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**The 'New' New Zealand English: An Intergenerational Comparative Analysis of
Te Reo Māori Loanwords and Pronunciation**

MA thesis

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ABSTRACT

The intersection of New Zealand English and te reo Māori (the indigenous language of the Māori people) has a unique story that defies the usual narrative of linguistic colonialism. Following the British colonisation of New Zealand in 1840, te reo Māori shifted from the dominant language to the brink of extinction within the span of little more than a century. After a highly politicised revitalisation movement by activist groups in the 80s and 90s, successful early childhood immersion schools and government policies for media integration of the language were implemented in an effort at nationwide language revitalisation (Benton, 1997). These rapid changes in the past 50 years have resulted in four generations of English speakers growing up among radically different social attitudes and levels of contact with the Māori language. Present-day New Zealand English (NZE) is increasingly influenced by te reo Māori media and education, evidenced by the steadily increasing number of loanwords present in the NZE lexicon (Calude, Miller and Pagel, 2020; Macalister, 2006). This research takes a unique intergenerational approach in order to understand the changing impact of early contact with te reo Māori on loanword frequency and pronunciation in NZE over the past 50 years. Four generations of NZE speakers, born between 1946 and 2005, were qualitatively interviewed and then compared based on quantitative differences in their usage of te reo Māori loanwords. The results indicate that loanword frequency and pronunciation are more closely related to factors of education and occupation, rather than participants' age alone. These findings also raise questions about code-switching among Gen X and Millennial participants, as well as the correlation of positive attitudes towards revitalisation efforts as a predictor of both frequency and pronunciation. The findings of this study are intended to inform current research of language contact and language revitalisation in post-colonial contexts, contributing to a better understanding of the current status of NZE and te reo Māori within a sociolinguistic and historical context.

Keywords: New Zealand English, te reo Māori, language contact, indigenous language revitalisation, intergenerational comparison, loanwords

INTRODUCTION

In the twentieth century, many colonised countries experienced significant language shifts as the colonisers' language gained prestige, leading to the marginalisation and decline of indigenous languages. This phenomenon, known as "language death," was particularly pronounced in regions with disparities in power and influence between linguistic groups (Benton 1997, 14). New Zealand was one such case up until the 1970s when language revival efforts began to change the narrative for Aotearoa (the indigenous name for New Zealand). The decline of the Māori language due to British colonisation and subsequent revival efforts highlight the complex interplay between dominant and minority languages in a post-colonial context.

Upon the arrival of British colonisers in the 1840s, the local population of monolingual Māori quickly became bilingual in English to trade and interact with the quickly dominant English immigrant population. Over just a few generations, the children of bilingual Māori became monolingual in English. Many Māori parents believed that English would better serve their children as a first language, assuming they would easily learn te reo Māori as adults (Tocker 2017). Between harsh educational policies that excluded te reo Māori, and the increasingly dominant British culture and media, the number of fluent te reo speakers had alarmingly dwindled by the latter half of the twentieth century. The older generation of Māori first-language speakers was beginning to die out and the younger generation was caught by surprise facing the impending death of their ancestral language. A highly politicised revitalisation movement emerged in the 1980s and initiated nationwide changes to education and media inclusion of te reo Māori over the next several decades, making New Zealand a global example for endangered language revival (May & Hill 2018). While te reo Māori speakers were still largely a minority, numbers were steadily rising, and a new era of language revitalisation and cultural revival began.

Following these changes, the converse effects of increasing language contact with te reo Māori began to influence New Zealand English (NZE) through changes in unique lexis and pronunciation (Bayard 2000). Understanding these linguistic changes is crucial given the rarity of successful language revitalisation. By examining generational differences in the use of Māori loanwords and pronunciation in NZE, this research sheds light on the broader sociolinguistic implications of indigenous language resurgence. The research questions guiding this study are:

1. Are there significant differences in the frequency and lexical diversity of te reo Māori loanwords between generational groups?

2. Are there significant differences in the pronunciation of te reo Māori loanwords between generational groups?
3. How do loanword frequency and pronunciation choice reflect the level of early language contact and sociolinguistic attitudes towards te reo Māori experienced by each generational group?

This study hypothesises that participants will exhibit significant generational variation, with younger generations showing an increased frequency and diversity of loanword use, alongside a significant decrease in anglicised pronunciation of te reo Māori words. Following Benton's (1978b) landmark study of the health of the Māori language in the early 1970s, scholars have continued to explore the topics of te reo Māori revitalisation and NZE. As one of the most distinctive features of NZE as a dialect, the presence of te reo Māori loanwords in the lexicon has been analysed over the years, with evidence indicating a consistent increase in the number of Māori loanwords used in NZE speech (Claude, Miller & Pagel 2020; Kennedy & Yamazaki 1999; Macalister 1999, 2006a, 2007). More recent topics have explored the correlation of sociolinguistic attitudes with pronunciation choices, as well as the role of language contact with te reo Māori in creating implicit phonological knowledge in speakers of NZE (De Bres 2010; Panther et al. 2023). However, there remains a notable gap in the literature concerning generational differences in loanword usage within spoken NZE. Given the significant societal shifts in te reo Māori use and exposure over the past five to ten years, updated research is needed to capture these evolving language dynamics. Additionally, there is a significant lack of studies examining the pronunciation differences of loanwords among various age groups, which has emerged as an increasingly contentious issue in New Zealand's social discourse within the last decade. This study addresses these gaps by examining how different age groups approach loanword usage and pronunciation within the context of their early educational and intercultural experiences.

The generational model of this study utilises data from the spoken NZE of sixteen participants spanning four generations: Baby Boomers (1946-1964), Gen X (1965-1980), Millennials (1980-1996), and Gen Z (1997-2012). Through quantitative analysis, this research aims to assess the varying degrees of Māori language incorporation across different age groups within the context of NZE's development as a post-colonial dialect. The findings intend to contribute to our understanding of language contact and sociolinguistic change in post-colonial settings, particularly in the context of successful indigenous language revitalisation efforts. The subsequent discussion will present the data within the broader cultural and linguistic framework of New Zealand's evolving language dynamics.

1. LANGUAGE SHIFT IN NEW ZEALAND

The Māori people first arrived in what is known today as New Zealand between the 11th and 13th centuries during a period of Polynesian exploration and migration across the Pacific Ocean (Bayard 2000; Warren 2012). These voyagers migrated gradually in several waves and settled throughout the North and South islands forming tribal groups, called *iwi*. The Māori named the new land they encountered *Aotearoa*, "the land of the long white cloud". The settlement and adaptation to the unique environment led to the development of distinct Māori traditions and practices, deeply intertwined with the natural landscape and resources of the islands. Their language developed in relative isolation, forming a multitude of regional varieties and dialects under the umbrella of *te reo Māori* 'the Māori language' (Benton 1997). However, change was inevitable as Western exploration expanded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

1.1 The Impact of Colonisation on Te Reo Māori

Following the first European contact with New Zealand by the Dutch in 1642, the British landed on the shores of Aotearoa a century later in 1769 (Benton 1997). By the late 1700s, settlers had begun to migrate to the new colonies. British officials initially learned *te reo Māori* to communicate with the Māori chiefs, and the language remained dominant in daily life, religion, work, and trade in New Zealand up until the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (Pool 2015). Warren (2012) explains that the signing of the Treaty was a major turning point, as it "established British colonial rule and opened the way for more organised migration directly from Britain" which dramatically increased in the following years (p. 87). In 1838 there were only around 2,000 European settlers in New Zealand but in just two years after the Treaty of Waitangi, that number had quadrupled to 10,000 (Warren 2012). The Māori population was quickly outnumbered by the mid-1800s, and the linguistic superiority of English soon followed.

In addition to this influx of settlers, the Māori population had been steadily decreasing since the 1860s and by the turn of the century, only five percent of New Zealanders were ethnically Māori (Benton, 1997). The mutual bilingualism initially existing between Pākehā (New Zealand Europeans) and Māori in the early 1800s increasingly pushed the now minority population of Māori to learn British English (BrE), while any reciprocal learning of Māori quickly disappeared (Pool 2015). *Te reo Māori* had been the language of formal education for the Māori population until the 1850s when "English Only" policies implemented by British rule replaced *te reo Māori* with English at the Primary and Secondary school level. This change was fully in effect by the turn of the century. Benton (1997) explains that although the Māori population at this time was highly literate in *te reo Māori*, "the replacement of the largely

informal acquisition of literacy through the mother tongue by formal tuition in and through a second language brought about a strong association of literacy with English” (p. 24). This association of English with literacy and formal education contributed to the language's growing prestige in New Zealand as it quickly became the language of science, literature, and commerce. The belief that Māori was insufficient for the modern world, which was strongly held by many influential non-Māori, was even reinforced among Māori themselves (Tocker 2017). This erasure of te reo Māori in education progressed so far that until well into the 1970s, even the majority of Māori primary and high schools did not offer Māori as a subject.

