

PUNI REO POITARAWHITI: PLAYING IN TE REO MĀORI

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INTRODUCTION

In May 2018, the inaugural Puni Reo Poitarawhiti was held at Netball Waitākere, West Auckland. The first Māori-language-only netball tournament of its kind, Puni Reo Poitarawhiti (PRP) was open to all schools (kura kaupapa Māori and English-medium schools) in the Auckland region. According to Te Puni Kōkiri, the first PRP attracted approximately 550 young people (60 teams), ranging in age from 11 to 17 years old. In total, 20 schools participated—the majority (95.5%) of these schools were either Kura Kaupapa Māori or schools with Māori immersion units or classes. The following year, the number of schools slightly increased to 21.¹ Unfortunately, due to COVID-19 the PRP tournament was cancelled in 2020.

Puni Reo is an important part of today's Māori language movement that creates a Māori language space for a particular event or purpose. As an innovative Māori language initiative, Puni Reo has focused on promoting te reo in everyday activities such as sports, domains that are not usually considered 'traditional' Māori language arenas. As an initiative, these events seek to widen the use of te reo Māori in social, community settings, in an effort to normalise te reo Māori outside of formal learning settings. While Puni Reo is a 'new' initiative, it is inspired by the 'old' concept of a puni that, in this context, is referred to as a camp.²

Puni Reo Poitarawhiti is a relatively new initiative that has the potential to become a significant annual event on the Māori student calendar in Tāmaki Makaurau, as well as other regions throughout Aotearoa. This article draws on the one-year scoping project entitled '*Puni Reo: Normalising Māori language in new domains*, led by Professor Jenny Lee-Morgan and Dr Jenifer Martin, alongside the instigator of this initiative, Eruera Lee-Morgan. This article introduces the concept of Puni Reo Poitarawhiti, and shares the findings as it relates to the students' experiences and perspectives of the first two Puni Reo Poitarawhiti held in 2018 and 2019. The focus for the students centred on their ability and excitement to 'play' in te reo Māori.

NORMALISATION OF TE REO MĀORI

Puni Reo is a Māori language initiative located in the legacy of activities led by Māori language activists, whānau, hapū, iwi and communities to value and utilise the language. Puni Reo can also be considered an indigenous innovation in the field of language revitalisation, and can be specifically located in the shift towards the 'normalisation' of te reo Māori. According to Higgins et al., the focus on the normalisation shifts "away from the ideology that the Māori language is only for Māori to speak, and within confined domains of our society. We need to expand the responsibility to wider society and promote bilingualism and the equity to achieve bilingualism."³ Therefore, the aim of normalising te reo Māori is to extend te reo to all spheres of society, including the netball courts. It is apparent that such a goal requires more than the efforts and commitment of the Māori communities, but as Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder argue, "It needs to be adopted by the nation."⁴

The normalisation drive directly aligns with and activates the Crown's Maihi Karauna Strategy for Māori language revitalisation 2019–2023.⁵ The Maihi Karauna strategy acknowledges it is important to create "the right conditions across government and Aotearoa New Zealand society for the revitalisation of te reo Māori."⁶ In addition, the Maihi Māori Strategy 2017–2040 states as one of its key goals: "By 2040, one million New Zealanders (or more) will have the ability and confidence to talk about at least basic things in te reo Māori."⁷ In this context, the Puni Reo concept has the potential to contribute to the normalisation of te reo Māori as te reo infiltrates everyday activities in non-traditional Māori language domains in the public and private spheres in our communities and wider New Zealand society.

While Māori-language-only initiatives or sports tournaments are not new, especially for whānau involved in kura kaupapa Māori and total immersion educational pathways, there are few opportunities for all outside these specific kaupapa Māori organisations to participate. In an effort to support Māori language normalisation in our communities, Puni Reo is promoted as a way to create Māori language spaces in 'new' everyday domains that are accessible to wider groups of people. Therefore, one of the features of the Puni Reo approach is that the initiative should be directed and driven by the community of interest itself.

PUNI REO POITARAWHITI

Netball is one of New Zealand's most popular sports, especially for girls and women. At a national level, there are over 83 Netball New Zealand centres, which cater for more than 300,000 people who participate in the game annually.⁸ Despite Māori only making up 16.7 per cent of the New Zealand population,⁹ Māori have consistently made up approximately 25 per cent of the affiliated playing membership of netball, with even more (44 per cent) making up national playing squads and a third of the coaches and managers,¹⁰ we would describe this as a 'Māori-rich' participation in this code. For Eruera Lee-Morgan, it was an obvious choice for a Puni Reo initiative.

