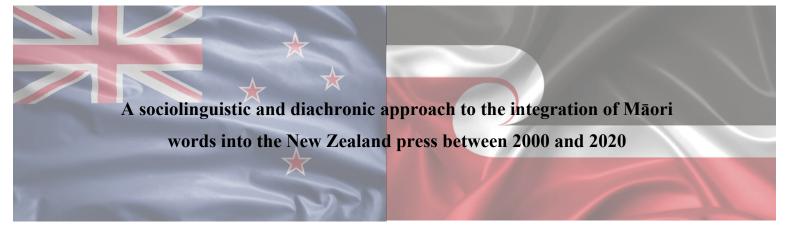
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PECHALRIEU Manon

21702897

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I - Introduction

Ko taku reo taku ohooho, ko taku reo taku mapihi mauria

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

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori

(The language is the heart and soul of the mana of Māoridom)

"Unlike other languages, including English, the Māori language uniquely belongs in Aotearoa New Zealand." (King, 2018:606). Indeed, it is this specific linguistic background that makes New Zealand so distinctive from other English-speaking countries; it is seen as a heritage and thus promotes a traditional identity. As language and culture are inseparable, the revitalization of te reo Māori in the 1970s accentuated the will of a stronger connection to the ancestral culture and of a desire for breaking away from the assimilation concept that was at the origins of the decline of te reo Māori.

Through its official policy of biculturalism, Aotearoa New Zealand recognizes two 'official' peoples: the Māori and the Pākehā (New Zealanders of European decent). As such one important part of biculturalism is the acknowledgment that Māori are *tangata whenua* (the people of the land) and thus that they have the same rights as other New Zealanders.

It is through their language that New Zealanders acquire a sense of identity, uniqueness and belonging. New Zealand English is a blend of many different influences, one being its only indigenous language te reo Māori. And thanks to the fierce battle led by Māori people for the revitalization of their language, te reo Māori became an official language in 1987 after a long struggle. "In 1985 the Waitangi Tribunal heard the historic Te Reo Māori claim, which asserted that Te Reo Māori was a taonga (treasure) that the Crown was obliged to protect under the Treaty of Waitangi. The Tribunal ruled in favour of the claimants and recommended a number of legislative and policy [measures]. One of these was the Māori Language Act of August 1987 which made Te Reo Māori an official language of New Zealand. The Act also established the Māori Language Commission [Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori] to promote the use of Māori as a 'living language' and 'an ordinary means of communication'." (Waitangi Treaty Grounds, 2019).

¹ Retrieved on Waitangi Treaty Grounds, 'Ko taku reo taku ohooho, ko taku reo taku mapihi mauria', 2019, https://www.waitangi.org.nz/learn-blog/ko-taku-reo-taku-ohooho-ko-taku-reo-taku-mapihi-mauria

This master's thesis is a continuation of my previous thesis (written during the first year of my master's degree), which tackled the differences between Māori English (ME) and standard New Zealand English (NZE). I concluded that rather than a strict difference between the two varieties, it could be possible to combine both and create one label to refer to it, namely Māori New Zealand English (MNZE). Indeed, the label New Zealand English implicitly embraces this particular variety, and since there is a process of mutual influence with distinctive characteristics of Māori English (ME) being shared with standard New Zealand English (NZE) and since more and more Māori words are included in New Zealand English, it would be better to update this restrictive label to Māori New Zealand English (MNZE) as a way to embrace its biculturalism, its heritage and its innovations. Another possible conclusion would be that of a continuum - following the model of Standard Scottish English (SSE) and Scots, or the one of Australian English (AusE) which goes from general, broad to cultivated. Indeed, this continuum would have New Zealand English (NZE) at one pole, and te reo Māori at its other. Māori New Zealand English (MNZE) and Māori English would be included between these two poles. And it is the speaker who 'moves' according to the context or identity he or she chooses to emphasize and display by using forms more or less similar to the variety they want to flag as representative of their identity.

In order to carry on with this idea, I have decided to focus my research for this essay on a sociolinguistic and diachronic approach to the integration of Māori words into the New Zealand press between 2000 and 2020. The aim is to carry on previous research that concluded that in the near future, more Māori words would be used in every day New Zealand English, more particularly words having a cultural meaning such as:

Māori word	Meaning
Marae	courtyard - the open area in front of the wharenui, where formal greetings and discussions take place
Whanau	extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people
Whenua	country, land, nation, state
Iwi	extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory
Mana	prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power

Hui	gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference
Kiwi	a native or resident of New Zealand
Haka	performance of the haka, posture dance - vigorous dances with actions and rhythmically shouted words
Māori	Māori, indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent ²

Table showing some examples of Māori words that have strong cultural meaning

Or to put it in another way, words that imply a Māori content and that are used in full awareness of their meaning.

My essay will begin by introducing the general background of Aotearoa New Zealand's history as a way to better understand the various shifts in the relations between the settlers and the *tangata whenua* (people of the land), which led to the deterioration of *te ao Māori* (the world of Māori) and *Māoritanga* (Māori culture, Māori practices and beliefs, Māoriness, Māori way of life)³. From the 1970s-1980s, a Māori cultural renaissance occurred, with the chief goal of fostering and preserving te reo Māori (J. Hay, M. Maclagan, E. Gordon, 2008). The presentation of the two official languages of Aotearoa New Zealand will be required to fully understand the changes that occurred following the revitalization process. It is only then that my analyses of two corpora will be used as 'scientific' data to show the evolution of the use of Māori words within New Zealand English.

<u>Keywords</u>: New Zealand English, Te Reo Māori, Māori English, loanwords, New Zealand, Aotearoa, bilingualism, newspaper(s), diachronic analysis, sociolinguistics, Māori New Zealand English

II - General background: history of Aotearoa New Zealand

According to Māori *pūrākau* (legends), *Aotearoa* - or the land of the long white cloudwas created by the daring demigod Māui. One day, he went fishing with his brothers, and

² John C Moorfield, Te Aka Māori Dictionary, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/

³ John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?

idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=maoritanga

after having cast his magic fishhook he had carved from an ancestor's jawbone deep into the sea, something was caught. The catch was hurled to the surface of the water, however, to their surprise, the fish they had caught was in fact a huge piece of land: they had discovered Te Ika a Māui (Māui's fish), which we know today as the North Island. As for Te Waka a Māui (Māui's canoe), or what we know as the South Island, it is said to be the waka (canoe) that Māui and his brothers fished from (New Zealand Tourism, 2023), (Sinclair, 1969). Then, according to a widely spread Māori legend, Kupe was the first Polynesian to discover the islands of Aotearoa (Māori name for New Zealand) by venturing across the Pacific on his waka hourua (voyaging canoe) from his ancestral Polynesian homeland of Hawaiki. It is said that it is his wife Kurumārōtini who gave the name of Aotearoa, on seeing the North Island for the first time she cried out, "He ao! He ao! He aotea! He aotearoa" -"A cloud, a cloud! A white cloud! A long white cloud!" (New Zealand Leadership Institute). When he reached back the ancestral home of the Māori people, Hawaiki (thought to be the East Polynesian islands encompassing Tahiti and the Marquesas), they spoke of "a verdant land, abundant with birds, with tall, forested mountains, clear rivers and lakes and bountiful seas" to their people, which inspired many other adventurers to cross Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean) (New Zealand Leadership Institute). The discovery and settlement of Aotearoa New Zealand is the result of the fusion of the three main Polynesian migrations, those of Kupe (950 A.D.), Toi (1150 A.D.), and the Fleet (1350 A.D.) (Simmons, 1969). "Most of the Māori tribes trace their descent from [tūpuna] ancestors who came in great ocean-going canoes" (Sinclair, 1969): Aotea, Kurahaupō, Mataatua, Tainui, Tokomaru, Te Arawa and Tākitimu (also known as the "Great Fleet"). This legend is of high importance for Māori people as "the first question one Maori asks another when meeting him for the first time is not "who are you?", but "where are you from?" The reply will list tribal area and pa [fortified village] and possibly canoe." (Pere, 1980:74).

However, "the circumstances attending the prehistoric settlement of New Zealand are matters of learned controversy and three rival theories are being debated" (McLintock, William Hosking Oliver, et al., 1966). Indeed, the older school, which bases its view on the canon of Polynesian tradition, asserts that Tahitian explorers discovered New Zealand and that they (or their descendants) later decided to emigrate there. Another school accepts this but insists that these explorers and settlers found aboriginal inhabitants [the Moriori]⁴ whom 4 Moriori are the waina pono (the original inhabitants) of Rēkohu/Chatham Islands. The first Moriori ancestors (Rongomaiwhenua and Rongomaitere) arrived directly from Eastern Polynesia to Rēkohu (it is considered to be the tuākana (elder/direct line)). Later waka (Kahu, Moe, etc., are considered to be tēina (later migrants)) came over from mainland Aotearoa (Te Waipounamu (the South Island)) about

they killed or enslaved. The third school holds that New Zealand was settled solely as the result of accidental one-way voyages of people who were blown off course during local canoe journeys (McLintock, William Hosking Oliver, et al., 1966). It appears that the "Great Fleet" of M[a]ori tradition is a myth coined by European M[a]ori-phils". "[H]istorians while not doubting that the legendary canoes arrived in New Zealand, believe that such arrivals were the result of accidental voyages rather than of organised attempts to migrate and colonise. A re-examination of the legends shows that, far from there having been a large fleet of canoes, those which reached New Zealand came at irregular intervals during the 300 or so years following Kupe. The legends also show that only Tainui and Te Arawa [waka] came together." (McLintock, William Hosking Oliver, et al., 1966). What is absolutely sure is that Māori people inhabited Aotearoa New Zealand way before the first European discovery of the land. "It seems thus that the orthodox story and chronology arose mainly to explain the findings of archaeology and the comparison of these with late M[a]ori culture. It was an attempt to provide a framework by which to order prehistory" (Simmons, 1969:30). And it seems likely that, "more than one group of Polynesians settled in New Zealand. Their landings may have been early in its human history, or separated by centuries. The unique M[a]ori culture may have resulted from the amalgamation and evolution, over a millennium, of elements from different parts of Eastern Polynesia." (Sinclair, 1969:18).

Due to its isolation, New Zealand was guarded from the tides of world history for some time. While "[f]or centuries the Polynesians kept their myriad islands to themselves, [...] they could not permanently hide such treasures from the curious European." (Sinclair, 1969:29). The Dutch were the first Europeans to reach and discover New Zealand in 1642. The Dutch navigator Abel Tasman was sent to discover and explore the "supposed rich southern and eastern land" (ibid:30). But as he was welcomed with inhospitality and blood (four Dutchmen were killed during the first encounter between Māori and Europeans), he did not linger long on the shore of the South Island. He named this vast country Nieuw Zeeland after "the Dutch province of Zeeland" (J. Hay, M. Maclagan, E. Gordon, 2008:4). Once again, the Polynesians were left alone for another century until another navigator sighed the island. In 1769, New Zealand came out of its isolation because of the discovery of Captain James Cook, who was sent and "instructed to search for the legendary southern continent" (Sinclair, 1969:31). And even if his research was unsuccessful, "he was to explore the coast of New 500 or 600 years ago. In 1835 (until 1866), two Māori tribes, Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Mutunga invaded the island and many Moriori were slaughtered (many were cannibalized) or enslaved. (Etangata, Maui Solomon, Moriori: Still setting the record straight, https://e-tangata.co.nz/reflections/moriori-still-setting-the-record-straight/, 2019)

Zealand" (ibid:31) and claimed the country for the British Crown. This new world was full of discoveries; "New Zealand has been so long separate from other land that it is sometimes regarded as forming a distinct botanical region: as much as three-quarters of its flora is unique" (ibid:31). "[B]irds have come to occupy many of the positions held elsewhere by mammals", several species of flightless birds have developed such as the *moa* (in the past) and still present nowadays the kiwi, the emblem of New Zealand. Cook's encounter with the Māori people was at first as unfortunate as it was with Tasman. "Several initial encounters resulted in the death of natives, following what the Europeans interpreted as hostile actions on their part" (ibid:32). For Cook, "it seemed [...] that the natives were too much divided among themselves to unite in opposing settlers" (ibid:33) and thus European settlement would come to its goal: create a colony in the image of the motherland. The colonization of *Aotearoa* New Zealand was a "by-product of industrialism, [...] intended as a cure for the ills of an industrialized England" (ibid:100). As such, "[t]he study of Māori society before AD 1769 is largely the study of the adaptation of a group of Polynesians to this new land in which they found themselves." (Davidson, 1992:3).

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, missionaries came to the island to civilize, europeanize and convert the natives; and to achieve this goal, "it was necessary not only to speak their language but to study their own religion and customs: only then could Christianity be explained to them in terms they could comprehend" (ibid:38). During the first years of settlement, "M[ā]ori culture was as dominant over European as the M[ā]ori [people] were over local European settlers. The M[a]ori were not converted to European civilization or its religion. They made use of European goods, but for M[ā]ori purposes" (ibid:39). However, later during the eighteen-twenties and even more so in the thirties, "as a result of increasing contact with Europeans, the [...] M[a]ori [people] came to feel the weight of western civilization pressing on their lives. Their community began to pass through a moral and technological revolution [...]. Old customs, everyday habits of eating or dress, eventually traditional beliefs, were abandoned or altered [...]. In some places the tribal structure itself was tottering" (ibid:40). "Old landmarks, old habits, old ideas were everywhere threatened and the very pattern of tribal life began to change" (Miller, 1950:12). The Musket Wars – tribal wars in which Māori used European weapons- is one example of the result of 'europeanization' of the Māori; it raged in the 1810s, 20s and 30s, and, by the time that peace was regained, at least tens of thousands of Māori had perished⁵. As the missionaries

⁵ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'New Zealand's 19th-century wars', 2021, https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/new-zealands-19th-century-wars/introduction

transcribed the Bible into te reo Māori (the Māori language) to 'civilize' the natives, the Māori people began to master the arts of the invaders: they learned to read and write, to cultivate new crops, etc. And came to be perceived as 'noble savages' as their capacity of adaptation exceeded the expectation of the settlers.

By 1835, in response to a threat that France would declare sovereignty over the islands by "proclaim[ing] an independent state in Hokianga", James Busby, the official British Resident in New Zealand, induced the signature of He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene (the Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand). It was signed by thirty-four chiefs and asserted "that sovereign power and authority in the land ('Ko te Kingitanga ko te mana i te w[h]enua') resided with Te Whakaminenga, the Confederation of United Tribes, and that no foreigners could make laws. Te Whakaminenga was to meet at Waitangi each autumn to frame laws, and in return for their protection of British subjects in their territory, they sought King William's protection against threats to their mana." (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2022). While Busby saw the Declaration as a step towards making New Zealand a British possession, Māori intentions were somewhat different; the aim was to continue a tradition of safeguarding their people in the face of rapid change posed by European contact (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2022). "The attribution of sovereignty to the Māori chiefs [...] remained the basis of British policy in New Zealand until 1840" (Sinclair, 1969:52). On February 6, 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) was signed by Māori chiefs and representatives of the British crown. It was a way for the Crown to secure British sovereignty over New Zealand (proclaimed on 21 May 1840). However, the Māori translation was different than the English one, resulting in different understandings. "By the first article the chiefs ceded their sovereignty to the Queen. In return the Queen guaranteed the M[a]ori [people] in the possession of the lands, forests, fisheries and other property which, collectively or individually, they possessed. The chiefs yielded to the Queen the sole right of purchasing their lands. Finally, the chiefs were given the rights and privileges of British subjects" (Sinclair, 1969:71). Another problem resided in deciding which one of the versions (English and Māori) was the authoritative text. From 1840 onward, "the interests and wishes of the M[a]ori were gradually lost sight of; there followed a long war which established the settlers as the dominant race and led to the oppression of the M[ā]ori [people]" (ibid:64). Moreover, "Māori literacy in 1840 was limited and the Māori were not acquainted with the legal and literary traditions of Europe that would have enable them to negotiate the Treaty" (Owens, 1992:51).

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Land purchases from the Māori people provided ample scope for the expansion of most of the settlements and its destiny was to provide a home for British migrants (Owens, 1992). Following the signature of the Treaty, the massive land purchases, ambiguity in the Treaty, and mass British migration to New Zealand paved the way for what is now known as the 'New Zealand Wars', fought between Māori tribes and the Crown from 1843 to 1872. Indeed, the impetus of Māori's fear was certainly motivated by the loss of land which led them to fundamental concerns about their own place in the rapidly changing colony. The ambiguity of the Treaty is one of many causes: the word Kawanatanga, employed in the Māori version of the Treaty, and supposed to mean sovereignty is most commonly translated as "governorship" or "governance" in te reo Māori. Moreover, Māori were "promised "tino rangatiratanga" ("full chiefly authority") over their lands and resources and clearly expected continued control over their own affairs" (O'Malley, 2019). It is "this divide between increasing Crown assertions of sovereignty and Māori expectations of continuing chiefly authority that was to provide a key impetus for the subsequent wars fought between the Crown and Māori." (ibid). Furthermore, through Article Two of the Treaty, Māori were given the right to administer their own affairs, but this was not respected as the imposition of British law on Māori and their enforced assimilation into settler colonial society were put forward. As a result, in 1858, Kīngitanga (Māori King movement) was created as a way to unite Māori under a single sovereign. It was "the first real attempt at a pan-Māori organisation, and as such, promoted Māori identity alongside traditional iwi [tribe] identities. It was also a nationalist movement, forming its own governmental and judicial structures, and with its own emerging Māori school system" (Ka'ai et al., 2004). This anti-land-selling confederation was created in response to the increased purchase of land and the impossibility for Māori to counterattack because of their lack of political power, and to resist Pākehā hegemony and thus offering a form of co-existence. "The first Māori king was an ancient Waikato [rangatira] (chief), Te Wherowhero, who chose the title of P[o]tatau I." (Sinclair, 1969:115). Their resolution was to sell no more land so that the settlers could no more expand on the lands: "chiefs and tribes owing allegiance to him put their land under his mana and accepted his veto [or tapu] of sales [...] thus attempting to impose communal controls, exercised by a paramount chief or a king, to combat attempts by Europeans to purchase land from individuals" (Sorrenson, 1992:148). The tribes that did not follow the King tried to pursue their political objectives through the creation of a unity movement of *Kotahitanga*; "this movement held a series of inter-tribal meetings to discuss the protection of Māori land and resources under the Treaty of Waitangi [and] culminated in the establishment of the

Māori Parliament in 1892" (Walker, 1992:498). But to further acquire land, the Crown implemented the Native Lands Act 1862 which facilitated the selling of lands, by changing the status of Māori land from communal title -owned by everyone- to individual title -owned by one person. This way even if not all the tribe agreed to sell the land, the one owning the title of the land could sell without trouble. Furthermore, in 1863, the Crown confiscated land from Māori who had 'borne arms against the Crown' under the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863. These confiscations saw a period of continued tension. Following the invasion of Waikato in 1863 and the defeat of Waikato, huge areas of their land were confiscated, King Tāwhiao (son of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero who died in 1860), exiled from his Waikato homeland and retreated into the King Country (also known as 'Te Rohe Pōtae', which can be translated as 'the area of the hat' and supposedly referring to an incident in which King Tāwhiao defined the area's boundaries by throwing a hat onto a map)6. Within this district, the 'King' ruled as an independent monarch. The aim was to "establish the King Country under mana motuhake (separate power). The King would govern on his 'piece', the Governor on his 'piece', but both would remain under the protection of Queen Victoria" (Ka'ai et al., 2004). Its slogan was mana Māori motuhake (separate Māori authority), "a policy [the King Country] attempted to maintain, with its own tribal structures and its Parliament, the Kauhanganui" (Ka'ai et al., 2004).

By 1872, the wars were over. Land and sovereignty were inextricably linked to these wars. Colonization could then proceed. The King Country "remained closed to Pākehā for more than a decade, until Ngāti Maniapoto⁷ leaders agreed to the construction of the North Island Main Trunk railway in the mid-1880s" (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2019). Long years of passive resistance followed: the settlement of Parihaka was created in the 1860s by Te Whiti and Tohu as a symbol of resistance, by living on lands that had been confiscated (in 1881 the settlement was invaded by British troops and resulted in the arrest of Te Whiti), the 'dog tax rebellion' was established (1898), in which Māori refused to pay dog taxes because it aimed at controlling the number of dogs Māori owned.

Through land purchases and wars, the map of New Zealand was redrawn and by 1900, *Aotearoa* New Zealand was a settler society, with Māori pushed out to its fringes. In 1900, under the pressure of the creation of Māori movements aiming "at achieving some sort of Home Rule for Māori" (Sinclair, 1969:193), two Acts were passed: one instituted Māori Land

⁶ Kerryn Pollock, 'King Country region', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/king-country-region/print (accessed 6 March 2023)

⁷ Ngāti Maniapoto is an *iwi* (tribe) based in the Waikato-Waitomo region of New Zealand's North Island

Councils "to provide for local management of Māori and to encourage leasing instead of sales" and the second Act "set up Māori Councils, a form of local self-government to promote Māori welfare" (ibid:194-5). Later, by "turn[ing] down the offer to join the Australian federation [it refused to become the seventh Australian state], [New Zealand] changed in status from a 'colony' of Great Britain to a self-governing 'dominion'" (J. Hay, M. Maclagan, E. Gordon, 2008:6-7) within the British Empire in 1907 (it has to wait until 1947 to gain full independence from Britain through the statute of Westminster). When World War I broke out, it was the first time that *Aotearoa* New Zealand was involved in international responsibilities. This was perceived as being the beginning of a New Zealand national consciousness. The 1920s saw some government moves to meet Māori grievances; the Government agreed "to pay financial compensation for unfulfilled promises [...] made in earlier days in [connection] with land purchases" (Sinclair, 1969:273).

In the 1960s - 1970s, Māori migrated from rural homelands to cities seeking employment. The 'pepper-potting' government policy (which promoted integration) was a policy of integration and scattering of individual Māori families among Pākehā neighborhoods to encourage their assimilation into Pākehā society. However, it resulted in the dilution of the Māori community, in the decline in Māori cultural interest and thus of te reo Māori (Reese et al., 2018). It is during this period that a turning point occurred for Māoritanga (Māori culture, way of life, traditions). Indeed, it is during this period that indigenous peoples claimed back their rights through politics because of a sociolinguistic survey work done in the 1970s which generated the necessary momentum for the revitalization of te reo Māori (see Benton, 19918) (King, 2018). First, with the "Māori Renaissance –a cultural movement aim[ing] to preserve the traditions and cultural heritage of the Māori people- the Māori population could obtain legal recognition for their concerns and, most importantly, measures were taken to revitalize the dying Māori language." (Degani, 2012:14). This Māori revitalization was the result of the realization of the decline of te reo Māori (the Māori language). Indeed, as said previously after World War II, Māori people began to migrate into urban districts, as "[r]ural growth [...], had slowed and employment prospects for young Māori in the countryside were limited" and since "New Zealand, like many other countries, was experiencing prosperity and there was a growing demand for labour in the towns and cities" (Meredith, 2015). Then, as Māori people deliberately migrated in search of work, te reo Māori began to decline. Indeed, te reo Māori was the language of the

⁸ Richard Benton, 'The Māori Language: Dying or Reviving?', ResearchGate, 1997, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/234659205 The Maori Language Dying or Reviving

home, of the marae (courtyard - the open area in front of the wharenui (meeting house, large house – the main building of a marae where guests are accommodated), where formal greetings and discussions take place)9. But as Māori needed to accommodate to the new environment (predominantly Pākehā (New Zealander of European descent)), "the obstacles to establishing Māori speaking communities in urban settings, had made it difficult for learners of the language to become or remain familiar with [it]" (Reedy, 2000:158). As in the city, they were separated from their marae and all the traditions that constituted their tribal identity, more and more Māori could not speak the language and knew little or nothing about their heritage and traditions (Meredith, 2015). However, "Māori discovered that detribalization could lead to a shared sense of Māori identity". As Māori were relegated to the most disadvantaged neighborhoods, "the day-to-day interaction in the towns and suburbs of Māori from different tribes and backgrounds added knowledge of Māori identity to that of tribe" (King, 1992:305). Furthermore, the assimilationist policy of the early days turned the society from 'kōrero Māori' (Speak Māori) to 'kōrero Pākehā' (Speak English): the Education Ordnance Act 1847 set English as the predominant, normal language of schools; Native Schools Act 1858 / 1867, forbade the use of Māori in schools and taught English only, writing « I will not speak Māori » was one of the punishment; from 1867 to 1969, a Native Schools system was put in place. "By the 1960s, [te reo] Māori had ceased to be the language of socialization for most Māori families" (Reedy, 2000:158). It is the decline of te ao Māori (the Māori world), and especially of Māoritanga (Māori culture, beliefs, customs) and te reo Māori (the Māori language) that prompted revitalization (the movement inscribed itself in the worldwide civil rights and black consciousness movements of the era). In 1968, two Newsletters emerged, Te Hokioi and MOOHR (Māori Organisation on Human Rights), which paved the way for Māori transformation by raising the political consciousness of Māori people to their oppression and exploitation. "The beginnings of the Maori language revitalization movement can be traced back to the Maori activist group Ngā Tamatoa [The Young Warriors] in the early 1970s" (Ka'ai et al., 2004; Walker, 1992). "In 1972 Ngā Tamatoa [along with Victoria University's Te Reo Māori Society, and Te Huinga Rangatahi (the New Zealand Māori Students' Association)] presented a petition to Parliament lamenting the state of the Māori language and urging the government to provide teacher training to enable the Māori language to be taught in schools" (King, 2018:594). This date is inscribed in New Zealand memory as the Māori Language Day (14 September 1972), which has now

⁹ John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=marae

become the Māori Language Week since 1975.

Multiple devices were put in place to revitalize te reo Māori. The first one was Kōhanga reo (pre-school language 'nests'), created in 1981, "the aim [was to] fully immers[e] Māori children in the Māori language; that is, the Māori language would be the medium of communication and instruction" (King, 2018:595). These schools were autonomous, "opening up on marae, in community halls, and even in private homes" (ibid:595), and teachers were kaumātua (elders). Then in 1985, Kura Kaupapa (Māorilanguage total immersion schools) were created but this time through the funding and establishment of the Government through the Education Act of 1989. Later, Wharekura (secondary school run on kaupapa Māori principles - these schools use the Māori language as the medium of instruction and incorporate Māori customary practices into the way they operate) were established in order to pursue education through the secondary school level. Finally, Wānanga (tertiary institution) were also established under the Education Act 1990. "At first these schools operated outside the state system, but in 1999 they were recognized in the Education Act" (King, 2018:596). In 1975, the "Waitangi Tribunal was established by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. By establishing the Waitangi Tribunal, Parliament provided a legal process by which Māori Treaty claims could be investigated. Tribunal inquiries contribute to the resolution of Treaty claims and to the reconciliation of outstanding issues between Māori and the Crown" (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2017). It is in 1987, that "the Māori Language Act was passed [...], making Māori an official language of New Zealand and establishing the Māori Language Commission, which became known as Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori ("the rope binding together the Māori language")" (ibid). In 1992, was created Te Puni Kökiri (Ministry of Māori Development), it considered the survival of the Māori language a worthy objective for the health of the language and the Nation, and at the same time awakened the nation to a collective responsibility (Reedy, 2000). Later, the new implementation of the Māori Language Act of 2016 further "affirmed the status of te reo Māori as the indigenous language of New Zealand, a taonga [treasure] of Māori and a valued and official language of New Zealand". "The Act sets out that the knowledge and use of the Māori language are promoted by an active partnership" 10. In 2015, "Kura Whakarauora ("survival schools") were funded; these two to three-day workshops

¹⁰ Russell McVeagh, contributed by Emmeline Rushbrook, Louise Taylor and Tunisia Set Ārena (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Whātua), Whakamāramatanga Series: The Māori Language Act 2016, https://www.russellmcveagh.com/insights/march-2021/whakamaramatanga-series-the-maori-language-act-2016, 2021

teach the basics of language planning and provide information and tools for attendees to take back and take action in their communities." (King, 2018:605).

"[Māori] became integrated into the economic mainstream of capitalism, while at the same time maintaining their culture and transplanting it into urban milieu. The symbol of that transplanted culture is the urban marae with its associated rituals and community activities. The proliferation of urban marae, combined with the dynamic variations in the organizational structures underpinning them, are testament to the adaptability of the Māori and the vigour of their cultural renaissance" (Walker, 1992:519).

Furthermore, the use of media was also of great help in the revival of *te ao Māori* and te reo Māori. Ngā Tamatoa skillfully used the news media, especially television by succeeding in focusing public attention on Māori issues and shifting the climate of influential opinion by forcing government departments and public agencies to re-examine their policies (Dunstall, 1992). "The first Māori-owned Māori-language radio station (Te Reo-o-Pōneke) went on air in 1983" and in 1987 the Māori radio station "Te Reo Irirangi o Te Upoko o Te Ika began broadcasting full-time". Then in 2004, was established Māori Television, "[m]uch of the broadcasting is in Māori, but some is in English. In 2008, Māori Television launched a second channel, Te Reo, which is Māori language only" ("the [very] first regular program was a weekday Māori news program called Te Karere ("the messenger") which was first broadcast in 1982") (King, 2018:598).

According to the 2021 General Social Survey (GSS), "the ability of New Zealanders (aged 15 and over) to speak te reo Māori in day-to-day conversation has improved". "Since 2018, the proportion of people able to speak more than a few words or phrases of te reo Māori rose from 24 percent to 30 percent." Furthermore, "[t]he proportion of people able to speak te reo Māori at least fairly well also increased, from 6.1 percent in 2018 to 7.9 percent in 2021." The proficiency appears to have increased also in the use of the language as a first language: "almost a quarter (23 percent) of Māori said they spoke te reo Māori as one of their first languages, up from 17 percent in 2018". This increase in the fluency of te reo Māori is also represented in the "decrease in the proportion of Māori who said they were not able to speak te reo Māori (spoke no more than a few words or phrases), falling from 36 percent in 2016 to 29 percent in 2021". And, as expected, "Māori were also significantly more likely than other ethnicities to speak te reo Māori well, with 34 percent able to speak te reo Māori at least fairly well, compared with 7.9 percent for the total population". As it was also observed, te reo Māori proficiency decreased with age and thus the younger generation (15-34-year-olds) was leading the way in te reo Māori progress with 42% being able to speak more than a

few words or phrases. As a whole, "younger New Zealanders are championing improvements in te reo Māori proficiency and support": "15–44-year-olds showed significantly higher levels of support for te reo Māori usage in all contexts than those aged 45 years and over". 11

In 2021, even if 30% of the total population can speak more than a few words or phrases of te reo Māori, giving an important insight into the ongoing revitalization of te reo Māori in *Aotearoa*, a lot remains to be done in order to put the two official languages of New Zealand on the same level. Although te reo Māori is no longer in danger of extinction, it remains fragile and a minority as it is "classified as an endangered language" (King, 2018:603). The "most important step for the Māori language to take to reach a healthy state is to work towards its returns to the situation where it is the natural language of socialization [and communication]" (Reedy, 2000:167).

"New Zealand is an island story, a story of new islands. It is a history of migration, and of the adaptation of imported ideas and institutions, as well as of the migrants themselves, to a new land" (Sinclair, 1969:283). It is a long process of acclimatization and of the so often changing temper of racial relations: "settlers, as representatives of another kind of progress to which the Māori were to be sacrificed" (ibid). However, with an ideal of equality in mind, "Māori have evolved a new culture, 'modern Māori', part traditional, part European, but with European traits selected and transmuted into something new" (ibid:305).

III - Description of New Zealand English (NZE) and te reo Māori varieties

New Zealand is characterized by its language contact scenario: from the long colonial history emerged a mutual influence between the indigenous language of New Zealand, te reo Māori, and English. The language contact between the Māori language, te reo Māori, and English has been explained through two scenarios of language contact: a scenario of contact as imposition ("source language agentivity") and a scenario of contact as addition ("receptor language agentivity") (Degani, 2012). In her article Language Contact in New Zealand: A Focus on English Lexical Borrowings in Māori, Degani describes the first scenario, a scenario of contact as imposition, as follows: "a situation where a majority language, English, dominates over a minority language, Māori, exerting a strong influence on it. In this language contact constellation, the receptor language, Māori, is influenced by the donor language, English, at different levels. The strong influence of English on Māori is a direct result of the 11 2021 General Social Survey (GSS), https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/te-reo-maori-proficiency-and-support-continues-to-grow/

fact that Māori has been in contact with the dominant language, English, for over two centuries and it is also the consequence of the fact that virtually all native speakers of Māori were inevitably forced to become bilingual." (Degani, 2012:14-15) Consequently, because of the influence of English on Māori, te reo Māori has been subjected to changes: phonological, lexical and grammatical. She then describes the second scenario, a scenario of contact as addition, as "the influence of a minority language, Māori, on a majority language, English. In this case, the impact on the receptor language, English, is rather limited, being restricted to some lexical borrowing. This influence has been noted in a number of studies investigating the presence and use of Māori lexical borrowings in New Zealand English" (Degani, 2012: 15). This language contact scenario saw the emergence of the phenomenon of hybrid compounds, which merged Māori and English words. For this thesis, the second language contact scenario will prevail, since the aim is to show the use of Māori words within New Zealand English. In other words, to highlight the influence of te reo Māori, a minority language spoken by very few New Zealanders and especially by Māori people, on the majority language, New Zealand English, spoken by all New Zealanders. This uneven balance of power between the languages, thus, appears to be changing as te reo Māori gradually finds its place within the dominant language, even though it is mostly through lexical borrowings.

In order to perceive fully this phenomenon of lexical borrowing -the adoption of individual or sets of words from another language or dialect (Daulton, 2019)- both languages involved, te reo Māori and New Zealand English, must be acknowledged.

1 - Te reo Māori

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori¹² (The language is the life force of the mana Māori)

Te reo Māori is a Polynesian language (or maybe more rightly, a dialect of the languages spoken throughout Polynesia), and is part of the Austronesian language family -which is composed of five families: Tongic Niuean, Samoic, Tahitic, Marquesic, Rapanui. Te reo Māori is said to be closely related to the varieties Cook Islands Māori, Tahitian and Tuamotuan (French Polynesia) (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu

¹² Waikerepuru and Nga Kaiwhakapumau I Te Reo Incorporated Society, 1986: 40-41 in *Ki Te Whaiao: An Intrroduction to Māori Culture and Society*, Ka'ai and al., 2004

Taonga, 2022). Then, when the first inhabitants of *Aotearoa* New Zealand came through canoes from East Polynesia, they "brought their Polynesian language with them". It is through another language contact -the blending of the various Polynesian languages, that te reo Māori developed -over several hundred years- and became its own language. "While still related to its tuakana (elder) languages in Polynesia, it is a distinct language that is indigenous to Aotearoa." Te reo Māori has "adapted to the changes experienced in living in Aotearoa/New Zealand as opposed to the environment in Hawaiki and it continued to adapt to the new technology and culture brought by the colonists" (Ka'ai et al., 2004).



