kia whiwhi i a koe tētahi kaiako matatau, me tōu āhei ki te whakatata atu ki aia, he tino waimarie koe. Nā te mea ... te nuinga o ngā kaiako o ēnei rā kāore e pērā rawa te matatau. Nō reira, ka riro i a koe ... ō rātou nei hē. Inā hē ana te kaiako ka horapa ki ngā ākonga
>
> Your teacher must be proficient [a proficient speaker]. There is nothing better than a teacher [who is] proficient [in te reo]. You are very fortunate if you can get one like that. But if you can get a teacher who is very proficient, and if you can get close to them [build a close relationship], then you are very fortunate. Because … most teachers these days are not very proficient [speakers]. So, you will take on their defects. If the teacher is deficient, it spreads to the students (Participant 7).

Whether a teacher is linguistically deficient or not, students should never follow blindly or uncritically the examples set for them by a single teacher. Students who have limited options when it comes to te reo teachers can mitigate any adverse effects on their language development by actively seeking multiple sources of second language input from books, the internet, radio, television and fellow learners. In the final analysis, however, the language proficiency of one's teacher remains a crucial factor. As one participant put it, even though a teacher may have no talent for teaching, the proactive student can still benefit from time spent with them, so long as they are highly proficient in te reo and so long as the student has a clear sense of what their own learning objectives are:

> … engari mēnā kei te whai kuri noa iho ia i tā te kaiako e mahi ai, kei raro ia e pūtu ana. Tino koretake ētahi o āku kaiako, koretake rawa atu. Ko tētahi he whāwhā wāhine noa iho tana mahi, ā, miharo ana, tōna hia kore whakamā. Engari āe ka taea. Koia au e tino akiaki nei i te tangata kia āta whakaarohia ōna ake whāinga mō te wā kei te noho ia i te taha o te kaiako. He koretake rawa atu tō kaiako engari he reka tōna reo? Pai noa iho te noho i tōna taha mēnā kei te whakangūngū koe i tō whakahua. Koia tō aronga matua mō taua wā. Mēnā he koretake rawa atu tō kaiako engari mōhio ia ki ētahi kupu whakaniko, pai, ka whai hua tonu tō noho ki a ia inā mōhio koe ki tērā engari koia te pai o te whai whāinga motuhake mō tō noho i te taha o tētahi e ako ana i te reo. Koia hei rautaki māu kia mōhio ai koe ka whai hua i te taha o te tangata koretake nei te whakaako.
>
> But if they [the student] just blindly follow what the teacher does, then they will be overwhelmed. Some of my teachers were useless, absolutely useless. One was only interested in philandering, amazing, his lack of shame. But yes it can be done [you can still learn from them]. That is why I encourage people to think carefully about their objectives for the time spent with the teacher. Your teacher may be useless but is their reo beautiful? Time by their side is still well spent if you are developing your pronunciation. That's your primary focus for that period of time. If your teacher is useless but they know some beautiful words, that's good, being with them can be productive so long as you know that, but, that is the benefit of having your own learning objectives when you are learning te reo with anyone. That should be your strategy so you know you can derive benefits from people who are no good at teaching (Participant 13).

Participants in the study placed a very high premium on the teacher's proficiency in te reo as an attribute of an effective te reo teacher. Some felt proficiency was more important than the teacher's knowledge of and ability to teach. While most agreed that the ability to teach was important, no participant prioritised teaching ability over proficiency in te reo as an attribute of an effective te reo teacher.

To recap, participants thus far have linked proficiency in te reo with passion for te reo. They linked the ability to teach te reo with the love of teaching and they identified proficiency in te reo as the second most important attribute. The next major attribute of effective te reo teachers identified by participants was living by tikanga Māori.

#### 6.4.2.3 Tikanga Māori – Know and live by tikanga Māori

Another prevalent response from participants was knowing and living by tikanga Māori. This attribute brings us back to the central argument of this chapter and of the thesis: learning te reo is an act of cultural transformation. While many participants identified knowledge of tikanga Māori as important for effective te reo teaching, some emphasised that 'walking the talk' or living by espoused (or assumed) values and practices of Māori culture was important for effective Māori language teaching. In the following passage, participant 7 offers a critique of a te reo teacher based on this attribute:

> Āe, āe, he tino hoa māua…. pēnei ki ahau, i tipu ake ia i te ao Pākehā. Kātahi anō nei ka heke ia ka uru ia ki te ao Māori. Nō reira, ahakoa tōna pai, me taku tino mōhio ki aia, ahakoa tōna pai ...[hei] kaiako. Ehara ia i te whakatinanatanga o te taha tikanga Māori, o te Māoritanga, i tēnei wā. Kei te kite au kei te whakamāori anō aia i aia anō i tēnei wā tonu. Engari kāore anō [kia] eke ki [te] taumata o ētahi atu .... e rua ngā waewae i roto i te ao Māori Ko[ia] kotahi i te ao Māori, kotahi i te ao Pākehā. He painga anō tō tērā, engari, tērā te tauira o te kaiako e rua ngā waewae i roto i te ao Māori. He āhuatanga anō o te kounga o te kaiako
>
> Yes, yes we are good friends…. And they are just like me, they grew up in the Pākehā world [as Pākehā]. They have only recently moved or entered into the Māori world. So, even though they are great, and I know them so well, even though they are a very good … teacher. They do not embody Māori life-ways, or Māori culture, at the present time. I can see that they are becoming Māori, at this moment. But they have not yet reached the level of others … with two feet in the Māori world. They have one foot in the Māori world and the other in the Pākehā world. There are benefits to that, but, that is the example of a teacher with two feet in te ao Māori. That's a feature of the quality of the teacher (Participant 7).

There are three observations to make regarding the participant's comments. First, the passage exemplifies an awareness of the process of language learning (and teaching) as an act of cultural transformation. The participant observes that the teacher is 'becoming more Māori'; they are transitioning and becoming more culturally adept.

Second, the participant's criticism of his friend (the teacher) is based on his assessment that while they are transitioning, they have yet to reach the level of immersion in te ao Māori that others have achieved. This clearly places limits on their effectiveness as a te reo teacher.

Third, there is an important distinction to be made here between having knowledge of tikanga Māori and living by tikanga Māori. The latter requires more than understanding, it demands action in alignment with cultural knowledge. Participant 7 gave examples of this kind of action, such as attending tangihanga, going to the marae, participating in kapahaka, all of which are examples of participation in the cultural life of Māori communities.

Other participants also offered examples of the actions and behaviours of effective te reo teachers that exemplify living by tikanga Māori. The following example from participant 14 places emphasis on the use of te reo in formal speech making:

> Ko taku tino tauira i tēnei wā tonu ko Pou Temara, ko Te Wharehuia. Ko rāua tahi aku tino taumata. Kia tū maia pērā rawa i te pae o Pou Temara, ki te whakakōrero atu i te rākau, te pou tewhatewha, i te patu rānei, me te rere pai o ana kupu. Me te mea hoki, kia ruku hohonu ake i te kōrero o Wharehuia i au e kōrero atu ana, engari kia kaua e whakakākā. Engari kia whaia tonutia i taku momo, i taku tauira i roto i ērā mahi whaikōrero.... kei te kawea e rāua ngā momo pūmanawa, ngā momo pūkenga o te ao tawhito, kāore e tino kitea kāore e tino rangona i runga i te nuinga o ngā marae i ēnei rangi tonu.

> My best exemplars at the present time are Pou Temara[27] and Te Wharehuia[28]. They are my benchmarks. I aspire to the level of Pou Temara, to make the rākau [orators stick] speak, or the pou tewhateaha [traditional long club], or the patu [traditional short club], and his speech is stylish. Also, to achieve the depth of meaning of Te Wharehuia when I speak, but not to parrot him. But to follow my own style, my own example within the whaikōrero… they carry those kinds of talents, those kinds of skills of the old times, which are not often seen and heard on most marae in the present day (Participant 14).

The participant identifies the two orators as exemplars of effective te reo teachers because, in his view, effective te reo teachers must not only have cultural knowledge but they ought to be able to inspire their students through their ability to put that knowledge into action, as these two do through whaikōrero (formal speech making). Underpinning the passage is the assumption that in order to be an effective te reo teacher one must exemplify some of the skill and possess some of the talents of 'the old times'.

Whaikōrero is more than just an opportunity to 'showcase' those talents, it is an opportunity to serve and represent the people for whom the orator speaks. As such it is a highly visible medium where an effective teacher can convey cultural knowledge to students. There are other mediums not as high profile but no less effective or memorable for the conveyance of tikanga Māori.

Another participant spoke of how her favourite teachers (her elders) conveyed a sense of Māoritanga through their everyday conversations with young people. When we discussed the late nanny Mate Kaiwai,[29] she made the following comments:

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[27] Professor Pou Temara is at the time of writing a University professor of te reo and tikanga Māori see http://www.waikato.ac.nz/research/expertise/staff/PouTemara.shtml

[28] Dr. Te Wharehuia Milroy QSO is a retired professor of te reo and tikanga Māori, active in the Māori language revitalisation movement, see http://www.waikato.ac.nz/news/archive.shtml?article=462

[29] Mate Kaiwai was a respected elder of the Ngāti Porou people see http://waatea.blogspot.co.nz/2009/10/mate-kaiwai-dies-aged-94.html

> …atu i te whakarongo atu ki te reo, te whakatakoto o te reo… ehara tēnā i taku whāinga matua i au e kōrero ana ki a rātou [nanny Mate and other elders]. Heoi anō, ko te noho ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero me rātou nē? Nō te mea ehara i te reo-ā-waha anake te mea e whakanikoniko ana i te reo Māori. Ko te tinana, ko ngā kanohi, ko ngā momo kupu o taua iwi tonu. Me te honore. He honore nui tēnā. I te nuinga o te wā ka tīmata pea ki tētahi kaupapa, ka pātai koe i tētahi pātai tōtika atu, engari te nuinga o te wā ka huri rauna i taua kaupapa, ana, kei reira ko te tino kounga, te tino tangata i muri i te kanohi. Tana mahara ki ngā wā e tamariki ana ia. Te kōrero mō tō whānau. Ka mea rātou, 'o e mahara ana au ki tō pāpā dadadada', ka kōrero mō ngā rā o mua. Ehara i te mea ka kōrero mō te reo Māori anake. Ka kōrero mō tō Māoritanga.
>
> …beyond listening to the reo, and the structure of the reo … that isn't my main objective when I am speaking to them [nanny Mate and other elders]. Actually, it's the chance to communicate with them you know? Because it is not just the spoken word that beautifies te reo Māori. It's the body, the eyes, the words unique to that particular group of people. It's an honour. That's a great honour. Most of the time it will start with a topic, you will ask a direct question, but most of the time they will go around that question, that's it [that is when you see]… the real quality, the real person behind the face. Their memories of when they were children. They will talk about your family. They will say, 'oh I remember your father dadadadada', they will talk about the days gone by.' They won't just talk about te reo Māori. They will talk about your Māoritanga (Participant 6).

This passage reinforces the function of te reo as a vehicle for conveying the many dimensions of the Māori culture. The participant is aware of the particular way that an elder communicates. She takes note of not just the words and phrasing. She appreciates the facial expressions, the body language, the idiosyncratic vocabulary each elder uses that indicates their place of origin. The way an elder responds to a direct question is particularly pertinent to an understanding of Māoritanga.

By going 'around' the question and discussing a host of indirectly related memories and matters, the elder builds a rapport with the younger person and establishes whakawhanaungatanga (a relationship) built on knowledge of whakapapa (genealogical connection) or on shared stories of the past. This is how the elder talks 'about your Māoritanga.' Not directly as the subject of conversation, but indirectly as the model or the framework for discussing any topic.

From a Pākehā cultural point of view, this behaviour might be misinterpreted as being evasive or 'wasting time.' From a Māori cultural perspective the relationship building must come first before any meaningful exchange of information can occur.

### 6.4.2.4 Me matua mōhio ki ngā ākonga – know the students

The next attribute identified by participants was knowing the students. There were three ways of knowing the students discussed by participants: understanding the student point of view, knowing and being responsive to a particular student's level of proficiency, and treating every student as an individual. All three ways of knowing students must be underpinned by a teacher's genuine desire to see their students succeed.