For over a century, protected rural areas had served as a haven for the language, preserving it from the complete collapse that occurred elsewhere in colonised Polynesian nations in the nineteenth century. In these close-knit communities, the old traditions were still carried out and te reo Māori remained the first language spoken in the home for many children (Pool 2015). The twentieth century brought drastic changes, with two World Wars and the Great Depression causing economic upheaval that forced many Māori families to relocate to predominantly Pākehā urban areas for work. Between 1940-1960, Māori moved from a 90% rural population to an 80% urban population within only 20 years (May & Hill 2018). This urban migration was a death knell to the communities of Māori first language speakers now living in monolingual English-speaking cities. The combined effect of ‘English Only’ education, population decline, and the urban migration of rural communities had a disastrous effect on the Māori language. Within as little as three generations, many Māori families had moved from being native speakers monolingual in te reo Māori, to those who were bilingual in both te reo Māori and English, to children who were monolingual in English alone. In the 1930s, 96.6% of Māori children still spoke only Māori at home, but Benton (1997) marks this as the point when “the process of language change began in earnest” (17). Only 26% of Māori children spoke Māori by 1960 and it became clear that the majority of Māori children studying the language in urban areas had little or no active command of the language. By the 1970s, language death seemed inevitable as the older generation of native speakers began to die, taking their language with them.

In 1973, Richard Benton (1978a) began to survey families in the North Island to assess the status of te reo Māori use within the Māori population. The research was conducted by the recently established Māori Research Unit, Te Wāhanga Kaupapa Māori, from the New Zealand Council of Educational Research (NZCER) with Benton at its head. 6,470 Māori families (a total of 33,338 individuals) took part in the survey between 1973 and 1978, providing information about their knowledge of the language,

their use of it in different situations, and their experiences and attitudes towards it (Benton 1978a). The survey found that te reo Māori was being used consistently for *marae* ‘meeting house’ procedures and religion, but English dominated in the home, work, school, and the neighbourhood. It was clear that Māori was playing only a marginal role in the upbringing of Māori children, and that, “if nature were left to take its course, Māori would be a language without native speakers with the passing of the present generation of Māori-speaking parents” (Benton 1997, 12). These findings triggered a profound revitalisation movement within Māori activist circles, marked by intense politicisation throughout the 1980s. A pivotal moment in this movement was the creation of the *kōhanga reo* ‘language nest’ initiative in 1981 (May & Hill 2018). These Māori language preschool centres, staffed and organised by Māori volunteers fluent in te reo Māori, experienced explosive growth—expanding from just five to over 5,000 operational kohanga reo within five years. In the mid-80s, the Waitangi Tribunal took Benton's study and published a report on the health of te reo Māori. The report stated, “The extent of the threat to language survival was graphically illustrated by Dr Benton’s description of language loss in nearly all the traditional villages. It is now apparent that the expectation that the language would survive because of those villages is not realistic” (as cited in Benton 1997). This report was instrumental in catalysing legislative action, notably the passage of the Māori Language Act of 1987, which officially recognised Māori as a national language and led to the establishment of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori—the Māori Language Commission (Benton, 1997). While the generation of Baby Boomers had largely finished their education and were already in the workforce, Generation X came of age amidst this charged atmosphere where the Māori language, still a minority tongue with minimal representation, became a focal point of cultural resurgence.

Throughout the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s, a notable shift occurred in the representation of te reo Māori within New Zealand media and popular culture. This period saw an increased normalisation of Māori language and culture in public domains, with the first te reo Māori radio broadcasts airing in 1987 from Wellington (Calude, Miller & Pagel 2020). In 1991, a High Court ruling acknowledged the Crown's responsibility under the Treaty of Waitangi to ensure opportunities for the use of the Māori language in television programming. Subsequently, in 1999, the New Zealand Government unveiled the Māori Language Strategy, designed to cultivate positive attitudes towards te reo Māori among both Māori and Pākehā populations (Benton 1997). This strategy also outlined steps towards achieving Māori–English bilingualism across Aotearoa New Zealand, reflecting a broader societal commitment to linguistic and cultural revitalisation efforts. The first Māori language TV station aired in 2004, followed by a second in 2008, framing an era of “Māori renaissance” in the public media

(Calude, Miller & Pagel 2020, para. 18). Despite the tragic break in the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori as a first language learned in the home, these nationwide changes in education and media resulted in significant numbers of young Māori acquiring the language as a second language or bilingually, parallel to English (Maclagan et al. 2009). The clearest reflection of the positive impact of these policies can be seen in national census data across the decades. The 1996 census found that only 26% of Māori reported themselves as able to hold a conversation about everyday things in the Māori language (Statistics New Zealand). That number had more than doubled by the 2013 census, as 55% of Māori adults reported a conversational level of te reo Māori knowledge. Alongside this increase for Māori, the broader New Zealand population was also exposed to these changes.

The convergence of legal recognition and strategic initiatives during this era paved the way for increased visibility and acceptance of te reo Māori within the nation's media landscape and public discourse, shaping a vastly different experience of Māori language and culture for Millennials and Gen Z compared to previous generations. The 1970s marked a pivotal turning point for the Māori language, and consequently for the future of New Zealand English. For the adult population of Pākehā in the 70s, there was a sudden cultural revolution as the new generation “came-of-age in a climate where te reo Māori was no longer officially discriminated against” (Calude, Miller & Pagel 2020, para. 36). An important marker of this change was the increase in te reo Māori loanwords in the NZE lexicon, the use of which has become a divisive issue between young and old generations of New Zealanders.

1.2 Te Reo Māori Loanwords in New Zealand English

As far back as the first contact between English and te reo Māori, the borrowing of lexical material such as words or phrases between both languages was inevitable. Such instances are known as loanwords or lexical borrowings, defined by Calude, Miller & Pagel (2020) as “words which originate from a given language (donor language) and which enter into and are productively used within a distinct language (host language)” (para. 2). A variety of both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors can affect the borrowing process, determining the extent of borrowing between languages, types of loans, and degree of pronunciation changes. A study of Dutch found that words were more frequently borrowed when they described a new concept that was not yet designated in Dutch or when the loanword was shorter than the equivalent word in the host language (Zenner et al. 2012). This can be seen in the first borrowings from te reo Māori out of necessity, as the first British explorers attempted to communicate with local Māori and to describe the multitude of previously unencountered flora and fauna (Macalister 2006b). In 1946, ethnologist and historian Johannes Anderson created a list of 246 Māori words that he considered in

common use within New Zealand English, 70% of which represented flora and fauna. These words, alongside words relating to Māori material and social culture, remained the most prevalent loanwords during the nineteenth century and the majority of the twentieth century.

Following the significant borrowings of the first settlers, there was an extended period of static use, with few new loanwords added to NZE (Macalister 2006b). These original colonial borrowings were driven by European settlers' need to describe the new world they were encountering, but Deverson (1991) suggests that a new wave of borrowings between 1970 and 1990 were "by contrast Maori-driven, initiated in large part by Maori speakers and writers themselves" (20). A factor in this loanword increase was also the dramatic shift in the location of Māori populations to urban spaces. In the nineteenth century, the greatest language contact occurred in small New Zealand towns and rural areas with higher Māori populations. The following urban migration of Māori speakers in the twentieth century changed this pattern, causing a far greater impact of te reo Māori on NZE in large cities (May & Hill 2018). This pattern follows well-researched trends of increased use of loanwords in geographical areas of greater contact between language speakers (Poplack et al. 1984; Zenner et al. 2012). The evolution of loanwords in NZE reflects the dynamic interaction between Māori and Pākehā communities within the timeline of te reo Māori revitalisation.

The extent of this lexical shift in NZE has been of interest to researchers since the late 90s. Macalister (1999) compared two corpora from two decades, the 1960s and 1990s, for differences in te reo Māori loanword frequency and classification. The study found that by the 90s, Māori loanwords accounted for six words per 1,000 words in the corpora, a number that was independently confirmed in a similar study by Kennedy & Yamazaki (1999) in the same year. 1999 also brought the publishing of the Dictionary of New Zealand English (DNZE) which included 746 words of Māori origin, ten percent of the total words in the dictionary. This was three times the number included in Anderson's 1946 list. In 2006, Macalister published his findings from a new corpus compiled from 150 years of written NZ English, from 1850 to 2000. The corpus included newspapers, school journals and parliamentary debates, in order to "measure diachronic change in the presence of Māori words in New Zealand English and to test claims about an increasing Māori presence in the lexicon" (Macalister 2006a, 86). The study found that all three sources showed "there has been a steady increase from 3.29 Mori words per thousand tokens in 1850 to 8.8 per thousand in 2000", with the proportion of words relating to social culture increasing most dramatically (Macalister 2006b, 11). He concluded that a major contributing factor was increased contact of non-Māori New Zealanders with te reo Māori due to social and political revitalisation efforts

of the end of the twentieth century. In further publications, Macalister (2006c, 2007) warned that while these numbers may reflect greater familiarity with te reo Māori loanwords, they do not necessarily reflect loanwords in active use by NZE speakers. A survey was conducted among high school students in 2002 and later among over 65-year-olds, that aimed to assess actual knowledge of loanwords and create an estimate of the working vocabulary of te reo Māori words amongst NZE speakers. The studies found that previous estimates of 40-50 words were too low, and the real number was likely within the 80–90-word range (Macalister 2007). These studies demonstrate the extensive increase in these lexical items within the historical development of NZE until the 2000s.

Lexical borrowing from te reo Māori has become the hallmark of modern NZE as dialect, described as “the most unmistakably New Zealand part of New Zealand English” (Deveson 1991). The most common te reo Māori words are typically greetings, such as the classic *kia ora* ‘hello, thank you’. Moreover, it is not uncommon to hear such terms as *haka* ‘traditional dance’, *whare* ‘house or meeting house’, *marae* ‘ceremonial meeting house’, *whakapapa* ‘genealogy or ancestry’, *whānau* ‘extended family’, *iwi* ‘tribe’, *tangata whenua* ‘indigenous people’, *mahi* ‘work’, and many more (Warren 2012). The use of te reo Māori words still varies greatly depending on the environment, as well as the education, age, and ethnicity of the speakers.