Figure 1. A map showing the five Austronesian language families in Polynesia. (Te Ara, 2006)¹³

"The existence of different dialects in New Zealand points to the speculation that the different waves of early settlement were from different dialect areas in central Polynesia." (McLintock et al., 1966). In the early 1800s, te reo Māori was an evolving language in the making; it was the common language between the North Island and the South Island of *Aotearoa* New Zealand (the language variations did not interfere with communication). However, dialectal differences in *te reo* (the language), namely the southern, eastern and

¹³ Rawinia Higgins and Basil Keane, 'Te reo Māori – the Māori language - The Māori language', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/map/41061/austronesian-languages (accessed 7 February 2023)

western dialects (eastern North Island, western North Island and South Island Māori), arose because of the different village or island origins of the *tangata whenua* [literally, people of the land and thus meaning original inhabitants of *Aotearoa* New Zealand], the geographical isolation of local populations after their settlement in *Aotearoa* and the general hostility that prevailed among many tribes (Reese et al., 2018). Nowadays, there are three major dialects – eastern North Island, western North Island and South Island Māori. The variations occur at the levels of sounds (phonology) and content words (lexicon) and there are relatively minor grammatical changes; but since language variations are insignificant enough, they do not interfere with communication (Ministry of Education, 1998).

In the pre-European Māori world, te reo Māori did not need a phonology-based writing system. "[C]ommunication over distance was by way of messenger or a series of messages relayed over shorter distances, often accompanied by some visual symbol. Communication over time was by way of visual symbols. These occurred in the patterns of whakairo (carving), tukutuku (woven wall panels), kōwhaiwhai (painted rafter patterns) and sometimes in patterns woven into clothing" (Ka'ai et al., 2004). Nonetheless, communication was mostly based on orality, through waiata (song), oriori (instructional chant), kōrero pūrākau (myth, legend and historical tales), whakataukī (proverbs about social values), whakatauāki (proverbs that urge particular actions and behavior), and pepeha (statements of tribal identity) (ibid).

In the early stages of European colonization and settlement, the Māori language was a common way of communicating; since settlers were dependent on them, they were required to speak their language, especially for trade, "the newcomers were the ones who accommodated" (Spolsky, 2003:555). Then, since the "missionaries came to these shores to convert the native population to Christianity [...] there was an urgent need to develop a writing system for te reo" (Ka'ai et al., 2004). The orthography of *te reo*, "as with many other languages around the world, [was] transmuted [...] using a set of symbols developed for another language and another culture" (ibid). The first attempt at developing an orthography of *te reo* was not conclusive: the sound was written as it was heard and in relation to the sounds of the English language, "with the result that often only the writer understood what the symbols were intended to represent" (ibid). The first more accurate representational orthography of *te reo* was made during 1817-1820. This was very close to present-day orthography (with the exception of later refinements). At first, no marking of vowel length and no distinction between the <w> and <w> spellings and thus sounds [w] and [f] respectively was made between the two, both were printed as <w> And so while <w< > And so while <w> spellings and thus sounds [w] and [f] respectively was made between the two, both were printed as <w> And so while <w< > And so while <w> spellings and thus sounds [w] and [f] respectively was made between the two, both were printed as <w> And so while <w> spellings and thus sounds [w] and [f] respectively was made between the two, both were printed as <w> And so while <w> spellings and thus sounds [w] and [f] respectively was made between the two, both were printed as <w> spellings and thus sounds [w] and [f] respectively was made between the two printed as <w> spellings and thus sounds [w] and [f]

digraph originally sounded like the <wh> in 'whisper' ([wɪspə]), in most dialects the sound has undergone a change and evolved to be more like the English [f] sound (eg. whenua [fenua]). It has to wait until the 1840s to see a consistent spelling for words beginning by <wh> pronounced with the phoneme /f/. Otherwise, it was the same as we use today (Harlow, 2007; Ka'ai et al., 2004). In 1835, was established the first New Zealand press, in the Bay of Islands, which printed in *te reo* but for the purposes of missionaries to instruct religion. Later in 1858, another press was established but this time in *te reo*, by Māori and for Māori: the *Kīngitanga* (the Māori King Movement) newspaper *Te Hikioi*, was used for political purposes. It is during this period of the development of the print medium, that Māori gained literacy: they learned to read and write their own language.

As the missionary schools brought English to Māori (Education Ordinance Act of 1847, Native School Act 1867), "literacy was becoming indigenized". "Māori pupils were to be assimilated into an educational system with a policy of encouraging the acceptance of British values while disestablishing the validity of tikanga Māori [Māori cultural practices]" (Ka'ai et al., 2004). At the early stages of cohabitation, "[b]oth government and Māori actively supported education and the learning of English" but for different reasons. "The government's aim [...] was to replace Māori language and culture with English. The Māori, on the other hand, who provided land and money for the mission schools, wanted to obtain English knowledge as a tool for dealing with the government and the new settlers." (Spolsky, 2003:556) Later, as settlers outnumbered Māori, Aotearoa New Zealand became a Pākehādominated world where English became the predominant language. The Native School Act (1867) introduced "Māori village schools that would teach through the medium of English". By 'civilizing' the native population (through the Native Schools which assimilated Māori into the Pākehā society), the New Zealand government instituted a shift in the medium language of Māori speakers: "from Māori monolingualism, through an intermediate stage of bilingualism, to English monolingualism" (Spolsky, 2003: 557). Māori were dismissed from their culture (among which their language) and their lands (Land Wars 1840s-1870s). Te reo Māori became more and more confined to Māori communities that lived separately from the Pākehā and gradually became the language of the marae, of the home, at hui (gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference) and tangihanga (weeping, crying, funeral, rites for the dead, obsequies). The urbanization of Māori in the 1960s-1970s further exacerbated the weakening of the language as they were encouraged to live among the Pākehā, which resulted in the dilution of Māori communities in urban settings and thus of te reo Māori (Reese et al., 2018). It was the "demise of Māori speech communities within the cities" (Ka'ai et al., 2004).

However, the 1970s was a turning point and saw changes in Māori attitudes to their societal condition but also with the "realization of the serious plight that the language was undergoing" (Reedy, 2000:159). The "Māori Renaissance – a cultural movement aimed to preserve the traditions and cultural heritage of the Māori people" was at the core of the revitalization of the language (Degani, 2012:14). "Revitalization efforts have led to the development of [educational] programmes" (ibid:14). The revival of Māori language was made primarily through kaupapa Māori [a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society]¹⁴ educational initiatives. "The birth in 1981 of the Kōhanga Reo [Māori language pre-school] Movement brought about a spectacular Māori language renaissance, and marks as the first truly revitalization program because of the awakening impact it had on Māoridom." (Reedy, 2000:159). The aim was to immerse pupils in the Māori language environment. Then the "Kura Kaupapa Māori [Māori language primary school] [established in 1985] was an inevitable next step" (ibid). Later, established by the Education Act 1990, Wānanga (Māori tertiary institution that caters for Māori learning needs¹⁵) developed. These new educational environments were triggered by "the Maori people themselves with the realization that the language was dying and the anguish of seeing it disappear was too painful to bear" (ibid: 159). "After continuous Māori lobbying [...], Māori broadcasting was established to help regenerate the Māori language and culture" (Rankine and Moewaka, 2014:215). In 2004, the Māori Television Service (MTS) was created, "[it has] brought a profile to Māori language, culture, custom, society and history that was unprecedented in television. A second channel, Te Reo, entirely in the Māori language, was launched in 2008" (Dunleavy, 2014).

Te reo Māori is characterized by its numerous fluctuations regarding its status. Indeed, it comes from a long journey of decline and revival, of repression and revitalization, and has finally overcome the hardships to become one of the official languages of New Zealand in 1987 thanks to the Māori Language Act. "Early efforts came from the bottom up, the ideas were formed at community level with volunteers and the pooling of resources and funding" (King, 2018:607).

This language is composed of twenty phonemes, five short vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/ and their five long fellow vowels / \bar{a} /, / \bar{e} /, / \bar{t} /, / \bar{b} /, / \bar{t} /, / \bar{b} /, / \bar{t} /, / \bar{b} //, / \bar{b} /, /

¹⁴ John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search? idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=kaupapa
15 John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search? idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=wananga

one sound each /ŋ/, /wh/, the first one is realized as in the standard variety of English [ŋ] and the second one is pronounced [f]. The phoneme /ɹ/ is distinct since its realization is rolled, it is said to have a realization between the [ɪ] and the [l] in standard English. "Māori is an open syllable language (i.e., all syllables end in a vowel). Consonant clusters are not permitted. All Māori words borrowed from other languages such as English are adapted to conform to the existing phoneme inventory" (Keegan, 2023). Māori syllables are generally structured as (C)V(V) -consonant, vowel, vowel. Vowel-only phrases or sentences can occur (ibid). What is also characteristic of te reo Māori is its mora-timed pattern (rhythmic pattern), that is to say, that it has a syllable-timed rhythm contrary to New Zealand English which is a stress-timed variety.

Te reo Māori has undergone a number of changes; "new vocabulary was, and is, created as a result of the changes introduced by the colonists, many words were given new shades of meaning" (Ka'ai et al., 2004). The lexical expansion is also due to the translation of concepts or borrowings from new languages encountered (changed to suit the phonological rules and orthographic conventions of Māori) (ibid). "[N]ew speakers of Māori speak Māori differently from older fluent speakers. The phonology of New Zealand English has affected their pronunciation of Māori (Watson et al., 2016) and there have also been some changes in the syntax of the Māori language, also due to the effect of English. In addition, because of the large vocabulary expansion required for the Māori language education system, new speakers often use vocabulary unfamiliar to older fluent speakers. All of this can lead older fluent speakers to express dislike toward the speech of new speakers. [...]" (King, 2018:602). Indeed, "[o]nce English became the language of the school and te reo was not required to cope with developments in certain domains of use that belong to the school and higher learning, its adaptation slowed or ceased to develop in those areas. [...] However, in the last ten years, [...] creation of vocabulary to cope with [mathematics and modern science] has taken on a new impetus" (Ka'ai et al., 2004). "Consequently, Maori has not been too greatly affected by the sort of purism which is often espoused by older fluent speakers and which can undermine revitalization efforts" (King, 2018:603).

Furthermore, the contemporary era has challenged te reo Māori as it was needed to "create a new language for the modern world [lexical expansion], along with dramatic changes, especially in the pronunciation of Māori, mostly due to influences from New Zealand English [the *mita* (in this sense referring to rhythm or speech), vowel quality]". It was also observed that "younger speakers' grammar is much more simplified and consists of influences from English in terms of word order or syntax, and that many Māori lexical items

are being used as simple equivalents of their English translation with a loss of their traditional Māori senses and/or syntax" (Keegan, 2017). Besides, from the early days of the missionaries, te reo Māori from the western regions of New Zealand was perceived as the standard Māori (since it was the Māori in the Ngāpuhi and Waikato districts, where missionaries had learned Māori). However, it is no longer the case in the 21st century. Indeed, the revitalization era of te reo Māori has brought with it many native speakers who were teachers of Māori and Māori educators working for the Department of Education, but also people in the broadcasting sector, especially in Māori Television, who originated from eastern regions. As a result, in 2012, Guidelines for Māori Language Orthography was published by Te Taura Whiri which established a standard form of spelling and orthography of te reo Māori based on the eastern variety (which reflects the origins of the Te Taura Whiri staff involved in this work). Interest in learning and revitalizing dialects (meaning of iwi/regional variation or iwi/regional markers) (possibly) originated during the revitalization era (the 1970s-1980s). This renewed interest could signal iwi [tribe] allegiance since from this period onward te reo Māori is a source of pride and of identity marker. Thus, to use forms of language associated with an iwi [tribe] is a further step in the flagging of Māori identity. While for some people it could be seen as not being the right approach, it is important to remind us that language ideologies ("ideologies or beliefs, ideas, conceptualizations, attitudes and feelings that speakers have about languages" 16) are linked to the regeneration of a language: indeed, the greater the interest, the greater the effort of regeneration. In fact, "it may be argued that younger speakers of Māori are merely inventing new dialect forms or registers" as it is perceived that in "urban environments dialect or regional levelling is inevitable because younger speakers are for the most part exposed to speakers from different regions and to teachers who are mostly second language learners themselves." (Keegan, 2017). And after all, is not linguistic change a clue to assess that a language is a living one?

2 - New Zealand English (NZE)

New Zealand English is said to be one of the most recent varieties of colonial English to emerge. Through the colonization process, New Zealand saw a stream of migration and thus varieties of British dialects which contributed to the formation of New Zealand English.

16 Definition taken from 'Māori Dialect Issues and Māori Language Ideologies In The Revitalisation Era', Peter J. Keegan, *MAI Journal*, 2017, p. 137

New Zealand was inhabited by a variety of nations: "England (49%), Scotland (22%), Ireland (20%), Australia (7%), Wales (1%), the United States of America (1%)" (Viollain, 2005:350). A lot of hypotheses exist regarding the creation of New Zealand English (NZE). For example, one supposed influence is Australian English (AusE) since both were British colonies, these varieties of English have strong similarities and there was a constant interchange between the two countries thus was "assum[ed] an Australian linguistic precedence over the formation of NZE" (Przewozny and Viollain, 2016). However, even if these two varieties of English are close, they are still two distinct systems, especially when it comes to vowels: "[o]ne of the most common claims is that Australians pronounce fish and chips as feesh and cheeps whereas New Zealanders say fush and chups" (Hay, Maclagan, Gordon, 2008). Another hypothesis concerning the development of New Zealand English is the formation of new dialects within the country itself. As said above, New Zealand was made up of different linguistic groups, and thus speaking different dialects, over time the dialectal variants were leveled out so that a new variety emerged within the new country. In other words, it is the multiplicity of linguistic communities that made up New Zealand English. As early as 1850, "New Zealand phonetic and lexical specificities are attested" (Viollain, 2015). In 1890, a stable and distinct New Zealand English dialect emerged, resulting from a chain shift (a set of sound changes in which the change in pronunciation of one phoneme is linked to and causes a change in pronunciation of other sounds) of the lexical sets of the short front vowels KIT, DRESS and TRAP /I, ϵ , æ/ (Watson et al., 2016). On the whole, the vowel and consonant system of New Zealand English is comparable to that of Received Pronunciation (RP), with only a few differences in realization (Viollain, 2015).

At first, New Zealand English was perceived as a "colonial twang", the pronunciation of New Zealanders was said to be due to laziness and bad influences. Nowadays, "it is thought to be based on the accent of south-east England [areas in and around London], where most migrants came from" (Gordon, 2013). From 1877, free compulsory education ensured that children came together for their schooling and became agents of change in new dialect formation. The New Zealand accent appeared first in towns where mixed populations of immigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland and Australia were major; including the militia towns of the North Island (established during the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s) and the gold-mining towns of the South Island (Gordon, 2013).

New Zealand English (NZE) has the same 20-vowel phoneme system as the British Received Pronunciation, however, their phonetic realization is different. Indeed, since the 2000s, one of the major differences that emerged is that New Zealanders do not make the

difference between the lexical set NEAR and SQUARE, resulting in a single phoneme /iə/, and thus in a 19-vowel system. New Zealand English is a non-rhotic variety of English since it was mostly influenced by British English, except in Otago and in Southland where the pronunciation is rhotic, this rhoticity is called "Southland Burr". The sound /ɪ/ is more commonly pronounced after vowels; this deviation is said to have been introduced by Scottish settlers (Gordon, 2013). What is also indicative of New Zealand English is its use of the High Rising Tone (HRT) which in addition to being used in interrogative environments is also used in affirmations. New Zealand English is recognized as a distinct variety of English, first through its phonetic realizations of the lexical sets KIT, DRESS and TRAP. Indeed, the lexical set KIT is realized as [ə]. The KIT centering has become the earmark of New Zealand English, distinguishing it from Australian English. The TRAP vowel is realized as [ɛ]/[e] instead of the mainstream realization [æ]. The DRESS vowel is pronounced [e]/[1] and not [ɛ] like in the 'standard' British English.

These three lexical sets are linked by the short front vowel shift that occurred in New Zealand during the early XXth century (see Figure 2 below), "KIT movement is the third stage of a chain shift involving the NZE short front vowels TRAP, DRESS and KIT, a chain shift that now involves the long vowel FLEECE as well [further raising of the DRESS vowel into the area of the FLEECE vowel, so that 'best' can sound like 'beast', and 'bed' like 'bead' (Gordon, 2013)]" (Hay, Maclagan, Gordon, 2008). The short front vowel shift in New Zealand English is said to be the result of a push-chain, which implies that /ɛ/ and /æ/ raised before /ɪ/ centralized (Langstrof, 2006). "The lowest vowel of the three, /æ/, moved upwards in the direction of [ɛ], forcing /ɛ/ to move upward in the direction of [e] in order to maintain the distinction. Subsequently /ɪ/, rather than moving upwards in the direction of [i], [...], moved back and down ([ə]), giving a central vowel quality which once again maintains the distinction" (Trudgill et al., 1998:37).

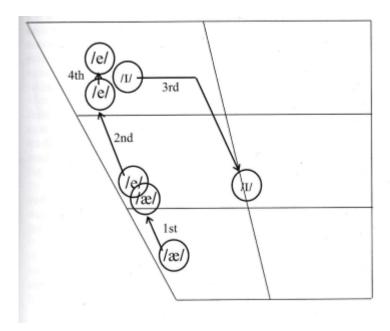


Figure 2. The New Zealand English short front vowel shift, Hay and al., *New Zealand English*, Edinburgh University Press, 2008, p.42

Among New Zealand English (NZE), two varieties can be distinguished: Pākehā English and Māori English. Pākehā English (the English spoken by New Zealanders of European descent) can also be distinguished between two more varieties: Pākehā English 1 and Pākehā English 2. The first variety, Pākehā English 1, is said to be a prestige variety, the closest to British Received Pronunciation (RP). The second variety, Pākehā English 2, is different from Pākehā English 1 in its pronunciation. However, following the Australian model, the naming 'Pākehā English' probably gathers more varieties through a continuum from standard to broad (or vernacular) variety (Holmes, 1997).

On the other hand, Māori English has also two varieties: Māori English 1 and Māori English 2. Māori English 1 (also called Standard Māori English), is said to be the closest to standard Māori pronunciation through its "purity of vowels" and is combined with the English of educated middle-class Māori. And the Māori English 2 (Vernacular Māori English), uses a different vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (a less prestigious variety) used by a large group of Māori from lower socio-economic classes. This variety also points towards a "continuum rather than clearly distinguishable varieties" (ibid). "For the large majority of Māori who no longer speak Māori, speaking Māori English is another way of marking Māori identification. [...] [it] is a way of establishing who they are, supporting each other" (J. Hay, M. Maclagan, E. Gordon, 2008:107). Māori English is most of the time used in particular social contexts, an environment made up of interlocutors, several or all, of Māori

origin, but can also be used to show empathy or solidarity towards Māori when spoken by Pākehā who mix socially with Māori people. Then, Māori English (ME) can be said to be an interlanguage as it blends New Zealand English and te reo Māori. The contact between English and Polynesian languages in New Zealand was the "fruit of contact [which led to] the emergence of a Māori ethnolect of English. As Māori people increasingly adopted English as their language, they produced a variety of English that was influenced by the substrate of their own Polynesian language" (Bell and Gibson, 2008:44).

The main characteristics of Māori English are the neutralization of [s] and [z] sounds: the sound [z] in coda position is devoiced, becoming the sound [s]; the quality of the /ɪ/ is 'rolled' as in te reo Māori when used in Māori words. The /t/ in onset position was observed as being unaspirated, thus the quality of the full plosive is not rendered. Concerning the vowels, the GOOSE vowel has a fronted pronunciation becoming [u:], and the KIT vowel /ɪ/ is realized as a close variant and pronounced as [i] rather than centralized (ɔ-like). Finally, what is distinctive of Māori English is its syllable-timed rhythm (as in te reo Māori) which differs from the stress-timed rhythm of New Zealand English; as a consequence, it uses more full vowels over reduced vowels in grammatical words. The use of Māori words is also a dominant feature of this variety, even if New Zealand English borrows more and more Māori words.

As such, New Zealand English varieties (Māori English and Pākehā English) can be said to relate their mode of English speech to their ethnic identity. These varieties are part of a linguistic continuum -following the model of Standard Scottish English (SSE) and Scots, or the one of Australian English (AusE) which goes from general, broad to cultivated. Indeed, this continuum would have New Zealand English (NZE) at one pole, and te reo Māori at its other. Māori New Zealand English (MNZE), Māori English (ME) and Pākehā English (PE) would be included between these two poles. And it would be the speaker who would 'move' according to the context or identity he or she chooses to emphasize and display by using forms more or less similar to the variety they want to flag as representative of their identity.

New Zealand English (NZE) is a polycultural language deriving from varieties of English –exhibiting the 'mixing-bowl' theory, "when people speaking different varieties of British English are put together in a single place, a new local variety distils out of the variation" (Bauer, 2009:2), which over time has achieved an integrative merging or unity within the language (influences of Australian English, Southern England English, American English, Scottish English). Most of the vocabulary found in New Zealand English is also found in English around the world (with a much more British-based vocabulary) (Warren,

2012:6). But what characterizes New Zealand English (NZE) are its 'New Zealandisms', "words and meanings that have specific New Zealand reference (that is, they denote entities and conditions that exist only in this country) and those which have a more general or universal reference (that is, they are names for things that exist in the world at large)" (Deverson, 2010). Those with purely local referents (to do with distinctive flora and fauna, indigenous culture, and social institutions) constitute a significant part of the vocabulary and have no equivalents in other English-speaking regions (except some usages that are used beyond New Zealand because of shared colonial experience with Australia and North America) (ibid). Indeed, New Zealand English shares words such as stove, soccer, muffler, truck with American English, and dinkum (honest, genuine), skite (boast), barbie (barbecue), stubbies (short shorts worn by males) with Australian English. New Zealand specific lexicon includes words such as dairy (corner store), jandals (flip flops/thongs), bach (small holiday home), tramping (hiking), chilly bin (cooler), togs (swimsuits), chooks (chickens), chippies (potato crisps), etc. or New Zealand slang words such as *sweet as* (thank you, it's all good, no worries, you're welcome, and that's cool), chur (thank you), she'll be right (no worries, it's all good, everything will be fine).

IV - Methodology

As said previously, the borrowing of te reo Māori in New Zealand English is unique to *Aotearoa* New Zealand. This characteristic is easily observable in the linguistic landscape of *Aotearoa* New Zealand, through the presence of te reo Māori words in its urban signage.

Following my previous essay which tackled the differences between Māori English (ME) and standard New Zealand English (NZE), I concluded that rather than a strict difference between the two varieties, it could be possible to combine both and create one label to refer to it, namely Māori New Zealand English (MNZE). Indeed, the label New Zealand English implicitly embraces this particular variety, and since there is a process of mutual influence with distinctive characteristics of Māori English (ME) being shared with standard New Zealand English (NZE) and since more and more Māori words are included in New Zealand English, it would be better to update this restrictive label to Māori New Zealand English (MNZE) as a way to embrace both its biculturalism, its heritage and its innovation.

Although several papers have been written on this topic, few of them were based on contemporary data. In consideration of this fact, the thesis will aim to provide an indication

of the use of words of te reo Māori by looking at the most frequently used words in New Zealand English and finding out what it means for New Zealand's society and for te reo Māori's renaissance.

This thesis will study the use of Māori words in the New Zealand press between 2000 and 2020. The press is a good material as it "influences and represents people's use of and attitudes towards language in a speech community" (Garrett & Bell, 1998:3 cited in Macalister, 2001:35). And as such, since "newspapers [...] speak to their readers in their readers' language", "[they] can [...] be expected to provide a robust representation of the language in use at a given time" (Macalister, 2001:35).

The data that will be analyzed are retrieved from the John Macalister's corpus of written New Zealand English which was "intended to provide information about changes in the presence of words of Maori origin in standard written New Zealand English over a 150year period" (Macalister, 2006:86). I selected only one part of the corpus, as the remaining data were of no use to me since I intend to analyze a more 'contemporary' corpus -that is to say from 2000 to nowadays. It consists of 819,495 words and each newspaper is divided into seven sections: News, Politics, Business, Sport, Features & Columns, Editorial and Reviews. The newspapers chosen are the New Zealand Herald (North Island metropolitan, English place name, located in Auckland), The Dominion (North Island metropolitan, English place name, located in Wellington), the Otago Daily Times (South Island metropolitan, Māori place name, located in Dunedin), and the Wanganui Chronicle (North Island provincial, Māori place name, located in Whanganui). The fact that newspaper names are explicitly linked to te reo with the use of a Māori word in their name (place name) may be an impacting factor in the use of Māori borrowings (than newspapers that are linked to an English place name). If the region is perceived as being 'Māori' it is highly likely that the use of borrowings follows this vision by using more borrowings in newspapers. To make a diachronic analysis, another corpus was needed. As a consequence, I found and created this corpus based on an already made corpus on English Corpora. The NOW (News On the Web)¹⁷ corpus is made of 16.5 billion words of data from web-based newspapers and magazines from 2010 to the present time and is updated every day. However, since this corpus contains twenty countries, I retrieved only the New Zealand ones. I also had to refine my search to include only those

¹⁷ Davies, Mark, (2016-) *Corpus of News on the Web (NOW)*. Available online at https://www.english-corpora.org/now/.

from 2020 and keep only newspapers whose data were important enough to analyze and which were fairly well known (national scope). Thus the number of words is much lower. I wanted to use the same newspapers as those in the 2000 corpus to give an overview of the evolution of these newspapers, but this was not possible as some newspapers were not part of the NOW corpus (the only common newspaper is the *Otago Daily Times*). Then the newspapers that will form my second corpus are the *Stuff* (North Island metropolitan, no place name but located in Wellington (English place name)), the *Otago Daily Times* (South Island metropolitan, Māori place name, located in Dunedin), the *Radio New Zealand* (North Island metropolitan, no place name but located in Wellington (English place name)), and the *Gisborne Herald* (North Island metropolitan, English place name, located in Gisborne).

The analysis will consist of the comparison of the use of Māori words in the corpora. The investigation will exclude proper nouns (names of people, names of the days of the week and the months of the year). In order to analyze these words in context, the software AntConc will be of use for the John Macalister's corpus and the website English Corpora already provides tools for analysis for the second corpus. The tools that will be used for the analysis of the corpora are the same in AntConc and English Corpora, thus the results should not be too disparate. What will be analyzed are the Māori words in context, their form, and their use (in which sub-genre, in which newspapers).

In this essay, I will use different frameworks (linguistic policy, civilization, sociolinguistics) in order to contextualize and interpret the results of the analyses. Even if central to this study, it cannot be restricted to linguistic issues alone; political, social, cultural, and linguistic questions are intrinsically linked together. According to Spolsky, "[t]he language policy of a social group may be located in three interrelated but not necessarily consistent components: language practice, language ideology, and language management". Language practice comprises all the choices of languages or language forms made on a common consensus and being part of the "ethnography of speaking" (concern with the interrelationships among language, culture and society). In this case, the relevant language practice is the mixture of New Zealand English and te reo Māori in various situations and for various purposes. Language ideology includes "the beliefs of the members of the various social groups about language and language use"; such as attitudes to the languages and to the features that identify the languages and varieties used in the community. Language management defines any effort made by individuals or by an institution that "holds or claims authority to modify the language practice or language ideology of other people. [These] decisions are policies, and they may be expressed in laws or regulations, and may be

implemented or not." (Spolsky, 2003:554). Language planning affects very deep aspects of the life of a society (language planning is synonymous with social planning). There is then a need to keep this broader social context in mind when attempting to understand the role of languages in society (and stay as far away as possible from a "lingua-centric" approach, an approach to language study and language policy that ignores the larger social forces at stake) (Ruiz, 2010).

V - Hypotheses

The idea that was at the origin of the thesis was following the conclusion of John Macalister in his paper "Trends in New Zealand English: Some Observations on the Presence of Māori Words in the Lexicon" (Macalister, 1999:48-49). His concluding words are a doorway to a possible expansion on the subject as he said: "a living language never remains still. The frequency, the patterns of use, and the nature of Māori words in the New Zealand English lexicon will continue to change. The current trend suggests that Māori words in the lexicon will become increasingly significant in the future". Already in his analyses of Māori words in New Zealand English there was "evidence of an evolving presence of Māori in New Zealand English, but it must be emphasised that this is a process of gradual change in New Zealand English". What he also suggested was that the *Tikanga Māori*/General category of words (terms relating to culturally specific items and customs) was the main category that increased, replacing gradually the category of flora and fauna which had great importance in the New Zealand lexicon in the past. He added that if there were to be a "growth in the presence of Māori words in New Zealand English [it] will most probably occur in this category." According to him, it implied a "change in attitude to the Māori and the Māori world". As a consequence, my line of inquiry will aim at detecting language change through the analysis of Māori loanwords in a diachronic and constrained corpus of New Zealand English newspapers. Then the main analysis will be on Māori words and the evolution of their use over time in the New Zealand English lexicon. In my previous thesis, I concluded that the use of words of te reo Māori in New Zealand English was what makes New Zealand so special and distinctive from other English-speaking countries. As a matter of fact, the revitalization of te reo Māori in the 1970s accentuated the will of a stronger connection to the ancestral culture and a desire for breaking away from the assimilation concept that was at the

origins of the decline of te reo Māori (language obsolescence). As a consequence, the 'reversing language shift' (efforts by an ethnic group or government to revive or maintain their language (Spolsky, 2003)) can be seen through the linguistic innovation process which introduced a new variety of English within New Zealand as in correlation with the establishment of a particular and distinctive identity in New Zealand. And as Māori people are the tangata whenua (people of the land, first inhabitants) of the country, it seems to be appropriate for them to be at the heart of the country's distinction and prestige. Because of the language contact between Māori and English, Māori English (ME) and New Zealand English (NZE) were not so different from each other since they shared a lot of features. "Due to the influence of English, Māori has been subject to phonological, grammatical and lexical changes. Māori vowel sounds, syllables and rhythm have been affected by English. Furthermore, changes have been observed that involve Māori word order and transfers from English constructions. The presence of a large number of English borrowings in Māori has also been pointed out." (Degani, 2012:15). However, the impact of te reo Māori on the English language is rather limited, since it is restricted to some lexical borrowings. These Māori borrowings are related for the most part to flora and fauna, proper names and places names, and key cultural concepts. This influence of te reo Māori on the New Zealand English lexicon points to the resurgence of te reo Māori as a 'living' language. This scenario is that of contact as addition ("receptor language agentivity"). It "defines the influence of a minority language, Māori, on a majority language, English. In this case, the impact on the receptor language, English, is rather limited, being restricted to some lexical borrowing" (Degani, 2012:15). Besides, the creation of hybrid compounds that merge Māori and English elements are also a key element to the reassertion of te reo Māori as a main language of Aotearoa New Zealand. These features mark the uniqueness of New Zealand English as a variety of English through the nativization of the New Zealand English lexis.

Thus, the hypothesis underlying my thesis is that since New Zealand English borrows and uses words from te reo Māori and has done so for a long time (that is to say since the very beginning of language contact between English and te reo Māori), it appears to be natural that the use of Māori words in the New Zealand English lexicon will increase over time. And that the already used lexical borrowings (here understood as being a completed language change, a diachronic process that once started as an individual innovation but has been propagated throughout the speech community) (Haspelmath, 2009) will widen more, to include more cultural words relating to Māoridom, and maybe introduce new types of words. Te reo Māori is even more meant to be understood as a factor participating in the rise of the

use of Māori words in New Zealand English since te reo Māori was recognized as an official language of *Aotearoa* New Zealand in 1987.

The situation of borrowing in New Zealand English is a "[case] of culturally motivated borrowing where a cultural importation is accompanied by a lexical importation in a straightforward way" (Haspelmath, 2009:35). However, loanwords can be divided into two categories: cultural borrowings ("loanwords by necessity"), which designate a new concept coming from outside, and core borrowings, which duplicate meanings for which a native word already exists. In the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, borrowing is linked to the revitalization process of te reo Māori, to social and attitudinal factors (a social identity that one wants to be associated with), and to grammatical factors (shorter words to say the same thing) (ibid). In the case of New Zealand English, the status of borrowings is twofold: they are both loanwords and native words -that is to say words "which we can take back to the earliest known stages of a language" (Lehmann, 1962 cited in Haspelmath, 2009:38) since as said previously the Māori words that are borrowed are from te reo Māori, the early language of the tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand. As such, these borrowings are native words (equivalent to "non-loanword") but also loanwords as they "ha[ve] been borrowed at some stage in the history of the language" (ibid:36) during the early contact between settlers and the tangata whenua, then through the creation of New Zealand English (such as flora and fauna) and later left out to be re-generalized from the 1970s onward.

Furthermore, following papers on this subject [Macalister, 1999, 2000; Grant, 2012; Degani and Onysko, 2010], I intend to find more Māori words in the sub-genres of cultural context, or of sports and even political matters. This would point towards a crucial development showing the influence of te reo Māori, beyond the 'native' areas of flora, fauna, place names etc. and show the new impact injected into the mainstream New Zealand society through loans carrying cultural meaning. Indeed, Māori are prominent in the field of sports thanks to the national sport of New Zealand which is rugby since many players are of Māori origins. But most of all, because of the *haka*, the dance they perform before each game. As for political matters, loans are dominant in this domain as indigenous peoples claimed back their rights through politics. And it is what the Māori people did. First, with the "Māori Renaissance –a cultural movement aimed to preserve the traditions and cultural heritage of the Māori people—the Māori population could obtain legal recognition for their concerns and, most importantly, measures were taken to revitalize the dying Māori language" (Degani, 2012:14). And as for the cultural context, since *Aotearoa* New Zealand promotes its indigenous culture abroad, it would be logical to find Māori words relating to cultural

concepts in newspapers. As *Aotearoa* New Zealand proclaims a bicultural policy (since the 1970s), it is expected that Māori words are going to be found more than in the previous papers on the subject. After all, lexical borrowing appears as a natural phenomenon of language development, meaning that a diachronic study is meant to show an evolution, either positive (increase in the use of Māori loanwords) or negative (stagnancy or even a decline in the use of Māori words).

VI - Analysis of the data

The entrance of native lexical items into the vocabulary of New Zealanders has been observed in several papers. John Macalister in his *A Dictionary of Māori words in New Zealand English* (2005) observes four reasons for the adoption of Māori words in the New Zealand English lexicon. The first reason why English adopts words from te reo Māori is when it provides the most economical way of referring to a thing. There are no easy synonyms available, so the speakers prefer the more economical loanword whose meaning has been understood by the wider speech community. The second reason for adopting Māori words into English is when te reo Māori also allows New Zealanders to express a distinctive national identity. The third reason for the adoption of Māori words into English, which is closely linked to the expression of a distinct identity, is the use of loanwords to express empathy with Māoridom, its values and aspirations. And the fourth reason is to make an impact on the speaker's audience (political, humor) (Macalister, 2005).

As such, through the use of Māori borrowings in New Zealand English, the language is a reflection of and on its culture.

Since I am going to examine close usage contexts and consider many different factors regarding the use of Māori loans in New Zealand English (NZE), I need to limit the number of loans investigated given the number of searches required for each loan. Hence, I will restrict the discussion to four case studies each composed of three loans (grouped together in the same case study because the words have a common link in Māori society): $M\bar{a}ori/P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}/Kiwi$; $iwi/hap\bar{u}/waka$; $marae/wh\bar{a}nau/hui$; reo/taonga/mana. The reason why these loanwords have been chosen is not insignificant. Indeed they are well-established within Aotearoa New Zealand as markers of ethnicity and $M\bar{a}oritanga$.