While there was a good deal of consensus from the participants that having a teacher who is a native speaker of te reo is desirable, one participant spoke of the advantages of having a teacher who was a second language Māori speaker:

> Ko Pakeke tētahi o ō mātou kaiako i .. Pai a Pakeke. Tana painga; e mārama ana ia ki te whai i te āhua .. i te mea ... he reo tuarua tana reo Māori. E mārama ana ki aia ngā uauatanga, ngā piki me ngā heke o te ako i te reo Māori me ngā whakaaro o te ākonga ko te reo Pākehā tana reo tuatahi nē? (Participant 8, 2011)

> Pakeke was one of our teachers when we were at Vic .. Pakeke was good. His strength; he understood what was going on .. because .. Māori was his second language. He understood the difficulties, the trials and the triumphs of learning te reo Māori and the way a student thinks whose first language is English, you know?

A teacher who is a second language speaker of te reo Māori may have an advantage in understanding their students. It is far more likely that these teachers will be able to anticipate the difficulties their students may have with grasping both the new linguistic expressions and the new cultural applications of te reo. Pakeke was better positioned to appreciate his student's point of view and respond to their needs since he had done what they were now attempting to do; learn te reo as an adult student.

At first glance there may appear to be a tension here between the benefits of having a teacher who is a native speaker compared with one who is a second language speaker of te reo Māori. The notion of such a tension is based on a misconception of what it means to be a native or a second language speaker. It is sometimes assumed that since a native Māori speaker's first language is te reo then they must be more proficient in it than a second language speaker. However, in my experience, whether one is a first or second language speaker of te reo Māori has little bearing on the ultimate level of proficiency in te reo that one can obtain. I have met native speakers who, in my judgement, were not as proficient in te reo Māori as some second language Māori speakers I am acquainted with (for example, every participant on this study is more proficient with te reo than most native speakers I have met). Ultimate Māori language proficiency is not a function of which language is learned first. It is a function of the amount of time and energy spent speaking and developing proficiency in te reo.

It is therefore conceivable that any second language Māori learner, who has the will and the capacity to invest the required time and energy, can become just as proficient with te reo and tikanga Māori as any native speaker. It is equally conceivable that a native speaker of te reo who wishes to be an effective te reo

teacher can, over time, familiarise themselves with the difficulties that their second language te reo students may encounter.

Regardless of whether the teacher is a native or second language speaker, knowing and being responsive to the student's level of proficiency is an important attribute of an effective teacher. Participant 7 spoke about why this is the case:

> ... kia kore [e] rāoa te tangata i te nui o te kai. Nō reira me matua mōhio ia [te kaiako] ki te aromatawai i tana ake ākonga. He pūkenga nui tērā. Kia āhei ai te pānui i te tangata, kia kite ai kei hea tana taumata me te rautaki tika kia eke tērā tangata. [Ko] tērā taku tino mihi kia Tīmoti Kāretu. Ahakoa te amuamu o ētahi mōna he taniwha he aha rānei. Tērā tētahi tangata mōhio marika ki te pānui tangata kei hea ia i roto i te reo, te taumata o te reo (Participant 7, 2011).
>
> …so that the person doesn't choke on the volume of food [i.e. the student doesn't become overwhelmed by the complexity of the material or the magnitude of the learning task]. So, they [the teacher] need to really understand how to evaluate their own student. That is an important skill. To be able to read the person, and see where their level is, and identify the correct strategy for that person to excel. That is why I admire Tīmoti Kāretu. Although some complain he is a dragon or whatever else. That is one person who really knows how to read people and where they are within te reo, the level of te reo.

There are two important points raised in the above passage. First, being able to ascertain the student's level is important since there is a danger of students becoming overwhelmed by the assignment of tasks beyond their abilities. Second, the teacher needs to know the student's level so they may select the appropriate strategy to help the learner to advance. Tīmoti's ability to rapidly ascertain the level of the student is important in the context of his teaching at the kura reo. There the strategy is to place learners into groups of roughly the same language proficiency where they remain for the duration of the residential course (one week). This strategy has proven very effective over the years because less proficient students are not overwhelmed by being put next to advanced learners. At the same time, advanced learners are not held back by having to simplify their language for the benefit of less proficient speakers.

Another participant spoke of how important it was for her in her own teaching to treat each student, even in large classes, as an individual and to be responsive to their individual learning needs:

> … i ako au tēnei i taku tuakana [also a te reo teacher], ka tino hiahia ki te mōhio ki ia akonga. Tuatahi, he aha tā rātou e taea ai, he aha tā rātou e hiahia ai, inā kei te whakakī tūru noa iho. Mēnā he mea whakakī tūru noa iho, well, he tino wero tērā māku, kia whakahuria rātou kia tahuri rātou ki te hiahia. Nā taku tino aro ki ia tangata ahakoa te tokomaha kei roto i te akomanga he mea nui tēnā ki ahau. Kia kaua au e titiro ki te karāehe, he karaehe kotahi, me te whāngai noa; ki te riro i a koe, waimarie, ki te kore hei aha, kāo! Ka āta titiro ki ia tangata, he aha ōna ake me kukume au hei āwhina i a ia anō? Ā, he uaua tērā nā te mea kāre he pukapuka e kī ana ki a koe me pēnei me pērā ki te pīrangi koe kia pēnei te tamaiti, kia pēnei te ākonga. Ki au nei he mea kei roto tonu i a koe. Inā ka hiahia koe kia riro i tēnei ākonga he reo i te tuatahi mō muri he reo papai (Participant 15, 2011).

> ... I learned this from my sister [also a te reo teacher], who really wants to get to know every student; first, what are they able to do, what do they want to be able to do, if they are just there to fill a seat. If they are just a seat-filler, well, that is a real challenge to me, to turn them around towards desire, by coming to really understand them, regardless of how many are in the class. That is important to me. So I don't look at the class, as one class, and feed them as one; If you get it, lucky, if you don't, too bad, no! I pay attention to every person. What is particular about each that I can draw on to help them? And, that is difficult because there is no book to tell you to do it this way if you want the child to behave that way, or the student to behave in this way. To me it is something inside of you. If you want this student to learn first to speak te reo, then later to develop good reo.

Participant 15 feels compelled, as part of her responsibility as teacher, to get to know every student in some way, in order to be effective in helping them succeed. If, for example, a student has a personal interest in whaikōrero, then engaging them in conversation about or offering them a whaikōrero related task is likely to motivate them. The reverse could be true if they have no interest in whaikōrero.

Ultimately, the ability to engage the student at the individual level is underpinned by the genuine desire to see them succeed. That desire is the ‘something inside of you’ needed to be an effective teacher.

### 6.4.2.5 Te koi o te ārero – Are not afraid of discipline

Some participants spoke about their experiences with authoritarian teachers. They expressed the opinion that, so long as discipline is meted out in a fair and consistent manner, then there is a place for it in the te reo Māori classroom:

> He painga anō hoki tō te ngāwari, engari … pēnei i a [teachers name] mā. Kei te mōhio inā ka uru atu koe ki tana karaehe me kaua rawa koe e mahi hōhā noa iho nei. Nō reira kua āhua ngaro haere tērā tūāhuaranga i roto i ngā karaehe, ka whakaaro noa iho ētahi, "kua haere noa iho au ki te ako", engari kāre ānō kia paku ū, kāre i te hari atu i ngā taputapu. Ka mahara ake au e hoa i au i Waimārama i ngā tau rua [mano] mā waru, i tae atu mātou ki te karaehe o [teacher's name], i reira tētahi kaiako o [place of residence], kāre ia i hari i āna taputapu, pukapuka, papakupu, e hoa … ka wepua rawatia tana tou e [teacher], i te katakata noa iho mātou, engari tata tangi tēnei tangata. Nō reira āe, he pai tonu te ngāwari me te taniwha, te mārō hoki o te kaiako, te ū ki te reo ki te whakaako hoki ki te ao Māori, ki ōna iwi, koira (Participant 12, 2011).
>
> There are benefits to being easy going, but … in the case of [teacher's name] and others. It is known that if you go to her class then don't ever go making a nuisance of yourself. So that approach is getting rare in the classroom, some think, 'I'm only going to learn', but they don't take it seriously, they don't bring their materials. I remember when I was at Waimarama [Te Taura Whiri kura reo] back in 2008, when we arrived at [teacher]'s class, there was a [person] there from [place of residence], they had not brought their materials with them, their books, their dictionary, oh mate … [teacher] whipped their behind good, we were laughing, but that person came close to tears. So yes, there were benefits to being easy going and to being a dragon, being a hard teacher, taking te reo seriously and teaching in a Māori way, to her own people, that's it.

Effective teachers are not afraid to discipline students whose actions show a lack of commitment to learning te reo. The benefit of having a teacher who is a disciplinarian is that students come very quickly to understand that their learning is to be taken seriously. They must come prepared to learn. If they do not, then they will suffer the consequences of the teacher's wrath. The participant even goes as far as describing this approach as teaching in a 'Māori way' suggesting this is a style familiar in Māori cultural contexts with ones 'own people.' However, if a teacher is to take an authoritarian approach they must have the right credentials to do so. As another participant put it, a disciplinarian teacher is fine, so long as they know their subject and are as equally committed to student success as they expect their students to be:

> E kī ana te kōrero … 'he koi te hinengaro, engari i ētahi wā he koi kē atu te ārero', nō reira he pērā, he wahine pērā. Ahakoa rā, ki au nei i tino whai take, whai wāriu āna kōrero ki au i te mea ko au tētahi e whakaaro ana, anei tētahi tangata matatau ki tana kaupapa, matatau ki te reo, koi, hiahia ana kia ako au i ēnei mea, kia kaua au e moumou i tōku wā, kia kaua rānei au e moumou i tōna wā. … ahakoa te koi o te ārero i ētahi wā, he kaiako pai anō tēnā (Participant 4, 2011).

> It is said … 'the mind is sharp, but at times the tongue is sharper', so it's like that, she is a woman like that. Even though, to me there was a good reason, and her teaching was very valuable to me because I thought, this is a person proficient with her topic, proficient with the language, sharp, who wants me to learn these things, so I don't waste my time, or waste her time either. … even though the tongue is sharp sometimes, that is a very good teacher.

The key point emphasised by participants here is that a disciplinarian teacher can be an effective teacher. This is because the seriousness with which they approach teaching te reo is likely to become the example which their students will follow. However, the suggestion from the above passage is that a disciplinary approach might only be warranted where the teacher is a very proficient speaker and where they are able to instil in their students, a confidence in their commitment to student success. These are adult students and the implication is that if a teacher is not very proficient in te reo, or if students have no sense of the teacher's

commitment to student success, a disciplinary approach to teaching te reo may not be well received.

### 6.2.4.6 Me mātau ki ngā tikanga whakaako – know how to teach

Many participants identified knowledge of good teaching practice (pedagogical knowledge) as an important attribute of an effective teacher. Specifically, participants identified the ability to get students speaking te reo, especially at the early stages of learning, as an essential skill for an effective te reo teacher:

> Ko tētahi o ngā kaiako tino pai i te tau tuatahi ko Pānia Papa. Ko ia hoki tētahi o ō mātou kaiako i te tau tuatahi. Ko ia te kaiwhakahaere i ngā rōpu iti o te whakaakoranga reo Māori nei. Nā, heoi anō ko tāna he whakakōrero i a mātou mai i te rā tuatahi, whakakōrero i a mātou, whakatenatena i a mātou kia kōrero mātou. Nā reira i āta whakarite ia i ētahi mahi-ā-ringa, ētahi mahi-ā-tinana i puta ai te reo i a mātou. Ahakoa te hē mārika o te reo i taua wā ko te mea nui e puta ana te reo i a mātou, e kōrero ana mātou i te reo (Participant 2, 2011).
>
> One of the best teachers in the first year is Pania Papa. She was one of our teachers in first year. She ran the small group Māori language tutorials. So, she would get us talking from the first day, get us talking, encourage us to speak. She would carefully prepare some physical activities to bring the language out of us. Even though our language was flawed at the time, the main thing was the language was coming out of us, we were speaking Māori.