Scholars have remained hopeful that the growing inclusion of te reo Māori words in NZE will lead to a more bilingual future in Aotearoa New Zealand. Following the millennium celebrations, Bayard (2000) writes positively about the overwhelming Māori content of the ceremonies and underscores the pivotal role of te reo Māori in shaping the move of NZE away from BrE towards a more distinctively New Zealand identity. He sees a richer lexicon through Māori vocabulary symbolising a significant shift in societal attitudes towards linguistic diversity and indigenous cultural resurgence, and “hopefully pointing the way toward a bi- and multicultural future for Aotearoa New Zealand” (Bayard 2000, 12). The most effective contributing factor to normalising te reo Māori to the wider New Zealand population has been the success of Māori language radio and TV programming. By 2014, Māori TV programming was reaching a wide audience of 45% of New Zealanders and over half of the Māori population (Benton 2015). Announcers for state-funded TV and radio programmes have also increasingly incorporated te reo Māori introductory phrases since the Māori Language Act in 1987. This transition was limited at first, with De Bres (2006) finding that the te reo Māori loanwords used in mainstream media were limited and used “almost solely in Māori-related news items” (32). In more recent years there has been a dramatic jump in the frequency of te reo Māori use in mainstream programming. During 2016-2017, a Pākehā

host of Radio New Zealand's Morning Report began integrating entire sentences of te reo Māori as his proficiency in the language improved (May 2023). While this move was met with considerable controversy by non-Māori speaking New Zealanders who were long-time listeners of the programme, it is clear that te reo Māori is becoming an undeniable part of NZE media that is no longer relegated to children's TV or Māori language programmes alone.

1.3 Sociolinguistic Attitudes Towards Te Reo Māori

Sociolinguistic attitudes towards English and te reo Māori in New Zealand reflect a complex interplay of linguistic identity and social solidarity. Both Māori and Pākehā have access to the commonly spoken NZE used in mainstream media, schools, and public institutions. This version of NZE, often perceived as representative of New Zealand society overall, is predominantly shaped by middle-class European and Pākehā linguistic conventions (May 2023). Consequently, the variety of English spoken by Māori becomes the one that is marked as "Māori English," but Stubbe & Holmes (1999) contend that general NZE should perhaps be marked as 'Pākehā English' instead (3). Within the context of this linguistic norm, the choice to incorporate Māori words and phrases into English discourse allows speakers to diverge from standard NZE, aligning more closely with the Māori language (King 1995). This choice not only signifies solidarity but also emphasises shared ethnicity, especially evident in longer code-switching sequences from English to Māori more common in those with Māori ancestry (Stubbe & Holmes 1999). In contexts where many Māori individuals are not fluent in their language, integrating Māori vocabulary into speech becomes a deliberate strategy to express positive sentiments towards Māori language and culture, serving as a communicative tool for proactive engagement in Māori linguistic revival.

A recent point of contention between older and younger generations has been the pronunciation of te reo Māori words, especially Māori place names in New Zealand. One such instance was the renaming of Wanganui to Whanganui, reflecting Māori pronunciation of the initial consonant as /ʔw/. Historically, English speakers did not hear the glottal and interpreted it as [w], resulting in the spelling "Wanganui" based on this anglicised pronunciation (Warren 2012). The pronunciation of Māori-origin words in English contexts varies widely, with many NZE speakers using heavily anglicised pronunciations, for example pronouncing *kōwhai* 'a yellow flowering tree' as [kəʊwaɪ] instead of [kɔːmæi]. This topic has become heavily politicised as reflective of an individual's positive or negative attitude towards Māori language and culture. Nevertheless, it is not uncommon for loanwords upon entering the host language's vocabulary to undergo pronunciation changes to nativise the word for easier

use within the context of the host language (Calude, Miller and Pagel 2020). Often a loanword may contain a sound or combination of sounds that simply do not exist in the host language. In order to integrate the loanword into common use, these non-native sounds are often replaced with the nearest native sound.

The level of phonological and morphological integration varies depending on the specific loan and speaker themselves, particularly based on the speaker's age and familiarity with the donor language. As loanwords remain in use over time, there is increased pressure for these words to integrate and conform to the phonological rules of the surrounding language (Calude, Miller & Pagel 2020). This integration can be so complete that speakers of the host language may no longer be aware of the foreign origin of the loanword. While the first loanwords to enter English from Māori may well have retained their native pronunciation during the initial period of greater mutual bilingualism, after the numerical dominance of English speakers and education reforms of the 1850s many of the existing loanwords were gradually assimilated into NZE phonology with time and decreasing contact with te reo Māori. In 1991, Deverson observed the presence of Māori words in NZE but noted their pronunciation lacked assimilation and consistency in usage. A decade later, Kearns and Berg (2002) found that the pronunciation of Māori place names, whether te reo Māori or New Zealand English phonology, reflected the speaker's identity, demonstrating an increasing recognition of identity's influence on phonological expression.

Discussion of identity in pronunciation choice has not only been relegated to place names but also to the broader scope of Māori loanwords in NZE. Surveys conducted by the Ministry of Māori Development in 2003 revealed that less than one percent of non-Māori could speak te reo Māori in 2001, with only ten percent prioritising its learning (Statistics New Zealand). While many held positive or neutral views on Māori speaking their language in Māori contexts, only 40% supported the use of Māori in broader society (Benton 2015). In a 2010 study, De Bres found that the pronunciation of Māori words has become a prevalent social marker that reflects a multitude of complex social choices. The study surveyed 80 white-collar workers in Wellington, reporting that 56.3% stated they were 'Supporters' with positive attitudes towards the Māori language, 38.8% said they were 'Uninterested', and five percent identified as 'English Only' with negative attitudes towards te reo Māori (De Bres 2010, 4). Most 'Supporters' believed that pronouncing Māori words 'correctly' (with Māori pronunciation) was a way to demonstrate support, with almost all making an effort to do so. On the other hand, those categorised as 'Uninterested' or 'English Only' tended to rely on anglicised pronunciations, often citing their

upbringing and the perceived naturalness of this approach. While a majority of 'Supporters' and a minority of 'Uninterested' individuals reported integrating Māori words into their daily speech, some 'Supporters' acknowledged feeling self-conscious about using these words due to concerns about potential reactions, misunderstandings, or their proficiency. Similarly, participants displayed a high sensitivity to social expectations and comfort levels regarding Māori language use, with many acknowledging a sense of artificiality or discomfort when attempting to incorporate Māori words into English conversation. Barr & Seals (2018) explain that incorporating te reo Māori into English does still "appropriate the language by absorbing it into English", which often makes socially mindful Pākehā wary to use te reo Māori words, feeling that they lack legitimate status in using the language (4). Recently, the general movement has been towards a positive perception of te reo Māori use in NZE, normalising the minority language within New Zealand's dominant discourse.

1.4 Phonological Comparison of New Zealand English and Te Reo Māori

An important aspect of integrating borrowings is the different phonological systems of the respective languages. Historically, NZE has been most influenced by the phonology of BrE (Macalister 2020). The development of a distinct NZE accent began in the late 1800s, marked by significant phonological changes over time (Watson et al. 2016). The consonant system has remained mostly consistent with BrE as a predominantly non-rhotic variety, although some southern regions influenced by early Scottish settlers display regional semi-rhotic pronunciation of post-vocalic /r/ (Warren 2012). Many speakers commonly use tapped pronunciations for both /t/ and /d/, and vocalise /l/ at the end of words. The use of glottal stops is becoming more frequent, particularly replacing /t/ and occasionally reinforcing /p, t, k, tʃ/. A defining feature of NZE is the /ɪ/ known as the KIT vowel, which is fronted and raised to a schwa-like realisation. For example, the pronunciation of "fish and chips" in NZE is expressed as "fush and chups", in contrast to the AusE "feesh and cheeps" (Bell 1997). Additionally, NZE features a central unrounded variant of the FOOT vowel, seen in informal expressions like "good day" written as "giddy" (Warren 2012, 94). Vowel neutralisation before /l/ is widespread in NZE, leading to homophones like "Allan" and "Ellen," or "pull," "pill," and "pool" (Warren 2012, 94). Finally, a recent change in NZE is the merger of diphthongs NEAR and SQUARE, noticeable among younger speakers who may struggle to differentiate or produce these vowels distinctly (Gordon & Maclagan 2004; Warren 2012; Watson et al. 2016). These distinct features of NZE, particularly vowels and non-rhotic /r/, are often in opposition to Māori phonology.

Te reo Māori phonology consists of five vowels /i, ε, a, ɔ, u/, which can each be pronounced as either short or long (Warren 2012, p. 88). The 10 consonants are /p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, f, h, r, w/, where /t, n/ can be dental or alveolar, and /r/ is a voiced alveolar tap. Neighbouring vowels are pronounced separately, with the exception of a lower vowel followed by a higher vowel forming phonemically distinct diphthongs, eg. /ai, ae, au, ao, ou, ei, . . . / (Maclagan et al. 2009). Long diphthongs can be formed by combining any short vowel following /a:/, as well as /e:i, o:u, o:i/. Māori long vowels, which are typically marked by a macron; however, this is not always uniform. Māori loanwords in English can be represented in a variety of ways, including macrons (Māori), double letters (e.g. Maaori) or no marking of length (Maori) (Warren, 2012). The syllable structure of te reo Māori is very simple, following (C)V(V), where V accounts for the five short vowels and V(V) accounts for the diphthongs and long monophthongs (Warren 2012; Maclagan et al. 2009). The most difficult phonemes for NZE speakers tend to be initial /ϕ/, tapped /r/, and diphthong /au/, which are frequently anglicised when te reo Māori loanwords enter NZE.