The analyses will provide a diachronic view of the use of the loans through two-time points: 2000 and 2020. My choice of newspapers is made to cover the whole country so as to

provide a wide picture of the use of Māori words in New Zealand: for the year 2000, the New Zealand Herald (North Island), The Dominion (North Island), the Otago Daily Times (South Island), and the Wanganui Chronicle (North Island) will be used and for the year 2020, the Gisborne Herald (North Island), the Otago Daily Times (South Island), the Radio New Zealand (North Island) and the Stuff (North Island) will be used. These are national newspapers with a wide circulation and national reach, and since this variety (Māori New Zealand English) is used in these newspapers, it suggests that the variety also has a national reach and therefore justifies its investigation. What is more, in order to obtain representative results, most of the selected newspapers originate from the North Island, where the Māori population (who are more likely to understand/speak te reo) is most concentrated (upper and central parts). Although a balance had to be struck between North and South Island newspapers in order to have a more global representation of borrowing usage. A sociolinguistic analysis (in terms of ethnicity, age, and gender) will not be possible as I do not have any information about the writers of the articles included but some hypotheses will be attempted. However, as newspapers are intended for a wide readership, it will provide a valuable means of assessing the current prescriptive view regarding the use of Māori loans in written New Zealand English.

1. Case study 1: Māori/Pākehā/Kiwi

These loanwords have been chosen because they are well-established within *Aotearoa* New Zealand as markers of ethnicity and identity: New Zealanders in general (*Kiwi*), New Zealanders of Māori origin (*Māori*), and New Zealanders of European origin (*Pākehā*). Moreover, these loans can be behind the formation of hybrid compounds since they can be either an adjective or a noun (hence their high frequency). Furthermore, I will also investigate lexical preference (of loans versus existing English words) which can be an indicator of the state of the language within everyday mainstream New Zealand English; plural versions of the three loans (Kiwis, Pakehas, Maoris) since the "dominant language can exert intense influence on the subdominant language at the phonological and grammatical level" (Calude, 2014). Indeed, "[m]ost plural Māori words look (and sound) the same as their singular form" (exceptions include nouns relating to people which display plural through macrons or double vowels) (Maclean, 2019), the context helping to understand. I will also analyze New Zealand English variants for each of the three loans ("New Zealander(s)" for *Kiwi*, "European/White

New Zealander(s)" and "New Zealand European" for $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$ and "native(s)/indigenous people(s)" for $M\bar{a}ori$). For $M\bar{a}ori$, it would also be interesting to compare the use of another Māori word to refer to this same ethnic marker: tangata whenua. The same could be applied to $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$, with the term tangata tiriti (the people of the treaty) or tauiwi (foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist). This would lead us to see if the loans analyzed are 'universal', in other words, if they are 'institutionalized' within mainstream New Zealand English.

But first, let us recall the origin of these words. Indeed, "numbers of [...] words have been assimilated into the New Zealand vocabulary, sometimes, so thoroughly that their origin is forgotten" (Metge, 1967:214). These three loans are from te reo Māori, but they are so common that their origin is lost. The word Māori "as a term to describe all of the individual iwi of Aotearoa/New Zealand is a relatively new concept. Before colonisation, Māori society was based on iwi [tribe], hapū [sub-tribe], and whānau [extended family] groupings each led by chiefs of varying ranks" (Ka'ai et al., 2004:91). "Before the arrival of strangers from overseas among the warring tribes, the inhabitants of New Zealand were Atiawa or Ngapuni or Waikato. So far as is known, they had no name for their race: the word 'Maori' meant 'normal'. They applied the term to themselves only when, for the first time in their recollection, they encountered another race" (Sinclair, 1969:117). The term Pākehā is said to be "derived from the "gods of the sea," called Pakehakeha. They had an appearance like men, and sometimes even fish but had pale coloured skin." Or it is "derived from the term Pakepakeha which is an alternative word for the more common term Patupaiarehe; a term applied to a race of people, some say mythical race who had pale skin and lived in the forests and only came out at night and in the mist. They were known to kidnap Māori who ventured into the forests and hills by themselves." (Karaitiana, 2021). As for Kiwi, "it was first used in 1835 to refer to the iconic flightless bird, "the Māori name refers [through onomatopoeia] to the male's shrill call". Next, it was adopted (first coined in 1918) as the surname of New Zealanders since "the country was so heavily associated with those unique birds" (Aleksic, <u>2018</u>).

a) Results of the 2000 data: Māori/Pākehā/Kiwi

The first finding of the 2000 data concerns the overall counts of the three loans investigated. It is summarized in Table 1 (see Table 1 in the annexes).

Table 1 shows that the word Māori is the term that is the most used, next is the word Kiwi and finally the word Pākehā. This can be explained by the fact that Māori is significantly high since Aotearoa New Zealand is highly known through its tangata whenua, as for the word Kiwi (slang) it refers to all New Zealanders, the multicultural society; it does not specify the origins of the inhabitant. Furthermore, the plural version of the loans, that is to say, the 'anglicization' of Māori words (with the addition of the plural marker -s which is not a feature of te reo Māori) is present for these loans. The word Kiwi is more often anglicized than the word Māori and Pākehā showing its lexicalization in New Zealand English (the anglicized version of the word is used in each section (see Table 2 in the annexes)). The dominant sub-genre having the anglicized Māori word Kiwis is Sport. One can interpret this use as the fact that the plural form is used to demonstrate team spirit, as in sports competitions, the emphasis is not on the ethnic diversity of the players but rather on the difference between countries, with the emphasis on New Zealand being one entity, united by different people. Hence, the importance of the use of the word Kiwis in the sub-genre Sport as being representative of the whole country (see Table 2 in the annexes). As for the anglicized loan Māoris, its frequency is more important in the section Editorial thus, showing the prescriptive viewpoint of the time regarding the inclusion of the Māori language in New Zealand English, but also probably the perception of Māori in society as assimilated (since the Editorial section is the author's opinion). This is all the more marked by the fact that borrowings associated with Māori culture (reo, mana, marae; etc.) are little used compared with the 2020 corpus, which shows a peak in the growth of borrowings but also a decline in the anglicization of Māori words, pointing to a new approach to the Māori population and language.

The three loans are unevenly distributed across newspapers particularly between the North and the South Island (see Table 3 in the annexes). Indeed, these loans appear to be much more used in the newspapers of the North Island (New Zealand Herald, The Dominion, Wanganui Chronicle), than in the newspaper of the South Island (Otago Daily Times). The Dominion representing the Wellington area exhibits the highest counts of the loans, followed closely by the New Zealand Herald located in Auckland. The South Island newspaper (Otago Daily Times) shows much lower figures in the usage frequency of these loans. This could be explained by the fact that many more Māori people live in the North Island. Indeed, according to the 2018 Census, the Māori population is concentrated in the upper and central

North Island (Wairoa (65.7%), Ōpōtiki (63.7%), Kawerau (61.7%), and Gisborne (52.9%)) (Ministry of Health and Massey University, 2020).

What was also noticeable was that the loans were more likely to occur in certain newspaper sections than in others. The word shows three statistical groups in which it appears. Table 4 (see in the annexes) shows that the loan *Māori* exhibits its highest occurrences in News. It is closely followed by Politics, Editorial and Features & Columns. For the loan *Pākehā*, one major group appears. News, Features & Columns and Editorial are the sections in which the word appears the most (see Table 5 in the annexes). *Kiwi*, on the other hand, is generally more evenly spread throughout News, Sport and Business sections and shows a peak in Business (see Table 6 in the annexes).

Moreover, we can observe a correlation between the distribution of the loans *Māori* and Kiwi (which are used as adjectives) across major newspaper sections and N-Grams (see Table 7 in the annexes). Indeed, most of the words following the loan Māori are related either to political matters (such as affairs, language, land, claims, organisations) with The Dominion and Wanganui Chronicle (North Island newspapers) leading in the use of these N-Grams (their uses making up half or more than half of the total) or to te ao Māori (such as art, artefacts). But also to Māori in general with words such as women, men, children, people, issues which could relate to the section News as well as Editorial and Features & Columns. As for Kiwi, the main section to which the words relate is Business, with words such as dollar, bank, income; but also with words relating to occupations (sailors, farmers). The section Sport is also represented with the words coach, jersey and athletes. The newspaper The New Zealand Herald is the one leading in the use of these N-Grams in both sections (the only one to use these words or the one which uses them the most). Both loans appear to favor a following plural N-Gram; yet the loan Kiwi favors N-Grams relating to groups of people (kids, soldiers, farmers, athletes) and the loan Māori favors N-Grams relating to intangible reality (affairs, authorities, claims).

For $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$, there is also a correlation between the distribution across major newspaper sections and N-Grams, but there is a particularity for this loan: the N-Grams following the loan are always put in relation to the word $M\bar{a}ori$ (in close context) (see Table 8 in the annexes). These words are found in the sections News, Editorial and Features & Columns, but always in comparison with the loan $M\bar{a}ori$ through coordination, or through subject

emphasizing a dichotomy (we vs them) or simply by a slash which literally (and graphically) represents the division (and, but, we, /) and the negation. $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$ is most of the time (6/8) following the loan $M\bar{a}ori$. In this case, the compared loan $(M\bar{a}ori)$ is placed under the 'superiority', the 'norm' of the comparing term $(P\bar{a}keh\bar{a})$.

Furthermore, if we compare the N-Grams of the loan *Māori* with the ones of the anglicized form of the word, *Māoris*, there is a huge difference. Indeed, most of the N-Grams for *Māoris* have a sporty connotation or have a negative connotation in the sentence (see Table 9 in the annexes). These results are in correlation with the results of the loan *Kiwi*, both have N-Grams that indicate their uses in the section Sport. However, there is no possibility to compare between the N-Grams of *Pākehā* and *Pākehā* since the anglicized form of *Pākehā* is not used enough (only two times) to have a relevant result.

Finally what can be analyzed as well are the English equivalents of the loans. What emerged is that even if there is an overall preferential use of the loans instead of their English equivalents, the English equivalent *New Zealander(s)* is used quite significantly (180 for 285 *Kiwi(s)*) (see Table 10 in the annexes). As for *Māori*, there is no significant use of English equivalents nor the Māori equivalent *tangata whenua* (see Table 11 in the annexes). It is the same for *Pākehā*, no English equivalents were used nor Māori equivalents (*tangata tiriti* or *tauiwi*). As elsewhere, we can say that the Māori loans are well anchored in the New Zealand English lexicon and especially within the lexical field of national identity.

b) Results of the 2020 data: Māori/Pākehā/Kiwi

The rank ordering of the three loans in the 2020 data is the same as in the 2000 data: the most frequent loan is *Māori*, followed by *Kiwi*, and *Pākehā* (see Table 12 in the annexes). However, the loans *Māori* and *Kiwi* have increased in use almost tenfold in the 2020 data. As for the loan *Pākehā*, even if it is more used than in the 2000 data, its frequency is equal to the 2000 data if we look at the average frequency of both loans *Māori* and *Kiwi*. It must be noted, however, that the data of the two corpora are not completely comparable because the older data (2000 data) have almost one million words whereas the 2020 data have four million words in total (valid for all analyses of the 2020 data). Yet, even if we divide the total number of the use of a loan, the result is still superior to the one of the 2000 data.

Table 12 (see Table 12 in the annexes) displays the overwhelming use of the loan Māori (its anglicized counterpart Māoris is even less used than in the 2000 data, showing a new awareness of the status of te reo, since the plural in te reo is never marked by the -s as in English, Māori is then singular and plural (it depends on the context)). The anglicized version, Māoris, is used in the context of telling the past, about Māori urbanization, as an anti-colonist argument; it is also reported as being used in a death threat comment to a nurse, and finally as a subject itself, as the example of the misuse of te reo Māori within Aotearoa New Zealand and abroad (in the United States, in a slogan selling a New Zealand beauty product). As for the loan Kiwi, what is striking is that the 'plural form' ('anglicization' of Māori words with the addition of the plural marker -s) is used more than the singular. This could be explained by the use of the loan Kiwi, in the context of unity. It demonstrates a team spirit, as in sports competitions, the emphasis is not on the ethnic diversity of the players but rather on the difference between countries, with the emphasis of New Zealand being one entity, united by different people. It also shows that the word seems to be lexicalized in New Zealand English since its 'transformed' form denotes that the word has been assimilated into the Pākehā society (which is also the ethnic majority (Pākehā) that uses this borrowing most to identify with the country).

The general use of the three loans is more or less similar across newspapers. However, the loan Kiwi(s) is unevenly distributed and appears more in the newspaper Stuff (see Table 13 in the annexes), a newspaper of the North Island, followed by the newspaper of the South Island ($Otago\ Daily\ Times$). Once more, the loans ($M\bar{a}ori$, Kiwi, $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$) are unevenly distributed across newspapers; the South Island newspaper ($Otago\ Daily\ Times$) shows much lower figures in the usage frequency of these loans (except for Kiwi(s)) than the North Island newspapers ($Gisborne\ Herald$, $Radio\ New\ Zealand$, Stuff). Once again, this could be explained by the fact that many more Māori people live in the North Island and thus the readership is mostly of Māori origin, hence the high frequency of loans.

What is not noticeable in the 2020 data is if the loans are more likely to occur in certain newspaper sections than in others. Indeed, English Corpora offers only to search by date since the corpus NOW is made of only one genre: News. However, the 'sections' can be found through the correlation between the words following the loans which can relate to different matters. This search has been done through the tool 'Collocates' which may be equivalent to N-Grams (also valid for all analyses of the 2020 data). Table 14 (see Table 14

in the annexes) displays the results of the loan Māori. It exhibits that the words used in close context to the loan Māori probably occur in News and Politics. The words used in the four newspapers are women, communities, party and language then the words land and ward(s) aer used in three newspapers, followed by development, television, authority and children used in two newspapers and finally representation, seats, caucus and co-leader are used once but in different newspapers. Some words suggest the longtime struggle of Māori for the return of their land and their struggle for the resurgence of Māoritanga. These results are in correlation with the results of the 2000 data. But the 2020 data display more words relating to Māori culture (art, music, media, television, culture, world), that is to say, loans come up in association with more diverse lexical items such as art, music etc. This correlation in the data might suggest that Māori struggle is still present in New Zealand society and that even after a twenty-year gap, the same struggles are at the forefront; or on the contrary, it shows a larger impact of Māori cultural interest in the society. As for the word health (used in each newspapers), it must be taken into account that the 2020 data are within the context of covid-19 and that the Māori population "lives in inferior housing compared to the majority [with "overcrowding and substandard housing sometimes led to poorer health among Māori"]. This is partly explained by their lower incomes, fewer educational qualifications (limiting employment prospects) and higher unemployment rates" (Pearson, 2018).

As for the loan *Kiwi*, the words used in close context to the loan probably occur in Business, Sport and News (see Table 15 in annexes). Which matches the results of the 2000 data. Indeed, words such as *property*, *company(ies)*, *firm(s)*, but also more precise words of a specific occupation (producer) are found (*chick*, *eggs*, *lumber*, *hatchery*). Moreover, the loan *Kiwi* is representative of the sports section with the words *team(s)*, *tour(s)* and *club*. What is also noticeable is the frequent use of nouns in the plural form (*families*, *women*, *authors*, *artists*, *kids*) following the loan *Kiwi* (as the loan is used as an adjective). It is not really surprising since the word is generally associated with the whole of *Aotearoa* New Zealand, and thus covers a wide range of denominations (occupations, genders). These words could then be part of the section News as they refer to a large portion of society.

The loan $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$ is followed by more 'general' words which could be found in the News section (see Table 16 in the annexes). Indeed, the collocates refer to the past of *Aotearoa* New Zealand (*settlement, dominance, majority, heritage*) but also to some extent the present. There are also words of generic denomination (*woman(en), kid, men, girl*) which

are in correlation with the fact that Pākehā are the majority population in Aotearoa New Zealand (its English counterpart Zealander(s) is used four times and twice in the same newspaper). Indeed, according to the 2018 Census: 70.2% of New Zealanders identified as European, 16.5% as Māori, 15.1% as Asian (predominantly Indian and Chinese, followed by Korean, Filipino, and Japanese), 8.1% as Pacific Islander (mainly Samoan, but also Cook Islander and Tongan), and 1.5% as Middle Eastern, Latin American, or African¹⁸. What is also clear about these words is that when combined with the loan Pākehā they appear to establish a clear conceptual distinction between people living in the country (as it was the case in the 2000 data) exacerbating the 'one country, two people' view. When taking the words world, side, narrative, perspective, it clearly puts forward that the Pākehā are distinct from the other groups (the samoan word palagi (used as a cognate (a word that has the same linguistic derivation as another) in te reo Māori) denotes this distinctiveness as it usually describes white foreigners of European or American descent and equals Pākehā); and to some extent appear to be the 'norm' while the others are the 'deviant' (especially the Māori). By suggesting a specific Pākehā world, side, narrative and perspective, the 'Other' (other ethnic groups and especially the Māori) is in constant comparison and appears to be downgraded, contrary to the Pākehā who are upgraded (normative construction of social hierarchy).

Finally what can be analyzed as well are the English equivalents of the loans. What emerged is that even if there is an overall preferential use of the loans instead of their English equivalents, the English equivalent *New Zealander(s)* is used quite significantly as it was in the 2000 data (see Table 17 in the annexes). As for *Māori*, there is no significant use of English equivalents (see Table 18 in the annexes) since most of the use of *Native(s)* is linked to flora and fauna or to the Native Americans (the same emerges for 'indigenous' which is widely used to link Māori with other 'First Nations' people advocating for their rights around the world). It is the same for *Pākehā*, only the Māori equivalent *tauiwi* (foreigner, European, non-Māori, colonist) was used five times in total (no use of the equivalent *tangata tiriti*). It appears that over time the Māori loans are well (and more) anchored in the New Zealand English lexicon.

 $^{18 \;} Stats \; NZ, \; 2020, \; https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/ethnic-group-summaries-reveal-new-zealands-multicultural-make-up/$

2. Case study 2: Iwi/Hapū/Waka

These words were chosen because they are part of a well-established practice within Aotearoa New Zealand: the pepeha (tribal saying). Pepeha (a formulaic, ritualistic way of presenting oneself to others) is a way of introducing oneself in Māori by telling people who one is by identifying where one is from and where one belongs: it situates the speaker in physical, social, and spiritual realms. The speaker "details her[/his] relationships—and therefore responsibilities—to the land, the water, to material expressions of social structures (such as buildings), as well as to ancestors and social groupings" (O'Toole, 2020:207). It links one person to his/her ancestors, by connecting to waka, hapū and iwi but also to important places like *maunga* (mountain), *awa* (river) and *marae* (meeting house, courtyard). "Sharing pepeha is an important part of tikanga Māori but the idea of making [oneself] known to others is universal. When people meet they tell each other who they are and where they are from. It helps [...] to make links with one another" (Oranga Tamariki—Ministry for Children, 2022). It is part of whakapapa (genealogy) affiliations through the ancestral mountain, river, waka, iwi, hapū, marae and other kinship ties. As such, it is a matter of indigeneity and assumes the role of an identity card (Opai, 2022). The pepeha follows the pattern of maunga (mountain), then awa/moana (river/sea), iwi (tribe), hapū (sub-tribe, clan), marae because it is following the water cycle. This introductory speech is most of the time recited during *mihimihi* (introductory speeches at the beginning of a gathering after the more formal $p\bar{o}hiri$ [ritual of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae])¹⁹.

Here is an example of a typical Māori pepeha:
Ko te maunga (The mountain that I affiliate to is)
Ko te awa/roto/moana (The river/lake/sea that I affiliate to is)
Ko te waka (The waka that I affiliate to is)
Ko tōku tīpuna (My (founding) ancestor is)
Ko tōku iwi (My tribe is)
Ko tōku hapū (My sub-tribe is)
Ko tōku marae My marae is
Nō ahau (I am from)
Ko rāua ko ōku mātua (My parents are and)
Ko tōku ingoa (My name is)

¹⁹ John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=mihimihi

I will investigate the lexical preference (of loans versus existing English words), plural versions of the three loans (*iwis*, *hapūs*, *wakas*), as well as New Zealand English variants for each of the three loans (tribe for *iwi*, sub-tribe for *hapū* and canoe for *waka*).

Before European contact, the largest political grouping was the *iwi* (tribe). This usually consisted of several related *hapū* (sub-tribes, clans). While *hapū* was the most significant political unit in pre-European Māori society. *Hapū* consisted of a number of *whānau* (extended families). As for the word *waka*, it is at the origin of *iwi* and *hapū* as they originally identified themselves with the *waka* (canoe) on which their founding ancestor arrived from Hawaiki. Then *iwi* and *hapū* formed as the descendants of *waka* groups expanded over succeeding generations (Taonui, 2005). These loans are markers of identity, a symbol of 'tribal identity, mana and territory'. "Government officials preferred to deal with large tribal groups rather than individual sub-tribes, so Māori became identified with their iwi rather than their hapū" (Taonui, 2011).

a) Results of the 2000 data: Iwi/Hapū/Waka

The first finding of the 2000 data concerns the overall counts of the three loans investigated. It is summarized in Table 19 (see Table 19 in the annexes).

Table 19 (see the annexes) displays that the word *iwi* is the term that is the most used, next is the word *waka* and finally the word *hapū*. This can be explained by the fact that in Māori society, *iwi* (literally meaning "bones") is the main social unit. It often refers to a large group of people descending from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory (*rohe*). Nowadays, *iwi* can exercise significant political power in the management of land, seabed and foreshore areas. *Iwi* have come together to recover and manage land and assets lost to them either through confiscation, war or legislation. *Hapū* (literally meaning "pregnant") are also frequent in the news because they controlled a defined portion of tribal territory and had access to sea fisheries, shellfish beds, cultivations, forest resources, lakes, rivers and streams.

The three loans are more or less evenly distributed across the North and the South Island newspapers (see Table 20 in the annexes). Indeed, the newspapers the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Otago Daily Times* appear to use the loans more frequently. *The New Zealand*

Herald representing the Auckland area and exhibits the highest counts of the loans, followed closely by the Otago Daily Times located in Dunedin. The North Island newspaper, The Dominion, shows lower figures in the usage frequency of these loans. This result could be explained by the fact that the South Island has 'only' two major iwi and thus it is more manageable to refer to them. On the contrary, the North Island displays a huge number of iwi, with six iwi in Tāmaki Makaurau, Auckland only. As a result, the increase or decrease in the use of this loan may be due to the fact that, in order to give a precise idea of which tribe is being referred to, the author gives the exact name of the tribe in question (and as there are many tribes in the North Island this frequency of use is higher). Or, on the contrary, as there is a wide variety of tribes, the author refers only to the reference word (iwi) to give a general idea.

What was also noticeable was that the loans were more likely to occur in certain newspaper sections than in others. The loan iwi exhibits its highest occurrences in News and followed by Features & Columns and Politics with slightly fewer occurrences (see Table 21 in the annexes). For $hap\bar{u}$, it appears only five times through the sections Politics and Features & Columns (see Table 22 in the annexes). For the loan waka, it appears also a few times in News and Features & Columns (see Table 23 in the annexes).

Moreover, we can observe a correlation between the distribution of the loan *iwi* across major newspaper sections and N-Grams (see Table 24 in the annexes). Indeed, most of the words following the loan *iwi* are relating either to political matters (such as *authorities*, *executing*, *representatives*) or news (struggle for fishery). In general, these words relate to struggle for *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination, autonomy) and thus could relate to the section News as well as Features & Columns. The N-Grams following the loan *iwi* point towards a meaning displaying autonomy (*authorities*, *members*, *hands*, *mana*) and might reflect both struggle and power of *iwi* as autonomy is linked to (past) endeavors to achieve self-determination but also to the renewed interest of the society for *te ao Māori* (put forward on the news). As for *hapū* (see Table 25 in the annexes), the main section to which the words relate is possibly anywhere, since the words are in fact either a translation of the Māori loan (*sub-tribe*) or its co-group (*iwi*).

For waka, there is also a correlation between the distribution across major newspaper sections and N-Grams (see Table 26 in the annexes). These words are found in the sections

News and Features & Columns, since words such as *te*, *toi* and *crew* are in fact about organizations and missing persons. Yet two occurrences of *waka* have a possessive pronoun before it (*my* and *our*), this time the context is about one's affiliation (*pepeha*) and thus set in a specific Māori context. Overall, the use of the loan *waka* is twofold: *waka* meaning the original term with a context of affiliation and *waka* meaning the 'generic' term (canoe).

Furthermore, if we compare the N-Grams of the loan *iwi* with the one of *iwis*, there is no difference. Indeed, most of the N-Grams for *iwis* have a political and informative value. There is also this emphasis on the autonomy and power of *iwi* (*authorities, consultation, leadership*).

Since there was not so much information about the surrounding context of these loans, I added the collocates of the loans (see Tables 27, 28 and 29 in the annexes). What emerges is that the loans are really anchored in a Māori context: most of the collocates are also from te reo Māori (hapū, whānau, whenua, mana, marae, Māori, Pākehā). What is also noticeable is the prominence of *iwi* and hapū denominations (Ngāti Aurere, Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Mahuta). What is clear from these collocates is that they assume their role as identification markers, and express a sense of Māori identity and affiliation (linked to reciting whakapapa [genealogy, genealogical table, lineage, descent] which is an important skill and of great importance in Māori society).

Finally what can be analyzed as well are the English equivalents of the loans. While there is an overall preferential use of the loans instead of their English equivalents, the English equivalent tribe(s) is used quite significantly (39 for 59 iwi(s) see Table 30 in the annexes). As for $hap\bar{u}$, there is no significant use of the English equivalent. It is different for waka since the English equivalent is used (canoe(s)) as much as the Māori loan. Then, for these loans even if the Māori loans are well anchored in the New Zealand English lexicon, their English equivalents are also used quite significantly, especially for the loan waka which displays a double meaning (affiliation and canoe).

b) Results of the 2020 data: Iwi/Hapū/Waka

The rank ordering of the three loans in the 2020 data is the same as in the 2000 data: the

most frequent loan is iwi, followed by waka, and $hap\bar{u}$ (see Table 31 in the annexes). However, the loans have increased in use in the 2020 data. As for the loan $hap\bar{u}$, even if it is more used than in the 2000 data, its frequency is similar to the 2000 data regarding the average frequency of both other loans (iwi and waka). Once again, the data of the two corpora are not completely comparable, yet, the result is still superior to the one of the 2000 data.

Table 31 (see Table 31 in the annexes) shows the overwhelming use of the Māori loans without their counterparts, that is to say, their anglicized versions with the addition of the plural marker -s. It is even less used than in the 2000 data (which had only 4 occurrences of *iwis*). This could be explained by the fact that it demonstrates respect for *tūpuna* (ancestors). The emphasis is not on the diversity of *iwi*, *hapū* and *waka*, but rather on the unity between those different affiliations, with the emphasis on *Māori tangata* (Māori people) being one entity, united by different people and descending from the same background. Another reason could be linked to a new approach to the native language, one that does not culturally and linguistically appropriate *te reo*. By de-assimilating *te reo* from New Zealand English (rejecting the plural form), the native language is integrated with a more respectful approach that respects the native grammar and thus the native language.

The three loans are unevenly distributed across newspapers (see Table 32 in the annexes). Indeed, the loans appear to be much more used in the newspapers of the North Island (Gisborne Herald, Radio New Zealand and Stuff), with the Gisborne Herald displaying a considerably high range of the loans (it alone uses half of the loans). According to the 2018 Census, more than half of the population (53%) is Māori in Tairāwhiti (Gisborne)²⁰. Gisborne district has four predominant iwi: Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, Te Aitanga ā Māhaki. The South Island newspaper, Otago Daily Times, shows much lower figures in the usage frequency of these loans than the North Island newspapers (Gisborne Herald, Radio New Zealand, Stuff). This could be explained by the fact that most of the waka that populated New Zealand landed on the North Island and thus much more iwi are found on the North Island since more Māori people live there (see Figure 3 below). However, in the South Island, there is one major iwi (Ngāi Tahu), and thus one may expect to have higher occurrences of the loan iwi according to its more manageable frequency (iwi is still the loan that is the most used in the South Island newspaper). However, the three borrowings have a general tendency to be more frequent in the four newspapers, reflecting

²⁰ NZ Stats, Gisborne Region,

https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/gisborne-region

the renewed interest in the Māori culture.



Figure 3. An image showing the Māori arrivals (by *waka* landings) from 1200, *He Tohu*, 'He Whenua Rangatira. A Māori land', 2017, retrieved on YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8w0zjqA3hUI (Accessed 28 June, 2023)

What is not noticeable in the 2020 data is if the loans are more likely to occur in certain newspaper sections than in others. This is why a search has been done through the tool 'Collocates' to explore the wider context of the loans. Table 33 (see Table 33 in the annexes) displays the results of the loan *iwi*. It exhibits that the words used in close context to the loan *iwi* are likely to occur in News and Politics. Indeed, some words suggest the authority of *iwi* in the political sphere (*council*, *runanga*, *kaupapa*, *chairs*). The other words share a sense of belonging, of affiliation; which is likely to put these words in the News context. These results are in correlation with the results of the 2000 data. But the 2020 data display more words relating to Politics and new words relating to Māori culture (media, radio). This correlation in the data and evolution suggests that *iwi* are an integral part of New Zealand society and that they have more recognition as they are put forward in the news.

The collocates of the loan $hap\bar{u}$ demonstrate similarities with the 2000 data. Indeed, most of the collocates are linked to the sections News and Politics (see Table 34 in the annexes). All the newspapers have iwi as their first collocate which means that both words are interconnected (the loan iwi also has the loan $hap\bar{u}$ within its list of collocates). Most of the words are related to Māori society ($wh\bar{a}nau$, iwi, marae) which means that it is most

likely to appear in News section. As for the words *land-holding*, *dialects*, *reo*, *rangatira*, *chairs*, etc., it is likely that they occur in Politics section since pre-European $hap\bar{u}$ "controlled a defined portion of tribal territory [with] access to sea fisheries, shellfish beds, cultivations, forest resources, lakes, rivers and streams" (Taonui, 2005). As such, they must refer to the post-European struggle for reclaiming their land and rights over land.

As for the collocates of the loan waka, there are two major sections in which they could be put (see Table 35 in the annexes): Sport and News. Indeed, the term waka seems to have two contexts: the one surrounding sports, competitions with words hoe, paddlers, competition, team, etc.; and the one surrounding the building, the history of waka with the words ama (waka ama meaning outrigger canoe), hourua (waka hourua meaning double canoe), kotuia (fastening by lacing), Tākitimu (one of the seven migration canoes), taua (waka taua meaning war canoe) heke (rafter), etc. Hence, we can observe that the loan waka has kept the 'original' meaning, as it was the case in the 2000 data, the one referring to past migration. But what emerges as a renewal is its sports-associated meaning, indeed as a regeneration of the interest in waka, it popularized the waka ama, hence it is not surprising to find it in the more contemporary data. As for the collocates eke and noa, the fact that the loans are used within the four newspapers is explained by the fact that the loans waka, eke and noa appear in a whakataukī (proverb): 'He waka eke noa' meaning 'what's yours is mine, and what's mine is yours'21 and exemplifying the 'we are all in this together' concept. This usage is a good example of waka as a 'new usage', since the word retains its original meaning but with a more modern one, adapted to contemporary culture. As a result, the term waka is more integrated into society, since it refers to a reality that links past and present, bringing Māori culture up to date.

Finally what can be analyzed as well are the English equivalents of the loans. There is an overall preferential use of the loans instead of their English equivalents, but the English equivalent canoe(s) is used quite significantly as it was for the 2000 data (see Table 36 in the annexes). As for iwi and $hap\bar{u}$, there is no significant use of English equivalents since most of the uses of sub-tribe(s) are in fact the following English meaning (hence the low number of occurrences since the word is well known in Aotearoa New Zealand). It is the same for iwi, the English equivalent tribe(s) is used but compared to the high frequency of the Māori loan

²¹ John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search? idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=waka+noa

the equivalent is insignificant. Throughout time, the Māori loans have been anchored in the New Zealand English lexicon, with for the loan *waka* an expansion of its meaning.

3. Case study 3: Marae/Whānau/Hui

The loans have been chosen since they are part of a well-established social practice within *Aotearoa* New Zealand: *hui* are held in *marae* where *whānau* attend and meet. The *marae* is a place of cultural importance, it is the focal point of Māori communities which see it as their *tūrangawaewae* (a standing place, a place of belonging). It holds *tangihanga* (funeral, rites for the dead), *āhuareka* (celebrations), and *hui* (meetings). A *marae* has spiritual and cultural significance and belongs to *iwi*, *hapū* or *whānau*. As such, *manuhiri* (visitors, guests) are perceived as *waewae tapu* (sacred feet) since they have never set foot on a *marae* and thus must partake in a *pōwhiri* (formal welcoming ceremony on a *marae*).

Whānau are the basic unit of Māori society, they are composed of kaumātua (elders), pākeke (adults) and tamariki (children). Nowadays, the term is sometimes used to include friends who may not have any kinship ties to other members²².

a) Results of the 2000 data: Marae/Whānau/Hui

The first finding of the 2000 data concerns the overall counts of the three loans investigated. It is summarized in Table 37 (see Table 37 in the annexes).

Table 37 (see Table 37 in the annexes) highlights that the word *marae* is the term that is the most used, then in second it is the word *whānau* and finally the word *hui*. This can be explained by the fact that the *marae* is the central entity that gathers *whānau* and holds *hui* and as such is the most noticeable.

The three loans are rather evenly distributed across newspapers from the North and the South Island (see Table 38 in the annexes). Indeed, these loans appear in all the newspapers of the North Island (New Zealand Herald, The Dominion, Wanganui Chronicle), and in the newspaper of the South Island (Otago Daily Times). However, Wanganui Chronicle representing the Whanganui area exhibits the highest total counts of the loans, followed

22 John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search? idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=whanau

closely by the *New Zealand Herald* located in Auckland and the *Otago Daily Times* not far behind. The North Island newspaper (*The Dominion*) shows much lower figures in the usage frequency of these loans. It is linked to the fact that the North Island has a considerable number of *marae* (739) contrary to the South Island which has 28 *marae*. The Auckland region has 26 marae, Dunedin 3, Whanganui 109 (with 41 only in the Whanganui district), and Wellington 18²³.

What is also noticeable is that the loans were more likely to occur in certain newspaper sections than in others. The loan *marae*(s) exhibits its highest occurrences in News and Features & Columns (see Table 39 in the annexes). The newspapers the *New Zealand Herald* and the *Otago Daily Times* are the newspapers that make most use of the *marae* loan. The *New Zealand Herald* uses it most often in the News section, while the *Otago Daily Times* uses it most often in the Features & Columns section. And so demonstrates a pluralistic use of the *marae* loan (News, Features & Columns) and at the same time an interest in this cultural aspect of Maori society (since Features & Columns is a regular feature in a newspaper – written by the same author and usually on the same subject or theme). It is the same for *hui* (see Table 41 in the annexes). *Whānau*, on the other hand, occurs more in Politics (see Table 40 in the annexes).

Moreover, we can observe a correlation between the distribution of the loans *marae* and *hui* across major newspaper sections and N-Grams (see Tables 42 and 43 in the annexes). Indeed, most of the words following the loan *marae* are relating to political matters (*chairman*, *committee*) or to *te ao Māori* (*place*). It correlates with the function of *marae* as $w\bar{a}hi\ tapu$ (sacred place) as a place of cultural and political centers for $wh\bar{a}nau$, iwi and $hap\bar{u}^{24}$, and thus could relate to the section News as well as Politics. As for *hui*, the main section to which the word (*report*) relate is News. As the loans are not really present in the 2000 data, it was hard to see a real correlation between sections and N-Grams.