Getting students speaking to reo from the first day is essential to begining the process of proficiency development. This requires pedagogical knowledge and careful preparation in order to set students up with activities to bring out their ability to speak. Pania Papa is identified as a teacher particularly skilled in getting students to start speaking te reo. Another participant also identified Pania for the same reasons. However, his responses regarding Pania helped to further articulate why Pania is an effective teacher. In discussing what makes an effective te reo teacher he had this to say:

> Me pai tana tuku e hoa. Ahakoa te māmā o te rerenga nei … Ko ētahi o aku hoa kua hinga rawa atu, e kore rawa e hoki mai anō ki te ao Māori i runga anō i te kino o ētahi o ngā kaiako. Āe me mahaki, me ngāwari hoki te tuku, me mōhio hoki ehara i te mea ko te Reo Māori anake te kaupapa i a ia e whakaako ana i te tauira. Arā noa atu ngā kaupapa e hāngai atu ana ki te ao Māori, Māori tonu te aronga. Ahakoa te whai tonu i te kounga ake o tōna ake reo, me whai hoki ia ki te whakapakari i tana tuku i te reo Māori, pēnei i a Pānia e hoa. Ahakoa te kaupapa … ka tuku atu tētahi āhuaranga rerekē e ngāwari ake ai te tuku i te reo, te ako i te reo Māori pēnei i te whakaari, ngā mahi kāri, ngā kupu nanu, ērā momo tuku katoa (Participant 12, 2011).
>
> Their facilitation must be good my friend. Even though that is easy to say … Some of my friends have failed, and they will never return to the Māori world because of how terrible some teachers have been. Yes, they need to be generous, their facilitation should be gentle, they need to realise that te reo Māori is not the sole focus when they are teaching the student. There are many subjects which are of importance in the Māori world that should be understood from a Māori perspective. Even though they are seeking to improve their own reo, they must also develop their ability to teach te reo Māori, as Pania does my friend. Whatever the topic … she uses some different technique to ease the facilitation of language teaching, of learning te reo Māori, like a skit, a card game, finding the missing word, all of those kinds of techniques.

There are two key points to emphasize from this passage which impact directly on student Māori language proficiency development. First, participant 12 is saying that Pania is an effective teacher because she is committed to her own professional development, specifically to becoming proficient with a wide range of techniques and strategies for getting her students speaking te reo. Second, participant 12 also offers Pania's name as an exemplar teacher because, in his view, she understands when teaching te reo the sole focus ought not to be te reo. The teacher should guide students towards understanding Māori ways of knowing and Māori perspectives on a broad range of kaupapa that relate to te ao Māori. The effective te reo teacher understands, facilitates and transmits cultural knowledge as they teach te reo.

One more example of a pedagogically skilled teacher in action is worthy of mention here. Participant 1 spoke to me about the saving of face. His point was that the saving of face for the student is an important element for healthy and productive teacher / student exchanges. He gave the following example of a skilled te reo teacher responding to an inadequate student response. The example illustrates how a student's dignity can be preserved yet they and the entire class can still learn from the exchange:

> Kei te maumahara au ētahi o ngā kura reo mō ngā akoranga whakataukī. Ka tono mai a Te Wharehuia, "tēnā, anei tō whakataukī e [student's name]… Whakamāramahia mai o whakaaro mō tēnei whakataukī." He rerekē rawa atu ngā kōrero o taua tāngata, he rerekē rawa atu. I whakatakoto tēnei tāngata i ōna whakaaro, rerekē rawa atu [Laughs] Ka mutu te rerekē. I te titiro a te Wharehuia me mātou. Kāre a Wharehuia i katakata, engari i pēnei aia … i wānanga a Wharehuia i a ia e whakarongo ana, kātahi ka hopungia! Ka toro atu a te Wharehuia [ki] tētahi maramara o aua kōrero, ka tīpako atu, … ka kī ake, "nō reira, kei te kī mai koe …", ka whakatakoto ētehi kōrero āhua mārama ake, engari i hono atu ki ngā kōrero o taua tangata, hei ora i taua tangata, kia kaua e patua taua tangata i te whakamā. Nā runga i tēnā, ka ako taua tangata, whakaputa tonu ai ōna kōrero, kāre ia i whakaitingia, ā, i ako mātou katoa. Mīharo! (Participant 1, 2011).
>
> I remember some of the kura reo and the whakataukī classes. Te Wharehuia gave an instruction, "here is your proverb [student's name]… Explain your thoughts on this proverb." That person's response was just bizzare, absolute nonsense. Wharehuia was looking at him, so were we. Wharehuia did not laugh, but he did this … Wharehuia was thinking as he listened, then he got it! He reached out for one small part of that response, and highlighted it, … he said, "so your saying that …" and then he laid out a much clearer idea, but he connected it to what that person had said, to save that person, so his response still stood, he was not belittled, and we all learned. Amazing!

When a teacher makes an effort to publicly value a student contribution, albeit a flawed one, they are creating a "safe environment". In this environment, students can feel confident to ask or answer questions without fear of humiliation. This does not mean that the student errors stand uncorrected; on the contrary students get both error correction and preservation of dignity.

### 6.2.4.7 Wete reo – know linguistics

The next attribute of effective teachers identified by participants was; a knowledge of linguistics or the grammar of te reo Māori. Participant 8 specifically emphasised the importance of the teacher not only understanding the complex grammar of the language but also that they have a talent for teaching grammar in terms meaningful to students:

> I ahau i Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato i haere au ki ngā karaehe a Ray Harlow…. E maumahara [ana] au i aua karaehe. Mārama au ki te āhua o te whakaako. Mārama au ki āna whakamārama. Whiwhi maaka pai. Nā reira i āhua māmā nei taku whai i wāna whakaako i a mātou. I whakaakongia mātou ki te reo Māori. Ko te reo Māori tana reo whakahaere i ana karaehe. Engari e kōrero ana mō te wetewete reo. Koina pea te taima tuatahi i tino mārama au, i aua wā, ki wētahi o aua tikanga tuhi. Kāore au i .... mōhio ki aua mea i mua i tērā ... māmā te whai i te āhua o āna whakaakoranga. He aha ai? I te mea kei te reo Māori. He māmā ake te reo Māori kia mārama koe ki te wetewete rerenga i te reo Māori. Ko ngā kupu reo Pākehā, kāore au e mōhio te 'preposition', kāore au i mōhio ki ērā momo kupu, 'transitive verb' and all that. He uaua ka rongo au i te kupu ka mataku. Engari i te reo Māori he māmā ake. He mārama hoki ana kupu mō aua āhuatanga (Participant 8, 2011).

> When I was at the University of Waikato I went to Ray Harlow's classes…. I remember those classes. The way of teaching was clear to me. His explanations were clear to me. I got a good mark. So it was pretty simple for me to follow the way he taught us. We were taught in the Māori language. Māori was the medium for running his lessons. But he was talking about linguistics. That was perhaps the first time I really understood, in those days, some of the rules of writing. I had not … heard of those things prior … it was easy to follow the way he taught. Why? Because it was done in Māori. Through te reo Māori it is easier to understand the way a Māori language sentence is structured. The English language terms, I do not know what a 'preposition' is, I do not understand those kinds of words, 'transitive verb' and all that. It's difficult, I hear the word and I become anxious. But in te reo Māori it is simpler. His words for those terms were easy to comprehend.

The message from this passage is: explaining the linguistic aspects of te reo Māori is best done through the Māori language and in a way that is clear and comprehensible to students. It is illogical to think that mastering complex English language explanations of the function and purpose of a particular type of Māori word, will lead to greater proficiency in te reo Māori. And yet in my experience this is a common error that many te reo Māori teachers repeat time and again. One reason is because some students naturally seek these English language explanations. Since English is their first language they tend to favour it as the mode for learning about te reo. However, for participant eight, complex jargon riddled explanations in English, of the linguistic aspects of te reo, were daunting and confusing. Having those same linguistic aspects of te reo, explained to her in te reo Māori, was more straightforward, familiar, and ultimately more effective in developing her proficiency in te reo.

#### 6.4.2.8 Summary

This section has reviewed participant views of effective teaching factors. Participants said that effective teachers love te reo and love teaching te reo, are highly proficient speakers, not only do they understand tikanga Māori, they also act in accordance with tikanga, they know their students and they treat each student as an individual, they are firm but fair, they are pedagogically adept, and they understand the grammar of the language and can explain it to others. This completes the presentation of the participant responses regarding effective teaching and learning. The following section will move to the analysis of the participant responses in light of the literature.

## 6.5 Discussion

This section will compare and contrast the participant responses with relevant literature from SLA, RLS, Māori education and other relevant sources.

### 6.5.1 Personal Characteristics

**Passion**

The significance of te reo Māori to Māori people has been variously conceptualised in the literature in spiritual terms (J. King, 2008; Laughton, 1954; Nepe, 1991; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986; Waitangi Tribunal Report 2010, 2010), in emotional terms (J. King, 2008) and in terms of identity (J. King, 2008; Mutu, 2005). In this study, the participants' passion for te reo resonated with all of these conceptualisations and in particular with King's (2008) findings from her survey of Māori language speakers. King carried out qualitative interviews with 32 Māori between the ages of 17 and 44. All were second language Māori speakers. King was primarily interested in what motivated the learners to take up and persist with learning te reo. She interpreted participant responses as evidence of a quasi-religious worldview where the quest for te reo is a spiritual quest for identity, health and wholeness. The same quasi-religious worldview was evident across participants in this current study. For example, participant 11 describes te reo as his 'sense of direction', his 'foundation' and as that which 'has raised me up.' The

participant's choice of wording is overtly evangelical. The words convey a sense of sacredness and salvation. Participant 11, like others on this study, regularly assert personal ownership over te reo by referring to it as 'tōku reo' meaning 'my language' as opposed to 'te reo' meaning 'the language.'

**Competition**

Motivational research in education has found that competition in its various forms does not work for all learners (Bergin, 1995; Nicholls, 1989). When students are put in competitive situations some excel while others quit. In such situations success can be defined as doing better than others or beating others. Where this is the case, student efforts can be drawn to superficial learning strategies like cramming for a test, as opposed to mastery and deep learning strategies (Bergin, 1995; Bergin & Cooks, 2000; Nicholls, 1989). In contrast to motivation research, the Māori participants on this study spoke favourably about competition. This is probably not surprising since this is an exemplar study and those who favour competition tend to be those who are winning.

Bergin and Cooks (2000) conducted a qualitative investigation of attitudes to academic competition amongst American college students of colour. 'Students of colour' refers, in the Bergin and Cook's context, to students who identified as African American or Mexican American or some mixed ethnicity that included one or both of these. The Bergin and Cooks study found that amongst a group of 41 high achieving 'students of colour' most favoured competition as a means of motivation, just as the participants on this current study tended to do. The American students of colour identified grades as the primary source of motivation to compete. In contrast to Bergin and Cooks, none of the Māori participants identified grades as a source of motivation or competition. Many of the Māori participants on this study identified mastery and personal skill development as a source of inspiration to 'compete with myself'. None of the American students identified mastery as a source of motivation or competition. The difference could be due to the emphasis placed on grades within the respective learning environments. It is quite clear that for both groups of high achievers, competition is favoured and competition provides a powerful source of enjoyment and

motivation. Many of the Māori participants on this study felt that their competitive natures were an asset for learning te reo.

**The Ambition to serve**

In chapter five (p.161), I proposed *social service theory* to advance an understanding of the pervasive community service ethos, evident in responses from participants in this study. The theory simply states that when Māori second language learners can see speaking te reo benefits their capacities to serve their communities (whānau, hapū, iwi and others), they will engage fully in opportunities to learn te reo. Many of the participants on this study identified the desire to contribute to the cultural well-being of their communities as motivation to start learning te reo Māori. Others found a desire to contribute grew over time. Gradually, they became aware of the inter dependency of te reo and tikanga Māori. They came to see that if te reo dies, then Māori culture dies with it. This burgeoning sense of awareness led to seeing the learning of te reo as a contribution to the survival of the Māori people.

I could find no literature that adequately accounts for what I have termed ‘social service theory’ (hence my reasoning for proposing the theory). However, there is a nascent body of literature on service-learning in higher education (Butin, 2005; Macfarlane, 2007; Manring, 2004) that shares a similar set of underlying assumptions. Service-learning in the context of higher education refers to the U.S. tradition which combines meaningful community service with academic learning objectives within a formal course of study (Butin, 2005). It is based on the idea of praxis; the application of theory in practice.

Underpinning service-learning is social learning theory (Wenger, 1998) which rests on three assumptions. First, we are social beings. Second, knowledge is a matter of competence with respect to valued enterprise. Third, knowledge is a matter of participating in the pursuit of the valued enterprise.

All three assumptions harmonize with my participants' views of learning te reo as a form of service to their communities. First, as social beings their Māori identities nourish the desire to serve their people by learning te reo and in turn their learning nourishes their identities as Māori. Second, passing te reo on to children and formal speaking on the marae are two examples of competence in a valued enterprise which Māori second language learners consider a legitimate knowledge form. Third, when Māori learners speak te reo in context, their knowledge is made legitimate and meaningful through the pursuit of the valued enterprise.