Netball Waitākere in West Auckland was the location, venue and a key partner in Puni Reo Poitarawhiti. Primarily the tribal lands of Te Kawerau ā Maki, Ngāti Whātua lies to the north and east, and Tainui to the east and south. Today, West Auckland is also home to the second-largest Māori mātāwaka urban population in Auckland (after South Auckland). Within this tribal and highly urbanised context, Netball Waitākere has grown to be an important part of the West Auckland landscape. More than 50 years old, Netball Waitākere boasts over 500 winter league teams and 1,000 summer league teams in West Auckland. Given the demographic of West Auckland, Netball Waitākere has a relatively high number of Māori players, umpires, coaches and managers. While individual players, whānau and kura teams may be heard speaking Māori sporadically during a netball game, Netball Waitākere had never incorporated te reo and tikanga Māori in any meaningful way into their context. It was an ideal community context with which to launch the idea of Puni Reo.

In brief, the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event is a one-day Māori language-only-netball tournament open to all schools in the Auckland region. Held at Netball Waitākere in Lincoln Road, Henderson, schools participate from throughout the region, as far away as Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manurewa to the south, and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Raki Pae Whenua in the north. Prior to the tournament, several wānanga had occurred to prepare the umpires, coaches and teachers for the day, with a key focus on the specialist language related to netball. To this end, an interactive app called Puni Reo Poitarawhiti was developed by Kawana Wallace of myReo Studios to support the language required by participants of the Puni Reo. Commissioned by Te Puni Kōkiri under the leadership of Eruera Lee-Morgan and Ngawai Walden (Senior Advisors, Tāmaki Office), the app was viewed as a key resource in supporting the event. In preparation, schools formed teams based not only on their netball skills but also on their ability in te reo Māori and practised playing in te reo and learning the relevant language they needed.

The day of the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti tournament began with our cultural traditions of pōwhiri and karakia. The various whaikōrero emphasised the importance of the kaupapa of te reo, acknowledged the tribal territories and people, and celebrated our whanaungatanga. It was the first time a pōwhiri of this type had ever occurred at Netball

Waitākere, and for many Māori who have been long-time members of this institution, valuing te reo and tikanga Māori in this way was a significant and emotional event. Before the games commenced, all the players participated in a warm-up led by ACC NetballSmart in te reo Māori and were hyped up by the encouraging words from Māori TV language celebrity Miss Kihī. The expectation was that te reo Māori was not only spoken on the netball courts, but in the control room, over the loudspeaker, in the shop, in the changing rooms—every place within the precinct of the Netball Waitākere court, including on the café sign, where the menu and prices for kai were rewritten in Māori. The day ended with awards to the winning teams in each category, presented by Māori Silver Fern representatives, including Maia Wilson.

INITIAL FINDINGS:

Perspectives of the Players

This one-year (2019–2020) scoping research project was undertaken by a small team of researchers from Ngā Wāi a Te Tūi, Māori and Indigenous Research Centre, Unitec. The COVID-19 pandemic impacted the continuity of the research and postponed the third Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event from taking place. Despite these circumstances, 26 people involved in Puni Reo Poitarawhiti were interviewed by Professor Jenny Lee-Morgan and Dr Jen Martin. This group included organisers, teachers, umpires, parents and students (players). The findings for this article draw specifically on the interviews with students, from three focus groups: high-school students (boys and girls); and two mixed groups of primary and intermediate students, being one group of boys and one group of girls. The key findings are based on the student interviews, and form the following themes:

- The importance of aligning language events with sport/fun activities
- That these events should be for everyone
- That everyone needs to understand that they are in a Māori-only speaking zone
- That everyone understands that the expectation is to speak Māori
- That students are aware that there are strict rules of participation.

The following excerpts are student responses about their experience of Puni Reo Poitarawhiti.

He Reo Pārekareka

Of the three student/participant focus groups interviewed, all groups spoke about the Puni Reo event as valuable, with some students emphasising the use of te reo in fun environments as an important factor in extending their knowledge and use of te reo Māori.

Most of the kids I know all love netball and it is another way of being able to contribute reo into something that kids love.

(Girl, mixed group primary and intermediate)

The thing I most enjoy is that we could be playing sport that we all love and still be in a Māori environment and still being able to speak Māori, but be having fun at the same time.

(Girl, mixed group primary and intermediate)

As mentioned earlier, the need for te reo Māori to be used in settings outside of formal learning environments, as a way in which to create te reo Māori spaces as 'living language domains' in community settings, is a proposed outcome for Puni Reo events. Importantly, emphasis is on facilitating an event through fun activities. This highlights the significance of language being spoken in informal, social settings in an effort to normalise its use.