As for the loan whānau, no N-Grams resulted as it was so rarely used.

Moreover, to remedy this lack of information, searching the collocates of the loans was essential. Table 44 (see Table 44 in the annexes) gives us information about the collocates of

²³ Māori maps, https://maorimaps.com/

²⁴ Bay of Plenty Regional Council Toi Moana, New Zealand Government, 2023 https://www.boprc.govt.nz/living-in-the-bay/our-places/marae-locations#:~:text=There%20are %20224%20marae%20across,our%20deceased%20lie%20(tangihanga).

the loan *marae*. What comes out is that most of the words related to *marae* are for denomination (*Waitangi*, *Hirangi*, *Taurua*, *Turangi*, *Kingi*), that is to say, naming the *marae* or for naming the groups which gather on the *marae*. As such, they could be found in the News section. If we compare the collocates of the loan *marae* with the one of *maraes*, there is a difference (see Table 44 in the annexes). Indeed, the collocates for *maraes* have a political connotation (*camping*, *ground*, *documents*, *Māoris*). In fact, the anglicized loan is itself a translation of an English term 'camping grounds'. The anglicized form (addition of the plural -s) also seems to attract words in the plural (*Māoris*, *documents*), including the word *Māoris*, which reflects New Zealand society's assimilationist approach (the words used within a Pākehā context appear to have become 'English' words or more exactly assimilated into Pākehā society and follow English grammar) to the Māori language (in 2000).

The collocates of the loan *whānau* are all from te reo Māori and thus further indicate the intricate link with *te ao Māori* (see Table 45 in the annexes). But what is noticeable as well are the words *huringa*, *whakanui* and *taonga* which celebrate the family sphere. As the words are of generic meaning, *taonga* (treasure), *huringa* (transformation), *whakanui* (commemoration, celebration) they can appear anywhere.

The collocates for the loan *hui* favor a particular context: Politics. Indeed the words refer to *Mana Motuhake* (a Māori political party), to meetings (done annually) and important persons taking place in it (see Table 46 in the annexes).

Finally what can be analyzed as well are the English equivalents of the loans. It emerges that even if there is an overall preferential use of the loans in Māori context instead of its English equivalents, the English equivalent *meeting(s)* is used quite significantly (398 for 6 *hui(s)*) followed by *gathering(s)*. However, it must be taken into account that the loan *hui* is only used to refer to Māori affairs and thus most of the time the English equivalent refers to the Pākehā world (New Zealand affairs in general, international meeting). As for the two other loans, there is no significant use of English equivalents (see Table 47 in the annexes). The Māori loans are not very salient in this data as there are few uses, but appear to favor a Māori context when used. At this period, they are not well anchored in the New Zealand English lexicon.

b) Results of the 2020 data: Marae/Whānau/Hui

The rank ordering of the three loans in the 2020 data is not the same as in the 2000 data: the most frequent loan is *whānau*, followed by *marae*, and *hui* (see Table 48 in the annexes). The loan *whānau* has increased in use compared to the 2000 data. As for the loans *marae* and *hui*, even if they are more used than in the 2000 data, their frequency correlates with the 2000 data. While the data of the two corpora are not completely comparable, the result is still superior to the one of the 2000 data.

Table 48 (see Table 48 in the annexes) underscores the overwhelming use of the loan whānau. The anglicization of the loans is not in accordance with the increase of the loans. What is striking is the fact that the loan marae has not increased so much over time as one could have believed (marae is the most visible and tangible concept of Māori culture) since even if the urban migration of Māori in the 1960s made the Māori no longer live primarily on marae, the marae still plays a significant role in modern Māori society, as it is still used for a multitude of cultural rituals (pōwhiri (welcome ritual)). As for the loan whānau, this high increase might be explained by the fact that the term has expanded over time. In modern days, whānau does not only relate to immediate family (mother, father, grandparents, brothers and sisters, great-grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews, grandchildren, etc.) but it also includes friends. Then one could say that the term has adapted to the modern day's society.

The three loans are more or less evenly distributed across newspapers apart from the Gisborne Herald which shows a significant increase in the usage of these loans. The loans are unevenly distributed among the North Island newspapers since the Gisborne Herald displays more uses of the loans (see Table 49 in the annexes). The South Island newspaper (Otago Daily Times) shows much lower figures in the usage frequency of these loans than the North Island newspapers (Gisborne Herald, Radio New Zealand, Stuff). Once again, this result might be explained by the fact that many more Māori people live on the North Island and then represent the dominant readership. However, the three loans have a general tendency to be more frequent in the four newspapers (compared to the 2000 corpus), reflecting the renewed interest in the Māori culture.

To observe in which newspaper sections the loans are more likely to occur, the search has been done through the tool 'Collocates'. Table 50 (see Table 50 in the annexes) displays

the results of the loan *marae*. It shows that the words used in close context to the loan *marae* probably occur in News and Politics. Indeed, some words suggest the *mana* of the *marae* and thus of *Māoritanga* as it is linked to influential positions (*upoko* (meaning head), *leaders*, *representatives*). These results are in correlation with the results of the 2000 data. But the 2020 data display more words relating to Māori culture (*papakainga*, *pā*, *kaenga*, *wharenui*, *whānau*, *kōhanga*). These terms refer to the *marae* as a place of nursing, a home for the *whānau* and *hapū*. As such the *marae* in this sense recovers its primary function as a place of gathering, of communal living. This new addition to the data suggests that *marae* are regaining notoriety within New Zealand society and that they are also used for the purpose of tourist attraction (it is an essential part of a trip to *Aotearoa* New Zealand).

The collocates of the loan *whānau* are likely to be found in the News section, or sections talking about *Māoritanga* (see Table 51 in the annexes). Indeed, the loan is linked to the very meaning of the word *whānau*, that is to say, family. The majority of the words enumerate the constituents of the *whānau*: *hapū*, *pakeke*, *tamariki*, *iwi*, *friends*; and also names of *iwi* (*Te Whānau-a-Apanui*). Other words refer to the Politics section (*tautokohia*, *oranga*, *whanui*, *schools*) as it is linked to organizations that are put in place to take care of and support children. Finally, yet other words relate to *tikanga* (customs): *marae*, *karakia*, *hui*; and make sense of the link between *whānau*, *marae* and *hui*.

Table 52 (see Table 52 in the annexes) displays the collocates of the loan *hui*, which can be found in News and Politics. They enumerate the participants of the meetings, what can be discussed and what type of *hui* it holds. Then, the loan *hui* has evolved with its period since it is more and more anchored in the contemporary meaning and superimposing on the English one (*meeting*). However, these *hui* are related to Māori issues (*housing*, *trade*, *businesses*). These results are also in correlation with the 2000 data. The results show that the *Gisborne Herald* is the newspaper that associates more words with *hui* compared to the other three newspapers that associate very few words with it (which correlates with the results of the frequency of each newspaper for this loan (see Table 49 in the annexes)). For the *Otago Daily Times*, the *Radio New Zealand* and the *Stuff*, *hui* is mostly used on its own (isolated from terms defining it). The collocates found in the three newspapers are mainly used once or twice and the rest of the usage of the loan is mainly on its own, which means that in these newspapers, the term *hui* is used in a more general context that does not require further clarification.

Finally what can be analyzed as well are the English equivalents of the loans. While the overall preferential use of the loans instead of their English equivalents is dominant, the English equivalent *meeting(s)* (but also *gathering(s)*) is used quite significantly as it was for the 2000 data (see Table 53 in the annexes). As for *marae* and *whānau*, there is no significant use of English equivalents as they are specific to *Māoritanga*. Even if English equivalents can be used they will not really transmit all the meaning that it has in te reo Māori. As such, the results of the 2020 data on the Māori loans show that they are well integrated into the New Zealand English lexicon.

4. Case study 4: Reo/Taonga/Mana

These loanwords have been chosen because in Māori society, power and authority are closely associated with language and communication. *Mana reo* recognizes the importance of understanding and using the language to gain greater depth with the culture.

Māori *atua* (ancestors) saw te reo Māori as a sacred *taonga* (treasure) given to mankind by the gods and was at the heart of *te ao Māori* since oratory was the basis on which all aspects of life rested, and the power of *te kupu* (the word), was unequaled (Oranga Tamariki —Ministry for Children, 2022). Then, the loan *reo* (language) is of high importance in the revitalization process. Indeed, the decline of speakers of te reo Māori was the trigger in the awareness of the decline of *Māoritanga*. After many struggles, te reo Māori became an official language of *Aotearoa* New Zealand under the Māori Language Act 1987. However, this did not change much. Then it was repealed and replaced by Te Ture Mō Te Reo Māori 2016, which acknowledged *te reo* as a "taonga" and placed it under the protection of the Government, as per Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As such the loan *taonga* applies to anything considered to be of value, including socially or culturally valuable objects²⁵.

Mana has various meanings, including the power of the gods, the power of the ancestors, the power of the land and the power of the individual. *Mana reo* relates to the ability to communicate and interact with others in effective ways.

Sir James Hēnare (Tā Hēmi Henare), Ngāpuhi leader, used a saying which has become the rallying cry of the Māori language revitalization movement (Higgins and Keane, 2015):

²⁵ John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search? idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=taonga

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori.

Ko te kupu te mauri o te reo Māori.

E rua ēnei wehenga kōrero e hāngai tonu ana ki runga i te reo Māori.

Ko te reo, no te Atua mai.

The language is the life force of the mana Māori.

The word is the life force of the language.

These two ideas are absolutely crucial to the Māori language.

A language which is a gift to us from God.

On the other hand, these three terms have a strong meaning in Māori society and therefore have an internal link. *Taonga tawhito* (treasures of ancient times) are among the most precious of Māori possessions. Dating from 1100 to 1300 - the period of New Zealand Aotearoa's earliest colonization - these *taonga* are filled with spiritual power (*mana*). They can be tools, such as *toki* (axe blades), or objects of adornment. *Taonga* are important and, over time, accumulate a history and stories associated with them through oral tradition (*reo*) because Māori artefact is never just simply a physical object (France Inter, 2011).

a) Results of the 2000 data: Reo/Taonga/Mana

The first finding of the 2000 data concerns the overall counts of the three loans investigated. It is summarized in Table 54 (see Table 54 in the annexes).

Table 54 (see Table 54 in the annexes) shows that the loan *mana* is the term that is the most used, then it is the word *reo* and finally the word *taonga*. This can be explained by the fact that *mana* has significantly more meanings than other words: the power of the gods, the power of the ancestors, the power of the land and the power of the individual and thus might be used in more contexts than the other loans.

The three loans are used more or less evenly across the four newspapers, between the North and the South Island (see Table 55 in the annexes). Indeed, these loans appear to be used evenly, even if in the newspapers of the North Island (*The Dominion* and *Wanganui Chronicle*) these loans are more used. *Wanganui Chronicle* representing the Whanganui area exhibits the highest counts of the loans, followed closely by *The Dominion* located in

Wellington. The South Island newspaper (*Otago Daily Times*) shows lower figures, in the usage frequency of these loans. But the *New Zealand Herald* displays even lower figures. These results could be explained by the fact that 2000 was the beginning (the very first step) of revitalization efforts in New Zealand by embedding the language in the home, neighborhood, and community; which might explain the low frequency of the loans (King, 2018).

What is also noticeable is that the loans were more likely to occur in certain newspaper sections than in others. The loan *reo* exhibits its highest occurrences in Reviews, (see Table 56 in the annexes). As for *taonga*, it occurs more in News (see Table 57 in the annexes). *Mana*, on the other hand, is generally more used within the section Features & Columns followed by an evenly spread throughout News, Business, Politics sections (see Table 58 in the annexes).

Moreover, we can observe a correlation between the distribution of the three loans across major newspaper sections and N-Grams. Indeed, the words following the loan *reo* are relating to news matters (such as *Māori* and *commitment*) and thus to *te ao Māori* (see Table 59 in the annexes). As for *taonga*, the main section to which the words relate is News and Reviews, with the words *huringa* and *treasures* (see Table 60 in the annexes). The context of both words relates to *te ao Māori*, *huringa* is placed within an artistic context and *treasures* is the translation of *taonga* which is placed within an archaeological discovery context.

For the loan *mana*, there is also a correlation between the distribution across major newspaper sections and N-Grams (see Table 61 in the annexes). These words are found in the sections News, Politics and Features & Columns. *Mana motuhake* refers either to separate identity, autonomy, self-government, self-determination, independence, sovereignty, authority or to the Māori political party (separate identity). Both should be found in the Politics section but are in fact in the Features & Column section discussing politics. *Mana whenua* refers to territorial rights, power from the land, authority over land or territory, jurisdiction over land or territory, or in other words, power associated with possession and occupation of tribal land. In this case, the loan is found in the Politics section discussing Māori issues. As for *strength* and *urban*, both are related to negative context: the loss of land and/or affiliation and thus of *mana* as what makes the world go round. In this case, these words really emphasize the link between personal and collective strength, pride and identity

(Winitana, 1990).

If we look at the collocates of the loans, the results show a correlation between the N-

Grams and the collocates. The collocates of the loan reo (see Table 62 in the annexes) are the

same as the N-Grams, the loan reo is in close relation to Māori culture (te reo Māori being

the most used). The loan taonga (see Table 63 in the annexes), displays the same N-Grams as

collocates, but others are also added such as *rights* and *whānau*, maybe enlarging the scope of

the loan to political matters. As for the loan mana, the same words as for N-Grams can be

found as well as new ones (see Table 64 in the annexes) such as relationships, iwi, identity,

members. They still conform to the wide range of sections.

Finally what can be analyzed as well are the English equivalents of the loans. The

overall preferential use of the English equivalents instead of the loans is striking. The English

equivalent language is used quite significantly (85 for 5 reo). Among those 85 uses, 23 are

about te reo Māori (12 are clearly mentioned) and 62 uses are about English or other

languages. As for taonga, there is no significant use of English equivalents (see Table 65 in

the annexes), most of the equivalents are the translation following the loan taonga. As for the

English equivalents of the loan mana, there is an overwhelming use of them. However, one

must be cautious regarding the 'translations' of the loan mana since it is a Māori worldview,

the language accommodates the thinking. The English 'equivalents' emphasize measurable,

tangible things, whereas te reo terms always refer to intangible worlds as well. "The problem

for te reo Māori in these situations is that a term's "essence" - some might call this its

"wairua" - has been modified to refer and equate to an English language term, and also to

conform to a colonising worldview in the background" (Mika, 2022). Then, the English

equivalents are used more to adjust to the Pākehā society. We can say that the Māori loans

are anchored in the New Zealand English lexicon to a certain extent. If one takes a 'purist'

attitude, the loans are anchored only when used within a Māori context (since they keep their

'original' meaning), but otherwise if one takes a 'laxist' point of view, the loans are well

anchored in mainstream New Zealand as they are 'assimilated' to portray and depict the main

community, Pākehā.

b) Results of the 2020 data: Reo/Taonga/Mana

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The rank ordering of the three loans in the 2020 data is not the same as in the 2000 data: the most frequent loan is *reo*, followed by *mana*, and *taonga* (see Table 66 in the annexes). This ordering is also consistent across the papers' usage of the loans. There is a significant increase in the use of the loans generally in the 2020 data.

Table 66 (see Table 66 in the annexes) shows the overwhelming use of the loan *reo*. The anglicized form of the loans is not found in the 2020 data as it was in the 2000 data. This higher frequency of the loan *reo* can be explained by the fact that during the third week of September, *Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori* (the Māori Language Week) is celebrated as a way to revitalize the language (by incorporating more te reo Māori words into everyday life). What was observable is that the peak of the loans *reo* and *taonga* was during this period (14-20 September).

The three loans are unevenly distributed across newspapers (see Table 67 in the annexes) with regards to the loans taonga and mana (reo appears to be more evenly used). The North Island newspapers (Gisborne Herald, Radio New Zealand, Stuff) used the loans more than the South Island newspaper (Otago Daily Times). The newspaper Gisborne Herald is the one among all the North Island newspapers using the loans much more. This result differs from the 2000 data, which were much more evenly distributed. This could be explained by the fact that many more Māori people live in the North Island (for centuries) but also by the upcoming 50 years anniversary of Te Wiki o te Reo Māori marking the presentation of the Māori Language Petition to parliament. The fact that the Otago Daily Times uses fewer borrowings (even during Te Wiki o te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Week)) may be due to the fact that the Māori population is smaller in this part of the country, and therefore so is the Māori readership. So, just as the press portrays society, the subjects and readership determine the vocabulary used. As a result, since the Māori population, which is more likely to speak/understand te reo, is less present, the low use of borrowings correlates with the lower Māori presence on the South Island.

In the 2020 data, the loans are more likely to occur in certain newspaper sections than in others. This is shown through the collocates of the loans. Table 68 (see Table 68 in the annexes) displays the results of the loan *reo*. It shows that the words used in close context to the loan *reo* probably occur in News. Indeed, some words suggest the achievement of Māori for the return of *te reo* as a subject in schools (students are learning te reo Māori as a language subject, or are taught the curriculum via te reo Māori). The word *immersion* also

suggests the implementation of Māori immersion schools such as *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa*, etc. Some other words pertain to the realm of *Māoritanga*: *speaker(s)*, *tikanga*, *kupu*, *rangatiranga*. In *Māoritanga*, *te reo*, and more especially oratory is 'sacred'. One able to make *whaikōrero* (oratory, oration, formal speech-making, address, speech), by including *pepeha* (formal saying), *karakia* (incantation, ritual chant), *kupu whakaari* (prophetic sayings), *whakataukī* (proverb) is admired in Māori society. This result is in correlation with the 2000 data, with the first word following the loan *reo* for each newspaper being *Māori*.

For taonga (see Table 69 in the annexes), the major collocates are either related to te ao *Māori* or are the translation of the loan. The words wai (chant), puoro (taonga puoro being a musical instrument), celebration, can relate to the News section (as it is the case for the 2000 data). The word *species* is related to *taonga* in the sense that many native species (birds, frogs, bats) are classified as threatened. Moreover, the collocates of the loan mana could be found in the News and Politics section. Many words are also found in the 2000 data such as whenua, motuhake (see Table 70 in the annexes). But others are added in the 2020 data: mana moana and mana wahine are modern terms, even if mana moana (authority over the sea and lakes), the concept of authority over lakes and parts of the sea (mana o te moana) is traditional²⁶. On the contrary, the term *mana wahine* is quite recent, *mana wahine* week was established in 1993 to celebrate Māori women. Mana wahine is "a Maori concept which exceeds the boundaries of feminism and incorporates a dimension of spirituality emanating from the primary element of Hine-ahu-one [the first woman created by Tāne-nui-a-Rangi and Io]" (Turia, 2005). Then, status, chair, leadership might refer to political matters. And mauri and manaakitanga fall under te ao Māori, as mauri is said to be the life principle, the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity and is closely related to mana. Mana ensues from manaakitanga (the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others) since "mana comes down to how well you care for your family, subtribe, tribe and canoe" (Winitana, 1990). This result is partly in correlation with the result of the 2000 data since the 2020 data display more sections. What is new is the Māori 'spiritual' dimension.

Finally what can be analyzed as well are the English equivalents of the loans. There is generally a preferential use of the loans instead of their English equivalents, even though the English equivalent *language* is used quite significantly, as it was in the 2000 data (see Table 71 in the annexes). But contrary to the 2000 data, very few are linked to te reo Māori. In fact,

²⁶ John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=mana+moana

only 83 cases (out of 678) could be identified in which the equivalent language was used (explicitly or in a broader context) to refer to te reo Māori. Although the number of cases in the 2000 corpus is small compared to the overall use of the word, it nevertheless represents a quarter of the overall use (23 out of 85) that refers to the Māori language through an English word. This change can be explained by a growing awareness of the language's official status, and the fact that it is entitled to the same recognition and respect as its official counterpart, New Zealand English. As the results show, the term *reo* is also on the rise (5 in 2000 against 431 in 2020). What is different, however, is that the term reo in 2020 (431) reaches almost the same number of cases (almost equal) as the English term language (678). Therefore, the fact that the Māori term is increasing (reo) and the use of the English term (language) is decreasing at the same time points to a renaissance in the consideration of te reo Māori as an official language with its own grammar and its own universe, and which should therefore be used in these senses (by using te reo grammar (macron, no plural -s)). As for treasure(s), most of the uses are linked to flora and fauna or are the translation of taonga (there is little Māori context). It is the same for English equivalents of mana, if we take the definition in the Te Aka Māori Dictionary, the word mana is highly polysemous, it can mean control, power, authority, prestige, status and influence (the context determines the meaning used). The results show that power relates to electricity, abuse of power, imbalance but no specific Māori context. Control is mostly related to the covid-19 or legislation; authority has much more Māori context (treaty, land, fishing, forest), but the majority relates to the New Zealand government. Prestige is pretty much related to Māoritanga, status has not so much Māori context and is more about covid-19, visa and residency. And influence is sometimes linked to iwi, but generally to politics and foreign influence. As a result, since English 'equivalents' have no real impact as equivalents of the word mana (understood not as perfect synonyms/equivalents but rather as semantic anchors in order to measure the actual use of the loan versus the opportunity of using it (but instead using the English 'equivalent')), we may ask to what extent these 'equivalents' should (and can) be labeled as equivalents (deciding on the best English equivalent of each Māori loan is not straightforward, this is why the consultation of a native dictionary (Te Aka Māori Dictionary) was essential to check the possible equivalents). Since they are not used in a Māori context (or very rarely) compared to the loan mana that is favored (in New Zealand English) in Māori contexts, this shows that the English equivalents of the term mana can no longer be called equivalents since they are used in a Pākehā context that does not denote the primary meanings (tangible and intangible) of the Māori term. These borrowings are at the heart of Māori identity and are only used in a

Māori context, so their use in New Zealand English appears as an act of retro-reflection, as it places the concept in the context of use (by referring back to its source). As a result, a Māori word with a strong Māori connotation is mainly used in a Māori context, so as not to distort it. Then, we can say that the Māori loans are well anchored in the New Zealand English lexicon and more precisely within a context of Māori political matters and language revival.

On the whole, the results of the four case studies confirmed that borrowings from te reo are on the increase in New Zealand English. However, their use remains limited to the Māori context (except for certain borrowings, such as waka and whānau, that have become 'general' in New Zealand English thanks to the expansion of their meaning) and more specifically used in political and informational contexts. In addition, newspapers on the North Island were found to have a higher propensity to use these borrowings than newspapers on the South Island (which can be explained by the larger Māori community on the North Island). What is striking is that the most frequently used borrowings are those referring to the country's two major ethnic groups (Māori and Pākehā (with the term Kiwi mostly referring to Pākehā and the term *Māori* refering to the native population), which reflect social representation. In this respect, the loans Māori and Kiwi are at the heart of New Zealand society. The other most frequent borrowings also denote belonging, but this time purely Māori (whānau, iwi), followed by cultural borrowings denoting aspects of Māori society (reo, marae). In other words, cultural words are used more often than core words. Te reo Māori seems to be well on the way to lexical expansion in the dominant language, New Zealand English, and thus to be at the origin of the emergence of a new variety: Māori New Zealand English.

5. Other searches

These case studies are added in order to further analyze the development and integration of te reo Māori within New Zealand English (NZE). Because even if "contact-induced influence from the subdominant to the dominant language is largely restricted to lexical borrowing" (Calude, 2014:145), I wanted to see if other types of words (different from the general category of cultural words) were included within the mainstream New Zealand English.

The first case study analyzes the three possible denominations of the country: *Aotearoa*, New Zealand and *Aotearoa* New Zealand. I think that analyzing the different possibilities can

be of interest, especially in the case of *Aotearoa* New Zealand which explicitly flags its bicultural identity (becoming more and more multicultural) through the recent measures taken to thrust te reo Māori to the forefront of public recognition and revival (Māori Language Act 1987, the creation of Māori Television in 2004, etc). Furthermore, depending on the results, the possibility chosen can display (and/or flag) an inclination towards an ethnicity (Māori or Pākehā) and serve as an ethnolinguistic affiliation.

Case studies two and four look at the integration of terms relating to the local environment such as place names and Māori designations for flora and fauna. Once again, the results can be interesting relative to the loans which have English alternatives. Choosing to use the Māori alternative rather than the 'universally' used English counterpart can signify a desire to be affiliated with *Māoritanga* or simply act as a solidarity marker to identify with Māori culture and values (when used by Pākehā but also by Māori).

As for case studies three and five, the analysis of Māori hybrid compounds and of new types of loans, the goal is to see if the linguistic and cultural restoration of te reo Māori has raised new interest which can be seen through the productivity of Māori loans combined within New Zealand English. The use of code-switching within a context of language maintenance and language shift is relevant as it highlights a resurgence of linguistic creativity which suggests a revival of the 'dying' language within the core of the dominant language and thus 'reversing' the dominant pattern.

a) Case study 1: Aotearoa/New Zealand/Aotearoa New Zealand

The choice of words was made following a petition made in 2019 (launched during Te Wiki o te reo Māori) which proposed to change the name of New Zealand to *Aotearoa* (Māori name for New Zealand). However, while it was noted that the Māori name (*Aotearoa*) was increasingly being used as an alternative way to refer to New Zealand and also that the use of the bilingual term (*Aotearoa* New Zealand) was increasing, nothing was done (it was rejected by the parliamentary committee which considered the petition). In 2022, Te Pāti Maori, a political party that aims to represent the interests of New Zealand's *tangata whenua*, proposed another petition (presenting the same proposals as the 2019 petition) aiming to change the Dutch anglicized name of *New Zealand* to its Māori designation of *Aotearoa* (as a way to dismantle some of the grips of colonization since the name *New Zealand* comes from the colonial era when cartographers from the Netherlands named it after the westernmost

province Zeeland²⁷) and collected more than 70,000 signatures. "Though it has no legal standing, "Aotearoa" appears in New Zealanders' passports; in the country's radio and television news broadcasts; in the dirgelike national anthem; and on the back of its [dollar bills]. More and more, it is what many New Zealanders and their lawmakers call their home" (Frost, 2022). A poll conducted in 2021 showed that the majority of New Zealanders may not be ready. "Just over half of the respondents (58%) said they wanted to stick with the status quo, but the bloc of respondents who wanted Aotearoa somewhere in the name – be it solely (9%) or a combination of Aotearoa New Zealand (31%) was sizeable" (Corlett, 2022).

New Zealand appears to be the name favored in the 2000 data (see Table 72 in the annexes). The term seems to be common in the North Island newspapers (with a lower rate for the Wanganui Chronicle) but also in the South Island newspaper. However, The Dominion displays a wider range of denominations for the country: it is the only one that uses the bilingual term Aotearoa New Zealand (see Table 73 in the annexes).

The term *Aotearoa* is used mostly in the section News and followed by Politics (see Table 74 in the annexes), while the term *New Zealand* is extensively used in the sections News, followed by Business, then Sport and also the last main section that can be identified as well Features & Columns (see Table 75 in the annexes), and seems to be used, as was the loan *Kiwi*, portraying the country, contrary to *Aotearoa*, which appears to be depicting Māori only.

As for *Aotearoa New Zealand*, the term is coined only once in the newspaper *The Dominion* in the section News. Here the hybrid denomination is used within the context of 'repairing the wrong' by putting forward this denomination as a way of 'decolonizing' the national day (Waitangi Day).

The 2020 data display the same results as the 2000 data: *New Zealand* is the term the most used, followed by *Aotearoa* and the bilingual term *Aotearoa New Zealand*. *Aotearoa* has increased over time, but *New Zealand* remains the most common term used (see Table 76 in the annexes).

The terms are more or less evenly used across the North and the South Island

²⁷ Deutsche Welle (DW), 'Maori party launches petition for New Zealand's name-change', 2021, https://www.dw.com/en/new-zealand-maori-party-launches-petition-for-countrys-name-change/a-59171531

newspapers. The *Stuff* has the highest use of the three terms (displaying wider denominations), followed by the *Otago Daily Times*, the *Radio New Zealand* and the *Gisborne Herald*. It is the South Island newspaper, the *Otago Daily Times*, which displays the highest use of the bilingual term (see Table 77 in the annexes).

The two corpora show the same trend: the use of the term New Zealand encompasses more than half of the use of the three terms (99.5% in 2000 and 95% in 2020), the term Aotearoa is the second 'most' used (0.4% in 2000 and 4.5% in 2020) and finally the bilingual term, Aotearoa New Zealand, is at the bottom (0.05% in 2000 and 0.5% in 2020). What emerges from these percentages is that the 2020 corpus, even if the term used in the majority remains New Zealand, albeit with a slight drop (95% in 2020 vs. 99.5% in 2000), is contributing to the renewal of the Māori language through the use of the two other terms (Aotearoa and Aotearoa New Zealand), which maorifies (and nativizes) the name of the country by using a Māori term, and thus seems to be part of the movement to regenerate the language. What also emerged is that in 2020, the *Otago Daily Times* became the newspaper that used the bilingual term (Aotearoa New Zealand) the most (31.5% versus 25% for the Stuff and the Gisborne Herald and 18.5% for the Radio New Zealand), whereas in 2000, the newspaper was among those that did not use the term at all. However, the Otago Daily Times remains fairly constant in its use of the term New Zealand (26.2% in 2000 and 24.4% in 2020), demonstrating that the country is not yet ready to officially change the country's name, as the English term remains the most widely used to denote the country. Another trend emerged, with newspapers on the North Island appearing to be the ones sharply decreasing their use of the English term (New Zealand) in favor of greater use of terms denoting the country's biculturalism (Aoteroa New Zealand, 68.5% in 2020 and 100% in 2000) or the country's nativity (*Aotearoa*, 88.8% in 2000 and 80.4% in 2020).

As such, these results correlate with the general trend of the other loans, namely that Māori terms are more widely used in the North Island (although the South Island newspaper alone accounts for 1/4 of the use of the bilingual term (*Aotearoa New Zealand*)). Similarly, it is notable that, over time, the use of Māori terms is on the increase, even if the term *New Zealand* remains the most widely used. At the same time, these results seem to correlate with the results of the 2021 petition, namely that *New Zealand* remains the preferred term. But what differs is that the results show a preference for the native term (*Aotearoa*) over the bilingual (*Aotearoa New Zealand*) term which was the second major response in the petition.

Table 78 (see Table 78 in the annexes) shows that the loan Aotearoa is used more in

political, sports and cultural contexts. Indeed there are many references to sports events: *goal*, *match*, *opener*, *referees*, *finale*, *competition*. Most of these words are a clear reference to the national sport rugby, and more especially to the Super Aotearoa Rugby. Moreover, other words refer to general political matters (*executive*, *conference*, *migrants*, *takatapui* (homosexual men and women), etc.). Finally, the last category that can be identified is Māori culture (*manaakitanga*, *tikanga*, *ancestors*), it is not surprising considering the fact that *Aotearoa* is from te reo Māori. Thus, it would be logical that this loan is associated with its *tangata whenua* and is linked to *te ao Māori*.

These results are not really in correlation with the results of the 2000 data. Indeed, the 2020 data have more 'sections' than the 2000 data regarding the loan *Aotearoa*, which had mainly the section News. According to the findings in the 2020 data, the collocates of the loan *Aotearoa* might be in the sections Sport, News and Politics. This display of a wider range of uses in different sections can be seen as an integration of the loan into mainstream society (no more marginalized and restricted), and can even be seen as a marker of New Zealand identity (as it is the case for *Kiwi*), not only depicting Māori but also Pākehā and other ethnic groups.

b) Case study 2: Māori place names

According to previous research (Macalister 1999, 2000; Grant 2012; Degani and Onysko 2010), Māori place names exhibit the highest frequency of te reo Māori loans (also with flora and fauna). But also following the 2019 petition which requested to "officially restore the original Te Reo Maori names for all towns, cities, and places right across the country by 2026"²⁸. This is why I wanted to see if there were any changes. To help you see where the names of the places being investigated are located (North, Center, South), the map below shows the major towns in the North and South Islands (see Figure 4).

28 Deutsche Welle (DW), 'Maori party launches petition for New Zealand's name-change', 2021, https://www.dw.com/en/new-zealand-maori-party-launches-petition-for-countrys-name-change/a-59171531



Figure 4. A map showing the major cities of *Aotearoa* New Zealand, *New Zealand Map 360*, 'New Zealand cities map', 2023, https://newzealandmap360.com/new-zealand-cities-map (accessed 28 June 2023).

Table 79 (see Table 79 in the annexes) displays that the Māori place names that are the most used (the names of Māori towns for which the frequency of use was greater than 5 have been retained) are the ones for which there are no English equivalents (as expected). The results of the 2000 data are in correlation with the results of previous papers (see references above). According to my research, the Māori words the most used are place names, even the cultural name the most used (Māori) has a lower frequency than Otago and W(h)anganui. As for when English names exist and there are Māori equivalents, only English names are used (such as Auckland (Tāmaki-makau-rau), Wellington (Te Whanganui-a-Tara), Timaru (Te Tihi-o-Maru), Greymouth (Māwhera)). However, Tauranga and Oamaru, which are actually anglicized Māori names (see Table 80 for the actual Māori names), are still the most frequently used names among so-called Māori place names (this trend is repeated in the 2020 corpus). The explanation may lie in the fact that even though these names are anglicized, they appear to be 'native' in the sense that the phonology (and the graphology) resembles that of te reo and so the genuine Māori name is forgotten. As far as Otago is concerned, the name is actually a local pronunciation of a southern Māori dialect (originally, the place was to be called New Edinburgh, reflecting its Scottish origins, but instead the name Otago was adopted, it is a version of $\bar{O}t\bar{a}kou$, the name of the Māori $p\bar{a}$ (fortified village) near the entrance to the harbor). As "[t]here is no 'g' in written Māori [only the phoneme 'ng' is found], people have often assumed that 'Otago' is a corruption. However, the Ngāi Tahu dialect uses a hard 'g' sound in Ōtākou, while 'ou' becomes a long 'o' - so the variation in spelling is actually an accurate representation of local pronunciation" (McKinnon, 2015). In fact, Otago is the southern Māori dialect, while Ōtākou is the northern pronunciation.

What is striking is that if we compare the Māori place names for which there are no English equivalents in Table 79 with Table 80 (see the annexes), these place names are common to both tables (except Tauranga, whose Māori name is also used in Table 80) and appear among the most frequently used after the English place names (see Table 80 in the annexes). As a result, these Māori place names seem to be prominent in the New Zealand linguistic landscape, and at the same time give an indication of the country's nativity through the untouched character of their spelling and phonology (reflecting not only the language but also the native culture and giving the country a distinctive flavor).

Table 80 (see Table 80 in the annexes) displays the results of the 2020 data for the use of Māori place names. The results are a bit different. Even if 'official' Māori place names for

which no English equivalents are available are more frequent, the 2020 data also use the Māori place names for which the English names are official. What is also striking is that in the 2000 data, Wanganui is used 599 times while Whanganui is used 19 times. On the contrary, the 2020 data use Wanganui 45 times and Whanganui 234 times. This change is explained by the fact that in 2009 an Act was amended that both Wanganui and Whanganui were official alternative names. The alternative naming respectfully acknowledges the correct spelling of the Māori word 'Whanganui' and preserves the identity of meaningful elements. Whanganui means the "big bay", with "whanga" meaning "bay, bight, nook; stretch of water" and "nui" meaning "large" as the first sense. 'Wanga' is not to be found in any dictionary of Māori. Furthermore, the sense of "whanga" is clearly understood as an element in the meaning of Wanganui/Whanganui (Bauer, 2011; Toitū Te Whenua). It is clear that the 2020 data have a wider range of te reo Māori uses, which denotes a wider acceptance of Māori resurgence and the willingness to participate in this revitalization.