**Perseverance**

Perseverance could be seen as a character attribute. It may also be thought of as the superficial manifestation of the assertion of some aspect of the multiple identities of a second language learner (Peirce, 1995). In the case of participant 7, who was the oldest at 40 years of age when he started learning te reo, he attributed his own ability to persevere to his age and his role as a father passing te reo on to his daughters. In Peirce's terms he was able to bring his identity as a father and as a middle aged Māori male to bear on the enterprise of learning te reo Māori. Peirce theorised that second language learners can experience successful language acquisition when they can take some aspect of their multiple identities that worked well for them in the past and apply this aspect to the new language learning context. Participant 11 had a track record as a good father and as a mature student and he applied these aspects of his identity to the context of learning te reo.

His case is special too because it provides evidence to support recent SLA scholarship suggesting that older second language learners may still achieve good levels of proficiency in the target language given more time and the right motivation (Baker, 2006; DeKeyser, 2000; Moyer, 1999). He identified his daughters as his primary motivation and he also specifically attributed his success not to being a fast or talented learner, but to committing many hours per week to speaking te reo at home and constantly revising his Māori language lessons.

**Optimism**

There was a pervasive spirit of optimism apparent throughout the participant cohort. This spirit was typically expressed as 'taku waimarie' meaning 'my good fortune.' 'Taku waimarie' was an articulation of gratitude to those who had helped the participants to speak Māori and it was imbued with a sense of debt that could be paid back by helping others. In chapter 5, see p.161, I proposed *social service theory* as a means of accounting for the motivation to learn te reo Māori. The three assumptions of social service theory help to explain why the participants on this study are optimistic when it comes to learning te reo.

First, motivations to learn te reo are primarily intrinsic and integrative. Integrative forms of motivation require social connection. Social connection depends upon the maintenance of relationships and on the exchange of, amongst other things, emotional and moral support. Gratitude is the inevitable consequence of this kind of exchange between individuals and amongst cohorts.

Second, learning te reo is learning tikanga. As the two capacities develop, the learner is better able to appreciate the wairua dimension to their learning. Wairua is a spiritual concept that helps learners to appreciate the sanctity of the gift of te reo. This orientation also leads logically to a sense of gratitude for the gift one has received.

Third, learning te reo may either begin with or lead to a desire to contribute to the well-being of the community. To engage in an act of service to others requires faith in the worth of others and faith that your efforts are not made in vain. This too requires a strong sense of optimism.

All of the participants on this study were exemplar learners. All excelled and all exhibited to a greater or lesser degree, a sense of optimism and gratitude to their teachers, mentors and fellow learners. Given the rationale outlined above, it is logical to conclude that if a Māori second language learner were not optimistic, or had no sense of gratitude for support from others, they would struggle to establish

and maintain the kinds of supportive relationships required for the development of proficiency over time.

**Arrogance**

Participants on this study identified the benefits of arrogance within the context of a safe learning environment. They felt that an arrogant learner can have an advantage over the timid learner in the classroom. They also said that those who are not arrogant by nature can benefit from acting arrogant in the classroom by speaking up and questioning their teachers and their fellow learners. In this way the learner maximises their opportunities to practice, receive feedback and to get to the bottom of what might otherwise remain unresolved matters from the language lesson. These reflections align with McCafferty and Haught's (2008) observations of the benefits of drama and role play in the second language classroom. McCafferty and Haught state that, 'play is the future in the making' (McCafferty & Haught, 2008, p. 144). In other words, when second language learners use imitation, drama and play they are creating their possible future selves as target language speakers. Similarly, when a Māori second language learner takes on an arrogant persona, they become the future confident speaker they wish to be. Not in the full sense, but in an experimental sense that allows for teachers and mentors to reinforce desirable aspects of their language performance and critique others.

There is a certain cultural logic at work here too, grounded in traditional Māori child rearing practices. Prior to contact with Europeans, young Māori children were often permitted, even encouraged to be wilful and arrogant. This was based on the belief that they needed to be allowed to express their voices, experiment and have their strengths and weaknesses appraised for learning purposes (Hemara, 2000). Gradually, discipline and the pressures of social expectations were introduced as they matured.

**Humility**

Arrogance within the context of a safe learning environment may be entirely appropriate and beneficial to proficiency development. However, in te ao Māori, humility is the quality more often expected from learners and teachers. Respected Tūhoe elder, John Rangihau, set out his views on the tapu (sacred nature) of all forms of learning in Māori contexts. He explained how all things in the Māori world, especially learning, have a tapu associated with them. Therefore, they have to be taken seriously (Rangihau cited in M. King, 1977, p. 10). As stated earlier, there is no contradiction between arrogance and humility as attributes of effective Māori second language learners. The learner must develop the cultural knowledge to be able to judge when arrogance is appropriate and when humility is required. They must learn how to optimise their opportunities to develop proficiency without jeopardising relationships within their learning communities. These relationships are crucial for te reo development in the long term.

In summary, the characteristics of the exemplar learners share much in common with the characteristics of exemplar learners from other studies. However, the learner's characteristics are *culturally located*. This means they cannot be fully understood outside of the context of Māori second language learning. This is because they are underpinned by Māori cultural conventions. The learners themselves are engaged in learning te reo as an act of Māori cultural transformation and their character attributes need to be interpreted with an appreciation of tikanga Māori in mind.

The following section will discuss the learning strategies that have worked well for the participants on this study with reference to relevant literature.

### 6.5.2 Effective Learning Strategies

**Taking personal responsibility**

Findings from this study show that effective second language learners take responsibility for their own learning. In general, these findings concur with SLA learner strategy studies (Chamot, 2001; Ellis, 1997; Naiman, et al., 1996). In the Māori case, there is a cultural logic at work underpinned by the concept of ako (Pere, 1982; G. H. Smith, 1987). Ako is a Māori cultural conceptualisation of learning and teaching as a collaborative process based on the relationship between teacher and learner(s). A feature of the ako process is the flexibility of the roles of teacher and student. At times, it may become necessary for the teacher to behave as student. The teacher may ask the student why, what or how they wish to learn te reo. Then, listening to the response, the teacher determines how to respond to the students' needs and meet their learning objectives. At such times, the student has an opportunity to behave as teacher, to set the direction and plan for their own learning.

**Plan your learning**

Participants on this study also identified the ability to plan their own learning as an important strategy for their success. Research findings from observational classroom based studies of second language learners have found that effective second language learners engage in planning their own learning (Chamot, 2001; Ellis, 1997; Naiman, et al., 1996) and consequently text books providing advice for second language learners place emphasis on the importance of learners engaging in planning (Leaver, Ehrman, & Shekhtman, 2005).

**Different strategies for different learner levels**

In his comprehensive review of second language learning strategy studies based on classroom observations with adult learners, Chamot (2001) found the one feature that most reliably distinguished effective second language learners from less effective learners was the learner's ability to match learning strategy to learning task. Less effective learners appeared to apply the same range of strategies; they just lacked the capacity to know which strategies were likely to

deliver the better results for which learning tasks. Participants on this study spoke about the ways their learning strategies became more advanced as their proficiency developed. Monitoring, evaluation and self-correction, for example, were not possible when first starting out learning te reo. They tended to rely, in the early stages, on correction from teachers, mentors and fellow students. However, their capacity to engage these strategies developed as proficiency in te reo advanced.

**Master the basics first**

Participants on this current study expressed the importance of first mastering the basics of a language before moving on to more complex language tasks. Specifically they identified rote learning of vocabulary, songs, and formulaic expressions. In general, this point is corroborated in previous good language learner studies. The Naiman et al. (1996) study, for example, included interviews of 34 highly proficient second language learners and sought to identify the attributes, strategies and specific techniques of effective second language learners. They found learners emphasised the importance of memorization of a corpus of vocabulary, songs, poetry and so forth as an important strategy to employ in the early stages of learning a second language.

There is also evidence from the current study and from Naiman et al., that when a learner is immersed in the target language daily and for an extended period, there may not be any need for hours spent learning 'the basics' out of context. Scott Morrison, case one (see p.76) in the current study, described in detail how living in a flat with native speakers for one year was far more beneficial for his Māori language proficiency than formal classes had been. Similarly, Mr C, case 3 from the Naiman et al. study, described his 'language breakthrough' occurring as the result of being hospitalised for one month in a foreign country and having to learn the language 'as the people spoke it', without access to his books (1996, p. 51). Mr C concluded that, on the one hand, learning the basics first may well be important when the learner has little or no exposure to the target language. On the other hand, if the learner is immersed in the target language daily and for an

extended period of time, there may be no need for rote learning of basic words and expressions as these will be learned in context or by “osmosis” as he put it.

**Mimicry**

Scott Morrison (case one, p.76) in the current study identified mimicry of proficient speakers as his most beneficial strategy for te reo development. He strove every day to mimic the language of his native speaking flatmates.

One useful explanatory theory from SLA research for understanding his experience is acculturation theory (Schumann, 1978, 1986). This theory states that learners will acquire a target language to the degree that they acculturate into the target language group. Acculturation requires at least close social and psychological contact between the learner and the target language speakers and at most it may culminate in adoption of the values and the lifestyle of target language speakers. There is evidence in Scott Morrison’s case of acculturation having occurred (see case one p.76). Scott went from seeing little or no value for te reo Māori in his life, to pursuing it as a source of passion and inspiration that would soon come to eclipse sport as the main preoccupation in his life.

Scott’s experience is similar to the evidence from the Naiman et al. study. They present the case of Miss ‘A’, an American woman who moved to France at age 21. She found the French were not very tolerant of foreigners who spoke French ‘as foreigners do.’ She said her goal was to speak French as the French do. She wanted to have French people ask her, ‘are you French?’ (Naiman, et al., 1996, p. 43). One year after moving to France she met her future husband and although he could not speak English they became close friends.

These examples interpreted in light of Schumann’s acculturation model, lend weight to the central argument of this thesis; that learning te reo is an act of cultural transformation and the learner must be open to the transformation in order to develop proficiency. Scott Morrison was open and willing to change, as was Miss A. Both attributed mimicry and the desire to speak like and to be like their friends as essential aspects of their success in second language learning.

**Find an expert to learn from**

If mimicry is as important a strategy as the exemplar learners say it is, then there must be a danger that second language learners may take on the errors of the less than competent speakers they come into contact with. Under these conditions, finding an expert to learn from, so that one has an exemplar point of reference, becomes essential.

Every participant on this current study could identify one or more ‘expert’ speaker they tried to emulate. Most felt this was a strategy crucial to their success as language learners. In the Naiman et al. study Miss A’s future husband was a native French speaker and a Linguist. Miss B learned Italian mostly from a Mother like figure whom she boarded with and she too was a native speaker and a gifted and patient language teacher.

Other participants on this current study conceded that it may be sufficient for beginners to have teachers who are less than perfect speakers. So long as the teacher is more proficient than the learner and so long as the teacher is committed to their own language development, the second language learner can benefit from contact with them. This concession is pragmatic given the relatively low numbers of proficient Māori speakers available as ‘expert’ teachers. It does not alter the fact though; if a learner aspires to be a highly proficient speaker they must seek out highly proficient teachers and mentors.

**Block out English**

Miss B on the Naiman et al. study described a self-imposed immersion situation she used to advance her command of Italian. She went to live in a small northern town in Italy for a year and took a course of training in Montessori schooling. The course was run in both Italian and English (Naiman, et al., 1996, p. 45).
Participant 1 on this study described the way he set up a Māori speaking world for himself to block out English. This extended beyond the classroom to listening exclusively to Māori radio, watching Māori language television; reading only Māori newspapers and avoiding speaking to people he knew could not speak

Māori. Similarly, Miss A on the Naiman et al. study moved to France and once there went to as many as two French language movies per day for an extended period to immerse herself in the language (Naiman, et al., 1996, p. 43).

**Deal with your anxiety**

Miss B, case 2 Naiman et al. (1996) spoke about the anxiety she encountered when she first arrived in a household who only spoke Italian. She could not communicate at all and felt very isolated. She had to cope with feelings of anxiety and isolation in order to develop proficiency in Italian (Naiman, et al., 1996, p. 43). Miss B emphasised the importance of using whatever language you pick up as a strategy for dealing with anxiety. She also recommended learners put themselves into situations where they will be forced to use the target language.

Miss B described a language breakthrough experience where she went on a trip with 2 monolingual Italian speakers and one monolingual English speaker. She was forced to be the translator for the duration of the trip as she was the only bilingual English and Italian speaker. She surprised herself as to how well she was able to convey the messages between her travelling companions and she believed her language proficiency developed a great deal in a short space of time on the trip through necessity.