1.5 The Role of Implicit Knowledge in Phonological Production

In recent years, there has been growing interest in the phenomenon of implicit language acquisition and the ways non-native speakers can develop knowledge of a second language through passive exposure. This concept is particularly relevant in the context of New Zealand, where the relationship between NZE speakers and the Māori language offers a unique case study. Panther et al. (2023) assessed the potential of “latent bilingualism” in non-Māori speaking New Zealanders. They found that “an apparently monolingual population can develop implicit, latent knowledge of a language through long-term exposure”, as in the case of contact between NZE and te reo Māori (Panther et al. 2023, 1). Participants self-reported low levels of te reo Māori language ability, but the study found that participants had similar morphological knowledge compared to native speakers, appearing to have been acquired passively through language contact. This passive learning is known as implicit language learning, where learners acquire knowledge through exposure and inference. Traditional language learning through instruction and education is known as explicit language learning (Panther et al. 2023). Implicit knowledge is not restricted only to lexicon but also results in increased knowledge and intuition about morphology and phonology as well. Younger generations of NZE speakers have the advantage of implicit underlying knowledge of Māori due to greater consistent exposure over their lifetime. Fluency in te reo Māori is still rare for non-Māori New Zealanders and the average New Zealander has an active vocabulary of less than 100 te reo Māori words (Macalister 2007). In light of these findings, it is however

apparent that those of the younger generations who do choose to learn te reo Māori through explicit language learning have an advantage because of this underlying intuition that also aids in the production of correct phonology and morphological structures.

It could be argued that older generations have the benefit of longer exposure to te reo Māori compared to Gen Z or Millennials, but the historical narrative shows that for most of their lifetimes, there was little to no exposure at all. A further barrier is the well-documented difficulty of language acquisition with increasing age (Birdsong 2018; Panther et al. 2023). By the time te reo Māori began to be integrated into education and media in the 90s, the majority of Baby Boomers and older Gen X had completed their formal education and were in the workforce. Much of the Māori media at this time was targeted at younger generations and it is only in the last five to ten years that te reo Māori has been increasingly used in major news and radio stations (De Bres 2006). If their workplace was not inclusive of te reo Māori, then these older generations would need to seek out opportunities for exposure themselves or rely on explicit language learning in a class setting, often a daunting task for those who have been monolingual for their whole lives. Therefore, it is not unexpected that the issue of pronunciation has been somewhat in contention in New Zealand. Te reo Māori pronunciation comes more naturally to younger generations who have the benefit of consistent implicit exposure to te reo Māori from a young age and often the added benefit of a degree of explicit exposure through their educational institutions. In contrast, older generations have historically lacked access to both implicit and explicit language learning until later in adulthood.

2. DATA AND METHODS

The study involved 16 native speakers of NZE, each of whom completed a questionnaire and participated in an online interview. Participants were categorised into four generational groups: Baby Boomers (born 1946-1964), Gen X (born 1965-1980), Millennials (born 1981-1996), and Gen Z (born 1997-2012). Gen Z individuals included in this study were born between 1997 and 2005. Participants were required to be residents of the Canterbury region in the South Island of New Zealand to mitigate any regional differences in pronunciation that could influence the results. Recruitment was conducted via public social media posts and snowball sampling, where participants referred friends and acquaintances (Johnson 2014). A questionnaire was designed to collect demographic data from prospective participants before their interview (See Appendix A). Of these participants, four identified as ethnically Māori and twelve as Pākehā (NZ European). Participants were anonymised by generation, gender, and ethnicity. Each generation was abbreviated: Baby Boomers "BB", Gen X "X", Millennials "ML", and Gen Z "Z". Male and Female were "M" and "F" respectively. Finally, Māori participants were marked as "ma" and Pākehā participants were marked as "pa". For example, a Pākehā woman in the Millennial group would be anonymised as MLFpa1.

All participants were native speakers of NZE and not fluent in te reo Māori. They were asked if they had taken formal classes in te reo Māori, and if so, to indicate their proficiency level: beginner, elementary, advanced, or fluent. Five participants had not taken any classes, eight were beginners, having taken classes in high school or studied years ago, and three had elementary knowledge and were actively taking classes at the time of the interview. Only one participant reported having an immediate family member fluent in te reo Māori. The questionnaire concluded with sociolinguistic questions on a Likert scale concerning their attitudes towards te reo Māori and how often they encountered or used te reo Māori in their everyday life (Likert 1932). The results ensured participants met the study criteria and provided additional information about their use of te reo Māori, which was later correlated with their interview responses.

The primary dataset was compiled from qualitative interviews with the participants through online video calls, ranging between 15-35 minutes long. Ten open-ended interview questions were designed to prompt conversational reflection on the participant's experience with te reo Māori and Māori culture in the spheres of social opinion, education and occupation, vocabulary and pronunciation, and generational differences (See Appendix B) (Faitaki & Murphy 2019). To mitigate any bias towards a te reo Māori or anglicised pronunciation caused by the interviewer, each participant was asked to read the

questions aloud before answering so the interviewer avoided any production of te reo Māori words throughout the video call. At the end of the interview, each participant was asked to read aloud five sentences of a set elicitation task that included ten common te reo Māori loanwords within a narrative format (See Appendix C).

These words were carefully chosen as part of a narrative paragraph with the intent that the proximity of the target words would not sound unnatural or forced, while also representing a variety of pronunciation factors to analyse. The paragraph given to participants did not indicate a difference between the English and Māori words and participants were asked to read it aloud naturally as though speaking to a friend. The narrative format was based on recent Waitangi Day celebrations, an annual public holiday celebrating the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi that incorporates many elements of Māori culture. The selected words were restricted to only nouns, as it has been well-established that nouns are statistically more prone to borrowing than other types of words (Calude, Miller & Pagel, 2020; Poplack et al, 1984). Furthermore, Macalister's (2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007) diachronic corpus study and surveys of familiarity with te reo Māori borrowings suggested that proper nouns were among the most frequent te reo Māori loanwords represented in the NZE lexicon. Among proper nouns, words related to material culture and social culture were the most likely to be known by both older and younger generations. The first category of nouns chosen were te reo Māori place names in New Zealand. Te reo Māori place names are generally familiar to most New Zealanders and their frequency of use has not changed in the past 100 years, but the pronunciation of these names has changed dramatically (Warren, 2012). The remaining loanwords represented social culture, with *kia ora* (a greeting), *Waitangi Day* (a public holiday), *whanau* (family), and *Ngāi Tahu* (the principal Māori iwi, or tribe, in the South Island). Representatives of material culture were *waka* 'traditional canoe', and *marae* 'meeting house'. Chosen words included examples of commonly anglicised phonemes including tapped /ɾ/, diagraphs /ϕ/ and [ŋ], short diphthong /aʊ/, long diphthong /a:ɔ/, and long vowels /ɔ:/ and /a:/ (Harlow et al. 2005; MacLagan, Macrae, & Black 2024). The elicitation task included a total of ten te reo Māori words and an additional two words were included in the interview questions, which each participant read aloud (*te reo* and *Māori*). Therefore, the total number of elicited words for pronunciation was twelve (Table 1).

Table 1. *List of elicited words for pronunciation analysis*

	Te reo Māori word	IPA	Meaning
1	kia ora	[ki' aɔra]	Hello, good morning
2	Waitangi	['waitaŋi]	Location in the North Island
3	whanau	['ʔa:nau]	Family
4	waka	['waka]	Canoe
5	Ngāi Tahu	['ŋai: 'tahu:]	Tribal group of much of the South Island
6	marae	[ma' rae].	Meeting house
7	Akaroa	[aka' roa]	City in the South Island
8	Whangarei	[ʔ aŋa: 'rei]	City in the North Island
9	Tauranga	['tauraŋa]	City in the North Island
10	Taupō	['tauraŋa]	City in the North Island
11	te reo	['tɛ 'rɛo]	The language
12	Māori	[ma:ori]	Indigenous person of New Zealand

The video calls were recorded with the participant's consent, and each instance of loanword use was marked auditorily and coded as either TR (te reo Māori pronunciation) or A (anglicised pronunciation) in Excel. To determine pronunciation, words were compared to the te reo Māori audio provided by the Te Aka Māori Dictionary to determine whether certain phonemes had been anglicised or pronounced as consistent with the phonology of the original word (Moorfield 2024). Another instance considered anglicisation was the addition of NZE pluralisation to a Māori loanword; for example, the addition of the NZE suffix *-s* to *haka* or *waka*. Additional note was made of words that were intentionally produced contrary to the speaker's normal pronunciation as an example, marked as TR(ex) or A(ex). For example, an interviewee who consistently used TR pronunciation throughout the interview described the way that their grandparent's use of te reo Māori differs from their own by intentionally anglicising the word. Several participants in the older generations who used A pronunciation throughout the interview were aware of what was considered 'correct' pronunciation and produced a word with TR pronunciation as an example yet chose to only use A in their daily speech. These instances of opposing pronunciation as an illustrative example were counted in separate

categories to differentiate from their natural production for a more accurate reflection of participants' pronunciation choices.