However, it should be borne in mind that the analysis of Māori place names in newspapers is not representative of general usage in the language and in the society. In fact, the use of these place names in newspapers is a separate group of borrowings, as they are used in specific cases and for specific purposes, or on the contrary, to give a background to the information. Even if the results of the 2020 corpus are encouraging concerning the (increasing) use of place names in Māori (native names), it must be borne in mind that this use remains lower compared to other more common terms (English ones). It also shows a willingness to serve the cause of revitalizing *te reo*. As a result, the use of native terms remains within a culturally and politically motivated approach, and there is still a long way to go before their use becomes commonplace.

c) Case study 4: Māori flora and fauna

Māori flora and fauna needed to be examined as in various previous papers (Macalister 1999, 2000; Grant 2012; Degani and Onysko 2010), these loans were the most used from *te reo Māori*. What emerges is that the 2000 data have not many Māori terms of flora and fauna: *rimu* (red pine, moss, seaweed) is used four times, *mānuka* (tea-tree) is used three times, *kauri* (a forest tree) is used once, *pōhutukawa* (a coastal tree, 'New Zealand Christmas tree') is used two times, *huia* (a bird now extinct) is used once, *moa* (a large extinct flightless bird)

is used once, *mataī* (black pine) is used four times and *pāua* (abalone, sea ear) is used five times. These terms are lexicalized in New Zealand English as the sole term for these endemic New Zealand species. They have been listed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as borrowings since the 19th century.

On the contrary, the 2020 data display a larger variety of flora and fauna:

Māori name	Definition	English name	Total
huia	a bird now extinct	X	8
kākāpō	rare, large, green endemic parrot that is nocturnal and flightless	ground parrot	36
katipō	a venomous native spider	X	2
kauri	a forest tree	X	74
kahikatea	a tall coniferous tree of mainly swampy ground	white pine	12
kōkako	a rare large forest bird of limited flight	X	13
korimako	a songbird	bellbird	3
kōtuku	a rare white bird	white heron, great egret	1
mānuka	a common native scrub bush	tea-tree	128
mataī	a coniferous	black pine	16
тоа	a large extinct flightless bird	X	14
nīkau	a native palm	X	4
ра́иа	edible univalve molluscs of rocky shores	abalone, sea ear	83
pipi	a common edible bivalve	X	2
pīwakawaka	bird of the bush and domestic garden	fantail	3
pōhutukawa	a coastal tree	also known as the 'New Zealand Christmas tree'	25

ponga	a tall, native tree-fern	silver tree fern	2
pūkeko	a deep blue-coloured bird	purple swamp hen	5
rātā	a large forest tree	X	11
rimu	a tall coniferous tree	red pine	37
takahē	rare flightless endemic bird	notornis	9
tī kōuka	a palm-like tree	cabbage tree	8
tōtara	a large forest tree	X	30
tūī	a songbird that imitates other birds' calls	parson bird	45
weka	an endemic bird	woodhen	15
wētā	a large insect	X	4

While the 2020 data have a wide range of flora and fauna, some do not have an English equivalent (see the general translation following the Māori words in the table above). Nevertheless, some Māori words are used quite significantly considering that they have an English equivalent: $t\bar{u}\bar{\iota}$, rimu, $m\bar{a}nuka$, $p\bar{a}ua$. This implies the desire to show/keep a unique, native character to New Zealand's natural environment. As New Zealand's endemic species, keeping and using the term from the native language refers to the fact that the species in question were present at the very beginning of the country's creation, just as the Māori were.

In the corpora, the category that is the most used is flora (in terms of 'equal' distribution between both corpora). Indeed, the 2020 data display more diverse occurrences of botanical terms than the 2000 data (11 > 5), as well as animal terms (15 > 3). The use of Māori loans to describe the New Zealand environment is part of a desire to revitalize the nativeness of the country. As New Zealand flora and fauna are unique to this country (the well-known Kiwi bird is one of the endemic species of New Zealand), over 80% of the 2,500 species of native conifers, flowering plants and ferns are found nowhere else, and 71% of the 245 species of birds are endemic to New Zealand²⁹. The increase in the use of native flora

²⁹ Brockie Bob, 'Native plants and animals – overview - Species unique to New Zealand', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, published 24 Sep 2007, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/native-

and fauna may be due to a desire to promote its uniqueness and its nativeness as a symbol of New Zealand's identity. And by using Māori terms, the nativeness and uniqueness are even more enhanced. Another explanation could lie in an environmental approach. As endemic species to New Zealand, they are found nowhere else, and so if they are in danger of extinction, their fate is not assured by the same species living in other countries. There are many environmental concerns, such as native plants, animals and ecosystems are threatened, vegetation changes on land degrade soil and water, urban growth reduces land versatility and native biodiversity, waterways are polluted in agricultural areas, the environment is polluted in urban areas, water withdrawals alter flows affecting freshwater ecosystems, the way one fishes affects the health of the ocean environment, greenhouse gas emissions per person are high, etc as a result of climate change, urbanization, agricultural intensification and pollution, etc³⁰.

The fauna terms used participate in the revitalization effort to promote the Māori culture (which is endemic to New Zealand). The loans highlight the function of the trees or hint at their ornamental function. For example, the loan mānuka co-occurs most of the time with honey, denoting the function of the tree as belonging primarily to the domain of food/herbal medicine. Its use is linked to ancient Māori practices as the honey was used to treat wounds and improve health. The loan kauri, is linked to its specific use as the wood from which Māori houses and boats are built or the wood used for carvings. This is specified through the collocates timber and gum which denote the primary functional use of kauri as a natural resource for building, furnishing, and manufacturing. Moreover, there is also an emotive feeling surrounding the loan kauri as several collocates denote the need to care for the tree (protect, surviving) as the tree is threatened by a disease (dieback disease). It is indicative of the several attempts made in New Zealand to save the autochthonous tree as most of the trees are national icons. Another example is the loan pōhutukawa, it co-occurs in contexts indicating its ornamental purpose as a symbol of national identity (part of the 'idealized', 'romanticized' New Zealand landscape). There is no evidence of the loan functioning as food or clothing, but the loan is at the origin of the hybrid compound formation pōhutukawa curtain. This term was coined during the covid 19 travel restriction and its meaning is meant to keep the virus out. The fact that the term *pōhutukawa* is used in this context further denotes its symbolism as a national icon (the term New Zealand is not needed since the native term

plants-and-animals-overview/page-1 (accessed 16 June 2023)

³⁰ River Watch, 'New Zealand's Environmental and Water Quality Concerns', 2023,

https://riverwatchsolutions.com/blog/nz-freshwater-concerns

pōhutukawa denotes implicitly the country as it is one of its figurative representations) and shows the importance of that native term since it is renewed to suit contemporary concepts (its meaning has shifted in a novel way in combination with an English base) (Degani and Onysko, 2010).

The use of Māori terms to name New Zealand endemic species (flora and fauna) that have no equivalent in New Zealand English is indicative of a desire to highlight New Zealand's unique environmental character. Through the use of the native language (te reo Māori), species nomenclature reflects the nativity and uniqueness of Aotearoa New Zealand that is nowhere else to be found. If we take the term katipō as an example, it has no equivalent in English. The word *katipō* comes from '*kati*' meaning bite, nip and '*pō*' meaning night. The fact that there is no English equivalent (just an explicitation, which can be found in the form katipō spider) denotes the fact that this spider is endemic to New Zealand through exclusively Māori nomenclature. What is important to remember is that the Māori word for the species (flora or fauna) is representative of a characteristic of the species and therefore seems more appropriate (and relevant) for naming that species. When there is an English equivalent, it is usually the translation of the Māori term (pūkeko/purple swamp hen; korimako/bellbird; pīwakawaka/fantail; kōtuku/white heron). As for the term kākāpō, the two terms (Māori and English) are relevent: in te reo, kākā means parrot and pō night, and therefore highlights the bird's nocturnal characteristic. As for the English term, ground parrot, this emphasizes the animal's 'terrestrial' characteristics (since it is a flightless bird).

Overall, the Māori native terms for flora and fauna that are the most used are the ones representing the New Zealand national identity (*kauri*, *pōhutukawa*, *mānuka*). The frequency of their uses denotes a will to re-nativize the country, to go back to the origins, the original society, by using the native language's terms and thus participate in the revitalization (and nativization through the maorification of the terms) process.

d) Case study 3: Māori hybrid compounds

What is also interesting is to see if the Māori loans which have been analyzed so far are a source of linguistic creation. Since these loans are integrated into a 'foreign' language, it could be interesting to see if they are also integrated into the very basis of language: the lexicon/lexis. As such, these loans were analyzed as hybrid compounds. The tool 'collocates' was used to retrieve the words which were just after the loan (one word to the right).

The hybrid compounds of the 2000 data are displayed in Table 81 (see Table 81 in the annexes). The results indicate that the loan *Māori*, *Kiwi*, *iwi*, *hui* and *reo* are the only ones forming hybrid compounds. And that they are in correlation with the sections in which they appear the most. It seems that adjectival borrowings generate more hybrid compound words than nominal borrowings.

I also used the tool 'collocates' to retrieve one word to the left of the loan. The results were very conclusive since the native term analyzed in this case is used as a noun and therefore, it is the term attached to it that defines it: *Māori* has *non*, *urban*, *local* and *pan*; *iwi* has *traditional*, *local* and *coastal*, *hui* has *annual* and *marae* has *annual* and *university*. The other loans did not give any results. These results are conclusive in the sense that this time it is the Māori terms that are in the dominant position and seem to form single words (true hybrid compounds).

Table 82 (see Table 82 in the annexes) shows the results of the 2020 data. This time all the loans are at the origin of hybrid compounds, with mana, hui and taonga displaying fewer possibilities than the others. These results are also in correlation with the results of the possible sections of the 2020 data. Some are really anchored in the New Zealand English lexicon such as waka-jumping (or party hopping, when elected politicians switch political parties between elections), Māori party (a political party led by Tāriana Tūria, Peter Sharples and Whatarangi Winiata established to promote Māori issues in the 2005 election). What emerges is that the most flexible Māori loans are Māori, Pākehā, Kiwi, iwi, hapū, waka, marae, whānau and reo. However, the results are slightly surprising because the most frequent loan in both data (Māori), is actually not the most productive one. Indeed, Pākehā, Kiwi, marae and reo appear to create many more hybrid compounds. The use of the term ward(s) for the loan Māori should be pointed out, as this is a specifically New Zealand usage. Indeed, districts are separated into several electoral wards/constituencies (they were originally set up within any territorial authority with a population of at least 20,000). They are designed to allow for the recognition of communities within a territorial authority and to increase community involvement in the local government system. Māori wards were first introduced by the Bay of Plenty Regional Council Act in 2001, the region is the third region that has the most people identifying as being of Māori origin with 29,1% (behind Gisborne 52,9% and Northland 36%³¹). The Bay of Plenty (eastern part) was also one of the first parts

³¹ NZ Stats, 2018 Census place summaries, https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/northland-region / https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/bay-of-

of New Zealand to be settled by Māori. This Act was put in place with the aim of reducing inequality of representation (set in a positive discrimination approach), however, in 2016 a great inequality still existed with only 10.1% Māori, compared to 89.8% Pākehā being elected as councilors³². Only three local authorities have Māori representation (Bay of Plenty Regional Council, Waikato Regional Council and Wairoa District Council) and 32 councils are introducing Māori wards for the first time in 2022³³. Māori ward sits alongside the general wards and means that there is an elected councilor who represents the Māori voters in that area and ensures that Māori are represented in local government decision-making and strengthens Māori representation in local government. The provision of Māori seats enables Māori perspectives and cultural values, as an integral part of the local landscape, to be fairly represented and understood³⁴. Māori wards are important as they are one way through which councils can uphold Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations and other statutory obligations to include Māori in decision-making. In February 2021, was passed the Local Electoral (Māori Wards and Māori Constituencies) Amendment Act 202, which eliminates mechanisms for holding public referendums on the establishment of Māori wards and constituencies on local bodies.

The hybrid compound *Māori ward(s)* can therefore be said to either denounce the fact that there are still too few Māori wards (only 3) or, on the contrary, to show a change, with 32 municipal councils introducing Māori wards for the very first time in the 2022 election. Whatever the case, this hybrid compound word denotes New Zealand's singularity.

The tool 'collocates' was also used to retrieve one word (noun) before the loan. Māori gives the nouns immersion, iron (triathlon); Kiwi gives team; iwi gives coast; waka gives club and sky (Sky Waka gondola is a viewpoint); marae gives family and community; whānau gives center, family, school and community; and hui gives zoom (reunion done remotely through Zoom), community and reintegration. Table 82 (see Table 82 in the annexes) also gives the results of the tool 'collocates', but this time with words that are adjectives (one word before the loan). With regard to collocates used as adjectives for the

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plenty-region / https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/gisborne-region 32 Local Government New Zealand (LGNZ) Te Kāhui Kaunihera ō Aotearoa, 'New Zealand's elected members: A profile, Analysis of the 2016 elected members' survey', February 2019, https://www.lgnz.co.nz/assets/e41e5fb07f/Elected-Members-Profile-Report-FINAL.pdf 33 Auckland Council Te Kaunihera o Tāmaki Makaurau, 'Māori wards and participation', 2023, https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/elections/how-council-works/Pages/maori-wards-participation.aspx

³⁴ Bay of Plenty Regional Council Toi Moana, 'Maori constituencies', 2023, https://www.boprc.govt.nz/your-council/council-and-region/maori-constituencies

2020 corpus, there are several trends. For the loan *Māori*, collocates used as adjectives seem to mostly refer to politics (labour, local, national), but also to the original character of tangata whenua as the first inhabitants (traditional, original, early). It is also important to note that all the newspapers use the word *young*, which is linked to the fact that the majority of the Māori population is young, with over a quarter of the population aged between 0 and 14 (27%). What is more, the average age of the Māori population is 26.5, whereas the average age of the national population is 38, reflecting a younger Māori population³⁵. As for the term Kiwi, as adjectives, the collocates refer to the general population and to sport (injured, young, iconic), with an emphasis on the positive character of the loan (talented, proud, iconic). The term Pākehā is referred to by its normative character (ordinary, local, dominant, well-educated), once again shown as the majority to whom the rest are compared. The terms iwi and $hap\bar{u}$ can be grouped together, their main collocate being local, which is not surprising given the large number of tribes and sub-tribes. There is, however, a hierarchy with the terms *largest*, *major*, *principal*, which demonstrate a certain power and authority (mana) granted to tribes/sub-tribes with greater roots in Māori society. As for the term waka, its link with the past and Māori society is reflected with the collocates ceremonial, traditional, but there is also the innovative character with the term modern-day which could also be attached to the term waka ama, bringing it up to date by inserting it into mainstream society. Whānau and marae can be linked, as many of their collocates are the same (local, flooded, flood-affected). These two terms are therefore linked negatively. Indeed, the loan whānau has multiple negative terms (unemployed, impoverished, vulnerable, grieving), reflecting the social reality (disparities) of the Māori population. This is not at all the case when the term is used as an adjective, denoting another aspect of the Māori population, this time linked to revitalization and empowerment. The loan hui is defined by innovation (online), which can be compared with the emergence of the new word zui (hui on Zoom). It also seems to be linked to iwi and hapū, with the collocates regional and formal, which give the loan its Māori character, since it is only used in a Māori context. Reo is characterized by its nativity (native), but also by the fact that only the standardized form (basic, generic) is learned so that a larger majority can speak the language (despite the many dialectal variants).

³⁵ NZ Stats, 'Māori population estimates: At 30 June 2022', 2022,

https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/maori-population-estimates-at-30-june-2022/; 'One in three children projected to be Māori', 2022, https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/one-in-three-childrenprojected-to-be-maori/#:~:text=Young%20M%C4%81ori%20and%20Pacific

^{%20}populations&text=The%20share%20of%20children%20who,percent%20over%20the%20same %20period

Taonga and mana, on the other hand, are defined by the strong character that links them to te ao Māori (native, restoring, carved, acknowledged, local (with the last two words linked to the term mana whenua). On the other hand, the other collocates that follow the borrowings are words that could also be used with their English equivalents and therefore make them more likely to be used in society in general and not specifically in a purely Māori context (even if, on closer inspection, they more often than not refer to the Māori world).

There are correlations between the 2000 and 2020 results. In fact, the 2020 collocates (one word after the loan) are the same as the 2000 collocates (except for the loan *Kiwi*, where the noun *share* is missing, and for *reo*, where the noun *commitment* is missing). There are also new words such as *ward(s)*, *party* for the loan *Māori*, indicating a renewed interest in Māori politics and equal representation (in line with the country's current biculturalist approach). There is a general trend for collocates as nouns (one word after borrowing) in both corpora: they are more numerous than collocates as adjectives (one word before borrowing). As a result, borrowings when used as adjectives generate more results than when used as nouns (except for the borrowings *taonga* and *mana* in 2020 and *iwi* and *marae* in 2000, which generate more results when used as nouns).

What is clear is that in the wake of Māori borrowings entering New Zealand English, the most frequent Māori loans participate in the creative process of hybrid compound formation. The fact that the use of Māori loans as elements inspiring and leading to the creation of new words in New Zealand English marks these borrowings as already established in the 'dominant' language, is a good sign for the future of te reo. These loans (Māori, Kiwi, iwi, Pākehā, reo, marae) are among the most productive loans and underline the Māori influence on New Zealand English as they are perceived as active elements of the New Zealand English lexicon, participating in the linguistic creation (and innovation) of the language. These hybrid compounds are in fact a natural outcome of the language contact scenario between both languages throughout time and appear to be a specific feature of the Māori New Zealand English variety. The presence of hybrid compounds is a sign of the integration and vitality of te reo Māori (terms, concepts) in New Zealand English, nevertheless restricted to nominal borrowings. The results of the thesis indicate a significant number of lexicalized hybrid formations with Māori loans (see Table 82 in the annexes). The most productive formation of hybrid compounds is achieved when the loan acts as a specifier, its adjectival value is the most productive with few formations of compounds with loans as head-types (eg. non-Māori, urban Māori, etc). These hybrid compounds highlight the existence of certain recurrent referential clusters: the loans iwi, hapū, marae, whānau, reo co-occur with head nouns

denoting social institution/practice, material properties (iwi organisations, representatives, marae community, iwi radio, reo programme, whānau event, etc); the loans Māori, Kiwi, Pākehā occur with nouns denoting ethnic marking of people/social and professional roles -especially Kiwi which marks different types of New Zealanders-(Māori/Kiwi/Pākehā women, Kiwi journalist, etc). One specificity of the loan Kiwi is that it is used in positive contexts (Kiwi ingenuity) and acts as a national tag for New Zealand (with references to sport and business). On the contrary, Māori and Pākehā represent the two sides of basic cultural concepts (Māori language, Pākehā world, etc) 'always' in contrast but not always perceived as negative. This differentiation also shows the extent of the revitalization of Māori culture, the impact it has had on society and the strong position acquired (standing against a majority). At the same time, it is a way of showing the Māori universe, the native culture that underpins New Zealand society. It also denotes New Zealand's biculturalist approach: the Māori community is not assimilated into society, but differentiated and highlighted by certain terms (relating to politics and culture) that make it unique. Māori also co-occurs frequently with head nouns relating to politics denoting Māori activism (Māori party, Māori seats) and with head nouns relating to traditional and modern Māori cultural concepts (Māori media, Māori culture). Although these two terms (Māori and Pākehā) are constantly linked, the combination of words linked to the term Māori suggests a positive note when it comes to the status of Māori in society in general. Indeed, these words denote a sense of inclusion, of sensitization, as the alliance of words from New Zealand English with terms from te reo Māori reveals the ability of Māori culture to adapt, to accommodate itself to a new society, but also to adopt a defensive stance and take its destiny into its own hands. These hybrid formations are the interplay of borrowings and native elements, indicative of how loanwords are reconceptualized and lexicalized in a dominant culture (Degani and Onysko, 2010).

My analysis of hybrid compound words is based on the article by Degani and Onysko (2010). I was not too convinced by their approach, since the so-called hybrid compounds are actually the combination of a word (Māori or English, but most often Māori) acting as an adjective and a word (Māori or English, most often English) acting as a noun. As a result, this combination seems to me to be more of a nominal group than a compound hybrid word, since in my opinion a compound hybrid word is supposed to be lexicalized and used as a word (on its own). That is why I am not so satisfied with all the results I have obtained.

e) Case study 5: New types of Māori loans

After having investigated Māori cultural nouns, flora and fauna and place names, I wanted to see if time had added new words such as adjectives, determiners, etc.

However, I found no clear additions of new types of words: adjectives (*iti* [small, little], teitei [high, tall], pai [good], nui [large, big], roa [long, slow], tere [quick, fast], kaha [strong, courageous], mōhio [clever, smart]); determiners (te [the (singular)], ngā [the (plural)], he [a, an, some]); pronouns (koe [you (one person)], āu/āhau [your (one person when refering to more than one thing)], ia [he, she, him, her, it], tāua [you (one person) and I, we two, us], tātou [we, us, you (two or more people) and I], māua [we, us, she/he and I, him/her and me], mātou [we, us, they and I, them and me], kōrua [you two], koutou [you (three or more people)], rāua [they, them (two people)], rātou [they, them (three or more people)]; verbs (haere [to walk, to go], kōrero [to speak, to tell, to say], kauhoe/kaukau [to swim], tākaro [to play], hīkoi [to walk]; waiata [to sing], oma [to run], matakitaki [to watch], whakarongo [to listen, to hear, to obey/to smell, to taste, to feel], moe [to sleep], pānui [to read]).

Indeed, even if some new adjectives, pronouns and verbs are included in the 2020 data, they are only included in a $te\ reo\ M\bar{a}ori$ context (full M\(\bar{a}\)ori sentence) and not isolated or included within an English context (English sentence) except if a M\(\bar{a}\)ori organization, iwi, $hap\bar{u}$, etc. are mentioned within the English context. This shows that the M\(\bar{a}\)ori revitalization has its limits. The use of borrowings is limited to lexical words that have a defined meaning and can be used interchangeably from one language to another. There is still a long way to go before grammatical words find their place in the lexis of New Zealand English. To achieve this, the priority is for the population to become bilingual by using not only lexical words but also grammatical words, so that everyone can converse in $te\ reo\ M\bar{a}ori$ as well as in M\(\bar{a}\)ori New Zealand English. This would put $te\ reo\ M\bar{a}ori$ back on an equal footing as an official language along with New Zealand English.

The results of these other studies tell us that te reo Māori is not only 'active' through cultural borrowings, but also through toponymic borrowings and others linked to the ecosystem (flora and fauna) but which later become cultural (such as *Aotearoa* or $p\bar{o}hutukawa$). Te reo Māori is also the source of new hybrid words that reflect its role in language invention and its influence on the dominant language. As a result, Māori New Zealand English seems to be a new variety to be taken into account and one that can be placed on the continuum of languages spoken in *Aotearoa* New Zealand. However, for the

time being, only lexical words are to be included in this variety as their meaning is understood by the vast majority of New Zealanders, contrary to function words.

6. Discussion of the results: contextualization

This section discusses the major findings from the case studies from the years 2000 and 2020 and draws on insights gained from a contextual, historical and sociolinguistic analysis of the loans.

The most significant finding from the first analysis (Māori/Kiwi/Pākehā) is that over time the loan Māori is still the loan the most used (followed by Kiwi and Pākehā). Mainly because, "the loan Māori represents the only commonly used term to denote the indigenous population of New Zealand" (Calude, 2014:163) and thus contributes to national distinctiveness (even if tangata whenua increased over time, it is not as integrated into New Zealand English as the loan Māori is). In this sense, Māori news items are not subjected to 'symbolic annihilation' (coined by Gerbner in 1976; lack of representation, or underrepresentation, of a group of people (minoritized communities and perspectives) in the media, as a means of maintaining social inequality) but rather to an (over)use of the term as it is used (most of the time in its adjectival form) to express something (even the most trivial) as being seen or done through a Māori lens and thus differently from the Pākehā 'norm'. Furthermore, the 2020 data display less 'anglicized' (addition of -s for a plural form which does not exist in te reo Māori) version of Māori loans. This can be explained by the recent realization that this 'anglicization' (addition of -s for plural form or possessives, double determination (the te), no use of macron and/or double vowels to mark the length of the vowel) is displaying a past 'colonialist power' by dominating the language through the use of English syntax. And then by respecting the original spelling and syntax, the 2020 data show the progress of the revitalization process which inscribes itself into a real 'integration' of te reo Māori into New Zealand English: not by actually 'anglicizing' and 'normalizing' the language to the dominant language that is New Zealand English but by respecting its differences and its particularisms. In 2017, the article entitled "Why Stuff is introducing macrons for te reo Māori words" made a good point by stating that as an official language of New Zealand, te reo Māori deserves to be held in the same esteem as English and that the basic first step toward that deserved level of mana is using the language correctly. This non-normative usage (not conforming to what is considered the usual or normal way for people to use the language based on the rules and grammar of English, considered as the 'correct usage' which is a (prescriptive) European concept and perspective on language use and standards) is part of a larger phenomenon: as well as showing respect to the Māori audience by ensuring the correct usage, adopting macrons aid pronunciation and preventing mistaken meanings (Crewdson, 2017). Moreover, these correct forms also "accentuate the Māori character of the words [...] and mark the retreat from full integration into English" (Deverson, 1991:24). Then, what is clear, is that newspapers have a big role in the revitalization of the language and more specifically in the correct use of the language, since "media assume a prescribed attitude of correctness by using Māori loanwords according to Māori conventions" (Calude, 2014:165). This refusal/opposition to the anglicization of te reo Māori loanwords explicitly reflects the socio-political situation/reality in New Zealand. Since the beginning of decolonization, cultural assimilation is no more acceptable to indigenous peoples in post-colonial societies. In New Zealand, the tangata whenua fought and still fight to preserve their cultural identity in order to acquire a fully equal partnership (with the aim of putting Māori and Pākehā on the same pedestal). And as te reo is seen as an integral part of what it is to be Māori, language is seen as a vital part of that identity (Deverson, 1991).

Moreover, the loan Pākehā is in decline. This can be explained by the recent controversy surrounding the loan and by the long tumultuous history of the word. Indeed, in the 1980s, several attempts to ban the word were made. It is during this period that the meaning of Pākehā seems to have changed, "in part due to its usage in political discourses setting out Māori grievances [to the Waitangi Tribunal]" (Kukutai and Didham, 2009). Objections that the word was racist or derogatory, rife during the 1990s and the 2000s, were often based on urban myths about what the word means or translates to, one being that it is a transliteration of "bugger ya" or that it came from the words for flea or pig in te reo (Marcetic, 2018). These objections are also "grounded in belief that contemporary citizens should not be held accountable for past treatment of Māori no matter how unjust" as they are solely the descendants of the first colons and not the actual colonizers (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). By asking the colonizer to refer to themselves by the language of the colonized, some said that it was like being treated as foreigners in their own country (Kukutai and Didham, 2009) (linguistic alienation). However, the fact that the tangata whenua had to invent a word (Māori, meaning ordinary and qualifying what they were accustomed to) to qualify themselves in their homeland in the face of strangers is not considered as being an imbalance. As a consequence, Pākehā was removed from the 2001 Census. In 2006, the

Census added the new ethnic category, 'New Zealander', however, this term is more likely to be considered as a national rather than an ethnic identifier since Māori as well as Pākehā (and others ethnicity) are New Zealanders; and arises the problem of Māori ethnic affiliation, as tangata whenua they are New Zealanders but the fact that their nativity is displayed is double: it shows their special status as tangata whenua but also foreignized their status (the word Māori flags their nativeness). In this sense, the use of the term 'New Zealanders' simultaneously excludes and integrates Māori and, at the same time, disrupts the presumed balance of power between Māori and Pākehā by favoring Pākehā which are the majority in the country and for whom the label has been specially created (Moewaka Barnes et al. 2012). As a result, the loan Pākehā might be favored among Māori (who use te reo Māori to refer to their surroundings and their perspective of the world), which can also explain the low number of anglicization of the loan.

The fact that Kiwi (Kiwi is perceived positively when it is a synonym of New Zealanders) is more used than $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$ is a "sign of an increased stigmatization of the term among non-Māori New Zealanders, who prefer to revert to other ethnic designations such as New Zealander, New Zealand European, and Kiwi instead" (Calude, 2014:165). Kiwi has positive connotations as a marker of national identity, it is recurrent with terms relating to sports competitions, economy and lifestyle. The term is used in compounds and combinations that refer to core elements of New Zealand's national identity: Kiwi dollar, Kiwi income, Kiwi soldiers, Kiwi kids, etc. Moreover, the fact that the loan Kiwi is more used 'in the English fashion' of adding the plural suffix -s (Kiwis) in the 2020 data, denotes the integration of the loan as a marker of national identity (which has at the same time lost its language of reference, te reo) and might indicate that the loan Kiwi is used more often by Pākehā than by Māori. It is also a sign of "entrenchment in itself because it points to the fact that many speakers of New Zealand English are no longer conscious of the fact that kiwi is borrowed from Māori" (Trye et al., 2020:16). It also denotes a process of language appropriation (and cultural appropriation), as the recipient language, New Zealand English, adopts resources (lexicon) from the donor language, te reo Māori, and then tries to deny (or forget) the original language (and maybe meaning) from which the word has been borrowed and claim it as their own. It is a process that denotes a wider and more complex issue, with maybe the root of the problem lying in the idea of Pākehā 'superiority' since the majority of people relating to this term are Pākehā themselves.

Moreover, the loan $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$ occurs in a restricted range of topics, almost all of which relate to a Māori context. There is a co-textual presence of the term Māori, either through a

construction using "and" or "but". Thus, the main function of the loan Pākehā (used in Pākehā context/worldview) is to emphasize bipolar ethnic differences in New Zealand. Pākehā is a term that reflects the Māori perspective of the world as being in contrast to the Pākehā perspective of the world (reflecting social power relations). What is also surprising is the fact that the 2020 data still use a rhetoric of bad Māori, "almost every negative statistic from violence to socio-economic status is presented as an implicit comparison with Pakeha that makes Māori look bad" (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012:204). Indeed, ideas closely linked to the 'bad Māori pattern' are linked to the themes of crime, violence which are built upon the Western cultural stereotypes (and prejudices) of the 'Other' as being violent, uneducated, inferior (ibid:206), which creates fear and alienation in the intended audience. The 2000 data display this discourse as the anglicized version of the loan (*Māoris*) is linked to (child) abuse and other violence (killings) and falls into the hegemonic and racist narrative that denigrates Māori (Nairn et al., 2012).

On the whole, what is interesting is that New Zealand English uses Māori loans to refer to ethnic identity. And more so for Māori, who use their native language to refer to themselves and the world that surrounds them. Indeed, the "use of Māori borrowings depends on the ethno-cultural background of the language user (speaker/author) as well as on the topic of the discourse" (Calude, 2014:147). Moreover, the presence of Māori addressees (readership, audience) increases the probability of the usage of the term *Māori* since the more Māori addressees there are, the more reference is made to them as pertaining to that ethnic group (Calude, 2014). What is also noticeable is the decline in the anglicization of the loans Māori and Pākehā (but not for Kiwi which on the contrary increases) over time. The 2000 data assumed a more regular, systemic integration process that generally happen when words (from a minority language) are borrowed and integrated into a majority language (displaying vestige of a colonial past, policy of amalgamation of 'he iwi kotahi' (one people)), while the 2020 data assume a prescribed attitude of correctness (decolonizing the language) by using Māori loanwords according to Māori conventions (ibid:165). However, in the 2020 data, the loan Pākehā still has a hegemonic dichotomy: Pākehā is "constructed as natural, the nation, the ordinary, the community, against which all other ethnic groupings are viewed and measured" (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012:197).

The findings from the other case studies show that there is a general tendency for the loans (*iwi*, *hapū*, *waka*, *marae*, *whānau*, *hui*, *reo*, *taonga*, *mana*) to appear in political or news contexts. What is also noticeable is the fact that these loans are shorter (fewer syllables)

compared to their English equivalents (*reo*/language, *hapū*/sub-tribe, etc.) and thus their use is related to economy of expression (once its meaning has been understood by the wider speech community).

The high frequency of the use of the loan iwi within the political section exemplified the relation iwi have with political claims and the major role they played for independence. Texts and claims were made in the name of and for iwi because they were distinguished as being more powerful to propose claims and it was also more practical to ensure laws, to larger tribal groups than individual more limited groups. The loans iwi, hapū and whānau are clearly linked together (put in close context) as they perform the same role of 'affiliation'. They are related to Māori whakapapa (genealogy) which is a fundamental principle and ideology in Māori culture: it is important to connect and to know where one belongs and it is through iwi, hapū and whānau (describing familial structure) that a sense of identity emerges. "Within the Māori world loyalties and self-identification still lean heavily towards whānau, hapū and iwi, perhaps more so in the present due to the effect of the Waitangi Tribunal. It is outside, in the pragmatic struggle with the challenges of the Pākehā world, that a "Māori" self-identity has more relevance" (Paterson, 2010:106). However, even if the very act of reading print (for example newspaper) allows an individual to imagine himself/herself as being part of a larger population (New Zealanders, Kiwi), it does not broaden Māori concepts of belonging to larger groupings beyond those of hapū or iwi (which are the largest groups which they affiliate to and which denotes their Maoriness), as it can be seen through the increase in the frequency of the loans iwi and hapū (ibid). Tribal political divisions remain strong within Māori society, but even if tribal identity will 'always' win over ethnic collectivity, the high use of the loan Māori displays the Pākehā view which broadens the concept of belonging to a larger group (beyond iwi and $hap\bar{u}$) by conflating all Māori tribes into one race: Māori (ibid).

Furthermore, the loans waka and whānau have a higher frequency in the 2020 data and the explanation lies in the extension of the lexicalization of their meanings. Indeed, in the 2020 data, waka is more used in a specified context (along with the original meaning), towards a meaning of sports with the creation of waka ama (outrigger canoes). As for whānau, the higher frequency relies on the fact that its meaning has extended to include friends. The same is true of the loan hui, which is more widely used in the 2020 corpus than in the 2000 corpus. This is explained by the changes the word has undergone, as it has adapted and transformed following the pandemic to reflect an evolution in society, and by merging (hui and zoom) the term has acquired a new meaning, which is zui. It is through its

hybrid fusion (a Māori term (hui) and an English term (zoom)) that the term becomes more generalized and more likely to be used in mainstream society. It seems that the extension of meaning, seen as a process of revitalization, upgrades the loans into a general context by diversifying its usages (used in the same context as the English equivalent would be) and 'generalized' the term which is no longer locked into Māori culture. Then, the broadening and addition of meanings seem to explain the increase in the use of these borrowings, as the new meanings are more generalized (general) and rooted in Pākehā society, making their use more favorable in society at large. In its revitalization process, then, te reo Māori is renewing and modernizing itself to adapt and conform to a new society.

Moreover, the increase of the loan *marae* over time suggests its revival which took place during the 1950s-1960s: following the urban migration of the Māori, urban *marae* were built as a way to revitalize Māori practice (which decreased as the Māori community was amalgamated within Pākehā community). Its high frequency in the politics and news sections shows that its use embraces the 'physical function' the word has since *marae* are places of cultural and political importance, this is where important decisions are taken at *hui*.