Participants on this study also reported anxiety related to speaking Māori. In contrast to the Naiman et al. study, the Māori participants attributed this anxiety to the shame of being seen by 'superior' speakers as less competent or less Māori. In Chrisp's (2005) study of Māori second language learners he found that for Māori there were issues of Māori identity at work that sometimes meant Māori were anxious about taking up formal te reo lessons. He refers to an unspoken question that seemed to be holding some of his participants back; "if I fail at learning te reo, am I a failure as a Māori?" Chrisp suggested that this is a question that each learner must try and address for themselves before they can fully engage in Māori language learning.

The participants on this study seemed to have overcome or avoided the stifling effects of this question by realising that the only pathway to their Māoritanga was by learning to speak te reo. In essence they turned a negative question into a positive statement, “The better my te reo becomes the better I will understand my Māoritanga.” With this kind of affirmative orientation to the task they were better able to negotiate the anxieties associated with learning te reo Māori.

**Preferred approaches**

Just like the participants on this current study, the case participants on the Naiman et al. study (1996) were diverse in their preferences for different approaches to language learning. Miss A said she did not like analysing languages; instead her preference was for learning language in context by communicating with French speakers or by watching French language films or reading. At the other extreme, Mr C felt that constant conscientious study of the grammar of a language was essential to language learning. In between the two positions was Miss B who felt her language development benefited most through a combination of formal instruction (grammar based) and informal immersion. Both sets of findings tend to support the conclusion that there is no best approach to language teaching and learning that second language learners collectively are likely to benefit from.

In both studies there appears to be evidence that the learner’s prior language learning may have an effect on the approaches they are likely to favour and benefit from. In the case of Miss A, who did not like analysing languages, she had very little prior experience of classroom based language learning. Ms B, who emphasised both grammar and communication as important for her language development, had experienced five or six years of Hebrew school and French lessons in high school (grammar and rote learning). Mr C, who felt the study of grammar was essential to his language development, said he preferred studying grammar reference books to text books as the former were better organised and he knew what to expect. He had studied Latin at school through the grammar-translation method, then Russian at Harvard University through a combination of formal grammar classes and formal conversation classes.

The findings from this current study resonate with those of Naiman et al. Participant 2 on this current study had little formal language learning experience prior to taking up te reo Māori and he expressed a strong preference for learning te reo in context through conversations with Māori speaking friends. Participant 4 had little formal language learning experience but as a Māori language teacher he had engaged in training in both grammar and communicative approaches to language teaching and he expressed a preference for a balance between both kinds of instruction. Participant 13 loved learning languages from an early age and had learned French formally at school and had studied linguistics at University. She expressed a strong preference for grammar based approaches for honing the precision of one's language.

These findings point towards a correlation between the favoured approaches of successful language learners and their prior language learning experiences. It appears that the more formal and grammar based instruction one has received, the more likely one is to prefer to learn language through those methods. Where learners have not had formal instruction in languages they may prefer to learn language in context through immersion and by way of communication.

In summary, this section has found no particular learning strategies peculiar to Māori second language learners. That is no surprise. Cultural difference rarely manifests itself at the macro level of learning strategy. Cultural difference is most apparent at the micro level of context. Contextual differences in the application of the learning strategies are pronounced. For example, Māori learners taking responsibility for their own learning do so within the cultural context of 'ako.' An English woman who travels to Italy to 'block out English' and learn to speak Italian will not necessarily become critical of her native English culture as a consequence. A Māori person blocking out English in favour of te reo may experience quite different results. The forces which result in learner anxiety to speak the second language are grounded in a specific cultural and historical context. The anxiety felt by an American attempting to speak French in front of French native speakers is one thing. The anxiety for a Māori person to speak in

front of native Māori speakers, especially where that language is perceived as a part of their personal identity is quite different.

### 6.5.3 Effective Teaching Factors

The following section will extend the discussion of cultural difference to the participant responses to questions regarding their experiences of effective teaching with reference to the relevant literature.

**When I teach I learn**

There is an emerging body of literature on learning by teaching, in the field of foreign language teaching, based on the work of German scholar and language teacher Jean-Pol Martin (Grzega, 2006; Grzega & Schöner, 2008; Martin, 1985; Martin & Kelchner, 1998). Martin implemented and theorised a teaching technique which he called LdL (Grzega, 2006). LdL stands for the German label "Lernen durch Lehren", which means "Learning by Teaching." Martin demonstrated that when students are given the responsibility to teach to their fellow students, they are more motivated to learn. When they teach they engage more actively in classes and they are more likely to achieve desirable learning outcomes. Similarly, the participants on this study reported much greater motivation to become the most proficient speakers of te reo they could be, once they took on roles that involved teaching te reo. Many attributed gains in proficiency in part to their roles as te reo teachers. This was because as teachers they had much higher levels of expectation for themselves.

Two of the benefits of learning by teaching for second language Māori learners align with two of Ellis's principles of effective second language instruction (see Table 5 on page 56). First, when second language speakers teach they are engaged in opportunities for output (Ellis's principle 7). Second, when second language speakers teach they are engaged in interaction via the second language (Ellis's principle 8).

**Great teacher attributes**

In their comprehensive review of literature on effective teaching, New Zealand based educational researchers McGee and Fraser (2001) identified the following pedagogical attributes of effective teachers:

- A depth of knowledge about the subject area,
- A passion for what they teach and a strong desire to share this knowledge,
- A philosophy of teaching and clear teaching goals,
- A commitment to developing students' understanding and growth,
- Use non-confrontational behaviour management strategies,
- Show a genuine interest in students as individuals including providing high quality feedback,
- Continually reflect on their own teaching, and
- Provide both comfort and challenge in the form of high expectations (2001, p. 68).

Following McGee and Fraser (2001), researchers Bishop, Berryman and Richardson (2002) carried out a study focused on effective teaching in Māori medium education (Bishop, et al., 2002). They conducted classroom observations and interviewed 13 'effective' Māori medium teachers and other stakeholders at the primary schools where they taught. They found all of the pedagogical characteristics set out in the McGee and Fraser survey were present amongst these teachers, but the characteristics were *culturally located*. By culturally located, they meant that each characteristic was understood by the teachers and the stakeholders within Māori cultural frames of reference and expressed through some uniquely Māori ways of speaking and knowing. In addition, the Bishop et al. study (2002) found a range of other characteristics of effective Māori medium teachers. They found the teachers who participated on their study:

- Had excellent classroom management;
- Recognized the prior learning of children as the starting place for learning;
- Related material used to the child's world view;
- Monitored student progress to identify future learning needs and directions;
- Matched strategies and materials to individual and group abilities;
- Emphasised oral language as the base for literacy development;
- Integrate learning subjects;
- Encourage self-evaluation;
- Focused on the importance of ako;
- Maintained close links to whānau;
- Created culturally appropriate and culturally responsive contexts for learning

  (Bishop, et al., 2002, p. 52)

The remainder of this discussion will draw out the main points of convergence and digression between these two prior studies of effective teaching, Bishop et al. (2002) and McGee and Fraser (2001), and the responses from the participants on this current study.

**Love teaching te reo**

The most common attributes of an effective te reo teacher identified by participants on this study were loving te reo and loving teaching te reo. Some participants spoke of the pressure of expectations that they placed on themselves to be able to answer their students questions. They felt that only the most passionate individuals could withstand these pressures. Others described their favourite teachers as supremely gifted people for whom te reo was an all-consuming passion. These findings align generally with McGee and Fraser's (2001) review and specifically with Bishop et al.'s (2002) findings. Bishop et al. found that the effective Māori medium teachers on their study expressed their passion as a 'calling' to contribute to the revitalisation of whānau, hapū and iwi and to Māori language and culture (Bishop, et al., 2002, p. 50). Similarly, many

participants on this current study also identified making a contribution to the revitalisation of te reo as a primary motivation to take up and persevere with learning (see chapter 5 on motivation, p.146).

**Are proficient speakers**

The next attribute identified by participants on this current study was proficiency in te reo Māori. In terms of frequency of response this was the second most important attribute of an effective te reo teacher, after passion for teaching te reo. Participants said that proficiency in te reo is essential because the teacher's mistakes and limitations can be passed on to their students. This is especially true in the case of te reo Māori where there may be few second language sources available to the learner other than the teacher. Following McGee and Fraser, Bishop et al. found that the effective teachers on their study demonstrated a masterful command of their teaching subject. Furthermore, they were committed to constant improvement of both their subject knowledge and their pedagogical practice through professional development (2002, p. 50).

**Understand and live by tikanga Māori**

Participants on this study identified the capacity to both understand and live by tikanga Māori as important attributes of effective te reo teachers. This was because language learning and culture learning are difficult to separate. Te reo learning is an act of cultural transformation and it is not sufficient for a teacher to just understand tikanga, they must also act in accordance with tikanga in their professional practice and their everyday lives. Participants on this study gave examples of their teachers living by and through tikanga Māori. Their teacher's examples provided them with a meaningful context for their language learning. Similarly, Bishop et al. gave many examples of the ways the effective teachers on their study demonstrated commitment to tikanga Māori through their actions and behaviours directed at their students. These included; a focus on the importance of ako; maintaining close links to whānau; and creating culturally appropriate and responsive environments for learning (Bishop, et al., 2002, p. 52).

**Know the students**

The participants on this study identified three ways of knowing students; understanding the student's point of view; being responsive to the student's level of proficiency in te reo; and treating every student as an individual. Similarly, Bishop et al. found that the effective teachers on their study showed appreciation of the student's point of view by selecting and creating learning materials that represented the everyday lives of Māori people in New Zealand (Bishop, et al., 2002, p. 53). The learning material was familiar to the cultural perspectives of the students. Bishop et al. observed effective teachers being responsive to student levels of proficiency by working one-on-one with students or by placing students into small groups of similar abilities to work together on tasks appropriate to those levels of ability (2002, p. 53). Bishop et al. observed effective teachers carefully monitoring students for the purpose of adapting teaching strategies in response to student development. Formative assessments were made of student progress. The results were shared with whānau and the teacher's strategies were often modified in response to the students learning needs (ibid).

One important point of difference between the Bishop et al. (2002) study and the McGee and Fraser (2001) review is the focus on cultural competency as an attribute of an effective teacher. While McGee and Fraser pay scant attention to the cultural competencies of teachers, Bishop et al. give several examples of it in practice. This is also true of the results of this current study. Participants also contextualised the importance of teachers knowing students, with culturally specific examples like; understanding student anxiety about speaking te reo and tailoring tasks for individual students in response to their specific motivations for learning te reo.

**Are not afraid of discipline**

McGee and Fraser (2001) identified the ability to be 'friendly but firm' as an attribute of effective teachers. Bishop et al. observed that the teachers on their study could be seen as friendly but firm through their maintenance of Māori cultural roles of tuakana (older), tamariki (children), rangatahi (youth), pakeke (adult), and kaumatua (elder) (2002, p. 49). All roles have distinct responsibilities

towards one another and all require a certain kind of respect for one another. Similarly, participants on this study felt that the ability to be able to assert discipline at appropriate times and in accordance with the teacher's role as class room leader was entirely appropriate. They also felt this might be appropriate (or expected) in Māori cultural contexts. This may be because, as John Rangihau put it, all forms of learning in te ao Māori have a tapu (sacredness) associated with them. This means they need to be taken seriously (John Rangihau cited in M. King, 1977, p. 7). However, participants did warn that if a teacher's proficiency in te reo or their ability to teach was perceived as lacking, attempts to assert authority might not be well received by learners who are pakeke (adults).

**Know how to teach**

Participants on this current study said that effective teachers know how to teach; i.e. they can demonstrate good pedagogical practice. There were three specific ways of demonstrating good pedagogy discussed: getting students speaking te reo regularly and from day one, helping students to understand te ao Māori through the medium of te reo, and correcting student errors while allowing them to 'save-face.'

First, the importance of getting students speaking a language regularly and from day one is recognised in SLA research. Interacting in the second language is acknowledged as a primary resource for language development (Ellis, 1997, 2005; Long, 1996). Ellis in particular, identifies interaction as his eighth principle of effective second language instruction (see Table 5 on page 56). There are two prominent theoretical positions in SLA research, which support interaction.

The first theoretical standpoint is the *computational position* which views second language learning in terms of input, processing and output. From this standpoint Michael Long (1996) has proposed the interaction hypothesis. The interaction hypothesis states that acquisition will occur, when learners are faced with a communication problem and when they must engage in the negotiation of meaning to find a solution. The consequential interaction leads to three useful outcomes. First, interaction helps make input comprehensible. Second, interaction

provides corrective feedback. Third, interaction encourages learners to modify their own output in response to corrective feedback as they receive it. The second theoretical position is the *social cultural theory of mind*. This standpoint holds that all learning including language learning is first evident on the social plane. Learning is later internalised within the individual. From this position, interaction is a form of mediation, enabling learners to construct new forms and perform new functions collaboratively (Lantolf & Appel, 1994). In both theories, interaction is considered a primary source of language learning.