To compare quantitative frequency, the total number of spontaneously produced loanwords during the interview portion was counted and repetitions were excluded to find the number of unique loanwords. The total number of loanwords was divided by the interview length (rounded to the nearest minute) to calculate the average of loanwords per minute. The percentages of TR versus A pronunciation were calculated from the total number of spontaneous loanwords produced during the interview (including repetitions), plus the number of *te reo Māori* words in the elicitation task and read aloud from the written interview questions. It was important to not only analyse the spontaneous production of loanwords from the interview answers because several participants only produced one or two unique loanwords, which cannot be considered representative of pronunciation ability. Therefore, the baseline of at least twelve unique words through elicitation ensured consistency in comparison for all participants.

A final consideration for the following data was defining what constitutes a single loanword. For the purpose of this study, the total meaning of the loan within the immediate context was considered, rather than grammatical parts according to the Māori language. For example, *te reo Māori* 'the Māori language' or *te reo* 'the language' were considered as one loanword: a proper noun referring specifically to the language. The use of *Māori* as referring to the Māori people was counted as a separate unique loanword. In another example, *kia ora* 'hello', was counted as a single loanword with a single meaning within NZE. In this sense, each loanword counted below can be considered a lexical item with a singular meaning and function within the immediate context of the surrounding NZE.

3. TE REO MĀORI LOANWORDS IN NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH

The analysis of the gathered data revealed interesting qualitative insights into frequency and pronunciation across generational groups. Further correlation was noted in the similarity of results based on participants' occupation and level of te reo Māori education, regardless of age. The final component of this analysis discusses the qualitative content of participants' interviews, reflective of generational attitudes toward changing te reo Māori use in NZE.

3.1 Attitudinal Questionnaire Results

The first set of results were those of the Likert scale portion of the questionnaire (Appendix 1). While these questions did not directly measure loanword use, they provided valuable preliminary insight into the attitudes of this study's participants prior to their interviews. The first question, "How likely would you be to learn (or continue to learn) te reo in the future?" showed predominantly positive responses of "Likely" or "Very likely", with one Gen X choosing "Unlikely" and two Baby Boomers choosing "Very unlikely" (Appendix 2) (Table 1). The second question had similarly positive responses to "How likely would you be to encourage your children to learn te reo Māori?". The majority of respondents also indicated "Likely" or "Very likely", with the three participants who indicated "Unlikely", "Very unlikely", or "N/A" responses all being within the Baby Boomer generation. These answers reflect generally positive attitudes towards te reo Māori education in younger generations. During their interviews, those Baby Boomers who did not indicate an interest in learning te reo Māori largely cited difficulty learning a new language at their age, or they did not feel it would benefit them as their friends and family also did not speak the language.

Table 2. Participant attitudes towards te reo Māori education

	Very likely	Likely	Unlikely	Very Unlikely
Q1: How likely would you be to learn (or continue to learn) te reo Māori in the future?	31.3%	50%	6.2%	12.5%
Q2: How likely would you be to encourage your children to learn te reo Māori?	56.3%	31.3%	6.2%	6.2%

Questions three and four aimed to understand the frequency of participants' contact with te reo Māori in their everyday lives, which were also included in the interviews as open-ended questions. Question three, "How often do you hear te reo Māori spoken or see it written in your daily life?" showed no generational pattern, with answers quite evenly spread between "Always", "Often" and "Sometimes".

Interestingly, none of the participants chose “Never”, attesting to the very real prevalence of te reo Māori in the everyday life of New Zealanders. The final question showed that over half of participants use te reo Māori “Sometimes” in their everyday lives, with participants of all four generations choosing either “Often” or “Sometimes”. Of the two participants who chose “Always”, one explained that they used te reo Māori words daily with their more fluent children and one described using te reo Māori words frequently as a way of reclaiming their Māori identity.

Table 3. *Frequency of participant contact with te reo Māori in daily life*

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Q3: How often do you hear te reo Māori spoken or see it written in your daily life?	25%	37%	37%	0%
Q4: How often do you find yourself using te reo Māori words or phrases in your everyday conversations?	18.7%	12.5%	56.3%	12.5%

The results of the questionnaire showed that participants’ attitudes towards learning te reo Māori, for themselves and their children, are overwhelmingly positive among Gen Z, Millennials, and Gen X. Questions three and four display the current prevalence of te reo Māori in the everyday lives of New Zealanders, regardless of generation, occupation, and ethnicity.

3.2 The Use of Te Reo Māori Loanwords in Different Generations

This section explores generational variations in the use of loanwords from te reo Māori within this study's sample. It aims to compare how different age groups integrate te reo Māori loanwords into their vocabulary and the extent to which they adhere to te reo Māori or anglicised pronunciations. The analysis is divided by generational groups —Baby Boomers, Gen X, Millennials, and Gen Z—to reveal distinct patterns and shifts in language use across these groups.

3.2.1 Frequency and Pronunciation among Baby Boomers

The results for the Baby Boomer generation showed a dramatic split between the four participants. There was a clear division of pronunciation, with two participants showing above 90% TR pronunciation, and two using almost exclusively A, with the exception of several opposing examples (Table 3).

Table 4. *Baby Boomer loanword pronunciation*

	TR%	A%	M(ex)%	A(ex)%
BBMpa1	0	98.5	0	1.5
BBFpa1	92.4	7.6	0	0
BBFpa2	0	97.4	2.6	0
BBFpa3	97.7	2.3	0	0
Generational Avg:	47.5	51.5	.65	.38

Frequency results show that the participants with higher levels of A (BBMpa1, BBFpa2) also had a slightly higher average of loanwords per minute. However, the similar levels of unique loanwords among all four participants show that this higher frequency was predominantly due to repetitions (Table 4).

Table 5. *Baby Boomer loanword frequency*

	Interview Length in Minutes	Avg. Loanwords per Minute	Total Loanwords	Unique Loanwords
BBMpa1	25	1.8	46	11
BBFpa1	30	1.6	48	11
BBFpa2	35	1.6	57	10
BBFpa3	17	1.3	22	8
Generational Avg:	26.8	1.6	43.3	10

These results subverted the hypothesis that older generations would show a much higher level of A. While this was proved true for 50% of this sample, two participants (BBMpa1, BBFpa2) had worked in higher education for the length of their careers and communicated the expectations of their workplace for a high level of cultural literacy and political correctness as an institution at the forefront of national education and research. Both these participants had also taken beginner courses in te reo Māori as adults but had not reached more than a beginner's level of proficiency.

3.2.2 Frequency and Pronunciation among Gen X

The data for Gen X showed a high level of variability. With the number of average loanwords per minute ranging from 1.3 to 4.07 (Table 5). One participant (XFma1) stands out with 117 total loanwords and 24 unique loanwords, the highest of any participant. It should be noted that this interviewee was one of the four Māori participants and was actively taking te reo Māori classes at the time of the interview, discussing Māori loanword use as an expression of her cultural identity. This is consistent with studies that showed a higher proportion of Māori words were used by those who identified as Māori compared to Pākehā speakers (Calude, Miller & Pagel 2020; Kennedy 2001; Stubbe & Holmes 1999). The remaining participants showed a generally higher number of average words per minute and more unique loan words compared to Baby Boomers, with the exception of XMpa1 who used one unique loanword throughout the interview with 20 repetitions of "Māori".

Table 6. *Gen X loanword frequency*

	Interview Length in Minutes	Avg. Loanwords per Minute	Total Loanwords	Unique Loanwords
XMpa1	15	1.3	20	1
XFpa1	31	2.5	77	17
XFpa2	25	2.2	54	15
XFma1	28	4.1	114	24
Generational Avg:	24.8	2.5	66.3	14.3

All four participants in this generation display a much higher overall percentage of TR pronunciation than in the Baby Boomer generation, with three participants showing a zero percent rate of A (Table 6).

Table 7. *Gen X loanword pronunciation*

	TR%	A%	TR(ex)%	A(ex)%
XMpa1	58.5	41.5	0	0
XFpa1	100	0	0	0
XFpa2	91.8	0	0	8.2
XFma1	96.3	0	0	3.7
Generational Avg:	86.6	10.4	0	2.9

While the sample for Gen X coincidentally included the participants with both the highest frequency (XFma1) and the lowest frequency (XFpa1) in the study, the two remaining participants shared similar results in both frequency and pronunciation that appear to balance out the extremes in each category.

3.2.3 Frequency and Pronunciation among Millennials

Millennials showed a surprising decrease in all frequency categories in comparison to both Gen X and Baby Boomers. While interviews were shorter on average, loanwords per minute dropped as low as 0.3 with a significant decline in unique loanwords as well (Table 7). Both Māori participants (MLFma1, MLFpa2) in this age group did not exhibit any significant increase in frequency or number of unique loanwords compared to the Pākehā participants, contradicting the data seen in the Gen X group. The difference may then be hypothesised to be one of education or occupation, a difference that will be examined in section 3.2.

Table 8. *Millennial loanword frequency*

	Interview Length in Minutes	Avg. Loanwords per Minute	Total Loanwords	Unique Loanwords
MLMpa1	21	0.4	8	4
MLFpa1	22	2.2	49	20
MLFma1	17	1.1	19	6
MLFma2	16	0.3	4	2
Generational Avg:	19	1	20	8

Despite low frequency averages, the Millennial group still exhibits a higher percentage of TR pronunciation compared to Baby Boomers. All three female participants had TR percentages above 90%, with one participant (MLMpa1) showing mixed pronunciation with instances of both TR and A (Table 8).