As for the loan *reo*, its increase correlates with the implementation of institutional laws (*Te Ture Mo Te Reo Māori* 2016 (the Māori Language Act 2016)). The institution of *Te Wiki o te reo Māori* (the Māori Language Week) also plays a major role in revitalizing *te reo* and this specific event has influenced the use of the loan. In 2020, this week was celebrated from 14th to 20th September (the theme being 'Kia Kaha te Reo Māori' meaning 'Let's make the Māori language strong'), and as a result, there was a peak during this specific period (with its usage doubling (2.51 per mil) in September compared to January (1 per mil)). Here, this use fits in the factor displaying empathy with Māoridom. Its use in the politics and news sections is also connected with the struggle for the revival of te reo Māori.

For the loan *mana*, its increase can be understood as the word has polysemous meanings (Māori words are generally highly polysemous in English), which can be a factor against its use since the meaning is not stabilized in the community (Pākehā) or on the contrary, in favor of its use because the loan corresponds to multiple meanings/words in New Zealand English and so the borrowing can be found in different contexts (depending on the meaning used in the English context). However, what must be remembered is that this so-called 'polysemy' is actually the result of the fact that the lexicon and grammar of te reo Māori are often seen from a European perspective. In Māori, *mana* can have different meanings in one and the same use (see the dictionary entry that follows), whereas in an English context (as a loan) the word will have one and only one meaning in a sentence

(depending on the context). In the online dictionary Te Aka Māori Dictionary, the entry mana suggests the complexity of the term: "(noun) prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - mana is a supernatural force in a person, place or object. Mana goes hand in hand with tapu, one affecting the other. The more prestigious the event, person or object, the more it is surrounded by tapu and mana. Mana is the enduring, indestructible power of the atua and is inherited at birth, the more senior the descent, the greater the mana. The authority of mana and tapu is inherited and delegated through the senior line from the atua as their human agent to act on revealed will. Since authority is a spiritual gift delegated by the atua, man remains the agent, never the source of mana. This divine choice is confirmed by the elders, initiated by the tohunga under traditional consecratory rites (tohi). Mana gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities, to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person or tribe's mana can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success. The tribe give mana to their chief and empower him/her and in turn the mana of an ariki or rangatira spreads to his/her people and their land, water and resources. Almost every activity has a link with the maintenance and enhancement of mana and tapu. Animate and inanimate objects can also have mana as they also derive from the atua and because of their own association with people imbued with mana or because they are used in significant events. There is also an element of stewardship, or *kaitiakitanga*, associated with the term when it is used in relation to resources, including land and water."

However, it is said that when Pākehā speakers are uncertain about the actual meaning of a given loanword because of its multiple meanings or for the fear of using it incorrectly, they ultimately end up avoiding using the loanword altogether (Calude et al., 2017). Thus, Pākehā favor monosemous words for which they are confident in the meaning. This might be one of the explanations for why the loan *mana* has not increased too much over time (it is the first loan the most used in the 2000 data and second loan the most used in the 2020 data in the case study it belongs to (*Reo/Taonga/Mana*)).

The case of *Aotearoa*/New Zealand/*Aotearoa* New Zealand is also interesting considering the fact that the increase of the Māori term *Aotearoa* is in correlation with a demand to make it the official name of the country (even if New Zealand is still favored). Thus, someone who uses *Aotearoa* or *Aotearoa* New Zealand rather than the standard, and official, New Zealand might signal empathy with Māoridom, its values and aspirations. Furthermore, the increase of its use over time (in the politics, sports and news sections) may suggest a will to emancipate from the prescription and signal a political agreement (and thus

make an impact on the audience which in turn can take part favorably or not in the normalization of the term).

As far as place names are concerned, there is a dominant use of single-name place names (either Māori or English). Māori 'only' place names (such as Otago, Rotorua, Whanganui, etc.) or English (with no Māori official dual name) place name, that is to say, names for which there are no official English/Māori equivalents. For a better illustration of the geography of New Zealand place names see Figure 5 below.

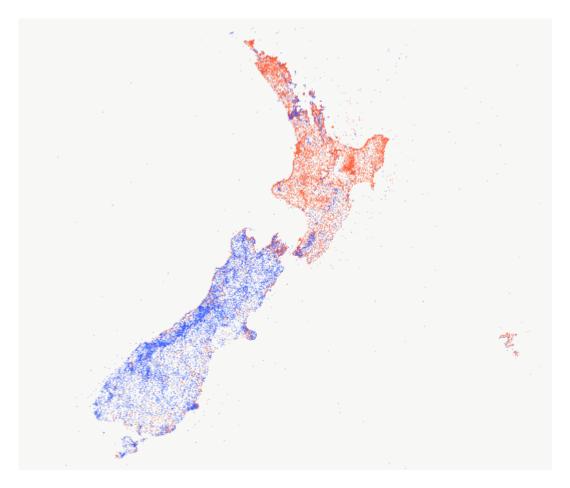


Figure 5. A map of *Aotearoa* New Zealand showing Māori and English place names. It is colored based on whether the place name contains Māori or English. Retrieved on *New Zealand Herald*, written by Chris Know, 2018, https://insights.nzherald.co.nz/article/our-place-names/ (accessed 20 July 2023).

Yet, the 2020 data appear to emancipate from this scheme as a wider range of denominations is noticeable. Indeed, when the English names are official and Māori names are also available, the 2020 data display both names (with the Māori names less dominant but still present) as was not the case in the 2000 data (only Māori 'only' place names were used

and no Māori equivalents were available for official English names). This behavior lies within a context of returning back to what was at the origins, giving back Māori 'authority', 'power' (mana) over the land as tangata whenua (decolonization process of both the language and territory). It is by no means a motivation for economy of expression as many Māori equivalents are much longer (more syllables) than the English official names (Ōtepoti for Dunedin, Ahuriri for Napier, etc.). Then, as it was the case with Aotearoa, it might be signaling empathy and maybe a political leaning towards the karanga (or call) to reclaim Māori place names and the history and culture connected to those names. In the case of New Zealand, the long shadow of colonial overlay is evident in the endurance of names with little bearing on the land, its stories or its people. The process of Māori renaming inscribes itself in this recovery process which takes place in the linguistic landscape of *Aotearoa* New Zealand ('[t]he language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings' within a specified area (Macalister, 2010:55)). The emergence of Māori equivalents is in correlation with the New Zealand Geographic Board (Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa) Bill of 2007 that advised the implementation of Māori place names over English ones in the years ahead by central government legislation, as well as local government policy (ibid:58-9). By recommending the recognition of Māori place names over English ones, the bill recognizes the Crown's responsibility in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi, particularly when regarding the collection and use of original Māori names of geographic features on official maps and charts. In this context, by providing advice on cultural redress for treaty claim settlements where place names are involved, the Board acknowledges the valuable role that te reo Māori plays in providing Aotearoa New Zealand with native and meaningful place names (with Māori place names intrinsically linked to pūrākau (legends) which shaped the land and country) that English cannot. An example is the now official dual name of Aoraki / Mount Cook³⁶ (the dual name has the Māori name preceding the English one and remembers both explorations) after the Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998 was passed (Ngāi Tahu being the main iwi of the South Island). The story of Aoraki is linked to the creation of the South Island itself, it goes like this: Rakinui, the Sky Father sent his sons, Aoraki (cloud in the sky), Rakiroa (Long Raki), Rakirua (Raku the second, 'glowing skies') and Rarakiroa (long unbroken line) in a

³⁶ New Zealand Parliament Pāremata Aotearoa, New Zealand Geographic Board (Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa) Bill — First Reading (Transcript), 7 August 2007, Hansard Debates, Volume 641, Page 10864.

⁽https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/document/48HansD_20070807_00001100/new-zealand-geographic-board-ng%C4%81-pou-taunaha-o-aotearoa), Accessed 9 May 2023

waka (canoe) to visit Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother. After having explored the new land, they decided to return to their celestial home. But the karakia (incantation/prayer) which should have lifted the waka (canoe) back to the heavens, and taken them back to the heavens failed and the waka fell back into the sea, the brothers climbed onto the top side of their canoe, however, the south wind froze them and turned the bodies of the four brothers into mountains and formed Kā Tiritiri o te Moana [meaning "the Mirage of the Ocean"], known as the Southern Alps (Aoraki, the eldest brother, stands for the highest peak). The waka became the South Island and is known by Māori as Te Waka o Aoraki (The Canoe of Aoraki) before being replaced by Te Waipounamu (the Waters of Greenstone) in 2013 (The Hermitage Hotel 2023, Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai 2019). This is why Māori names are thought more appropriate to lakes, rivers and natural scenery generally. This process of giving back the original name is not new, it traces back to the 1920s. However, the format tended to have the European settler/explorer name followed by the Māori name in brackets. More recently, this practice has changed to favor the Māori name first, followed by a forward slash, then the European settler/explorer name; acknowledging social and cultural developments in society, particularly regarding Treaty issues³⁷. Then, even though many Māori proper names were anglicized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, efforts (use of macrons or double vowels, correct spelling) have been made in the last few decades to pronounce these words correctly which demonstrates a greater respect for the Māori people and their language (Ladd, 2007).

Moreover, Māori hybrid compounds (a common nativization process that is done through the replacement of well-established English loans by more native-like Māori terms) are developing over time. It is clear from Tables 81 and 82 (see Tables 81 and 82 in the annexes) that the loans investigated have gained linguistic creation over time (with the results of 2020 displaying more uses than 2000). Nevertheless, as would have been expected with the loan $M\bar{a}ori$ (since it is the loan the most used among all the loans analyzed) its significant usage as a (stand-alone) loan is not in accordance with the results found. $M\bar{a}ori$ is not the loan the most used for creating hybrid compounds, even though it is the most frequent loan in both data, $M\bar{a}ori$, is actually not the most productive one. But even if it is not the most productive loan, as the loan the most used, it has some lexicalized hybrid compounds (accepted in the

³⁷ New Zealand Geographic Board Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa, "Protocol for Māori Place Names", 14 August 2002. Archived on Wayback Machine, 22 May 2010,

^{(&}lt;a href="http://www.linz.govt.nz/docs/placenames/proposingaplacename/protocol-maoriv2.pdf">http://www.linz.govt.nz/docs/placenames/proposingaplacename/protocol-maoriv2.pdf), Accessed 24 May 2023

New Zealand English lexicon) which are frequently used (e.g. Māori seats, Māori language, etc.) (Degani and Onysko, 2010). The loans *Māori* and *Pākehā* are related as their formation matches their dualistic worldview and their contentious cohabitation. "Maori-compounds [...] form a separate class that expresses Maori life in the light of Pakeha values" (ibid:224). In this sense, the loan Māori emerges as particularly productive since it specifies concepts pertaining to modern (the emergence of more contemporary concepts dates back to the 'cohabitation' with the Pākehā in an attempt to adapt to a modern worldview (eg. urban marae, radio, television, music)) and to traditional Māori life (eg. culture, art) (ibid:225). This shows the adaptability of the Māori in ensuring the survival of their culture against all odds. Māori political activism and resistance to Pākehā rule is also a recurrent theme among these hybrids, with examples such as Māori party, Māori seats. The unequal distribution of power between Pākehā and Māori is implicitly represented in the compounds given in Table 82 (see Table 82 in the annexes). Pākehā supremacy and superiority in the exercise of power is encapsulated in compounds with the heads majority, settlement, approach, narrative which really declare the upper hand Pākehā have on society (ibid:224). On the contrary, hybrid compounds created from the loan Kiwi emphasize the function of Kiwi as a national tag for New Zealand. Their creations denote a great variety of socio-professional roles, underline positive character traits, and mark New Zealand's economy, sports, and lifestyle/show business; on the whole, these compounds define New Zealand as a proud and unique country (ibid:226). What is common to all the loans studied is that they rarely have the position of headwords/head-types, they strongly favor the specifier position which can be related to their double function as either noun or adjective. And it is their adjectival value that is the most productive in the formation of hybrid compound nouns (ibid:222). Then, "the phenomenon of hybrid compounding emerges as a process that, on the one hand, symbolizes the vitality of the Maori element in NZE and, on the other hand, marks the integration of Maori concepts in New Zealand culture" (ibid:209). One hybrid compound that is found in the 2020 data, "waka-jumping" (meaning 'jumps from one canoe to the other' and used figuratively to denote a person changing political affiliations) is part of that process as a productive formation since it creates a word out of two already known words in the lexicon (it makes an impact and shows a cultural reference as it uses a Māori term to denote a process instigated by Māori people). The term waka-jumping was coined in the late 20th century and denotes someone changing political parties. While the New Zealand parliament is not known for its Māori cultural background and context, it is however known as such nowadays because the party (New Zealand First) that triggered the term had won all the Māori seats in the 1996

general election and was, as a result, perceived to be the main Māori voice in parliament at that time. The hybrid expression (containing the loanword *waka* (canoe)) was thus preferred over the equally likely, and still current, *party-hopping* (Macalister, 2007). Through the exploration of productive uses of Māori loans as 'active' elements inspiring the creation of new words in New Zealand English, the compound *waka-jumping* emerges as one, with the loan *waka* being an active element in the New Zealand English lexicon. One proof is the creation in September 2018 of the "waka-jumping bill" (also known as the Electoral (Integrity) Amendment Bill), which was designed to prevent MPs from ditching their party during a parliamentary term³⁸. The fact that this hybrid compound is used to refer to an official document denotes its importance (and strength) in the New Zealand English lexicon (the hybrid compound is not used within the Bill itself but the media and public more commonly refer to it as the 'Waka-jumping bill').

Then, what is clear is that the formation of hybrid compounds exemplifies how New Zealand English acquires its own features and distinctiveness as a variety of English. This process marks the onset of the emancipation of postcolonial Englishes from their ancestral British variety. Through the nativization process in the New Zealand English variety, the hybrid compound highlights the "semantic interplay of borrowings and native elements, indicative of how loanwords are reconceptualized in a dominant culture" (Degani and Onysko, 2010:231).

As for the flora and fauna loans, one would have expected to see a higher frequency of the loans in the 2000 data, as was the case in a paper published by John Macalister in 1999 (*Trends in New Zealand English: Some Observations on the Presence of Maori Words in the Lexicon*); in a 1990s corpus, the flora and fauna category was in third place after Tikanga Māori / General, while in the 1960s corpus, it occupies second place, ahead of Tikanga Māori / General. However, results show that the 2020 data have a wider range of species (25 for the 2020 corpus compared with 7 for the 2000 corpus). There are two cases: sometimes the Māori words co-exist with an equally acceptable English language alternative (eg. *parson bird* for *tūī*, *bellbird* for *korimako*, *sweet potato* for *kūmara*, etc.) but sometimes these Māori words are the exclusive terms for particular birds, trees, fish, or other creatures (eg. *kiwi*, *kauri*, *rimu*, *tuatara*, *kahawai*, etc.) (Macalister, 1999). One possible explanation concerning the higher frequency in the 2020 corpus, lies in the fact that in Māori philosophy, one "should 38 Radio New Zealand, 4 May 2023, 'Why has the waka-jumping legislation not been invoked for Meka Whaitiri?' (https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/489284/why-has-the-waka-jumping-legislation-not-been-invoked-for-meka-whaitiri) Accessed 10 May 2023

seek to live in harmony with nature, not to dominate it". At the heart of this philosophy is the concept of *mauri* (a life force that unites all creatures and enables them to flourish) (Patterson, 1998). Historically, many *hapū* were forced out of traditional lands to occupy suboptimal areas, such as rivers or coastal floodplains. This means flooding, coastal erosion, storm surges and regular tidal inundation are more likely to affect Māori communities. Native flora and fauna come under threat as the environment alters: their habitats change, putting them at risk from exotic and invasive species. And as the link between Māori and *te taiao* (the natural world) is inherent, it means all these changes will have cultural and personal effects on Māori (such as food gathering, flooding of *marae*, etc.) (Northland Regional Council, 2020). Thus, the use of the loans is linked to multiple factors: expressing empathy towards Māoridom, making an impact (displaying political affiliation), and also providing/exhibiting/manifesting cultural references as a way to express the New Zealand identity with Māori 'only' names of flora and fauna.

Finally, for the case study of new types of loans from te reo Māori, no promising conclusion can be drawn. Indeed, even if function words are used within the corpora, they are within a full Māori sentence. This lack of use can be explained by the fact that they are more likely to be core meanings and not cultural ones, and thus English equivalents already exist. Moreover, as shown through the analyses, loans which are content words are dominant since they carry a meaning: they are easier to use within a 'general' context for the community and can be understood by a wide population, which is not the case for function words (as the meaning is not available 'immediately' and thus requires a full Māori sentence to be understood). As a whole, function words might be used if a wide range of the population learns the language. This process fits in the audience design theory (a process in which linguistic style-shifting occurs in response to the audience (link between language, context, and identity), the speaker adjusts /accommodates his/her speech depending on the audience in order to express solidarity or intimacy with them (Bell, 1984)) as more and more people will be able to speak *te reo*, more and more words (function and content words) will be used.

Thus far, the results showed that some loanwords are more 'successful' compared to others. These loans are likely to be cultural words ('needed') rather than core words ('luxury'). Then, it can be said that they are culturally motivated. However, this process of borrowing must be understood in a 'normative' context as newspapers reflect the 'conventional, prescriptive' use of the language, as it is ruled by social norms. But if the

analyses of borrowings were carried out in a less normative context, the results might show a potential for more hybridity of the language (in spoken data for example, as the language in this context is less prescriptive).

Furthermore, Māori words are used more often when the context/situation makes the choice appropriate or if there is a gap in the first language, here New Zealand English. Then, these loans are perceived as being needed in a context where there is a need to describe an 'unknown' cultural environment. Their borrowing is thus necessary because English synonyms/equivalents do not always exist for Māori material culture terms. This process of borrowing is then settled into a pattern of clarity of meaning, as a way to capture (and encapsulate) the complexity of the meaning of the loan which could not have been translated by an English word.

Regarding the integration of these loans into the New Zealand English lexicon, one must look for 'flagging' of the loans (the practice of translating or explaining borrowed words, or of demarcating their occurrence in some way from surrounding discourse, by italics or boldface font and thus marking them as being foreign). The more the loans are perceived as being widely established borrowings (Māori, Kiwi, reo, marae, kia ora, ka pai, etc) and perceived as standard usage accepted by the wide community, the less they will be likely to be flagged and/or translated. Yet, the less frequent loanwords are more likely to be translated suggesting the unfamiliarity of the audience with the loanwords. This process of flagging Māori loanwords is done by giving an English description/equivalent; this expected choice of flagging is done for not widely used and/or well-known loanwords. In the corpora, the loans investigated were not much flagged. What appears is that, for the 2000 corpus, fewer words were flagged (iwi, hapū, hui, mana, taonga) compared to the 2020 corpus (Pākehā, Kiwi, iwi, waka, whānau, hui, reo, mana, taonga). However, what must be taken into account is the fact that in the 2020 data, the flagging of the loans waka, reo and mana was done when another word was added, forming a compound word (both terms are from te reo Māori) (eg. waka taua (war canoe), waka tipuna (ancestral canoe), mana motuhake (self-determination), mana tieki (guardianship with a sacred power), Te Ture mo Te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Act), Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori (the Māori Language Commission), Te wiki o te reo Māori (the Māori Language Week)). As for the 2000 data, the majority of the flagging was done by giving the English equivalent (apart from mana whenua, which was in a context of a compound word and was given the wrong meaning of 'tribal group' instead of 'authority over land or territory'). What is common for both corpora is that both flagged the most the loan taonga, which is the less frequent loan used within the case study (reo/mana/taonga).

However, the other most flagged loans for the 2000 and the 2020 data are among the most used within the case study. The second most flagged loan of the 2000 data is *iwi*, which has a higher frequency of use within the case study *iwi/hapū/waka*; as for the 2020 data the second most flagged word is *whānau* which is also the most frequent loan used among *marae/whānau/hui*. While it does not match the hypothesis, it does match the fact that core loanwords (words for which an English word/equivalent already exists) are flagged more frequently than cultural loanwords. And, this is proved as *marae* (cultural loan) is never flagged in either corpora. On the contrary, what is surprising, is that the newspapers which flagged the most are from the North Island: in the 2000 data, the *Wanganui Chronicle* and the *New Zealand Herald* and in the 2020 data, the *Gisborne Herald*. What could have been expected is that the newspaper from the South Island, the *Otago Daily Times*, would have flagged the most since the majority of the Māori community is localized in the North Island. While it flags loans, it does so much less than the others.

On the whole, "writers appear to treat loanwords more and more as though they were largely known by their entire readership (as indicated by the reduction of flagging)" (Calude and Levendis, 2019:8). This diachronic decrease (fewer words flagged over time) is in correlation with the increase in loanword use which matches a significant increase in unflagged loanwords over the twenty-year period (Calude and Levendis, 2019). As such, this process of less flagging but more borrowing denotes that the loans are being treated as belonging to the New Zealand English lexicon, that is to say, more integrated. It also conveys the idea that journalists actively encourage and promote the maintenance of te reo Māori, particularly during Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Week), which sees a peak in the use of loans during this specific week. The decrease in the flagging of loanwords shows how integrated a loan is perceived to be in New Zealand English by the author into the targeted audience (here New Zealand English). This 'judgment' is made upon the degree of familiarity, the degree of exposure (active or passive / learning or ambient speech) from the readership. This stance denotes a will for clarity of meaning (loans are needed since they do not exist in Pākehā society) through the use of cultural terms such as marae, mana or empathy towards Māoridom as they "use such words to signal a given political and social stance towards an ethnic group (Māori), or to actively encourage and promote the maintenance of the Māori language" (ibid:8). This time through the use of core borrowings such as whānau, reo, hui, which have an equivalent in New Zealand English. The use of these terms in place of their English equivalents denotes a desire to establish these terms permanently in the lexicon of New Zealand English and, at the same time, to use not just one

of the official languages (New Zealand English) but also the other (te reo Māori), with the aim of rebalancing and restoring the status of the country's native language. This is reflected in the use of the term whānau (instead of family), which recurs throughout the 2020 corpus. By using the loan whānau (instead of family), the author places himself/herself in this large family perspective (whānau is often used with the adjective extended) and in the history of the country (since history is captured in language). It is by gradually renormalizing the native language and embracing/understanding the society behind it that te reo has a chance of renewing itself. The choice to use this term does not seem insignificant, since it would seem that the most frequently used borrowings (Māori, Kiwi, whānau) denote belonging, a national or more personal identity. The Māori language seems to be the community language (language spoken by members of minority groups or communities in a majority linguistic context) that brings New Zealanders together through the use of borrowings that denote an identity, a belonging that is shared by the majority. In this sense, these borrowings normalize te reo as a first language, and demonstrate the strong link between New Zealand and its native people through the lexical field of belonging. This makes it possible to associate the self with the country that is unique to it through te reo. It is a sign of 'audience design' (accommodating speech to reflect the norms of a speech community with whom the speaker/author identifies with) becoming an initiative shift. This can be seen from the fact that borrowings are used not only during Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori but also in everyday life (outside this event introduced to revitalize the language), as demonstrated by the results of the 2020 corpus (even if a peak in frequency can be observed during this event (see Figures 6 and 7 below for illustration). In these situations, writers use words associated with nonpresent social groups to signal hypothetical allegiances with this community.

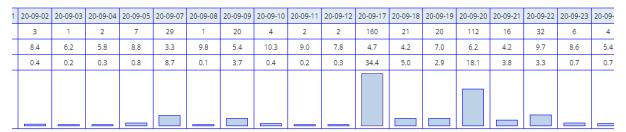


Figure 6. A table showing the use of the term *reo* during the *Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori* period (14-20 September), as well as its general use in days during the year 2020. Retrieved on *English Corpora*, corpus News on the Web (NOW), https://www.english-corpora.org/now/.

CLICK ON MONTH IN COLUMN HEADERS TO SEE FREQUENCY BY DAY

SECTION	20-01	20-02	20-03	20-04	20-05	20-06	20-07	20-08	20-09	20-10	20-11	20-12
FREQ	220	210	249	162	142	169	197	170	552	165	174	137
WORDS (M)	219.1	180.7	238.8	212.3	233.7	240.1	234.6	255.6	220.3	198.1	185.0	189.6
PER MIL	1.00	1.16	1.04	0.76	0.61	0.70	0.84	0.67	2.51	0.83	0.94	0.72
CLICK FOR CONTEXT												

Figure 7. A table showing the use of the term *reo* during the *Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori* period (14-20 September), as well as its general use in months during the year 2020. Retrieved on *English Corpora*, corpus News on the Web (NOW), https://www.english-corpora.org/now/.

Regarding the 'implied' addressors (journalists writing the articles), it was noted that Māori use loanwords more than Pākehā and that females, particularly, use more loanwords than males (Calude et al., 2017). Moreover, this preferential use of the loan among Māori interlocutors is in correlation with a higher incidence of Māori terms in the English spoken by Māori people (often labeled Māori English). The ethnicity of the language user and the type of topics talked about influence the frequency of Māori loans in New Zealand English (Calude, 2014). For Māori, the use of te reo words is seen as being motivated by the expression of solidarity with the Māori perspective (specific view of the world) but also a desire to align their identity within a Māori background (flagging a Māori ethnicity) (Calude et al., 2017). Thus, the ethnicity of the audience has a bearing on the number of loanwords used, with a higher number of loanwords in situations where the audience is mainly Māori (ibid:24). These results follow an Audience Design theory "that speakers may construct and adapt their discourse (at least) in part, by tending to the kinds of hearers that are present at the time of the interaction" (ibid:13). The same hypothesis could be drawn for this thesis since the results show a higher frequency of the use of the loans for the North Island newspapers. The reason for this difference between North Island and South Island newspapers relates to the demographic fact that the vast majority of Māori tribes and people live on the North Island (historically, the South Island has been more Pākehā than the North Island (Ladd, 2007)). Therefore, most of the events and issues concerning Māori people happen on the North Island. Furthermore, as the political center, the capital city of Wellington harbors most of the political and legal concerns between the Māori and Pākehā population of New Zealand (Calude, 2014). It was observed in another paper [Bauer, 2000] that words investigated hint at a tri-partite division of the country, with the central region (north and south of Cook Strait) being the highest adopter of words of Māori origin, followed by the northern New Zealand

region, and last, the southern region having the lowest count (Calude, 2011). The results of this essay showed a correlation towards this general tendency, but only for the 2000 data. On the contrary, the 2020 data display that the northern New Zealand region (Gisborne, Gisborne Herald) adopts loans more than the other regions (with nonetheless the central region following close behind (Wellington, Radio New Zealand and Stuff). The results are in line with the New Zealand Census data: there are larger percentages of Māori speakers where there are higher percentages of Māori. For the newspaper the New Zealand Herald (2000 data) which has its headquarters in Auckland, the results of the census show that the peak of Māori speakers is located in the year 2001 (see charts 1 and 2) but that the overall population speaking te reo Māori is at its lowest. For the newspaper Gisborne Herald which is located in Gisborne, the peak of the population speaking te reo Māori occurs in 2013, but the higher percentage of Māori speaking te reo is in 2001. However, most recent results (2018 Census) show that the Gisborne region is by far the region which has the most people speaking te reo Māori and among which the higher proportion of Māori people who can speak te reo (see charts 3 and 4). For the newspapers located in the central regions (*The Dominion*, *Wanganui* Chronicle (for 2000) and Radio New Zealand and Stuff (for 2020)), it appears that there were slight increases in 2006 (for the overall population), but consistent decreases in 2013. According to the 2018 Census results, in Wellington (2020 data) there is a slight decrease in the percentage of Māori people speaking te reo Māori (see chart 4). Thus it is consistent with the results of the 2020 data, showing a higher range of loans used in the northern regions as the Gisborne Herald displays the most te reo Māori loans. However, for the Wellington region (Stuff and Radio New Zealand) there is no correlation with the slight decrease of Māori speakers in the region as both follow closely behind the Gisborne Herald in the high frequency of the use of te reo loans. This might be explained by the increase in learning te reo Māori by non-Māori people following the covid-19 lockdown (see more on this below).

Furthermore, the average audience/readership's age can be deduced through New Zealand Census data. As te reo Māori is a central component of Māori culture and an important aspect that defines an individual's participation in a *hui*, *pepeha*, etc. and is therefore central to Māori identity (bearing in mind that *te reo* was first and foremost a spoken and unwritten language), it is not surprising that the Māori are the ones who speak the most the language. This is why the data of the census are based on the Māori community. What the results show is that the probability that the readership is between 30 and 64 years

old is high (see chart 5) for the 2000 data, it increased in 2006 and then decreased in 2013. But this age group (30-64) is still the dominant group speaking te reo Māori. What is also remarkable is the consistent decreases in the two younger age groups (less than 15, 15-29). On the contrary, the 2018 Census (see chart 6) displays increases for the two younger age groups (less than 15, 15-29) and for the middle age group (30-64). Then, the dominant readership for both corpora might be aged between 30 to 64 years old as it is for both years the major group speaking te reo Māori. What the 2018 Census results show is a reasonably consistent increase in the use of *te reo*, which can explain the increase in the use of *te reo* loans in the 2020 data. Moreover, in 2001, older Māori were more likely than younger Māori to be able to converse in te reo Māori, but the tendency decreases as the 2018 Census shows a renewed vitality and interest among the younger population. This resurgence is part of the broad revival undertaken since the 1970s, which instituted many educational systems as a way to teach te reo Māori to children and thus limit the damage caused by the weakening of inter-generational transmission.

To locate the sixteen regions on the map of New Zealand and see where they stand in relation to the tri-partite distribution (North, Center and South), see the map below (Figure 8).



Figure 8. A map showing the New Zealand REGIONS and cities. Retrieved on Mappr, https://www.mappr.co/political-maps/new-zealand/ (accessed 27 June 2023).

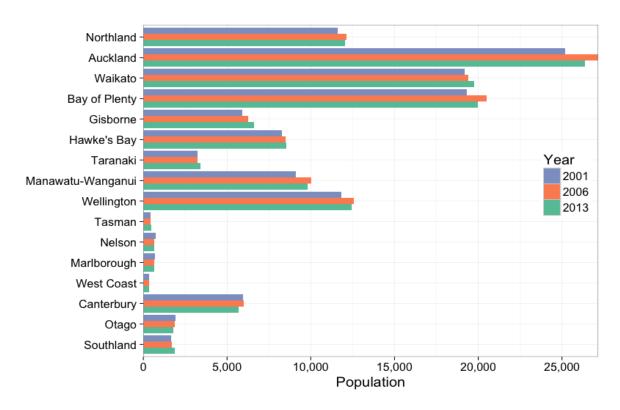


Chart 1 showing New Zealand Census 2001, 2006, 2013 speakers of te reo Māori by region (Keegan, 2017) (http://peterjkeegan.github.io/mstats01.html) (accessed 6 May, 2023)

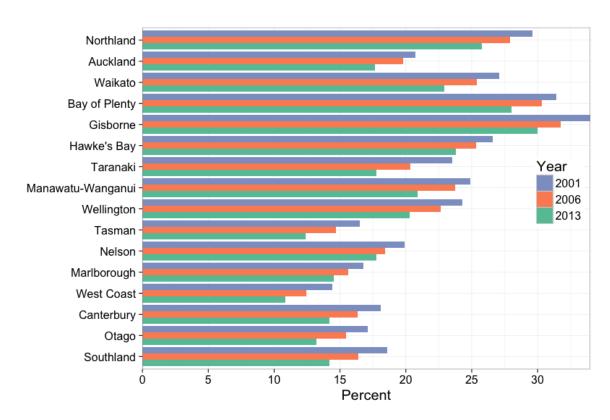


Chart 2 showing New Zealand Census 2001, 2006, 2013 percentage of Māori speakers by region (Keegan, 2017) (http://peterjkeegan.github.io/mstats01.html) (accessed 6 May, 2023)



People who can speak Te Reo Māori in New Zealand

By region, 2018 Census, % of people within region

Provider: Stats NZ

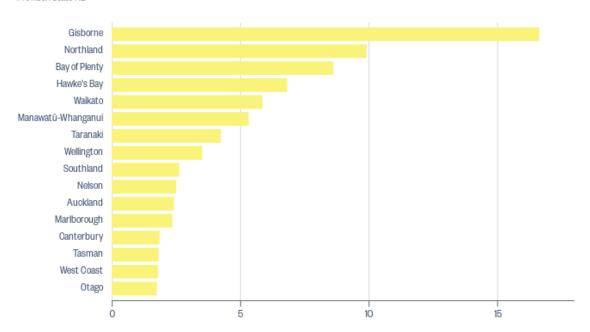


Chart 3 showing New Zealand Census 2018 percentage of speakers of te reo Māori by region, data retrieved at Figure NZ (data provided by Stats NZ), (https://figure.nz/chart/mMXLfEokdfnHkOcJ) (accessed 14 May 2023)

Māori people in New Zealand who can speak Te Reo Māori

figure.nz
Fairly well
Very well/well

By region, 2018, % of Māori people

Provider: Stats NZ

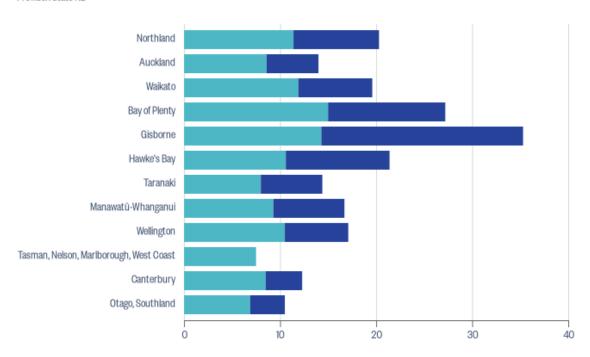


Chart 4 showing New Zealand Census 2018 percentage of Māori speakers by region, data retrieved at Figure NZ (data provided by Stats NZ), (https://figure.nz/chart/noKkDchszrLoeVdX) (accessed 14 May 2023)

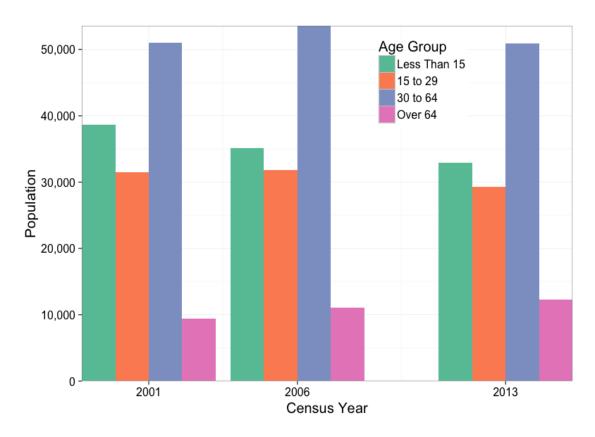


Chart 5 showing New Zealand Census 2001, 2006, 2013 Māori Language Speakers by 4 Age Groups (Keegan, 2017) (http://peterjkeegan.github.io/mstats01.html) (accessed 12 May, 2023)

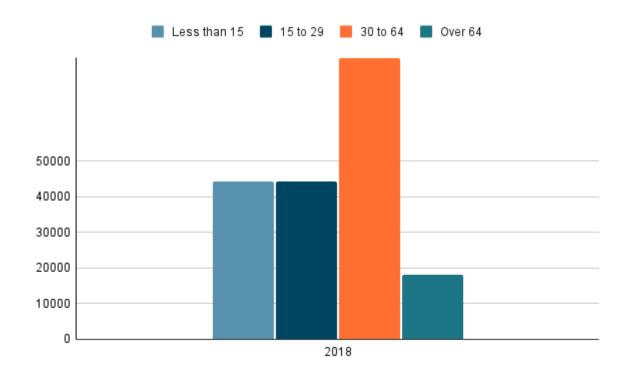


Chart 6 showing New Zealand Census 2018 Māori Language Speakers by 4 Age Groups, data

retrieved at Figure NZ (data provided by Stats NZ) (https://figure.nz/chart/OL4jDne8UKzWvCjy) (accessed 12 May, 2023)

The pattern of the results of the 2000 and 2020 corpora is in correlation with previous findings. This diachronic analysis highlights the increase in the use of loans in New Zealand English and denotes the nativization/maorification of the New Zealand English lexis over time. The preferential use of the loans is culturally motivated, as the majority of the loans borrowed are needed as there is no equivalent term available in the dominant language (NZE). Newspapers in areas with a high proportion of Māori residents use te reo (better and more often) than others, it includes the New Zealand Herald, the Daily Post, the Bay of Plenty Times, the Wanganui Chronicle. Some newspapers even promote te reo Māori during the Māori Language Week (Gisborne Herald and Fairfax NZ Newspaper). Nevertheless, other newspapers in areas with high proportions of Māori use te reo Māori terms less often, for example, the Gisborne Herald and the Waikato Times (as analyzed in the article quoted) (Rankine, 2009). While this is true for the first half of the sentence, indeed the New Zealand Herald followed by The Dominion and the Wanganui Chronicle are the ones using the most loans in the 2000 data, the second half is false as the Gisborne Herald is among the dominant newspaper that uses te reo Māori loans the most in the 2020 data. This reversal shows that time contributes to linguistic changes and awareness (the paper was released 11 years before my analysis of the corpus). It might be understood as a way to fulfill a responsibility to contribute to the ideal of a bicultural national identity (social harmony and New Zealand identity) which involves giving everyone access to te reo Māori and contributing to the 'normalization' of the language. It is a step further in the revitalization process, by embedding the language in the home, the neighborhood and the community (not only the educational system).