The second way of demonstrating good pedagogical practice identified in this study was helping students understand te ao Māori, through the medium of te reo. I have discussed at length examples of this kind of pedagogical best practice in the section above on living by tikanga Māori (see p.203). Suffice to say, participants on this study felt that good pedagogical practice in their context, involves more than just language teaching. It requires the ability to be able to teach about and through tikanga Māori. Bishop et al. (2002) expressed a similar finding on their study. They observed effective teachers establishing culturally appropriate environments for learning. This was achieved through adherence to Māori cultural procedure. These procedures included sharing control over learning with students (ako) and whānau (whanaungatanga).

The third way of demonstrating good practice was providing corrective feedback while allowing students to save face. This finding resonates with the Bishop et al. (2002) where they observed effective Māori medium teachers offering both comfort and challenge to their students. Comfort was expressed in the teachers' preference for lavishing praise for good performance over harsh criticism for poor performance. Students were challenged however, as the teachers had high expectations for commitment from the students to their own success.

**Know linguistics**

The final attribute of effective te reo teachers spoken about by participants was a knowledge of linguistics and of the grammar of te reo Māori. Participants said that effective teachers not only understand the grammar of te reo, but they are also able to teach the grammar in ways meaningful to students. The key to this ability was the teacher's use of simple Māori language terms to describe the function or purpose of a particular type of word. For example; kupu mahi literally means 'doing word', to describe a verb. Some participants felt that knowledge of the grammar of te reo was essential to their development once they reached an intermediate to advanced level of proficiency. It was at this time that they needed knowledge of the grammar of te reo in order to analyse and correct their own language.

The findings from studies on the effects of communicative teaching and explicit rule-based teaching align with the participant's views on the importance and *timing* of grammar teaching. On the one hand, rule-based teaching has been shown to lead to the development of complexity and accuracy in second language speakers' language production (Skehan, 1989). On the other hand, teaching that emphasises communication leads to the development of fluency amongst second language learners (Ellis, 2005). Here fluency does not necessarily accompany accuracy; it simply means the ability to produce utterances and to communicate. Accuracy and complexity may be lacking. This has led Ellis (2005) to recommend, as the participants on this study do, that communicative approaches should be prioritised in second language teaching (see Ellis's principle 2, focus on meaning, and 8, interaction, on Table 5, page 56) and that explicit rule based teaching is best left until after learners have first developed some fluency (see principle 3 (also focus on form), Table 5, page 56).

## 6.6 Conclusions

This chapter (six) has canvassed three aspects of the participants' experiences as second language learners of te reo Māori; section 6.2 highlighted the personal characteristics of the "successful" Māori second language learner; section 6.3 described the strategies they used to excel; and section 6.4 presented the experiences of effective teaching that helped them to develop proficiency in te reo.

The crux of this chapter, and indeed of the thesis as a whole, is a piece of advice for aspiring adult te reo Māori learners; *whakamāoritia tō ao* – transform your world. In other words, learning te reo is an act of transformation.

Implications of the findings are as follows:

**What kind of people are good Māori language learners?**
Every participant who took part in this study was passionate about te reo, many to the point that they saw their sacrifices for te reo as a small price to pay for what they had gained. This was true even in spite of their acknowledgements that learning te reo can be a tough pathway to follow. Some participants were fiercely competitive either with themselves, with other individuals or as part of a learning cohort committed to a healthy spirit of competition. Many were ambitious when it came to their own learning objectives and they tended to be equally ambitious about developing te reo skills in order to serve their people. All showed a determination to succeed in spite of sometimes difficult circumstances. Many where infectiously optimistic and constantly acknowledged the debt of gratitude they owed to those who had helped them on their learning journey. Some felt arrogance in certain contexts had aided them to develop; while others stressed humility in different contexts.

Not all participants possessed all of the characteristics listed here. Neither is this list meant to be comprehensive. What it shows though is that there are some common attributes of successful Māori second language learners. The implications for students wishing to develop proficiency in te reo are straightforward. If you wish to do as these learners have done, then you must aspire to at least some if not all of these qualities in order to give yourself the best chance of success.

**What learning strategies work for Māori second language learners?**

When I asked participants what learning strategies had been most helpful in developing proficiency in te reo they gave a wide variety of responses. Taking responsibility for one's learning was important since proficiency development depends in part on the relationship between teacher and learner and both have responsibilities to one another in order to achieve learning objectives. Planning your own learning in detail is one way of taking responsibility for your learning that can help ensure you get the most benefit from a lesson. Selecting learning strategies appropriate for your level of te reo can be important so as to avoid the danger of being overwhelmed by material or tasks beyond your abilities. Mastering the basics first is therefore another important strategy. Mimicry of more competent speakers is a basic strategy that can be beneficial at any level of te reo proficiency. Finding an expert to learn from can help to avoid the dangers of students taking on the flaws of less competent speakers. Blocking out English entirely was suggested as a technique that can accelerate proficiency development and at the same time stimulate the learner's cultural transformation. Dealing with your anxiety can be achieved in informal contexts by accepting that speaking up regularly and frequently is the only way to gain access to your Māoritanga and in formal speaking contexts learners must come prepared to speak.

**What kind of teaching works for Māori second language learners?**

Participants identified their most effective te reo Māori teachers as people who love teaching te reo. That is to say they first love te reo and second love the teaching of te reo. They must be highly proficient speakers of te reo and some participants had a preference for native speakers. Others felt that proficiency in te

reo could not be separated from love of te reo. Effective teachers understand tikanga Māori and live by tikanga Māori. This is because effective teachers seamlessly and effortlessly integrate language learning and cultural learning in formal and informal language learning settings. They know their students, i.e., they understand the student perspective, and they treat every student as an individual. Effective teachers hold their students accountable for their own learning with disciplinary action if necessary. They know how to teach and are committed to their own professional development as teachers. They not only understand the grammar of te reo but they also know how to teach it in a clear and meaningful way to students.

Underpinning all of these responses from participants is the pervasive conceptualisation of te reo learning as tikanga learning. Language learning is an act of cultural transformation. Learners must be open and committed to change. Teachers must be genuinely committed to the success of their students and to constantly seek ways to help bring about this cultural transformation in the learner. The imperative to know one's Māoritanga can be a powerful motivator, it can help students to overcome anxiety, but first they must come to see te reo as the only pathway to te ao Māori. I do not of course state this as a fact and those with a lack of commitment to the survival of te reo will no doubt take issue with this statement. What I am describing is not a fact but rather an orientation to learning te reo. It is more a matter of faith. Unless the learner truly believes and accepts that te reo is the only pathway to Māoritanga and to a deep, rich understanding of tikanga Māori, then it seems unlikely they will have the fortitude to make the journey and become a proficient speaker of te reo.

# Chapter 7 Thesis Conclusions

All learning manifests itself as qualitative change in the way learners see the world. Learning te reo is no exception. Developing proficiency in te reo requires an openness to change and a willingness to commit fully to te reo for a lifetime of study and engagement with Māori speaking peoples. The te reo teacher's job is to inspire by example, to make the student aware of the magnitude of commitment required and to facilitate te reo learning as a journey of self-exploration.

This thesis set out to shed new light on Māori second language learning with adult learners. It began with the primary question: What are the factors that support or hinder adult learners in developing proficiency in the Māori language? The question is asked at a moment in time when the very survival of te reo Māori as living language is uncertain. The study's findings are important because they provide advice to teachers and students of te reo as to how to optimise their efforts. This advice is grounded in the lived experience of successful adult Māori language learners.

The study drew on in-depth interviews with 17 successful adult learners of te reo. Through the interviews I explored the relevance of 10 factors I had earlier identified from the literature as help/hinder factors in second language learning. I analysed interview data in two ways. First, I followed the conventions of narrative analysis and wrote three case studies of exemplar learners from within the cohort of 17. Second, I wrote a thematic analysis which aggregated the cohort responses to questions regarding their motivations and experience of teaching and learning te reo Māori. Given the broad and exploratory nature of the study, qualitative methods were chosen as the most appropriate means of examining a complex human phenomenon. Stories are the way humans make sense of their experience and as such they are a powerful method to convey meaning.

## Limitations

There are of course limitations to the forms of data gathering and analysis employed here in this study. Qualitative data analysis does not produce results

that are generalizable across entire populations. On the one hand, conclusions drawn from information provided by the 17 participants on this study cannot necessarily be said to hold true for all successful adult Māori language learners. On the other hand, the depth and quality of the information provided has revealed insights that simply could not have been gained by other methods. While the findings may not be generalizable in a positivist sense, they remain compelling because they are rich in detail and they are drawn from the analysis of authentic and reliable sources.

A further limitation of the study was that participants were only able or interested to offer substantial reflection on the first seven out of the 10 help/hinder factors identified in the review of literature. Those seven factors most comprehensively discussed in interviews were factors one to seven (grouped as the individual and the social-cultural factors). This means that the study was unable to advance knowledge on factors eight to ten (the wider societal factors). In hindsight this is probably not surprising since most learners have more knowledge of themselves and their own learning experiences then they do of the broader societal factors that help to shape the learning experience. Consequently, questions about how the broader societal factors (demography, language status and language planning) impact on the adult te reo Māori second language learner remain unanswered in this study.

Notwithstanding the limitations, the study has achieved what it set out to accomplish; insight into the factors which help or hinder the development of proficiency in te reo.

The case study exemplars have shown that the relationships learners cultivate are the key to advancing proficiency over time. In case study one, Scott Morrison was a good friend to his flatmates, in return their friendship led to remarkable gains in his language development. In case study two, Te Rita Papesh was determined that her children and mokopuna would grow up speaking te reo. Through her determination their te reo developed as a whānau and her children eventually became her teachers and collaborators. In case study three, Julian Wilcox showed

early a talent for oratory and his reward was to be taken under the wings of some gifted kaumātua.

Students and teachers must understand how important relationship building and maintenance is for language development. Students must commit fully to the endeavour. The teacher should provide students with opportunities to bring their social capital into the classroom. Teachers must strive to foster an inside and outside of class environment conducive to students forming good relationships with one another, with themselves, and with others beyond the classroom environment.

Since learning is change, the motivation to learn te reo is likely to change over time. Change occurred as participants' knowledge and understanding of te reo and tikanga Māori developed. What began for some as an exercise in following one's own interests and passions became a desire to contribute to the revitalisation of te reo Māori and to the survival of Māori people as Māori, in a cultural and spiritual sense. I have proposed *Social service theory* as a means of understanding the participants' motivations to take up and to persist with learning te reo over the course of years of study. Put simply *social service theory* holds that when learners can see learning te reo will empower them to be better able to serve their whānau, hapū, iwi and other Māori communities, they will better engage in opportunities for learning and increasing their proficiency in te reo Māori.

The evidence from this study does not align with current findings in SLA research into motivation. In SLA research it is thought that intrinsic and extrinsic forms of motivation are equally important for second language proficiency development over time. The participants on this study gave little indication that extrinsic motivation to learn te reo was ever more than a minor factor for them. Promotion of te reo courses as a means to improving one's employment prospects may be an effective strategy for attracting some learners to take up te reo. However, it is unlikely that the promise of employment will sustain the kind of commitment required to develop a high level of proficiency over the long term. Migrants learn second languages because they want to integrate. Indigenous peoples re-learn their

languages because they want to explore their own identities as indigenous peoples. Teachers, language programmes and educational institutions who wish to produce proficient te reo speakers may be better advised to think of themselves as providers and facilitators of educational pathways which can assist students to undertake journeys of self-discovery, to become not just proficient speakers, but culturally adept, passionate and committed family and community leaders.

In the broadest sense, the personal characteristics, the learning strategies, and the attributes of effective teachers discussed here have much in common with other second language learners and their experiences from the literature. The differences lay in the specific social cultural and historical context of the learning. For example, Māori have unique reasons for being passionate about te reo. As a colonised indigenous minority we have a sense of reclaiming ownership of te reo. This sense of ownership of not just language, but of personal and communal identity, can become a cause for anxiety. An affirmative focus on the importance of te reo as the access point to Māoritanga can help to mitigate the debilitating effects of that anxiety. So too can access to effective teachers. Public educational institutions have a part to play in fostering the development of effective Māori language teachers.