Table 9. *Millennial loanword pronunciation*

	TR%	A%	TR(ex)%	A(ex)%
MLMpa1	24.1	78.9	0	0
MLFpa1	94.3	0	0	5.7
MLFma1	97.5	2.5	0	0
MLFma2	96	0	0	4
Generational Avg:	77.9	20.4	0	2.4

While this generation's participants showed an overall lower frequency of loanword use, the factor of shorter average interview length should be also considered. Overall, TR pronunciation was still dominant in a way that is consistent with expectations for the younger generations.

3.2.4 Frequency and Pronunciation among Gen Z

Gen Z was quite regular, with one Māori participant (ZFma1) showing a higher frequency across all categories, but not such a dramatic divergence as seen in Gen X. The number of unique loanwords for the other three participants was also very consistent despite some variation in total loanwords (Table 9).

Table 10. *Gen Z loanword frequency*

	Interview Length in Minutes	Avg. Loanwords per Minute	Total Loanwords	Unique Loanwords
ZMpa1	17	1.5	26	12
ZMpa2	29	1.6	46	13
ZFpa1	18	1.9	34	13
ZFma1	24	2.9	69	23
Generational Avg:	22	2	43.8	15.3

Pronunciation showed a similar uniformity, with all four participants using a high percentage of TR pronunciation (Table 10). There were several instances of A (ZMpa1, ZMpa2), showing that Gen Z are still influenced by the anglicised pronunciation from older generations, despite the overwhelming normalcy of te reo Māori pronunciation for this generation.

Table 11. *Gen Z loanword pronunciation*

	TR%	A%	TR(ex)%	A(ex)%
ZMpa1	91.5	6.4	0	2.1
ZMpa2	95.5	4.5	0	0
ZFpa1	90.9	0	0	9.1
ZFma1	97.5	0	0	2.5
Generational Avg:	93.9	2.7	0	3.4

3.2.5 Generational Averages for Loanword Frequency and Pronunciation

When comparing the averages for each generation, several patterns emerge. Baby Boomers and Gen X had significantly longer interviews compared to Millennials and Gen Z (Table 12). Perhaps this can be explained by the nature of the questions prompting participants to discuss their experience of te reo Māori and Māori culture throughout their lifetime. Older generations had many more experiences to share, and often more opinions of the ways that social norms in New Zealand had changed over time. This was certainly reflected in total loanwords, with Baby Boomers almost matching the average of Gen Z. The apparent amount of repetition occurring within the total loanwords is, however, demonstrated by the calculation of unique loanwords. Gen Z leads in the range of te reo Māori loanwords used, appearing to have a more diverse te reo Māori lexicon available to them. Unfortunately, the data for Gen X is somewhat biased by outlying participants on either end of the frequency spectrum, with the 117 total loanwords of one participant (XFma1) significantly raising the average for both loanwords per minute and total loanwords (Table 5).

Table 12. Comparison of generational averages for loanword frequency

	Interview Length in Minutes	Avg. Loanwords per Minute	Total Loanwords	Unique Loanwords
Baby Boomers	26.8	1.6	43.3	10
Gen X	24.8	2.5	66.3	14.3
Millennials	19	1	20	8
Gen Z	22	2	43.8	15.3

The pronunciation averages show interesting confirmation of this paper's working hypothesis, with the highest percentage of A pronunciation in the Baby Boomer generation, and the lowest level in Gen Z (Table 12). Millennials dip in their use of TR pronunciation compared to Millennials, but there is an overall downward trend in anglicisation of te reo Māori loanwords with decreasing age. A further note of interest is the frequency of opposing pronunciation as examples. Baby Boomers are the only generation to use TR pronunciation to communicate a difference in pronunciation compared to their normal speech. During the interviews, Gen X, Millennials, and Gen Z all communicated pronunciation differences they experienced with older generations, particularly with their parents and grandparents. This was often in the form of anglicising place names to avoid confusion, with Gen Z showing the highest number of these examples. These participants often expressed frustration at the communication barrier they felt with older family members when attempting to pronounce te reo Māori words as they would with their peers, only to be met with resistance or confusion.

Table 13. Comparison of generational averages for loanword pronunciation

	TR%	A%	TR(ex)%	A(ex)%
Baby Boomers	47.5	51.5	.65	.38
Gen X	86.6	10.4	0	2.9
Millennials	77.9	20.4	0	2.4
Gen Z	93.9	2.7	0	3.4

Overall, Gen Z showed the most consistency in both frequency and pronunciation data compared to the other generations, appearing to confirm that Gen Z has experienced a more uniform exposure to te reo Māori in their early life and education. While factors of education and occupation seem to dramatically shape the ability and comfortability of older generations to different extremes, even those

Gen Z who felt they lacked knowledge of te reo Māori compared to their peers still utilised a very similar number of unique loanwords and used almost exclusively TR pronunciation. To assess to what degree loanword frequency is affected by education and occupation across all four generations, the next section will analyse the same frequency and pronunciation data based on these criteria.

3.3 Educational and Occupational Differences in Loanword Use

Eleven participants had taken part in formal te reo Māori classes, and five had no experience learning the language in a formal setting. Classes were taken at various institutions, including high school, university, the workplace, or private classes. Of the eleven participants who had studied the language, all self-reported either a beginner or elementary level of proficiency, with only three participants actively taking classes at the time of the interviews. Since all the participants reported a similarly low proficiency level, it seemed most relevant to compare those who had taken a course in te reo Māori with those who had not. The difference is immediately clear, with participants who had taken te reo Māori classes showing an almost doubled rate of loanwords per minute and average total loanwords (Table 13). The difference is even more pronounced when comparing unique loanwords, with nearly triple the number of unique loanwords for those who studied the Māori language.

Table 14. *Comparison of average loanword frequency of participants based on te reo Māori education*

	Loanwords per Minute	Total Loanwords	Unique Loanwords
Te reo classes	2.08	50.7	14.73
No te reo classes	1.08	27	5.6

A similar trend was apparent in loanword pronunciation, with te reo Māori students pronouncing loanwords as TR in 95.1% of instances. Those who had not taken a class in te reo Māori were more likely to anglicise the pronunciation of loanwords, with 63.3% of loanword occurrences pronounced as A (Table 14).

Table 15. *Comparison of average loanword pronunciation of participants based on te reo Māori education*

	TR%	A%	TR(ex)%	A(ex)%
Te reo classes	95.1	2.1	0	2.9
No te reo classes	35.72	63.3	.5	1.1

The second factor that appeared to influence participants' results was their occupation. There was an overrepresentation in my sample of participants working in educational roles, specifically in higher education. As interviewees responded voluntarily, it seems natural that those working in higher education would see the value in student research and be more open to participating. Those working in government departments and educational institutions also communicated the emphasis their workplace put on cultural competency. Both occupational fields came with increased opportunities to engage with Māori populations and access to Māori related professional development, such as marae visits or te reo Māori classes. The results of this occupational comparison differ slightly from comparison based on te reo Māori education, yet the overwhelming increase in both frequency and unique loanwords for those in government or education roles remains apparent (Table 15).

Table 16. Comparison of average loanword pronunciation of participants based on occupation

	Loanwords per Minute	Total Loanwords	Unique Loanwords
Government or Education Role	2.01	49.73	14.55
Other	1.23	29.2	6

Pronunciation shifts more considering occupation, with a nearly 50/50 split between TR and A for those in non-governmental or educational roles. However, there is still a clear dominance of TR pronunciation for those working in government or educational roles, with only 9.1% average A of te reo Māori loanwords (Table 16).

Table 17. Comparison of average loanword pronunciation of participants based on occupation

	TR%	A%	TR(ex)%	A(ex)%
Government or Education Role	88.4	9.1	0	31.3
Other	50.4	47.9	.5	1.1

While age does not appear to affect the total average of loanwords used by those who are working in non-governmental or education roles, an interesting generational pattern forms in the pronunciation data for these same five participants (Table 17):

Table 18. Comparison of average loanword pronunciation of participants based on occupation

	TR%	A%	TR(ex)%	A(ex)%
BBMpa1	0	98.5	0	1.5
BBFpa2	0	97.4	2.6	0
XMpa1	58.5	41.5	0	0
MLFma1	97.5	2.5	0	0
MLFma2	96	0	0	4

The percentage of words pronounced as anglicised rather than as Māori is still quite high on average, yet that number decreases dramatically from 98.5% and 97.4% in the Baby Boomer generation to 41.5% in Gen X, and to 2.5% and 0% in the Millennial generation. Four out of five of these participants also did not have formal training in te reo Māori, demonstrating that even without any language classes and working in fields with less emphasis on Māori inclusion, the anglicisation of te reo Māori loanwords decreases in younger generations. One potential factor is that both Millennial participants in this category identify as ethnically Māori, which could equally be a factor in these outcomes due to increased pressure for Māori individuals to communicate identity through the correct use of te reo Māori. Both participants stated that their upbringing excluded the use of te reo Māori and cited recent increases in te reo Māori use in the media and public spaces as a factor in their increasing knowledge. While this conclusion is limited by a sample of only five participants that fit these criteria, this trend in the present data does support the hypothesis that the pronunciation of younger generations of New Zealanders is influenced by increased environmental contact with te reo Māori in daily life.