However, since there is no sociolinguistics data (gender, ethnicity, languages spoken) attached to the articles and that even if the name of the journalist can be found it does not indicate his/her affiliation, the contextualization of the results can only be purely hypothetical. An ethnic bias in the use of the loans must be considered even if Pākehā use loanwords as a way to display empathy or solidarity towards Māori when they mix socially with Māori people. As these newspapers are national and are intended for a wide audience, they cannot be labeled 'indigenous journalism' as they are not intended solely for indigenous communities. Yet, as journalists, they have a role in society: operating in the people's interest

by providing information that is relevant to their audience and their culture. And journalism is a culturally appropriate environment to back up and support the language (Hanusch, 2014). Journalists are then embedded into a cross-cultural communication, and act as bi-cultural reporters (for both Māori and Pākehā audiences).

These results show that linguistic diversity is a challenge within a multiethnic society and that a language-society relationship is prevalent in the revitalization of a language. At first, at an early stage in the contact between the two cultures, lexical borrowings were Pākehā-driven as it was needed to describe a previously unknown environment. However, this change during the revival of te reo Māori in the 1970s became Māori-driven. Indeed, the colonial borrowing from Māori was Pākehā-driven, as it was motivated by the Europeans' need to come to terms with a strange and unknown world. On the contrary, the recent revival or new wave of borrowing is by contrast Māori-driven, as it was initiated in large part by Māori speakers and writers themselves. "It is less a case of English taking from Maori, than of Maori being brought into English, by those who wish to express a Maori perspective and Maori aspirations for general New Zealand consumption" (Deverson, 1991:20). The revival is then a bottom-up process that was instigated by the Māori themselves, for the survival of one of their taonga, te reo. It can be said to take part in kaupapa Māori (Māori approach/ideology) as it provides understandings focused on a Māori gaze by incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society to 'justify' the revival of the language and the culture.

The lexical choices are based on sociolinguistic perceptions and denote attitudes towards language and culture (degree of acceptance/integration). All the loans analyzed relate to *te ao Māori* (the Māori world), suggesting a move away from the negative underlying meanings it had previously (savage, archaic) and the influence it has on Pākehā culture. At the same time it also puts forward a balance of power between the languages, widening the gap between the labels 'dominant' language and the 'sub-dominant' one. "[I]n Pakeha society the way people write, pronounce and pluralize Maori loanwords (Maori itself is a good test case) will indicate a good deal about their social and racial attitudes as New Zealand moves into its appointed bicultural future" (Deverson, 1991:25).

These findings are part of a general trend whereby the rate of Māori loans in New Zealand English is constantly increasing (even if the loan Pākehā has decreased over time). These changes (increase over time) parallel changes within New Zealand society, and are a

reminder that language use is sensitive and indicative of social and cultural development (Macalister, 2000). These changes within New Zealand society have been manifest in the lexicon. As the emphasis is put on biculturalism and on the recognition of te reo Māori as an official language, the lexical choices individuals make to adhere to these principles have an influence on the items brought into New Zealand English. In that regard, it is worth noting that choosing not to use a Māori word when one exists also illustrates another viewpoint, one where te reo Māori is dismissed in favor of a global language (Macalister, 2007). This recognition of te reo Māori as a living culture and as an integral part of New Zealand English was substantiated by the integration of Māori words in the Dictionary of New Zealand English written by Orsman in 1997 (Degani and Onysko, 2010:211). The results provided evidence of an evolving presence of te reo Māori in New Zealand English, but it must be emphasized that this is a process of gradual change in New Zealand English, a gap of 20 years showed only a few changes and te reo loans are still associated with Māori related discourse topics (even core borrowings which are basic words relating to mainstream society such as whānau, reo, hui, etc.) (Macalister, 1999). Other types of borrowings such as flora and fauna, material culture (kai [food], moana [ocean], aroha [love], etc.) are more likely to be used in a context that is not purely Māori, since their meaning is 'basic' in the sense that these words/meanings are also found in the lexicon of New Zealand English. In this sense, all the 'core' loans, which have a wider and more neutral currency, could refer to a broader context (non-Māori) not necessarily linked to Māori related topics. And this is what appears in the results of the 2020 corpus, with the borrowings whānau (extended whānau), waka (waka ama) but also hui (zui), which are 'renewed' to adapt to a broader context, which explains their use in a more general context. At the same time, this denotes the integration of te reo words into the lexicon of New Zealand English and thus into Pākehā culture, and consequently the acceptance of the official status of the Māori language as an integral part of New Zealand society. These linguistic creations (two Māori words or one Māori word and one English word) are proof of society's commitment to the bicultural policy. This linguistic revival is all the more striking as it is proof that a new name is needed (Māori New Zealand English) to effectively show the extent of New Zealand's linguistic continuum and its asserted bicultural dimension.

Thanks to the bottom-up initiatives instigated in the 1970s by activist groups, te reo Māori gained support from the New Zealand governmental system. The focus was put on educational institutions as transmission as a first language decreases (the focus was no longer on the (natural) inter-generational transmission). Due to physical punishment at school (in

Native Schools during the Pākehā settlement), the first and second generations of Māori were discouraged from speaking their language and encouraged their children to learn English and did not speak to them in te reo for fear of reprisal. Then, the inter-generational language transmission was no longer effective as a method of ensuring the vitality of te reo. In 1980, the Kōhanga Reo movement was established in response to the decline of fluent speakers of te reo. Later, in 1985, Kura Kaupapa were established (primarily by Māori themselves and later following the 1989 Education Act, the government adopted the financial responsibility to fund them). However, it is only "after a claim was made to the Waitangi Tribunal that the language was a taonga (treasure) of te ao Māori, and therefore, as required by the treaty, the government was legally obliged to protect and nurture it" (O'Toole, 2020:200), that the Government began actively supporting the revival of the Māori language. The Māori Language Act was passed in 1987, making it one of the official languages of Aotearoa New Zealand and established *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (the Māori Language Commission) and Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development) to support the language. In 2016, Te Ture mō te Reo Māori 2016 (the Māori Language Act 2016) replaced the former act (1987) and through the further establishment of the *Te Mātāwai* organization (Te Mātāwai 2018, the independent entity appointed to work in partnership with the Crown and appointed to lead Māori language revitalization on behalf of iwi Māori as kaitiaki [guardian, keeper] of the Māori language³⁹), the government moved to share responsibility for promotion and protection of te reo with Māori people (ibid:200). It is through the implementation of the Māori Language Strategy (Rautaki Reo Māori), that New Zealand society has passed a milestone. By including non-Māori people in their goals for revitalizing the language, the Strategy encourages and makes possible the change in attitudes among the general population. Recently, there was an "uptake in responsibility for promoting and normalising te reo by government, business, and non-Māori" (ibid:201). One of the most visible is the institution of the government-sponsored initiative, Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Week), which encourages New Zealanders to celebrate te reo Māori and to use more Māori phrases and words in everyday life. Other initiatives participating in the revival of the language include some announcements being made in te reo by Auckland Transport in June 2018, greetings or ending news in te reo by mainstream television newsreaders and presenters on Radio New Zealand. Since 1999 (Hinewehi Mohi sang 'God defend New Zealand' only in te reo Māori ('Aotearoa') before the All Blacks versus England match,

³⁹ Te Mātāwai, https://www.tematawai.maori.nz/

which caused a controversy⁴⁰), singing New Zealand anthem in te reo and English has become the norm (in the 2000s it is common to sing a verse in Māori followed by a verse in English⁴¹). Moreover, since 2022, *Matariki* (Māori New Year) is celebrated as an official public holiday thanks to the legislation Te Ture mō te Hararei Tūmatanui o te Kāhui o Matariki 2022 / Te Kāhui o Matariki Public Holiday Act 2022⁴². All these initiatives at the national level can be said to act as cultural and linguistic rejuvenations. However, changes must occur at a personal level to really make a difference. Many non-Māori/non-heritage speakers enroll in te reo classes to gain proficiency in the language. While the first aim may not be purely altruistic ("improving employment prospects, enhancing social relationships, and fulfilling an internal drive to demonstrate a sense of responsibility towards the achievement of a bicultural nation" (O'Toole, 2020:196)), once they are familiar with the language and culture, many non-Māori discern further value in learning about tikanga Māori (Māori cultural protocol). As their values change, the way they relate to and engage with te reo also changes (often for the better as they engage in the revitalization of te reo, or adhere to political claims regarding te ao Māori) (ibid:196). Kiwi also used lockdown during covid-19 to learn te reo Māori, thanks to the widespread materials online that was easy to access, it attracted people to learn the language, matching the following increase in people enrolling in te reo classes⁴³. It results in a positive and progressive language movement as te reo reaches a wider population and leads to social transformation (an "increasing sense of responsibility towards and valuing of te reo Māori amongst non-Māori people" (ibid:209)) due to changing ideas of how the New Zealand identity is constituted. The engagement with te ao Māori via learning te reo and elements of tikanga Māori has the power to unsettle preconceptions (and often misconceptions) and to challenge perceptions that many non-Māori tauira [students] may have about Māori people, language, and culture as well as "raising non-Māori awareness of, and critical thinking about, New Zealand colonial history" (ibid:196).

While this increase of te reo Māori in mainstream society by both Māori and non-Māori people displays a new stage within the revitalization process, it is understandable that some

⁴⁰ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'New Zealand's national anthems', 2021, (https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/new-zealands-national-anthems)

⁴¹ Nancy Swarbrick, 'National anthems', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2012, (http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/national-anthems)

⁴² New Zealand Parliament Pāremata Aotearoa, 'Celebrating Matariki as a public holiday', 2022, (https://www.parliament.nz/en/get-involved/features/celebrating-matariki-as-a-public-holiday/)

⁴³ INews, 'Kiwis using lockdown to learn 'easy to access' Te Reo Māori', 2021,

⁽https://www.1news.co.nz/2021/08/26/kiwis-using-lockdown-to-learn-easy-to-access-te-reo-maori/)

Māori people can have concerns about contemporary forms of colonization occurring via indigenous language acquisition by non-Māori people (O'Toole, 2020:206), as they are faced with a non-heritage dominant cultural group demonstrating a behavior (learning te reo) that they themselves (the Māori people) may have been denied due to colonial processes and consequences (endangerment of the language, punishment for speaking it, inter-generational transmission broken, etc.) (Te Huia, 2020). What must be understood is that Pākehā engagement with Māori culture is a privilege; Māori engagement with Māori culture is a right (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012). This 'not-so-new' phenomenon of non-Māori learning the indigenous language (seen during the first period of colonization, but with less 'respect' to te reo as it was 'abusively' anglicized and deformed) might put at the forefront the question of integration or assimilation of the language. This process of integrating loanwords within New Zealand English establishes itself within a rhetoric of appropriation, as te reo words borrowed are made first and foremost by Māori to accommodate Māori philosophy, ideology, worldview, etc. Thus, te reo Māori loanwords used within New Zealand English in a Pākehā/New Zealand context might 'deculturate' the original meaning it has within te ao *Māori*. In fact, the most problematic issue is linked to translation: is it really possible to use te reo Māori within a Pākehā context without altering the original meaning? Is it possible to 'transfer' te ao Māori to te ao Pākehā without any alteration? I personally do not think that it is possible. First of all, due to the fact that Pākehā New Zealanders are (unconsciously) linked to colonial history and to the role it played in the extinction of te reo Māori. By reclaiming the language, the Pākehā New Zealanders establish their use of te reo within a context of 'recolonization', of 're-assimilation'. The act of borrowing must be done with respect and with full awareness of the value and meaning of words. It is not something to be taken lightly, especially if it is part of a climate of language decolonization and revaluation. Secondly, there is the problem of the meaning of the loans (the act of translation, of rewriting, must be understood as not being perfect synonyms, but only semantic anchors (Calude and al., 2017:11)). As said previously, most of the loans are 'needed' as they described a cultural idea that is not part of the Pākehā world. For the most part, the loans are used within a te ao Māori context. However, the problem of 'fidelity' or 'rewriting' is immediately subsequent to the use of the loan. Can the loan used within a 'hybrid' language (Māori New Zealand English) have its full meaning and not be 'deteriorated'? The examples of utu⁴⁴, tapu and mana well 44 Revenge, retaliation, reciprocity; an important concept concerned with the maintenance of balance and harmony in relationships between individuals and groups and order within Maori society, whether through gift exchange or as a result of hostilities between groups, John C. Moorfield, Te Aka Māori Dictionary, 2023, https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?

exemplify this challenge as these words are intricately ingrained in Māori ideology and view of the world. Then, one who is not aware of or does not care for te ao Māori might 'rewrite' the loan with the Pākehā ideology and thus deculturate the loan. This is why the national education system plays a crucial role in integrating/propagating the culturally and historically sensitive acquisition of Māori words into New Zealand English. Since there is no longer any intergenerational transmission (where the acquisition of the language, its values and culture were taught by first-language speakers to second-language speakers), the education system must now play this role for future generations, who are crucial to the future and revitalization of the Māori language. That is why learning the right uses of language (from a te reo perspective), but also culture (which goes hand in hand with language, since language underpins culture), from an early age is vital in order to give the right practice and understanding of Māori culture and language, a practice that respects and restores te reo in all its wholeness. It is only after this thoughtful education that a new, effective generational transmission is possible. By instituting the right habits from the outset, they become natural and are passed on with respect and adherence to the Māori language and culture. Because speaking te reo Māori is not just about expressing a part of oneself, it is a state of mind.

While the revival given to *te reo* is set within a positive context, the aftermath is double-edged. The Māori language is enhanced and revitalized through the many borrowings used in New Zealand English. However, these borrowings must be used sparingly and carefully, as their meaning is linked to *te ao Māori* and primarily describes Māori society and are not there to imply the absorption of a minority group into the dominant group by adapting those loans to fit Pākehā society. Te reo Māori has regained vitality and autonomy through its borrowings used in the 'dominant' language (New Zealand English) and is linked within cross-cultural communication as the mixture of both cultures becomes more and more standardized and results in a de facto norm.

VII - Conclusion

Aotearoa New Zealand is a fascinating linguistic and cultural environment. It is its specific linguistic background that makes it an interesting (socio)linguistic subject. The history of Aotearoa New Zealand is not singular; the process of colonization and settlement was similar for the indigenous peoples in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=utu

Zealand: it resulted in making them a minority in a country that once belonged to them. However, the main difference resides in the fact that contrary to Australia, Canada and the United States, *Aotearoa* New Zealand has one and only *tangata whenua*: the Māori people. Even if it has not always been the case, New Zealand displays Māori culture as an integral part of life in *Aotearoa* New Zealand and makes it an integral part of *Aotearoatanga* (nationhood).

It is this unique cultural identity that is the starting point of this thesis. *Aotearoa* New Zealand has become distinctive and recognizable through its linguistic innovations; what I have tried to establish in this study is that New Zealand English has its own cultural identity. Through their language, New Zealanders initiate a sense of identity, of uniqueness and of belonging. The thesis focuses on one major specificity of New Zealand English: the borrowing of loans from a minority language, te reo Māori, into the dominant language, New Zealand English.

Aotearoa New Zealand is one of the most monolingual (English) countries in the world (with 95.4% of the population speaking English⁴⁵). However, New Zealand English distinguishes itself from other varieties of English through borrowings from its indigenous language: te reo Māori which contributes to national distinctiveness (other varieties of English do so, indeed Canadian English also borrows words from its native languages, for example, words referring to place names (Ontario, Ottawa, Canada itself comes from the Iroquois word kanata meaning village and settlement) flora and fauna (wapiti, muskeg, moose, caribou), or to native life and culture (kayak, igloo, teepee/tipi)⁴⁶. "Pakeha will often appropriate non-threatening aspects of Māori culture to mark their own identity as New Zealanders" (Moewaka Barnes et al., 2012:207), which is the case with loans denoting ethnic markers of identity (Kiwi), or loans denoting cultural practice (marae, pōwhiri).

The thesis analyzes the 'maorification' of New Zealand English (within a framework of decolonization) as English is the primary tool of communication (civic language). In this sense, New Zealand English presents a unique opportunity to study words from an endangered minority-status language (te reo Māori) into a dominant, global lingua franca (English) (Trye et al., 2020).

Newspapers have been chosen as they constitute a rich source of investigating loanwords 45 Stats NZ, 2018 Census totals by topic – national highlights (updated), 2020 (https://www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/2018-census-totals-by-topic-national-highlights-updated/)

46 Boberg, Charles. "Canadian English". *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 31 May 2019, *Historica Canada*. www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-english. Accessed 28 July 2023.

and language-mixing phenomena. The study of newspapers is consistent with my diachronic study (the possibility of seeing connections between language and society by studying the evolution of language over time, paying attention to the links between language, society and historical events, which also enables the study of linguistic behaviors), since the press influences and represents people's use of and attitudes towards language, and is therefore a reliable representation of the language in use at a particular period. What is more, as the press portrays society, its concerns and values, the subjects and readership determine the vocabulary used, so newspapers play an important role in the popularization and emergence of new words. What newspapers portray of society becomes the reality for most media consumers. The role of newspapers in the revitalization of te reo Māori is predominant as they can reach many people and thus bring out major changes for the status of te reo Māori as a healthy language that is no longer endangered. The presence of Māori words in New Zealand English has been increasing for almost 40 years, reflecting social and cultural changes since around 1970. Thus, social and political changes such as the increasing urbanization of the Māori population and a significant increase of Māori members in parliament can be seen as logical and reasonable links to the increase in the Māori word presence in New Zealand English (Macalister, 2007).

What the results of this thesis have shown is a correlation between the diachronic evolution of loan usage within New Zealand English (the 2020 corpus uses more loans than the 2000 corpus) and a language policy oriented towards revitalizing the Māori language and culture, and heading towards promoting the country's biculturalism. The investigation of the twelve loans (Māori, Pākehā, Kiwi, iwi, hapū, waka, marae, whānau, hui, reo, mana, taonga) within a diachronic and sociolinguistic frame has highlighted the importance of audience ethnicity for the use of te reo loans. The loans functioning as ethnic markers are the ones being the most used, as they are well-established loans since they describe everyone present: New Zealanders in general (Kiwi), New Zealanders of Māori origin (Māori), and New Zealanders of European origin (*Pākehā*). However, the loan *Pākehā* shows a decrease over time which can be explained by the fact that the term New Zealand European is available as an alternative, and is favored because controversy over the use of Pākehā renders the identification with the loan Pākehā problematic for some New Zealanders who perceive the term negatively (Calude, 2014). As for the loan Kiwi, its use is so much integrated within New Zealand society that its origin is forgotten. Concerning loans relating to social culture (iwi, hapū, whānau, mana, waka, taonga) that is to say, words referring to non-material

aspects of a culture such as actions, concepts and relationships; the loans whānau and waka increased over time and this increase can be explained by the fact that the words extended their meanings within the mainstream New Zealand society. Iwi was also more frequently used in the 2020 data as it was more used in the news relating to the struggle for tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), since iwi are seen as leading communities. Regarding the loan mana, it is most of the time used within a compound word (mana motuhake, mana whenua), or only one of its possible meanings was used: power, control in the Pākehā sense (not in the spiritual, intangible way); its use is contextually more restricted. Finally, taonga was mostly used alongside the word reo and particularly during Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori (the Māori Language Week). This collocation is explained as the 1987 Act and now the 2016 Act replacing it describes te reo as a taonga that needs to be protected by the government (consequently this collocation (reo, taonga) is inscribed in the population's mind). Moreover, its increase in the year 2020 (228 uses in the year 2002 compared with 4 uses in the year 2000) can be explained by the expansion of its meaning as it was not solely referred to as a 'treasure' but also as 'property, goods, possession, effects, object' and thus more likely to be expanded to general meanings. This example is the perfect example of the process of appropriation of a traditionally Māori cultural practice into modern New Zealand society and shows how loanwords are reconceptualized in a dominant culture to be more widely used by the community (Degani and Onysko, 2010). This category shows that the increase in loans relating to social culture is associated with the high use in New Zealand English for various social functions by New Zealanders within and outside of the Māori community (ibid).

For the loans relating to material culture (*marae*, *reo*, *hui*), that is to say words, referring to tangible and visible manifestations of Māori culture, the loan *marae* increased over time due to the urbanization of Māori who have imported their culture and customs which have been incorporated within the everyday life of New Zealanders and which are now an integral part of New Zealand culture (there are currently 769 *marae* on the New Zealand island county, with 739 on the North Island, 28 on the South Island and 2 on the Chatham Island⁴⁷). The noun *marae* can also function as a proper noun in conjunction with place names (eg. *Whakato Marae*, *Hinepare Marae*)

For *hui*, its increase might correlate with the increase of the loan *iwi* and *hapū* as *hui* are often used within a Māori context (*iwi* and *hapū* gatherings on *marae*). Moreover, the covid-19 lockdown gave rise to linguistic creations, which is the case with *hui*: the term *zui* (*hui* on Zoom) was coined following the covid-19 lockdown restriction and suggests that the 47 Māori Maps, https://maorimaps.com/

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word is flexible (as it adapts to Pākehā society and global constraints) and more firmly rooted in contemporary society than it was in 2000. The increase of the loan *reo* is by itself a measure of the growth of Māori borrowings in New Zealand English. Indeed, how not to use the original word to refer to the language from which loans are borrowed when New Zealand English uses other words from this same language. Furthermore, its peak correlates with the initiative (*Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori*) created for its revitalization. Thus, the increase in loans related to material culture is linked to the integration of *Māoritanga* within New Zealand society.

The results also displayed a significant regional difference indicative of the demographic situation in the North and the South Island. Where there is a majority of Māori people, loans are more used as they are meant to be part of the readership, that is to say, given the readership, those Māori words are expected to be understood and used by the community which may be more or less used to *te reo*. Then, it appears that the 'maorification' of New Zealand regions is an important factor to consider in *te reo* loans increases. The normalizing process seems to be at the root of an increase in the loans within newspapers of the North Island.

Furthermore, the declining 'anglicization' of te reo Māori (with the addition of the plural marker -s which is not a feature of te reo Māori) marks the change in attitudes toward *te reo*. It is no more seen through a superior/contemptible point of view that was implicitly distinguishable through the anglicized form (perceived as not measuring up to the Pākehā language and rules and so it was adapted to conform to the 'superior' language).

Then, the increase in *te reo* loans which permeate Pākehā talk and media discourse about Māori and the Māori world supports the progress te reo Māori has achieved until the 1970s onward. It further decolonizes *Aotearoa* New Zealand and brings to the forefront the main feature which distinguishes New Zealand English from other varieties of English, as the maorification of the New Zealand English lexis contributes to the distinctiveness of New Zealand and its language.

Te reo Māori has an official status (1987, 2016), and this status seems to contribute to the emergence of loans within the other official language, New Zealand English. However, its influence is limited in the written 'variety' as only content words are borrowed. Maybe the spoken 'variety' is more 'easily influenced' as not only words are borrowed but also the Māori phonology, which adds a distinctive 'flavor' to the language. The maorisms shed light on a situation of language contact where the sub-dominant language (te reo Māori) is increasingly embraced by the dominant language (New Zealand English) and foreshadows a

transcultural future ahead. And as language use is a sensitive guide to social and cultural development (Macalister, 2000), the stable increase points towards Māori words becoming well-established in the common linguistic knowledge of New Zealanders in the future. However, in order to make sure that the language stays in this ongoing stage of revitalization and is no more in the precarious position of being endangered, what might be needed is an official policy which would make the language compulsory (like Welsh and Irish) after all te reo Māori is an official language.

As Māori is still endangered and currently in the midst of a strong wave of revitalization, the use of loanwords within New Zealand English by Māori and non-Māori is a linguistic act that is sociolinguistically charged as it foreshadows (socio)political stances (Calude and Levendis, 2019). The language's integration may bring more public focus onto Māori affairs as the embracing of te reo Māori transcends simply learning the words: te reo Māori is not just about language, it is an integral part of Māori identity, environment and values (Graham-McLay, 2022). From the results, it appears that a 'tokenistic approach' of the borrowings from te reo Māori is not to be considered for the essay as the loans are used for a purpose: to convey Māori concepts that English words cannot convey, and thus provide access to the Maori worldview (world/society) that is often dismissed (or omitted) in favor of the broader Pākehā worldview (Rankine, 2009:187). The authors (journalists/columnists) seem to aim at teaching Māori words to an audience they perceive to be unfamiliar with the loans or on the contrary, to further implement the loans within everyday speech. The use of loans follows a range of possible motivations, apart from need and considerations of audience these include: economy of expression, expression of ethnic and national identity, displaying empathy, making an impact, cultural reference, and clarity of meaning (Macalister, 2007).

The daily use of te reo Māori within mainstream New Zealand society, as well as the "contemporary media landscape in Aotearoa/New Zealand [which] provides many opportunities for learning te reo Māori through television, radio and online resources" (De Bruin and Mane, 2016:770), indicates that the language is a living one and that any processes involved with the acquisition of te reo Māori may be used as a means of healing intercultural relationships and prejudices that have resulted through colonization (Te Huia, 2020). Maorisms in the newspapers are the opportunity to shift the current state of language 48 a form of positive discrimination (culture 'on show') where the native culture is used for a purely symbolic (and superficial, tourism) purpose, with no further goal of reviving the language, culture or demonstrate of genuine cultural sensitivity (it reduces culture to a set of resources and undermines the culture more generally by further positioning that group as the 'other'

endangerment to language safety. And as long as te reo Māori is to continue to be used as a functional language, working together on the revival of the language and on the stabilization of its status as a preserved language (by Māori and non-Māori communities) as a team has the potential to create positive outcomes for normalizing the language and at the same time revitalizing the language (ibid:31).

Furthermore, as Māori were and are still under-represented among reporters, subeditors and editors (in 2006 they represented 6%), their response was to establish separate Māori/iwi broadcast media and magazines to make the Māori voices heard (Rankine and Moewaka, 2014). However, as Māori loans enter New Zealand English, the possibility of a re-organization where more Māori reporters would be part of mainstream newspapers and thus would introduce more te reo Māori into mainstream media could be done. Which would be likely to institute te reo Māori in an equal position to English, and at its rightful place given its official status.

On the whole, te reo Māori has a paradoxical process of revival: it seems to be gaining power (considering it has acquired a more prominent place within the dominant language) and at the same time losing power (through its assimilation into the dominant language, and within a hegemonic Pākehā discourse). The borrowings from te reo Māori into New Zealand English are at the crossroads of cultures, emphasizing and exemplifying the Kiwi language. It is totally different from Australia where the indigenous population and culture are marked by a manufactured 'absence' (O'Toole, 2020:208).

What has been seen throughout the thesis is that "language contact between Māori and English is the product of a long colonial history" (Degani, 2012:13). As the main focus of the thesis, the variety studied (Māori New Zealand English) is set in a double contact scenario as it combines the two main (and official) languages of *Aotearoa* New Zealand: te reo Māori and New Zealand English. Both official languages have a different contact scenario. New Zealand English is set in a scenario of contact as addition, meaning that the majority language, English has been influenced by a minority language, Māori, but this influence is restricted to lexical borrowings (native flora and fauna, proper names and places names, and cultural key concepts). On the contrary, the native language, te reo Māori, is set in a frame of contact as imposition, meaning that a majority language, English, dominates over a minority language, Māori, by exerting a strong influence on it. Indeed, not only was te reo Māori ruled (creation of a Māori alphabet) and marginalized (in Native schools te reo Māori was forbidden) by the Pākehā but it was also highly influenced by English at different levels (leaving an indelible mark of the colonization on *te reo*): phonological (vowel sounds,

syllables, and rhythm), grammatical (change in Māori word order and transfers from English constructions) and lexical (English borrowings). Some examples of English borrowings are kokonati ('coconut'), moni ('money'), kura ('school'), hipi ('sheep'), wiki ('week'), rino ('iron'), pēpi ('baby'), niupepa ('newspaper'), etc., the English loans are mostly nouns and belong to a wide range of semantic domains (food, money, education, fauna, time, material, family terms, and many others). "This breadth of semantic domains is a clear indication of the strength of the English influence on Māori" (Degani, 2012:22). During the revitalization (the 1970s), there was a reconsideration of the use of English loans (thought as a threat for the language, attitudes towards lexical borrowing changed) as the focus was put on preserving a 'pure' te reo Māori which was achieved through the "proposals for 'nativisations' consisting in the replacement of well-established English loans by more native-like Māori terms" (ibid:16). What is certain, is that this process of borrowing from another language is a natural phenomenon of language development, all the more so in the New Zealand and Māori contexts which have a long history of imbalance of power. While it is seen as a threat for te reo Māori to borrow from the 'dominant' language, it is seen as an enrichment for New Zealand English to borrow from te reo Māori. What is different is the historical and linguistic context: as a dominant language, New Zealand English has 'nothing' to be afraid of because even though te reo Māori influences New Zealand English, it is only partially so and to a low degree (the main influence being on the lexis). On the contrary, as an endangered minority language, the consequences for te reo Māori are more important (weakening) as there are not many speakers of the language left, "34 percent [of Māori are] able to speak te reo Māori at least fairly well, compared with 7.9 percent for the total population"⁴⁹ (even less as a first language, only 23% of Māori only). This reconsideration to use English loans can be interpreted in light of a situation where the minority language, te reo Māori, fears language endangerment and loss and, as a reaction, feels the need to revive the language by its own means (ibid:16). In her article, Degani resorts to Harlow to explain this point: "With respect to the language [Māori], there are two senses in which it is felt that it must profile itself as against English by refusing to borrow. The first is the fear that the language, already in an embattled situation because of competition with English, will become weakened, and will lose something of itself if it borrows. The second is the probably subconscious need to demonstrate to oneself and, possibly, to detractors of the language, that the language does not have to resort to borrowing in order to cope. That is, borrowing is felt

⁴⁹ NZ Stats, 2022, 'Te reo Māori proficiency and support continues to grow', https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/te-reo-maori-proficiency-and-support-continues-to-grow/

to be a sort of admission of defeat. (Harlow, 1993: 103)" (Degani, 2012:16).

These scenarios really emphasize the colonial history of the languages and retain a pattern: as te reo Māori and English were set in a context of language-mixing in the first decades of colonization, the influence exercised by both languages on one another is part of a continuum which has forged what is now known as New Zealand English, and in this case Māori New Zealand English. Te reo Māori was the first language to influence English (at during the very beginning of settlement when Māori still outnumbered colonizers), and later te reo Māori was influenced by English when the Pākehā outnumbered the Māori. This balance of power was not always in favor of English, and the early stages of colonization saw the emergence of a variety, which is now back in the spotlight (Māori New Zealand English), but this time not as a language accommodating two peoples (because seen as two separate communities) but as a language of reuniting two peoples (seen as one community). This renewed interest in the native language is clearly expressed by the growing number of *te reo* borrowings entering New Zealand English, and puts into perspective the status of the first language (te reo Māori) as essential in New Zealand society in order to perceive its full meaning and purpose, but also its full history and future.

Then what is clear is that both English and te reo loans testify of a long history of colonization and decolonization. The variety studied in this thesis, Māori New Zealand English, is the result of both contact scenarios (imposition and addition). First, as addition since the borrowing of loans from te reo Māori enriches and lexically expands this variety of New Zealand English. And secondly, as imposition since this variety gains ground in New Zealand society as it displays a politics of biculturalism. This variety, Māori New Zealand English, is a clear reflection of the different ethnic groups of New Zealand (or at least the two main ones, with European in the leading position representing 70.2% of the population and Māori following by representing 16.5% of the population⁵⁰). Yet, in the near future, new varieties may emerge as new ethnic groups emerge and are on the rise. For example, Asian peoples are the third main ethnic group in New Zealand, representing 15.1% of the population, closely followed by Pacific peoples making up 8.1% of the population. However, these groups are further made up of different ethnicities: Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, Tokelauan, Fijian, Cook Island Māori, Hawaiian, Kiribati, Indigenous Australian for Pacific peoples and Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, Sri Lankan, Southeast Asian for Asian 50 NZ Stats, 2020, 'Ethnic group summaries reveal New Zealand's multicultural make-up', https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/ethnic-group-summaries-reveal-new-zealands-multicultural-make-

up/#:~:text=There%20are%20six%20major%20ethnic,%2C%20and%20'Other%20ethnicity'.

peoples. Consequently, the development of a new variety might be more difficult because contrary to Māori who are one ethnic group with one language, the fact that Pacific peoples and Asian peoples are divided into different sub-groups with different languages appears as an obstacle for further development of another (main) ethnic variety. What is the most probable is that the main sub-groups for each group (Chinese representing 35% of Asians and Samoan making 48% of Pacific peoples) are most likely to make the next ethnic variety ('Samoan English', 'Chinese English') with characteristics of both languages being used, mostly lexical for the 'minority', ethnic language. Another possibility is that, if these new varieties come into being, maybe Māori words could be used as 'translation' to explain the new word used within the new variety. For example, Macalister found one use of this kind in a 1990s corpus where a Māori word explained a Samoan word (eg. "Heads are bowed for a lotu (karakia)⁵¹"). Here, the Māori word is used as an embedded gloss in an English language context to explain the meaning of a Samoan word. The Māori word acts as the bridge from a foreign language to English (Macalister, 2000). The fact that to explain a 'foreign' word a Māori word is used, denotes a familiarity of the readership with te reo and further exemplifies the establishment of this variety as being valid and useful. This example argues for the further integration of te reo Māori into New Zealand mainstream, by having a role of 'bridge' language, implying that it is 'commonly' understood by the community, te reo Māori appears to be part of (Māori) New Zealand English. Yet, this role might be restricted to translate Pacific languages (see Figure 1 for a more precise illustration of Polynesian language families), as te reo Māori shares common ideologies, concepts and values with other Pacific languages (such as marae, which becomes mala'e (in Tongan) and malae (in Samoan, Hawaiian)).