To become highly proficient in te reo Māori, participants have said that students must be open and committed to cultural transformation. Teachers must be equally committed to student success and to constantly seeking ways to help bring about cultural transformation in the learner. The imperative to know one's Māoritanga is a powerful motivator, but this depends on students seeing te reo as the only pathway to te ao Māori (the Māori world). For these participants learning te reo is a form of personal growth and public service. It is as much a spiritual pursuit as an intellectual one. Learners must have faith. When the learner truly believes in the power of te reo Māori as the only path to Māoritanga, they will act with the courage of that conviction. They will have the fortitude to make the journey and become a proficient speaker of te reo.

**Implications and future research directions**

Participants on this study gave a strong message for te reo Māori teachers; that the best teachers are not only pedagogically adept, they also understand and live by tikanga Māori. There is scope here to inform programmes of professional development for te reo Māori teachers to integrate pedagogical professional development with the teachers own personal and cultural development.

This study also found three common attributes shared by the participants: a strong and positive sense of themselves as Māori, supportive relationships with other Māori speakers, and transferable skills from some other aspect of their lives where they had experienced success. This raises the question: what of those learners who do not have all three attributes working for them? Is it still possible for these learners to develop high levels of proficiency in te reo? This question is important if te reo is to survive as a language for everyone, as opposed to a language spoken only by a few 'exceptional' people. Are there examples of learners who lacked one or more of the attributes, yet still managed to develop proficiency?

Extending the research methodology and questions into cohorts of other successful indigenous second language learners (of Hawaiian, of Welsh, or of Navajo for example) could make a worthy contribution to the efforts of indigenous peoples in other parts of the world to revitalise and maintain their languages. Do the findings from this study hold true in other indigenous language learning contexts? How do other contexts differ from the Māori situation? And how can the findings from this study benefit the efforts of the global movement to revitalise indigenous languages and reverse language shift?

This thesis sets in place a sold theoretical platform for further investigation into the development of indigenous second language proficiency. In particular, I have developed three theoretical constructs: the ten factor framework drawn from the literature, the 3D wairua dimension model based on participant accounts of the spiritual nature of learning te reo Māori, and *social service theory* to account for participant motivation to learn te reo.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

**He Pepa Whakamōhio**

Wāhanga Tuatahi: hei whakamōhiotanga mō te kaupapa rangahau:

Te Kairangahau: Matiu Tai Ratima
Whakatohea / Ngāti Pūkeko
Ngā whakapātanga: waea pūkoro 021 296 8777
tari (09) 3737599
i.meira m.ratima@auckland.ac.nz

Te Kaiwhakaārahi: Te Ahorei Linda Tuhiwai Smith
Ngāti Awa / Ngāti Porou
Ngā whakapātanga: tari (07) 8562889 toronga 4997
i.meira tuhiwai@waikato.ac.nz

TE KAUPAPA

E kimi ana tēnei mahi rangahau i ngā āhuatanga e hāpai ana e taupā ana rānei i te hunga pakeke e ako ana i te reo Māori. E whakawhāiti ana te titiro ki ngā wheako o te hunga kua eke ki ngā taumata o te matatau, rātou mā kāore i tipu ake i te reo. He take nui tēnei nā te mea, he iti noa ngā mahi rangahau kua tuhia mō te hunga pakeke e ako ana i te reo ki ērā mahi rangahau mō te hunga tamariki. He wāhanga nui tō te pakeke ki roto i ngā mahi whakaora i te reo. He taonga nui ngā wheako o te pakeke kua matatau hei āwhina i te hunga pakeke kāore anō kia pērā rawa te matatau. Tua atu i tērā, he hua anō ka puta mō te hunga kaiako, mō ngā tini kaupapa, ngā kura me ngā wānanga e ngakaunui ana ki te whakapakari i te reo o te hunga pakeke.

HE AHA HEI MAHI MĀU?

Mehemea ka whakaāe koe ki te awhina, e rua ngā mahi māu. Tuatahi, me whakakī koe i te rārangi urupounamu. Kei te takiwā o te 20 – 30 meneti te roa. Tuarua, tēnā pea mā te kairanghau e whakapā atu ki a koe mō te uiuitanga. Ko te kaupapa

o te uiuitanga, he kimi i ō wheako e pā ana ki te ako i te reo mō te hunga pakeke. He ahua 1.5 – 2 haora te roa o te uiuitanga.

NGĀ PUTANGA

Ko te putanga matua o tēnei kaupapa, ko te tuhinga roa hei wāhanga nō te tohu kairangi (PhD) i te tari Māori (Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato) me ngā pānuitanga ka puta i ngā hautaka mātauranga o te ao. Ka whakatūria anōtia he hui-ā-hapori mō te whakamōhio atu i ngā putanga, ka tonohia hoki ngā kaiwhakauru me ō rātou whānau. Ka puta hoki ngā putanga i te paetukutuku ipurangi a AKO Aotearoa.

Wāhanga Tuarua: he oati ki ngā kaiwhakauru:

E kore e whākina he kōrero e mōhiotia ai koe, haunga i tō hiahia me tō whakaāe kia mōhiotia ai koe.

Ko te kairangahau me tōna kaiwhakaārahi anake ka kite i ngā kōrero ka kohia i ngā hui, i ngā whakawhitinga kōrero, i ngā uiuitanga, ā, ka noho tapu ērā kōrero katoa.

Mehemea ka uru mai koe ki te kaupapa rangahau nei, kei a koe te mana: ki te whakakāhore i te whakautu i ngā pātai, ki te puta atu rānei i te kaupapa; ki te tuku pātai ina ka toko ake i a te kaupapa e haere ana; ki te kite i tētahi whakarapopototanga i ngā putanga o te kaupapa i te mutunga.

Te Kairangahau: ______________________________________

Hainatanga: ____________________________________________

Date: / /

**Information Sheet**

Part One: The research project

The Researcher : Matiu Tai Ratima
Whakatohea / Ngāti Pūkeko
Contact details cell phone 021 296 8777
office (09) 3737599
e-mail m.ratima@auckland.ac.nz

Supervisor: Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith
Ngāti Awa / Ngāti Porou
Contacts: office (07) 8562889 extension 4997
e-mail tuhiwai@waikato.ac.nz

The Project

This research project will explore the factors that help or hinder adults learning te reo Māori. In particular, the experiences of those who have become very proficient speakers, those who did not grow up speaking te reo. This focus is important because there has been very little written about adults learning te reo by comparison with what has been written about children. Adults have an essential part to play in Māori language revitalisation. The experiences of adults who have become proficient speakers can provide a resource to assist those adults who have not yet developed the same levels of proficiency. There may also be benefits for teachers and for the various initiatives, schools and educational institution which are committed to adult language development.

What can you do?

If you agree to help, there are two tasks to complete. First, please fill out the pre-interview questionnaire. This will take approximately 20 – 30 minutes. Second, the researcher may contact you in order to request a face to face interview. The

purpose of the interview is to explore your experiences as an adult learner of te reo. The interview will take between 1.5 and 2 hours.

The Outputs

The primary output for this research will be the researchers thesis as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the Māori department at the University of Waikato and publications in academic journals. A hui will also be held to disseminate the findings and the participants and their whānau will be invited. The findings will also be posted on the AKO Aotearoa website.

Part Two: Declaration of confidentiality

In reporting the findings no information will be included that might identify you without your express permission.

Only the researcher and the supervisor will have access to the information gathered at meetings, in discussions and through interviews and all information will remain confidential.

If you agree to participate, you will retain the right: not to answer any question, or to withdraw from the project; to ask any question as the project proceeds; and to see a summary of the study findings at the conclusion of the study.

The Researcher: ______________________________________________

Signature: ______________________________________________

Date: / /

# Appendix B: Pre-interview Questionnaire

**Rārangi Pātai-o-Mua**

**Kia Matatau: Factors leading to proficiency for adult learners in te reo Māori**

1. Ingoa:

___________________________________________________________________

2. Whakapātanga:

Wāhi tuku reta:

Waea:

I.mēra:

3. Tatauranga a Iwi

Tō mahi: ____________________________

Whiwhinga pūtea: (Tohua te pouaka e hangai ana ki tō whiwhinga pūtea)

Kei raro i te $25 000 ☐
$25 000 – 45 000 ☐
$45 000 – 65 000 ☐
Kei runga i te $65 000 ☐

Mehemea he rerekē to wāhi noho ki tō wāhi tuku reta tuhia ki raro iho nei.

Wāhi noho:

He aha tō tohu mātauranga teitei rawa?

4. Te ako i te reo

4.1 He aha tō reo tuatahi, i āhei ai te whakawhiti kōrero?

4.2 He aha ōu tau i te wā i āhei ai te whakawhiti kōrero i te reo Māori?

4.3 Mai i te 1 – 5, 1 he ngoikore, 5 he pakari, e pēhea ana īnaianei tō matatau ki te reo Māori? Porowhitahia tētahi.

1 2 3 4 5

4.4 I ngā rā o mua, he aha ngā āhuatanga whakakipakipa i a koe ki te ako i te reo?

4.5 He aha ngā āhuatanga o nāianei e whakakipakipa ana i koe?

4.6 Mai i te 1 – 5, 1 he iti noa, 5 he nui rawa, e pēhea ana te tautoko o tō whānau o ō hoa noho rānei ki te whakapakari i tō reo?

1 2 3 4 5

4.7 Mai i te 1 – 5, 1 he iti noa, 5 he nui rawa, e pēhea ana te tautoko o tō wāhi mahi o ō hoa mahi rānei ki te whakapakari i tō reo?

1 2 3 4 5

4.8 Mai i te 1 – 5, 1 he iti noa, 5 he nui rawa, e pēhea ana te tautoko o ngā tangata kei tua atu o tō kainga me tō wāhi mahi ki te whakapakari i tō reo?

1 2 3 4 5

5. He mahi tuhituhi

Tuhi kia 300 – 500 kupu (3 -5 ngā whiti) hei whakautu i te pātai e whai ake nei. Tuhia ki te reo. Kāore e taea te hē, te tika rānei. Tuhia ngā whakaaro o tō ngākau. Ka tirohia ō whakautu kia mōhio ai he aha te taumata o tō reo. E kore rawa e whakaaturia ki tangata kē. Ka kōrerohia ō whakautu ki roto i te uiuitanga ka whai ake nei.

Te pātai: He aha ō whakaaro, ō tohutohu rānei hei āwhina i te tangata pakeke kāore tōna reo, e ngākau nui ana ki te ako i te reo?

Tuhia tō whakautu i te whārangi e whai ake nei.

**Pre-interview Questionnaire**

**Kia Matatau: Factors leading to proficiency for adult learners in te reo Māori**

1. Name: ________________________________________

2. Contact Details:

Address:

Phone:

E-mail:

3. Demographic Information

Occupation: ___________________________

Income: (Tick the box which corresponds to your income)

Below $25 000 ☐
$25 000 – 45 000 ☐
$45 000 – 65 000 ☐
Above $65 000 ☐

If your residential address is different from your postal address please write it below.

Residential Address:

What is your highest educational qualification?

4. Learning te reo

4.1 What was the first language you were able to hold a conversation in?

4.2 What age were you when you could first hold a conversation in te reo Māori?

4.3 From 1 – 5, 1 being poor, 5 being excellent, what is your current level of Māori language proficiency? Circle one option.

1 2 3 4 5

4.4 In the past, what motivated you to learn te reo Māori?

4.5 What currently motivates you to continue learning te reo Māori?

4.6 From 1 – 5, 1 being little or none, 5 being a great deal, how much support do you get from family and friends with your Māori language development?

1 2 3 4 5

4.7 From 1 – 5, 1 being little or none, 5 being a great deal, how much support do you get from your place of employment for your Māori language development?

1 2 3 4 5

4.8 From 1 – 5, 1 being little or none, 5 being a great deal, how much support do you get from people outside of your family, friends and workplace?

1 2 3 4 5

5. Written exercise

Please write between 300 – 500 words (or 3 -5 paragraphs) in response to the following question. Write in Māori. There are no right or wrong answers. Just write what you really believe to be true. Your answers will be used to help determine your proficiency in te reo. They will not be show to anyone else without your express permission. Your answers will be discussed with you in a follow up interview with the researcher.

Question: What thoughts or advice do you have to help adults who do not speak Māori, who wish to learn?

Please write your answer on the following page.

# Appendix C: Participant Consent Form

**Consent Form**

**Te Kaupapa Ranghau: E hoki ki tō ūkaipō: te hunga pakeke e ako ana i te reo**

1. I have read the Information Sheet and the study has been explained to me.

2. I have had my questions regarding the study answered and I am satified with the answers and I am aware that I may ask any further questions at any time.