3.4 Sociolinguistic Attitudes Towards Te Reo Māori

Māori loanwords have become so familiar in the day-to-day life of Gen Z, that one participant described, “I don’t even realise sometimes that it is te reo because it’s just words that we use” (ZFpa1). Another agreed, saying “I’ve never thought about what language that word is, that’s just what it’s always been called” (ZMpa1). Of the four Gen Z participants, only one had taken compulsory classes in te reo Māori in high school. Others had compulsory Māori culture or history classes, but Māori language classes were optional and they had not chosen to take them. There was a clear indication of a different attitude toward te reo Māori in their university and workplace environments. Another participant commented that he felt a significant culture shift in knowledge and awareness of Māori issues upon beginning his

university degree. He felt he was left behind and that everyone was a step above him in their cultural awareness (ZMpa1). Each Gen Z individual also described an increased emphasis on what was considered "correct pronunciation" among their peers and the importance of using te reo Māori pronunciation to the best of their abilities. When asked whether he had been corrected on his pronunciation of te reo Māori words before, a recent graduate responded, "Absolutely, all the time. It's pretty normal, pretty standard" (ZMpa2). Mutual correction appears to be accepted without offence, and even expected. Nevertheless, this appears to be limited to those of a similar age group and there is an awareness of resistance or even hostility when correcting older generations. "You pick your battles", as one Gen Z interviewee said (ZFpa1). A teacher working with Māori children from immersion schools responded that she tries to always pronounce te reo Māori words correctly and that "if you don't know what I'm talking about that's not my problem, that's yours" (ZFma1). There is an overall attitude of openness to learning about Māori culture and a movement away from the closed attitudes of parents and grandparents.

While there was a consensus that social acceptance of te reo Māori had hugely improved in recent years, a clear divide was felt between Gen Z and older generations:

"It's only getting better by and large, in terms of positive attitudes coming through with the younger generations [...]. You see people being racist at any age level, but you see more people who are resistant to it all in the 40 or 50 plus years old demographic generally." (ZMpa1)

"It's definitely from the older people that I'm hearing the arguments, 'I can't understand the road signs if they've got te reo' or 'I don't know what that company is if it's in te reo'. Whereas I haven't really heard anything like that from people my age." (ZFma1)

"On the whole, I think younger generations are a lot better at being understanding of it, and accepting it, and allowing it to thrive, and encouraging it to thrive. Which is very, very cool to see. Not all older generations obviously, but unfortunately there is a large section of older generations that are quite happy to shut it down and be very blasé with getting rid of it and not accepting the use of it at all." (ZMpa2)

There was a general agreement that there were people opposed to te reo Māori in every generation, but those in the older generation were more vocal in their dissent. Other participants stated that they wanted to use te reo Māori more often, but wouldn't use it with their parents or grandparents. Another explained that they were significantly more comfortable using te reo Māori with younger people rather than older people. Overall, Gen Z expressed a "not as often as I should" attitude towards their use of te reo Māori; a feeling that they should be more educated in te reo Māori or that they should use it more often in their everyday lives. Each participant said that they used the language more in their educational or work settings, but far less with friends and family.

The Millennial and Gen X generations had more mixed experiences with te reo Māori. While the general consensus agreed with Gen Z that the use of te reo Māori was increasingly more accepted in the

past decade, one Māori participant felt that very little had changed in her personal life since she was younger (MLFma1). She explained that she hears a lot of negative reactions in her circles to te reo Māori on signage and government buildings, as well as its use on the radio and TV. As a Māori person raised in a Pākehā family who is reconnecting to her culture, she commented on the difference she sees in her children's attitudes towards te reo Māori: "Because it's so available, they're kind of blasé about it. And I really want them to speak it and learn it and join the kapa haka group, because I felt my generation didn't get that" (MLFma1). While she sees that Māori culture and language are embraced in her children's school, she can see it's not fully embraced elsewhere.

For those that did actively include te reo Māori words in their everyday life, a frequent reason was a wish to support the revitalisation movement and honour the treaty rights of Māori as *tangata whenua* "indigenous people". A Pākehā interviewee stated that:

"By using te reo Māori you are respecting and honouring our [New Zealand] heritage as well, and also giving a really clear message that we're not just a mono-culture. That there's richness in our culture and that by using English and te reo Māori you are honoring that unique relationship and that agreement that we will work together. I don't think there's any greater respect for a people than to attempt to use the language of those people and do it in a way that is humble." (XFpa1)

This declaration of allyship was acknowledged by a Māori participant, commenting on their perception of a person who frequently uses te reo Māori words in their English speech:

"A non-Māori person who uses te reo frequently and pronounces it correctly, that tells me a lot about the effort that they've put in, the fact that they are going above and beyond what they have to do. They're doing more than the average person and it tells me something about their commitment as allies." (XFma1)

For those who had positive attitudes towards te reo Māori, there were still barriers to its use. One reason was, "There's a bit of *whakama* 'shame' around not being able to pronounce or use te reo Māori, so sometimes people don't because they feel uncomfortable, or they fear that they'll muck it up and be ridiculed for it" (XFpa1). Particularly for those who have not had any education in te reo Māori, pronunciation can be a real barrier to loanword use. When questioned about the differences of opinion held by older generations, a Millennial participant said, "With more use of something is going to come more resistance because it's out there more and more, and it's threatening and it's scary and it's different" (MLFma2). Another added that:

"I do think a lot of that is because they often haven't had very good exposure to the language. I think if your only real exposure to it is in a political context where sometimes it certainly can feel a bit forced, as if 'they're really putting the pressure on us to learn this, that's not necessarily our culture', I think when they're coming at it from that mindset that can often be a less positive attitude for sure." (MLMpa1)

The opinion that negative experiences surrounding te reo Māori contributed to the resistance of older generations was shared by several participants. As the oldest generation included in this study,

Baby Boomers represented those with the greatest length of experience with social change in New Zealand, social change that was sudden and often negatively politicised. For the majority of Baby Boomers in this study, te reo Māori was not prevalent in their personal lives. Mention of the increase in te reo Māori in the news and radio was common, but their friends and family rarely used te reo Māori or interacted with Māori culture. A retiree and volunteer tour guide explained:

"I think a general understanding and respect for both te reo and the people who want to immerse themselves in their culture is needed. [...] For younger people hearing it through media and through the way the Māori culture is trying to exert itself more in New Zealand culture, younger people are becoming more emersed in te reo. Going forward they will have a completely better application for the words than I ever did. I guess I was comfortable with what I learned during that time, and what I know now. Do I feel the need to gain more knowledge? No, I'm comfortable understanding what I understand." (BBMpa1)

This sentiment can lead to the feeling that the current emphasis on te reo Māori is being too forced in New Zealand, becoming a requirement "rather than the door is open allowing people to walk through that door and absorb as much as they require." (BBMpa1) The impression of a dominantly monolingual New Zealand, despite the legislative changes to instate Māori as a national language, was quite prevalent. Another participant shared her opinion:

"It [te reo Māori] has been pushed down their [the younger generation's] throats to a certain degree. For most of my life, it's just been a language that some people use, particularly in the North Island. But in the South Island, you seldom did hear it. But then some of the younger Māori people decided, [...] once it became an official language, they started trying to push it down your throat almost. [...] If you break it down into generations then you probably would find that my generation's opinion would be that it's not necessary. But your generation would say yes, you need to maybe not be fluent in it, but you need to know a certain amount to be able to know what's going on." (BBFpa2)

This feeling was not, however, universal to Baby Boomers. Two participants were very much in favour of the revival movement, celebrating the milestones they had witnessed since the 1970s: "I think that it's really good that the Māori language has been reclaimed and reinvigorated by Māori. That's an enormous achievement" (BBFpa1). Looking towards the future, they displayed hope for positive change in New Zealand society because of younger generations:

"I think people of my age and older have had much less exposure. Children at school now learn a lot more than we ever did. So, I think that younger people are much more familiar, much more comfortable. So, I think there is a different attitude. [...] As the cohort of young people become older and more influential in society, I think things will change for the better. I hope so." (BBFpa3)

The integration of te reo Māori into the everyday lives of New Zealanders, particularly among Gen Z, highlights a significant cultural shift towards embracing and normalising the language. Despite limited formal education in the language, the younger generation's frequent use of Māori loanwords and their emphasis on correct pronunciation demonstrates the increasing impact of te reo Māori in New Zealand culture. This shift, however, underscores a generational divide. While Gen Z is generally open and supportive of incorporating te reo Māori, older generations exhibit more resistance or discomfort.

Their reluctance often stems from a lack of exposure and the feeling that the language is being imposed rather than naturally integrated into their lives. Yet, there is also recognition among some older individuals of the positive progress and achievements in revitalising te reo Māori, reflecting complex and evolving patterns of cultural acceptance in New Zealand.

CONCLUSION

This study investigated generational differences in the usage and pronunciation of te reo Māori loanwords in NZE, revealing significant variations. The findings show that Baby Boomers and Gen X used a higher total count of loanwords but with less diversity. Millennials exhibited a decrease in loanword frequency, likely due to shorter interview durations and varying educational or occupational factors. In contrast, Gen Z demonstrated the highest diversity in loanwords, indicating a broader lexical use. Pronunciation analysis revealed a trend towards more authentic te reo Māori pronunciation among younger generations, with Baby Boomers showing the highest percentage of anglicised pronunciations and Gen Z the lowest. Younger generations, especially Gen Z, displayed more positive attitudes towards the integration of te reo Māori, whereas older generations showed more resistance to its use in public signs and media.