Finally, the use of loans from te reo Māori into New Zealand English can be seen as the fusion between New Zealand English and Māori English, combining and becoming Māori New Zealand English. And is, therefore, part of a continuum (see Figure 4 below), where Māori New Zealand English would be located between te reo Māori and New Zealand English and speakers/writers would 'move' according to the context or identity they choose to emphasize and display by using the variety they want to flag as representative of their identity or ideology:

^{51 &#}x27;incantation, ritual chant, chant, intoned incantation, charm, spell', John C Moorfield, *Te Aka Māori Dictionary*, (https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search? idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=karakia)

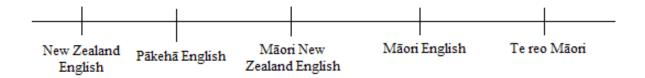


Figure 9. Axis showing the continuum of English and te reo varieties in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Even if Māori English is more likely to permeate the variety of New Zealand English spoken by the Māori population (since it incorporates lexical items and phonological features derived from te reo Māori), its features are not unique to this variety as it shares them with Pākehā English. And while Māori English is most of the time used in particular social contexts, in an environment made up of interlocutors, several or all, of Māori origin, the variety can permeate the Pākehā community (to show empathy or solidarity towards Māori). As it was seen with the results, loans are more used in newspapers of the North Island where the Māori community is larger. Even if Māori English (ME) is still (for the most part) unknown by a large majority of people, the label New Zealand English implicitly embraces this particular variety, as both varieties influence one another with distinctive characteristics of Māori English (ME) being shared with standard New Zealand English (NZE) and since as we have seen in the analyses and results, more and more Māori words are included in New Zealand English; an update of the restrictive label might be needed: Māori New Zealand English (MNZE) as a way to embrace both its biculturalism, its heritage and its innovations.

This new label Māori New Zealand English (MNZE), could also be divided into different varieties. Māori New Zealand English 1, would be the closest to 'English English', by using the New Zealand English phonology and suprasegmental features but adding te reo Māori words (which is what is used in the newspapers studied in this essay (which can only be seen through the use of borrowings, since it is a 'printed' medium)) and Māori New Zealand English 2 would, on the contrary, be more aligned with te reo Māori features (phonology, mora-timed, lexicon) and thus closer to Māori English. This variety can be said to be part of interlanguage variation (but also diglossia understood as "the sharing by two languages of domains or functions in a speech community" (Spolsky, 2003:570)) as (new) social identity emerges, it is part of a process of new language acquisition (second language learner). This interlanguage can vary across learners and in the case of Māori New Zealand English it could be the sign of an expression of ethnic and national identity, displaying empathy towards Māori community (political); but also diachronically as seen through the results, which

suggest a progress in the development of a new variety. What is certain is that the changes in society is reflected within the shift in varieties employed by New Zealanders.

The revitalization of te reo Māori has had a good measure of success as shown in the results, more and more loans are used within mainstream New Zealand English, allowing to give a new label to this variety: Māori New Zealand English. The new label shows this idea of fusion, of the development of a truly New Zealand culture (distinguishable from other varieties), incorporating both, Māori and Pākehā, existing cultures and realities (Metge, 1967). The label also highlights that the language contains many cultural indicators that enrich one's identity (combining different languages is a way to display the knowledge of different universes and cultures). However, success is one point on the continuum of revitalization but it is not the endpoint. In Aotearoa New Zealand, te reo Māori has still a long journey ahead to regain its original status as a mother tongue, ideally, or, more realistically, to gain the status of an official language spoken by the entire population (if not at least by a majority). But as te reo has gained attention, support and engagement by the various ethnic groups making up Aotearoa New Zealand, this journey involving everyone might be effective and might bring an opportunity for the normalization of the language within the country and offer a chance to upgrade the label of one of the official languages (within the official framework): Māori New Zealand English.

He waka eke noa⁵²

(A canoe which we are all in with no exception)



52 Woodward Education, Maori Proverbs Whakataukī, 2023, https://www.maori.cl/Proverbs.htm (accessed 18 May 2023)

Figure 10. The official logo of $Te\ Wiki\ o\ te\ Reo\ M\bar{a}ori$, it is the contemporary interpretation of the heitiki [an icon that represents strength, leadership, nurture, and pride within the Māori nation (Aotearoatanga)]. The arero [tongue] represents the five elements of revitalization/language planning: status (mana), critical awareness $(m\bar{a}rama\ p\bar{u})$, acquisition (ako), use $(k\bar{o}rerotanga)$ and corpus (kounga). The colors used in the arero represent the teaching method used (Te Ataarangi method (an oral-based language programme), which uses colored Cuisenaire rods $(r\bar{a}kau)$ as a learning tool to construct simple sentences that relay actions and expand vocabulary and comprehension) to learn the language. Image retrieved on Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (Māori Language Commission), https://en.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz/logos (accessed 1 July 2023).

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UNIVERSITÉ TOULOUSE JEAN-JAURÈS - DÉPARTEMENT DES ÉTUDES DU MONDE ANGLOPHONE

Master 2 - Recherche

Année 2022-2023

A sociolinguistic and diachronic approach to the integration of Māori words into the New Zealand press between 2000 and 2020

ANNEXES

PECHALRIEU Manon 21702897

Mémoire présenté pour l'obtention du Master 2 Recherche

Sous la direction de Mme Brulard

Volume 2: annexes





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Results of the analysis of th loans Māori/Kiwi/Pākehā in the 2000 data

Tab. 1: Overall use of the loans *Māori*, *Kiwi*, *Pākehā* in the 2000 data

Loan	Form	Total	Total Uses
Kiwi	Kiwi	228	285
	Kiwis	57	
Māori	Māori	511	551
	Māoris	40	
Pākehā	Pākehā	26	28
	Pākehās	2	

Tab. 2: Distribution of the loans *Māoris*, *Kiwis* and *Pākehās* in all the newspapers and sub-genres in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews
Kiwis	11	1	4	36	2	1	2
Māoris	7	6	X	8	X	19	X
Pākehās	X	X	X	X	X	2	X

Tab. 3: Overall use of the loans *Māori*, *Kiwi*, *Pākehā* across newspapers in the 2000 data

	New Zealand Herald	Otago Daily Times	The Dominion	Wanganui Chronicle
Māori(s)	132	92	166	161
Kiwi(s)	118	49	96	22
Pākehā(s)	9	7	4	8
Total	259	148	266	191

Tab. 4: Distribution of the loan Māori(s) across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	46	18	10	5	35	11	7	132
Otago Daily Times	30	23	X	1	9	25	4	92
The Dominion	76	34	1	6	X	41	8	166
Wanganui Chronicle	34	33	2	9	46	36	1	161
Total	186	108	13	21	90	113	20	551

Tab. 5: Distribution of the loan $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}(s)$ across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	4	2	1	X	2	X	X	9
Otago Daily Times	2	X	X	X	5	X	X	7
The Dominion	2	X	X	X	X	2	X	4
Wanganui Chronicle	X	X	X	X	1	7	X	8
Total	8	2	1	X	8	9	X	28

Tab. 6: Distribution of the loan Kiwi(s) across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	8	X	65	38	5	1	1	118
Otago Daily	17	X	13	16	3	X	X	49

Times								
The Dominion	14	4	41	28	2	4	3	96
Wanganui Chronicle	8	1	7	3	3	X	X	22
Total	45	5	126	85	13	5	4	185

Tab. 7: Top 16 N-Gram following the loans Māori and Kiwi in the 2000 data

	Māori	Kiwi
1	affairs	dollar
2	land	dairies
3	language	bank
4	development	coach
5	women	income
6	authorities	jersey
7	issues	soldiers
8	art	farmers
9	children	kids
10	claims	sailors
11	leaders	side
12	men	suppliers
13	organisations	actor
14	people	approach
15	artefacts	army
16	caucus	athletes

Tab. 8: Top 8 N-Gram following the loan $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$ in the 2000 data

	Pākehā
1	alike
2	allowing
3	arrival

4	family
5	girl
6	neighbour
7	relations
8	respondents

Tab. 9: Top 13 N-Gram following the loan *Māoris* in the 2000 data

	Māoris		
1	abused		
2	captain		
3	coach		
4	dealt		
5	flanker		
6	killed		
7	league		
8	play		
9	rally		
10	remember		
11	say		
12	seem		
13	team		

Tab. 10: Overall use of the English equivalents of the loan Kiwi in the 2000 data

English equivalent	Total
New Zealander(s)	180
European New Zealander(s)	2
White New Zealander(s)	X

Tab. 11: Overall use of the English equivalents of the loan *Māori* in the 2000 data

English equivalent	Total
Native(s)	43
Native people(s)	2
Indigenous people(s)	X
Tangata whenua	3

Results of the analysis of the loans Māori/Kiwi/Pākehā in the 2020 data

Tab. 12: Overall use of the loans *Māori*, *Kiwi*, *Pākehā* in the 2020 data

Loan	Form	Total	Total Uses
Kiwi	Kiwi	1380	2777
	Kiwis	1397	
Māori	Māori	5126	5141
	Māoris	15	
Pākehā	Pākehā	318	320
	Pākehās	2	

Tab. 13: Distribution of the loans $M\bar{a}ori(s)$, Kiwi(s) and $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}(s)$ across newspapers in the 2020 data

Newspapers	Māori(s)	Kiwi(s)	Pākehā(s)	Total
Gisborne Herald	1720	411	129	2260
Otago Daily Times	1049	611	58	1718
Radio New Zealand	1335	317	75	1727
Stuff	1037	1438	58	2533

Tab. 14: Top 15 collocates following the loan *Māori* across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff	
1	wards	party	land	party	
2	land	wards	health	health	
3	art	seats	party	ward	
4	party	health	women	language	
5	language	hill	media	authority	
6	health	language	communities	co-leader	
7	development	women	development	chidren	
8	women	world	language	babies	
9	battalion	communities	news	communities	
10	arts	students	caucus	businesses	
11	communities	ward	children	culture	
12	freehold	view	television	women	
13	music	youth	council	land	
14	representation	caucus	authority	name	
15	television	youth	people	names	

Tab. 15: Top 15 collocates following the loan *Kiwi* across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	lumber	chicks	property	families
2	chick	traveller	insurance	ingenuity
3	eggs	passport	trust	family
4	chicks	burger	troops	property
5	trust	women	journalist	businesses
6	hatchery	workers	FM	kids
7	kids	authors	children	scientist
8	team	artists	culture	teams
9	men	firms	fern	travellers
10	homes	company	population	women

11	artists	kids	firms	club
12	chinese	lobby	summer	chief
13	companies	magic	tours	derbies
14	culture	market	workers	dream
15	film	pukupuku	way	music

Tab. 16: Top 15 collocates following the loan $P\bar{a}keh\bar{a}$ across newspapers in the 2020 data

Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff	
majority	zealanders	mates	family	
dominance	constituents	boy	men	
father	farm	narrative	kid	
heritage	family	people	incarceration	
soldiers	economy	side	rates	
settlement	approach	world	zealanders	
zealanders	workplace	women	woman	
men	women	stories	thing	
male	systems	priest	shoppers	
zealander	statues	populations	politicians	
world	soldiers	population	people	
women	society	place	paradigm	
walk	perspective	patients	guy	
values	people	partnership	girls	
structures	ownership	palagi	fella	
	Herald majority dominance father heritage soldiers settlement zealanders men male zealander world women walk values	HeraldNewsmajorityzealandersdominanceconstituentsfatherfarmheritagefamilysoldierseconomysettlementapproachzealandersworkplacemenwomenmalesystemszealanderstatuesworldsoldierswomensocietywalkperspectivevaluespeople	HeraldNewsmajorityzealandersmatesdominanceconstituentsboyfatherfarmnarrativeheritagefamilypeoplesoldierseconomysidesettlementapproachworldzealandersworkplacewomenmenwomenstoriesmalesystemspriestzealanderstatuespopulationsworldsoldierspopulationwomensocietyplacewalkperspectivepatientsvaluespeoplepartnership	

Tab. 17: Overall use of the English equivalents of the loan Kiwi in the 2020 data

English equivalent	Total
New Zealander(s)	2822
European New Zealander(s)	2
White New Zealander(s)	5

Tab. 18: Overall use of the English equivalents of the loan *Māori* in the 2020 data

English equivalent	Total
Native(s)	688
Native people(s)	1
Indigenous people(s)	57
Tangata whenua	144

Results of the analysis of the loans Iwi/Hapū/Waka in the 2000 data

Tab. 19: Overall use of the loans *Iwi*, *Hapū* and *Waka* in the 2000 data

Loan	Form	Total	Total Uses
Iwi	Iwi	55	59
	Iwis	4	
Нарū	Нарū	5	5
	Hapūs	X	
Waka	Waka	6	6
	Wakas	X	

Tab. 20: Overall use of the loans Iwi(s), $Hap\bar{u}(s)$ and Waka(s) across newspapers in the 2000 data

	New Zealand Herald	Otago Daily Times	The Dominion	Wanganui Chronicle
Iwi(s)	19	15	12	13
Hapū(s)	X	2	X	3
Waka(s)	3	2	1	X
Total	22	19	13	16

Tab. 21: Distribution of the loan Iwi(s) across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	7	X	X	X	12	X	X	19
Otago Daily Times	5	6	X	X	4	X	X	15
The Dominion	9	3	X	X	X	X	X	12
Wanganui Chronicle	9	3	X	X	1	X	X	13
Total	30	12	X	X	17	X	X	59

Tab. 22: Distribution of the loan $Hap\bar{u}(s)$ across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Otago Daily Times	X	X	X	X	2	X	X	2
The Dominion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wanganui Chronicle	X	3	X	X	X	X	X	3
Total	X	3	X	X	2	X	X	5

Tab. 23: Distribution of the loan *Waka*(s) across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features	Editorial	Reviews	Total
				&			
				Columns			

New Zealand Herald	2	X	X	X	1	X	X	3
Otago Daily Times	X	X	X	X	2	X	X	2
The Dominion	X	X	X	X	X	X	1	1
Wanganui Chronicle	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Total	2	X	X	X	3	X	1	6

Tab. 24: Top 15 N-Gram following the loan Iwi in the 2000 data

	Iwi		
1	authorities		
2	members		
3	based		
4	coastline		
5	customary		
6	executive		
7	fishing		
8	hands		
9	mana		
10	Māori		
11	Ngati		
12	representatives		
13	representing		
14	riverside		
15	share		

Tab. 25: Top 2 N-Gram following the loan $Hap\bar{u}$ in the 2000 data

	Нарй
1	iwi

2	sub-tribe

Tab. 26: Top 4 N-Gram following the loan Waka in the 2000 data

	Waka
1	crew
2	mountain
3	te
4	toi

Tab. 27: Top 11 collocates following the loan Iwi in the 2000 data

	Iwi
1	traditional
2	hapū
3	Ngāti
4	authorities
5	coastline
6	whenua
7	Māori
8	toa
9	tribe
10	Pākehā
11	mana

Tab. 28: Top 8 collocates following the loan $Hap\bar{u}$ in the 2000 data

	Нарй		
1	iwi		
2	tribe		
3	waka		

4	burial
5	whānau
6	marae
7	Pākehā
8	identity

Tab. 29: Top 7 collocates following the loan Waka in the 2000 data

	Waka
1	missing
2	aurere
3	toi
4	te
5	hapū
6	mahuta
7	participants

Tab. 30: Overall use of the English equivalents of the loans *Iwi*, *Hapū* and *Waka*, respectively, in the 2000 data

English equivalent	Total
tribe(s)	39
sub-tribe(s)	1
canoe(s)	5

Results of the analysis of the loans Iwi/Hapū/Waka of the 2020 data

Tab. 31: Overall use of the loans Iwi, Hapū, Waka in the 2020 data

Loan Form	Total	Total Uses
-----------	-------	-------------------

Iwi	Iwi	971	971
	Iwis	X	
Нарū	Нарū	195	195
	Нарūѕ	X	
Waka	Waka	372	372
	Wakas	X	

Tab. 32: Distribution of the loans Iwi, $Hap\bar{u}$ and Waka across newspapers in the 2020 data

Newspapers	Iwi	Нарй	Waka	Total
Gisborne Herald	441	87	257	785
Otago Daily Times	109	15	19	143
Radio New Zealand	258	75	34	367
Stuff	163	18	62	243

Tab. 33: Top 15 collocates following the loan Iwi across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff	
1	trust	leaders	members	members	
2	hapū	hapū	leaders	leaders	
3	community	chairs	hapū	rohe	
4	Māori	representatives	chairs	providers	
5	partners	leader	forum	radio	
6	local	members	radio	fishing	
7	leaders	trust	membership	executive	
8	Ngāti	council	organisations	community	
9	taiao	runanga	collective	uri	
10	residence	histories	representatives	kahungunu	
11	chairs	trusts	authority	consortium	
12	turanga	ancestors	leader	advisors	
13	organisations	partnerships	group	hapū	

14	strangers	media	kaupapa
15	colonisation	rangitihi	prisons

Tab. 34: Top 15 collocates following the loan $Hap\bar{u}$ across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	iwi	iwi	iwi	iwi
2	marae	moko	whānau	community
3	whānau	village	group	workshops
4	members	whānau	Ngāpuhi	
5	community	families	hui	
6	land-holding		chairs	
7	dialects		involvement	
8	incorporation		settlement	
9	rangiwaho		providers	
10	trusts		representatives	
11	rangatira		teams	
12	pakeke		coasts	
13	voices		leaders	
14	reo		housing	
15	resources		management	

Tab. 35: Top 15 collocates following the loan Waka across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	ama	kotuia	hourua	executive
2	hourua	eke	crews	school
3	club	tākitimu	building	ama
4	hoe	noa	community	noa
5	clubs	tours	paddles	takitimu

6	paddlers	classes	noa	eke
7	eke	shape	ama	gondola
8	haurua	journey	eke	interpretation
9	noa		guides	jumping
10	voyaging		jumping	landing
11	sprint		tours	chair
12	skipper		display	spokesperson
13	training		activities	competition
14	taua		law	bill
15	kotahi			team

Tab. 36: Overall use of the English equivalents of the loans Iwi, $Hap\bar{u}$ and Waka in the 2020 data

Engliqh equivalent	Total
tribe(s)	64
sub-tribe(s)	2
canoe(s)	102

Results of the analysis of the loans Marae/Whānau/Hui of the 2000 data

Tab. 37: Overall use of the loans Marae, Whānau and Hui in the 2000 data

Loan	Form	Total	Total Uses
Marae	Marae	11	12
	Maraes	1	
Whānau	Whānau	7	7
	Whānaus	X	
Hui	Hui	6	6
	Huis	X	

Tab. 38: Overall use of the loans *Marae*(s), *Whānau*(s) and *Hui*(s) across newspapers in the 2000 data

	New Zealand Herald	Otago Daily Times	The Dominion	Wanganui Chronicle
Marae(s)	5	4	2	1
Whānau(s)	3	1	1	2
Hui(s)	X	X	X	6
Total	8	5	3	9

Tab. 39: Distribution of the loan *Marae*(s) across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	3	X	X	X	1	X	1	5
Otago Daily Times	X	1	X	X	3	X	X	4
The Dominion	1	1	X	X	X	X	X	2
Wanganui Chronicle	1	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Total	5	2	X	X	4	X	1	11

Tab. 40: Distribution of the loan *Whānau*(s) across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	2	X	X	X	1	X	X	3
Otago Daily	X	1	X	X	X	X	X	1

Times								
The Dominion	X	X	X	X	X	1	X	1
Wanganui Chronicle	X	2	X	X	X	X	X	2
Total	2	3	X	X	1	1	X	7

Tab. 41: Distribution of the loan Hui(s) across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Otago Daily Times	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
The Dominion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wanganui Chronicle	4	1	X	X	1	X	X	6
Total	4	1	X	X	1	X	X	6

Tab. 42: Top 3 N-Gram following the loan Marae in the 2000 data

	Marae
1	chairman
2	committee
3	place

Tab. 43: Top 1 N-Gram following the loan Hui in the 2000 data

	Hui
1	report

Tab. 44: Top 9 collocates following the loan Marae and Maraes in the 2000 data

	Marae	Maraes
1	Waitangi	camping
2	tribe	grounds
3	grants	documents
4	hirangi	Māoris
5	advent	Hawke
6	kingi	coast
7	taurua	east
8	hapū	
9	turangi	

Tab. 45: Top 4 collocates following the loan Whānau in the 2000 data

	Whānau
1	huringa
2	whakanui
3	taonga
4	hapū

Tab. 46: Top 8 collocates following the loan Hui in the 2000 data

	Hui
1	annual
2	missions
3	repatriation
4	elders
5	meeting
6	motuhake
7	minister

ters

Tab. 47: Overall use of the English equivalents of the loans *Marae*, *Whānau* and *Hui* in the 2000 data

English equivalent	Total
courtyard(s)	2
extended family	4
gathering(s)	19
meeting(s)	398

Results of the analysis of the loans Marae/Whānau/Hui in the 2020 data

Tab. 48: Overall use of the loans Marae, Whānau and Hui in the 2020 data

Loan	Form	Total	Total Uses
Marae	Marae	413	414
	Maraes	1	
Whānau	Whānau	1315	1315
	Whānaus	X	
Ниі	Ниі	145	147
	Huis	2	

Tab. 49: Distribution of the loans *Marae*, *Whānau* and *Hui* across newspapers in the 2020 data

Newspapers	Marae	Whānau	Hui	Total
Gisborne Herald	249	842	88	1179
Otago Daily Times	38	44	17	99
Radio New Zealand	72	264	21	357

Stuff	54	165	19	238

Tab. 50: Top 15 collocates following the loan Marae across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	applications	upoko	mokai	justice
2	chairman	chairman	papakainga	papakainga
3	trust	hapū	churches	kaupapa
4	nursery	speakers	concept	pā
5	improvement	gardens	protection	trustee
6	representatives	grounds	leadership	panels
7	buildings	neighbours	body	leaders
8	funding	communities	trust	groups
9	whānau	town	fire	businesses
10	kaenga	economy		community
11	universities			health
12	wharenui			
13	papakainga			
14	renovation			
15	kōhanga			

Tab. 51: Top 15 collocates following the loan Whānau across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	hapū	commissioning	hapū	friends
2	friends	tautokohia	apanui	hapū
3	communities	friends	commissioning	centre
4	members	schools	friends	community
5	iwi	minister	communities	hui
6	wellbeing	family	navigators	horizon

7	apanui	support	providers	communities
8	connections	apanui	budget	Māori
9	whanui	parish	iwi	members
10	pounamu	marae	whānau	connector
11	pakeke	affair	whanui	navigators
12	oranga	neighbours	lineage	karakia
13	trophy		kahungunu	marae
14	relationships		wahakapapa	removal
15	tamariki		tensions	

Tab. 52: Top 15 collocates following the loan Hui across newspapers in the 2020 data

1		8	1 1	
	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	meetings	wananga	week	account
2	taumata	families	host	
3	affairs	photo		
4	colleagues	public		
5	rangatahi			
6	participants			
7	tangata			
8	trade			
9	series			
10	housing			
11	workers			
12	businesses			
13	case			
14	programme			

Tab. 53: Overall use of the English equivalents of the loans *Marae*, *Whānau* and *Hui* in the 2020 data

English equivalent	Total
extended family	29
courtyard(s)	69
meeting house(s)	10
gathering(s)	952
meeting(s)	2 721

Results of the analysis of the loans Reo/Taonga/Mana in the 2000 data

Tab. 54: Overall use of the loans Reo, Taonga and Mana in the 2000 data

Loan	Form	Total	Total Uses
Reo	Reo	5	5
	Reos	X	
Taonga	Taonga	4	4
	Taongas	X	
Mana	Mana	30	30
	Manas	X	

Tab. 55: Overall use of the loans *Reo*, *Taonga* and *Mana* across newspapers in the 2000 data

	New Zealand Herald	Otago Daily Times	The Dominion	Wanganui Chronicle
Reo	3	1	X	1
Taonga	2	1	X	1
Mana	X	6	11	13
Total	5	8	11	15

Tab. 56: Distribution of the loan Reo across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	X	X	X	X	X	X	3	3
Otago Daily Times	X	X	X	X	X	1	X	1
The Dominion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wanganui Chronicle	X	X	X	X	X	X	1	1
Total	X	X	X	X	X	1	4	5

Tab. 57: Distribution of the loan Taonga across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	1	X	1	X	X	X	X	2
Otago Daily Times	X	X	X	X	X	1	X	1
The Dominion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wanganui Chronicle	1	X	X	X	X	X	X	1
Total	2	X	1	X	X	1	X	4

Tab. 58: Distribution of the loan Mana across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features &	Editorial	Reviews	Total
					Columns			
New Zealand Herald	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Otago Daily Times	X	3	2	X	X	X	1	6
The Dominion	4	3	4	X	X	X	X	11
Wanganui Chronicle	2	X	1	X	10	X	X	13
Total	6	6	7	X	10	X	1	30

Tab. 59: Top 2 N-Gram following the loan Reo in the 2000 data

	Reo
1	Māori
2	commitment

Tab. 60: Top 2 N-Gram following the loan Taonga in the 2000 data

	Taonga
1	huringa
2	treasures

Tab. 61: Top 4 N-Gram following the loan Mana in the 2000 data

	Mana
1	motuhake
2	whenua
3	strength
4	urban

Tab. 62: Top 3 collocates following the loan Reo in the 2000 data

	Reo
1	Māori

2	commitment

Tab. 63: Top 6 collocates following the loan Taonga in the 2000 data

	Taonga
1	huringa
2	whakanui
3	treasure
4	treasures
5	whānau
6	rights

Tab. 64: Top 7 collocates following the loan Mana in the 2000 data

	Mana
1	motuhake
2	whenua
3	trust
4	identity
5	relationships
6	iwi
7	members

Tab. 65: Overall use of the English 'equivalents' of the loans *Reo*, *Taonga* and *Mana* in the 2000 data

English equivalent	Total
language	85
treasure(s)	9
power	252

control	171
authority	182
prestige	4
status	65
influence	58

Results of the analysis of the loans Reo/Taonga/Mana in the 2020 data

Tab. 66: Overall use of the loans Reo, Taonga and Mana in the 2020 data

Loan	Form	Total	Total Uses
Reo	Reo	431	431
	Reos	X	
Taonga	Taonga	228	228
	Taongas	X	
Mana	Mana	247	247
	Manas	X	

Tab. 67: Distribution of the loans *Reo*, *Taonga* and *Mana* across newspapers in the 2020 data

Newspapers	Reo	Taonga	Mana	Total
Gisborne Herald	165	154	90	409
Otago Daily Times	33	6	26	65
Radio New Zealand	128	38	75	241
Stuff	105	30	58	193

Tab. 68: Top 15 collocates following the loan Reo across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne	Otago Daily	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
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	Herald	News		
1	Māori	Māori	Māori	Māori
2	programme	university	speakers	students
3	speakers	week	courses	speaker
4	classes	tikanga	course	champion
5	tikanga	immersion	language	words
6	words		teachers	tikanga
7	version		trust	study
8	tumuaki		workshops	post
9	trust		tikanga	place
10	teachers		teacher	names
11	strand		resources	kupu
12	album		ona	home
13	slates		lessons	grad
14	scholar		exponent	expert
15	rangatira		core	claim

Tab. 69: Top 15 collocates following the loan Taonga across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	puoro	treasure	sound	sound
2	treasures	species	collection	puoro
3	celebration	sound	trust	species
4	board		puoro	waikerepuru
5	loan		ornamentation	treasures
6	species		Māori	treasure
7	specialist		iwi	ministry
8	treasure		investigation	archivist
9	wai			
10	visitors			
11	tuku			

12	symbols		
13	birds		
14	property		
15	pictures		

Tab. 70: Top 14 collocates following the loan Mana across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	whenua	whenua	whenua	whenua
2	mauri	programme	movement	island
3	motuhake	Ngati	motuhake	status
4	work	influence	trust	tamaiti
5	moana	enclave	whakapapa	support
6	wahine		visitors	places
7	view		taonga	Māori
8	tieki		tangata	manaakitanga
9	taonga		tamaiti	humility
10	people		leadership	gangs
11	knowledge		culture	dignity
12	experts		chair	
13	beauty			
14	award			

Tab. 71: Overall use of the English 'equivalents' of the loans *Reo*, *Taonga* and *Mana* in the 2020 data

English equivalent	Total
language	678
treasure(s)	139
power	2104

control	2197
authority	835
prestige	23
status	524
influence	539

Results of the other searches

a) Aotearoa/New Zealand/Aotearoa New Zealand

Tab. 72: Overall use of the terms *Aotearoa*, *New Zealand* and *Aotearoa New Zealand* in the 2000 data

Term	Total uses
Aotearoa	9
New Zealand	2587
Aotearoa New Zealand	1

Tab. 73: Overall use of the terms *Aotearoa*, *New Zealand* and *Aotearoa New Zealand* across newspapers in the 2000 data

Newspapers	Aotearoa	New Zealand	Aotearoa New Zealand	Total
New Zealand Herald	3	721	X	724
Otago Daily Times	1	676	X	677
The Dominion	3	829	1	832
Wanganui Chronicle	2	361	X	362

Tab. 74: Distribution of the term *Aotearoa* across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features &	Editorial	Reviews	Total
					Columns			
New Zealand Herald	1	X	X	1	X	X	1	3
Otago Daily Times	X	1	X	X	X	X	X	1
The Dominion	2	X	1	X	X	X	X	3
Wanganui Chronicle	1	1	X	X	X	X	X	2
Total	4	2	1	1	X	X	1	9

Tab. 75: Distribution of the term *New Zealand* across major newspaper sections in the 2000 data

	News	Politics	Business	Sport	Features & Columns	Editorial	Reviews	Total
New Zealand Herald	155	7	216	159	113	56	15	721
Otago Daily Times	238	15	118	150	120	22	13	676
The Dominion	215	44	183	258	73	29	27	829
Wanganui Chronicle	137	22	64	92	29	12	5	361
Total	732	88	581	659	335	119	60	2587

Tab. 76: Overall use of the term *Aotearoa*, *New Zealand* and *Aotearoa New Zealand* across newspapers in the 2020 data

Term	Total uses
Aotearoa	735

New Zeald	and	22 432	
Aotearoa .	New Zealand	76	

Tab. 77: Overall use of the terms *Aotearoa*, *New Zealand* and *Aotearoa New Zealand* across newspapers in the 2020 data

Newspapers	Aotearoa	New Zealand	Aotearoa New Zealand	Total
Gisborne Herald	189	3 302	19	3 510
Otago Daily Times	137	5 475	24	5 636
Radio New Zealand	163	4 957	14	5 134
Stuff	246	8 698	19	8 963

Tab. 78: Top 15 collocates following the loan *Aotearoa* across newspapers in the 2020 data

	Gisborne Herald	Otago Daily News	Radio New Zealand	Stuff
1	enterprise	competition	executive	competition
2	campus	executive	collective	executive
3	backyard	whales	media	match
4	awards-winning	press	competition	campaign
5	migrants	conference	opener	universities
6	takatapui	wanaka	referees	biker
7	manaakitanga	student	enterprise	finale
8	encounters	seminar	fans	dwellers
9	shores	advocate	racism	casualties
10	coastlines	title	goal	cellar
11	co-founder	goal	culture	shores
12	tikanga	match	game	clash
13	mentor	game		opener
14	targets			fisheries

15	ancestors			row
I	I	I	l	

b) Māori place names

Tab. 79: Overall use of Māori place names across newspapers in the 2000 data

Māori name	Total
Hawera	13
Kaikōura	7
Oamaru	159
Otago	728
Porirua	74
Rotorua	109
Taupō	57
Tauranga	76
Wanaka	62
W(h)anganui	618
Whakatane	14
Whangarei	56

Tab. 80: Overall use of Māori place names across newspapers in the 2020 data

Māori name	Total	English name	Total
Ahuriri	12	Napier	576
Heretaunga	7	Hastings	275
Kaikōura	188	X	X
Kaitaia	40	X	X
Kirikiriroa	4	Hamilton	1070
Ngāmotu	6	New Plymouth	477
Oha-a-maru	X	Oamaru	287
Ōtākou / Otago	31 / 4580	X	X

Ōtautahi	21	Christchurch	3563
Ōtepoti	14	Dunedin	3836
Porirua	157	X	X
Rotorua	531	X	X
Taupō	177	X	X
Tauranga-moana	2	Tauranga	428
Te Papaioea	1	Palmerston North	404
Turanga-nui-a-kiwa	2	Poverty Bay	664
Waihopai	7	Invercargill	677
Wanāka	478	X	X
W(h)anganui	279	X	X
Whangarei	245	X	X
Whakatū	3	Nelson	965

c) Māori hybrid compounds

Tab. 81: Māori hybrid compounds across newspapers in the 2000 data

Māori word	Collocates : nouns	Collocates : adjectives
Māori	affairs, land, language, authorities	non, urban, local, pan
Pākehā	X	X
Kiwi	dollar, share	X
Iwi	authorities	traditional, local, coastal
Нарӣ	X	X
Waka	X	X
Marae	X	annual, university
Whānau	X	X

Hui	report	annual
Reo	commitment	X
Taonga	X	X
Mana	X	X

Tab. 82: Māori hybrid compounds across newspapers in the 2020 data

Māori word	Collocates : nouns	Collocates : adjectives
Māori	ward(s), party, art, land, language, seats, health, media, communities, authority(ies), women, culture, affairs	young, local, traditional, contemporary, national, labour, rural, urban, early, original
Pākehā	majority, heritage, settlement, approach, statues, mates, side, narrative, world, kid, men, woman, thing, incarceration	local, ordinary, dominant, traditional, older, elderly, global, young, middle-class, highly-educated, working, healthy
Kiwi	lumber, chick, eggs, kids, team, women, property, troops, journalist, children, culture, family(ies), ingenuity, businesses, dollar	national, proud, traditional, iconic, young, talented, injured, local, classic, average
Iwi	partners, leader(s), organisations, engagement, chairs, members, representatives, radio, response, authorities	local, new, major, largest, post-settlement, national, legitimate, combined
Нарū	members, voices, support, families, group, chairs, response, representatives, management	local, principal, established, central,

Waka	voyaging, club, training, symbols, skipper, tours, shape, classes, community, building, jumping, guides, landing	double-hulled, local, traditional, ceremonial, modern-day, upturned
Marae	applications, improvement, buildings, nursery, representatives, chairman, speakers, neighbours, manager, grounds, leadership, concept, way, leaders, justice, groups, community	local, buried, national, flooded, new
Whānau	support, members, wellbeing, day, connections, view, room, respect, involvement, groups, event, representative	Local, extended, vulnerable, flood- affected, wider, whole, impoverished, unemployed, grieving, supporting
Hui	series, programme, participants, host	online, regional, formal
Reo	programme, words, version, slates, movement, dialects, conference, lecturer, week, speaker(s), teachers, lessons, students, place (name), expert, channel	native, generic, fluent, basic, incredible
Taonga	species, celebration, ministry	rare, sacred, precious, native, cherished, national, carved
Mana	movement	unique, inherent, strong, great, outstanding, actual, restoring, local, acknowledged