3. I am aware that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. I may also refuse to answer any questions if it is my wish to do so.

4. I agree to speak with the researcher in accordance with the procedures of confidentiality as outlined in the Information Sheet.

5. I agree to participate in the study in accordance with the general research procedures as outlined in the Information Sheet.

6. Information which concerns me: (cirle one option)

a) Should be returned to me

b) Should be returned to my whānau

c) Other (please specify)……………………………………

____________________________________

My name: ____________________________________

My signature: ____________________________________

Date: / /

Contact details: ____________________________________

________________________________________

Researcher: ___Matiu Tai Ratima_____________________

Signature: ________________________________________

## He Pepa Whakaāe

### Te Kaupapa Ranghau: E hoki ki tō ūkaipō: te hunga pakeke e ako ana i te reo

1. Kua panuitia e au te Pepa Whakamōhio mō tēnei kaupapa, ā, kua whakamaramatia mai ngā ahuatanga o te kaupapa.

2. Kua oti te whakahoki i aku pātai e pā ana ki te kaupapa, kua makona nei au, ā, e mōhio hoki ana ahau ka ahei tonu te tuku pātai i te wā e hiahiatia ana.

3. E mōhio ana ahau kei au te mana ki te puta i te kaupapa ahakoa te wā, ka taea hoki e au te karo i te pātai mehemea e pēnā ana taku hiahia.

4. E whakaāe ana ahau ki te kōrero ki te kairangahau e hāngai ana ki ngā tikanga tiaki kōrero i whakaraupapahia i te Pepa Whakamōhio.

5. E whakaāe ana ahau ki te uru atu ki tēnei kaupapa i raro i ngā tikanga i whakatakotoria i te Pepa Whakamōhio.

6. Ko ngā kōrero e pā ana ki ahau: (porowhitangia kia kotahi te kowhiringa)

a) Whakahokia mai ki ahau
b) Whakahokia mai ki taku whānau
c) He kowhiringa atu anō (tuhia tō hiahia)……………………………………

______________________________________

Tōku ingoa: ______________________________________

Tōku hainatanga: ______________________________________

Te rā: / /

Ngā whakapātanga: ________________________________________

________________________________________

Ko Te Kairangahau: ___Matiu Tai Ratima_____________________

Hainatanga: ________________________________________

# Appendix D: Interview Questionnaire

## Te Uiuitanga

## Kia Matatau: Factors Leading to Proficiency in Te Reo Māori Amongst Adult Learners

1. Tukua ngā mihi ki te kaiwhakauru.

2. Tirohia ngā whakapātanga mō te kaiwhakauru. Kei a ia te pepa whakamōhio? Kua pānuitia? He pātai? Kua hainatia te pepa whakaāe?

3. Ngā pātai.

10 ngā wāhanga o ngā pātai. Kāore e taea ngā whakahoki te hē, te tika rānei. Ko te tirohanga me te whakaaro o te kaiwhakauru te mea nui. Ko ētahi wāhanga he uaua te kimi whakautu mō tētahi kaiwhakauru ki tētahi. Ko ētahi wāhanga he māmā noa iho he nui pea ngā kōrero. Kāore he raruraru o ngā rerekētanga o tētahi kaiwhakauru ki tētahi, he wāhanga nui o tēnei kaupapa.

Hei tīmatanga, tukua te kaiwhakauru ki te kōrero mō tōna kukumetanga ki roto i te ao o te reo Māori. Ka pau i a ia te 5 miniti, ka rukuhia ngā pātai. Kāore he raruraru o te hokihoki atu ki ētahi kōrero kua kōrerohia. Mā tēnā ka mōhio he aha ngā tino kaupapa.

3.1 Pūkenga ako

Ki ōu nā whakaaro, he aha te wāhanga o ngā pūkenga ako o te tangata kia eke ai ki ngā taumata o te reo?

Homai he tauira mōhou anō, mō ētahi atu rānei kua kitea e koe i roto i ngā tau?

3.2 Te Pakeketanga, Te Wā, me Te Wāhi.

E hia ou tau i te wā i tahuri tuturu mai koe ki te ako i te reo?
He aha te momo ako? (Te Ataarangi, Te Whare Wānanga, te mea, te mea)
Ko wai ngā kaiako?
Ko wai ngā hoa ako?
He ōkawa, he ōpaki te momo ako?
Kua pēhea tō roa e ako ana?
E hia ngā haora i te wiki ka pau i a koe ki te whakapakari reo?
He aha ngā momo ako e pai ana ki a koe?
He aha au mahi whakapakari reo ināianei?

### 3.3 Te āhua o ngā whakaaro me ngā Pūmanawa.

He aha koe i tahuri mai ai ki te reo? He aha au whakaaro i tērā wā?
He aha au hiahia me au whainga mō te reo i tēnei wā?
Inahea i uaua ai ki a koe te ū tonu ki te ako i te reo?
Kio u ngā whakaaro me pēhea te āhua o ngā whakaaro o te tangata me ōna pūmanawa kia ekea ngā taumata o te reo?

### 3.4 He Rautaki Ako

He aha ngā tino rautaki i eke ai koe ki ngā taumata o te reo?
He aha au pūkenga ako? He aha ngā āhuatanga me ngana tonu koe ki te whakapakari?
Kōrero mai mō ngā wā i māmā ai te ako ki a koe?
He aha au tohutohu ki te hunga pakeke e ngakaunui ana ki te ako i te reo?

### 3.5 Te Whakaako

Kia a koe, he aha te wāhanga o te whakaako kia eke ai te akonga i ngā taumata o te reo?
He aha ki a koe ngā āhuatanga o te kounga o te mahi whakaako?
Ina kāore e pērā rawa te pai o te whakaako, ka taea tonutia te akonga te eke ki ngā taumata?

Kōrero mai mō ou tino kaiako. Nā te aha rātou i "tino" ai ki a koe?
Kōrero mai mō ou tino akonga. Nā te aha i "tino" ai?

3.6 Te Hopo me te Kōkiri

I tō huarahi ako i te reo, nā te aha koe i hopo ai? I pēhea hoki koe i eke?
He aha te āhua o te hopo kua kite nei koe i roto i ētahi atu?

3.7 Wairua

He aha ki a koe te wāhanga mō te wairua o te tangata i roto i ngā mahi ako i te reo?

3.8 Te Whānau / Te Wāhi Mahi / Te Hapū Te Iwi.

Ka tautokohia tō reo e tō whanau?
Ka tautokohia tō reo e tō wāhi mahi?
Ka tautokohia tō reo e tō hapū, e tō iwi?

3.9 Te Mana o te reo

Ki ou nā whakaaro he aha te wāhanga o Te Ture Reo Māori hei awhina i te hunga pakeke e ngana ana ki te ako?

3.10 Te Hapori / Te Kawanatanga

He aha te wāhanga o te hapori whānui, te kāwanatanga me ōna tini pekanga ki te āwhina ki te pēhi rānei i te hunga e ngana ana ki te ako i te reo?

4 He pātai atu anō?

5 Māku he kape o te uiuitanga e tuku atu i te wā.

6 Tukua ngā mihi ki te kaiwhakauru.

## Interview Questionnaire

## Kia Matatau: Factors Leading to Proficiency in Te Reo Māori Amongst Adult Learners

1. Greet the participant.

2. Check the contact details for the participant. Do they have the information sheet? Have they read it? Do they have questions? Have they signed the consent form?

3. Interview Questions.

There are ten main questions. There are no right or wrong answers. The thoughts and perspective of the participant are the main focus of the study. Some sections may be more difficult for some participants to answer and easier for others. Some sections will be straightforward and may general much discussion. There is no problem if one participant answers are different from others, that is an expected part of the process.

First, invite the participant to explain how they became drwn into the Māori speaking world. Allow five minutes or so on this, then direct the conversation towards the questions. There is no problem with repetition happening throughout the interview as this may reveal the major aspects which concern participants.

3.1 Learning skills

In your opinion, how important are learning skills for developing proficiency in te reo Māori?

Give an example from your own experience, or from your observations of others over the years?

3.2 Age, timing and place.

How old were you when you first fully committed learning te reo?
What method(s) did you learn by? (University, community, family, marae etc)
Who were your teachers?
Who were your fellow learners?
Was learning mostly formal or informal or a balance of both?
How long have you been learning?
How many hours a week do you dedicate to learning te reo? (past and present)
What methods of learning do you favour?
What forms of Māori language development do you engage in at present?

3.3 Attitudes and motivation.

Why did you first start learning te reo? What was your attitude to te reo at that time?
What are your goals for te reo at the present time?
When has persevering with learning te reo ever been difficult for you?
What attitude should a person need and what kind of motivation should they have in order to develop proficiency in te reo Māori?

3.4 Learning Strategies

What strategies really helped you to advance your proficiency in te reo Māori?
What language learning skills do you possess? What skills do you feel you need to continue to develop?
Tell me about a time when learning te reo came easy for you?
What advice would you give to adults who really want to learn te reo Māori?

3.5 Teaching

What part does teaching play in helping the learner become a proficient Māori speaker?
What in your view are the components of quality teaching?
If the quality of teaching is deficient, can the student still excel?
Tell me about your favourite teachers. What made them your favourites?
Tell me about your favourite students (or fellow learners). Why were they your favourites?

3.6 Anxiety and Agency

While learning te reo, what made you anxious? How did you deal with that anxiety?
Tell me about the effects of anxiety you have seen on others?

3.7 Wairua (spirit)

What part does the wairua play in learning te reo?

3.8 Family/Workplace/hāpu and iwi

Does your family support your reo Māori?
Does your workplace support your reo Māori?
Does your wider subtribe and tribe support your reo Māori?

3.9 The status of te reo Māori

In your opinion, what part does the Māori Language Act (1987) play in support of adults learning te reo Māori?

3.10 The community / the governement

What part does the wider community, the government, and its many branches play in helping adults learn te reo Māori?

4 Do you have any questions?

5 I will send you a copy of the interview in due course.

6 Thanks to the participant.

# Appendix E: Level 5

**Mutunga mai o te matatau**

He tino matatau te tangata o te Taumata 5 ki te tārai kōrero ki te reo Māori, ā, he māmā ki a ia te whai wāhi atu ki ngā tini horopaki o te ao Māori. He rawe ana rautaki whakaputa whakaaro, tae atu ki tana whakatakoto tika i te kōrero, tana puna kupu, me te matatau ōna ki ngā kīwaha, e makere noa ai te kōrero i a ia i runga i te tika, me te hāngai ki te kaupapa. Ka taea e ia te whakapuaki ana whakaaro me ana kare-ā-roto katoa kia tika, kia mārama, ā, kia hāngai anō ki te kaiwhakarongo me te horopaki. E mārama ana ia ki te maha tonu o ngā rerekētanga taha reo o tēnā iwi, o tēnā, ā, ka taea e ia te kōrerorero tahi ki ētahi atu tāngata tino matatau ki te reo Māori i runga i te tika me te pai. Ka taea anō e ia te āta whakaputa whakaaro e hāngai pū ana ki ngā kaupapa hōhonu, rehurehu rānei, tae atu ki ētahi kaupapa tino whāiti. Ina kōrero Māori te tangata i te Taumata 5 nei, me uaua, tino kore nei rānei ia e mate ki te huri ki te reo Pākehā, tae atu ki ngā wāhi kua raru te kōrerorero tahi.

(Haemata Limited, 2006)

# Appendix E: Level 5

**Complete Proficiency**

A person at this level is a skilful user of Māori language and should have the linguistic flexibility to enter easily into a range of culturally bound settings. An excellent command of communicative strategies, grammar, vocabulary and idiomatic language allows the person to use the language spontaneously, fluently, and appropriately in a range of situations. The user should be able to convey all of their thoughts, opinions, and emotions clearly and appropriately in Māori according to whom they are interacting with and the context of the interaction. A familiarity with many dialectal variations enables someone at this level to participate appropriately and effectively in interactions with other very competent users of Māori. At Level 5 it is expected that the user is able to speak precisely and specifically about complex and abstract issues including some very specialist topics. When conversing in Māori, a Level 5 speaker will very rarely, if ever need to switch to English, even when there has been a breakdown in communication.

(Haemata Limited, 2006)

Appendix F: Map of New Zealandly and specifically about complex and abstract issues including some very specialist topics. When conversing in Māori, a Level 5 speaker will very rarely, if ever need to switch to English, even when there has been a breakdown in communication.

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# Appendix F: Map of New Zealandnd