The study aimed to explore significant generational differences in the frequency, diversity, and pronunciation of te reo Māori loanwords, and to understand how these differences reflect early language contact and sociolinguistic attitudes. The results confirm that generational shifts in language exposure and attitudes significantly influence the use and pronunciation of Māori loanwords. Younger generations, exposed to te reo Māori through education and media, display greater acceptance and authentic pronunciation of the language. By documenting these generational differences, the research provides insights into the broader sociolinguistic implications of language revitalisation efforts in a post-colonial context. The positive shift in attitudes among younger generations indicates a successful integration of te reo Māori into NZE, contributing to the language's revival and cultural preservation. These findings contribute valuable knowledge to the fields of language contact, indigenous language revitalisation, and sociolinguistics, demonstrating the dynamic and evolving nature of NZE as it increasingly incorporates elements of te reo Māori.

Several limitations should be noted. The interview method aimed to gather spontaneous speech data, which may have biased participants towards greater use of te reo Māori loanwords due to their awareness of the study's focus. Additionally, the lack of normalised frequency data for loanwords due to transcription errors and the time-consuming nature of manual corrections limited the accuracy of frequency comparisons. Instead, the number of unique loanwords was used to reflect participants' knowledge and comfort with te reo Māori. Furthermore, the limited sample size, particularly among participants without formal te reo Māori education, restricted the study's ability to generalise findings across the broader population.

The main contributions of this study lie in its detailed examination of generational shifts in the use and pronunciation of te reo Māori loanwords in NZE, highlighting positive trends in sociolinguistic attitudes and increased early exposure to te reo Māori in younger generations. These findings underscore the importance of continued efforts in language revitalisation and cultural preservation, demonstrating how evolving generational attitudes can support the sustainable integration of indigenous languages within a post-colonial context. Future research should expand on this study by including a larger sample size of participants without formal te reo Māori education to better understand the broader population's language use and attitudes. Additionally, exploring the experiences of Māori participants across different generations could provide deeper insights into the impact of language revitalisation efforts on the Māori community. Investigating the complex feelings of cultural identity and language reclamation among Māori youth compared to older generations could further illuminate the effects of national revitalisation initiatives.

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SUMMARY

Šiame tyrime nagrinėjami skirtingų kartų maorių kalbos skolinių vartojimo ir tarimo skirtumai Naujosios Zelandijos anglų kalboje. Nagrinėjant keturias kartų grupes – kūdykių bumo kartą (angl. Baby Boomers), kartą X (angl. Generation X), tūkstantmečio kartą (angl. Millennials) ir kartą Z (angl. Generation Z) – buvo bandoma nustatyti reikšmingus maorių kalbos skolinių vartojimo dažnio ir įvairovės skirtumus. Kūdykių bumo kartos ir kartos X dalyvių interviu trukmė buvo ilgesnė ir jie vartojo daugiau skolintų žodžių, tačiau skolinių įvairovė buvo mažesnė. Tūkstantmečio kartos atstovai vartojo ženkliai mažiau skolinių, galbūt dėl trumpesnės interviu trukmės ir skirtingo išsilavinimo ar profesinės padėties. Įdomu tai, kad kartos Z dalyviai demonstravo didžiausią skolinių įvairovę ir pasižymėjo platesne leksika. Tarimo analizė atskleidė kelias tendencijas: jaunesnės kartos žmonės dažniau vartojo autentišką maorių kalbos tarimą; kūdykių bumo kartos dalyvių tarime pasireiškė daugiausiai anglicizmo, o kartos Z – mažiausiai. Šis pokytis atspindi besikeičiančias sociolingvistines nuostatas ir didesnę maorių kalbos pripažinimą, ypač tarp jaunesnių žmonių.

Tyrimu buvo siekiama atskleisti reikšmingus kartų skirtumus tarp maorių kalbos skolinių vartojimo dažnio, įvairovės ir tarimo bei suprasti, kaip šie skirtumai atspindi ankstyvą kalbinį kontaktą ir sociolingvistines nuostatas. Rezultatai atskleidė, kad kartų skirtumai ir maorių kalbos vartojimo pripažinimas arba vengimas turi daugiausiai įtakos šios kalbos vartojimui. Jaunesnės kartos atstovai, kurie susidūrė su šios kalbos vartojimu švietimo ir žiniasklaidos pagalba, labiau ją priima ir stengiasi ją vartoti atsižvelgdami į originalų tarimą. Šis tyrimas pabrėžia dinamišką Naujosios Zelandijos anglų kalbos prigimtį, nes joje vis dažniau randami maorių kalbos elementai, kurie įrodo sėkmingas integracijos ir kalbos atgaivinimo pastangas. Šis tyrimas padeda pateikti naudingų įžvalgų apie kalbos kontaktą, vietinės kalbos atgaivinimą ir sociolingvistiką, pabrėžiant besivystančius Naujosios Zelandijos anglų ir maorių kalbų santykius Naujosios Zelandijos postkolonijiniame kontekste.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Questionnaire

If you would like to explain any of your answers further, please write in the spaces provided.

1. Name:

2. Birth year:

3. Please list any cities/towns you have lived in and the number of years of your residence:

(if greater than 3, please list the 3 of your longest residence)

1.

2.

3.

4. What is your ethnicity?

5. Have you ever studied te reo Māori in a formal classroom?

Yes

No

5.1. If yes, please describe the nature of your studies (high school, university, private classes, etc.) and the length of your course:

5.2. If yes, please describe your current level of proficiency in te reo:

Beginner

Elementary

Intermediate

Fluent

6. Do any of your immediate family members speak te reo at an intermediate or fluent level?

Yes

No

7. How likely would you be to learn (or continue to learn) te reo in the future?

- Very likely Likely Unlikely Very unlikely

8. How likely would you be to encourage your children to learn te reo?

- Very likely Likely Unlikely Very unlikely

9. How often do you hear te reo spoken or see it written in your daily life?

- Never Sometimes Often Always

10. How often do you find yourself using te reo words or phrases in your everyday conversations?

- Never Sometimes Often Always

Appendix 2. Questionnaire Responses

	Q4: Ethnicity	Q5: Te reo classes	Q6: Family member fluent	Q7: Learn te reo	Q8: Children learn te reo	Q9: Hear & see te reo	Q10: Use te reo
BBMpa1	Pākehā	No	No	Very unlikely	Very unlikely	Often	Often
BBFpa1	Pākehā	Yes/Beginner	No	Likely	N/A	Always	Sometimes
BBFpa2	Pākehā	No	No	Very unlikely	Unlikely	Often	Sometimes
BBFpa3	Pākehā	Yes/Beginner	No	Likely	Very likely	Sometimes	Sometimes
XMpa1	Pākehā	No	No	Unlikely	Likely	Sometimes	Never
XFpa1	Pākehā	Yes/Beginner	No	Likely	Likely	Often	Sometimes
XFpa2	Pākehā	Yes/Elementary	No	Likely	Very likely	Often	Always
XFma1	Māori/Pākehā	Yes/Elementary	Yes	Very likely	Very likely	Always	Always
MLMpa1	Pākehā	No	No	Likely	Likely	Always	Sometimes
MLFpa1	Pākehā	Yes/Beginner	No	Very likely	Very likely	Always	Always
MLFma1	Māori	Yes/Beginner	No	Likely	Likely	Sometimes	Never
MLFma2	Māori	No	No	Very likely	Very likely	Sometimes	Sometimes
XMpa1	Pākehā	Yes/Beginner	No	Likely	Very likely	Sometimes	Sometimes
XMpa2	Pākehā	Yes/Beginner	No	Likely	Likely	Sometimes	Sometimes
XFpa1	Pākehā	Yes/Elementary	No	Very likely	Very likely	Often	Sometimes
XFma1	Māori/Pākehā	Yes/Beginner	No	Very likely	Very likely	Often	Often

Appendix 3. Interview Questions

1. How often do you hear te reo Māori spoken or see it written in your daily life?
2. Do you feel that knowledge of te reo Māori or Māori culture is necessary in New Zealand?
3. How would you perceive a person who frequently used te reo Māori words and pronunciation as part of their English speech?
4. What was your experience of te reo Māori or Māori culture in your primary to high school education? 4.1 What about at university or in your workplace?
5. For what purpose did you take te reo classes? How do you think it has benefited you? - OR - Have you ever been offered an opportunity to take te reo classes?
6. How often do you find yourself using te reo Māori words or phrases?
7. Have you ever been corrected when pronouncing a te reo Māori word or place name? Have you ever corrected someone else when they are pronouncing a te reo Māori word or placename?
8. Do you change the way you pronounce te reo Māori words depending on who you are speaking to or the situation you are in?
9. Do you feel that older or younger generations have a different attitude towards the use of te reo Māori than you do?
10. How do you think public opinion or the social norm has changed on this topic throughout your lifetime?

Appendix 4. Elicitation Task

Kia ora! This year for Waitangi Day, I visited Okains Bay with my whanau to watch a waka race in the harbour.

It was hosted as part of the Ngāi Tahu commemorations and there were speeches at the local marae.

Later, we drove over to Akaroa for the sunset.

Some of my friends up North went to similar celebrations in Whangarei and Tauranga.

Maybe next year I'll visit Taupō during the long weekend to see my brother.