Mā Tātou – For Everyone

While the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event largely attracted Kura Kaupapa Māori and immersion Māori schools to participate, students themselves consider a much wider group for participation in these events. On sharing their thoughts on the purpose of Puni Reo, one student said the following:

*Kia whakawhanake te reo Māori, kia whakawhanaunga ai, engari ki au nei
kāore mō te Māori anake, mō ngā tangata kātoa. (High-school student)*

Puni Reo is iterated by this student as both strengthening te reo and the relationships between reo Māori communities. Notably, this student views Puni Reo events as not only for Māori, but for all people. Thinking as such also gels with the Maihi Karauna/Maihi Māori language strategies,¹¹ a partnership model that advocates for the dedicated inclusion of non-Māori as an important part of language revitalisation. This stance also aligns with Higgins and Rewi,¹² who also purport that it will only be through a national effort that te reo Māori will thrive in current and future generations.

Other students interviewed reflect on the potential benefits of Puni Reo, in saying:

*It would be fun-as for people who can't even speak to still see things that we
do in a wider range, not only just one school, say the whole community going
together. Doing that everyone is going to get attracted to it, then it will blow up
and that is also spreading our reo around by having fun.*

(High-school student)

*When it comes to the Puni Reo, everyone is just, even if they are not ethnically
Māori, their manawa is Māori. They are in it for the kaupapa, and just to have a
good time and that is how you can feel the energy is more amplified.*

(High-school student)

The insights offered by students reaffirm the current Maihi Karauna strategy, and show that students exposed to and involved in te reo Māori settings have a consciousness and logic in which they consider language strategy in relation to their own experiences. The strategy is not only inclusive of non-Māori, but also sees the potential benefits of the language for wider society.

These excerpts support creating spaces that facilitate the 'popularising' of Te Reo Māori. While this has yet to occur to any great effect, recent efforts, such as The Māori Language Moment¹³ as part of celebrating Te Wiki o Te Reo, have this very same goal.

He Wāhi Reo Māori – Reo Māori Zones

Students also spoke about Puni Reo as providing a setting where they were able to speak te reo Māori freely without judgement or criticism, where they felt comfortable and would not feel awkward for publicly speaking Māori. While we might expect that society in Aotearoa has moved from an emphasis on English mono-lingualism, students express their reservations in speaking Māori at times. Nonetheless, comments made considered Puni Reo as a space where speaking Māori is an accepted norm:

*You are not worried about being judged or anyone looking at you funny like, oh,
that person is talking Māori, why are they talking Māori?*

(High-school student)

Despite te reo Māori being legislated as an official language since 1987, over several decades Māori language initiatives have been challenged with accusations of separatism, racism and tribal elitism¹⁴ that sought to undermine Māori-led initiative. While speaking Māori in public places can be entirely natural, it is further critical in making te reo Māori spaces, as a bold resistance to the position of mono-lingual euro-centricity. Māori rights to language and culture have been hard fought for. Though indigenous rights to language and culture might be at times assumed, in Aotearoa it has been through the efforts of Māori that incremental change has occurred. As well as other initiatives, the Te Reo Māori Claim and the 1994 Broadcasting Assets case are but two examples of Māori taking the Crown to task. In the latter example, it was only through court action that the Crown was forced to provide for the promotion and protection of te reo Māori.¹⁵ Since 2008, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has also highlighted the rights of indigenous people to their language, culture and traditions as a basic human right. Notably, however, the New Zealand Government did not sign the declaration until 2011.

Positive Learning Environments

While students spoke about criticism from people questioning them speaking te reo Māori in settings outside of a Puni Reo event, they also mentioned criticism from teachers, if their use of language was incorrect.

[W]e might say something wrong and then we might get pulled up for it or something like that. I think that it is good to make more rules, but then it kind of isn't in a way because then people will be like, oh nah, we are just not going to talk Māori, so we don't get in trouble.

(High-school student)

As reflected in this excerpt, the need for approaches that empower students/language learners to use language correctly is important, and there is potential for some approaches to be off-putting. Ensuring students have a supportive learning environment is crucial if the intention is to produce speakers of te reo Māori.

Students' Expectations of Language Use

Although some students expressed a certain apprehension in terms of their own use of te reo Māori, they also had high expectations around the prioritising of te reo Māori during the Puni Reo event. Comments across focus groups affirmed the importance and challenges of ensuring a Māori-speaking environment:

I didn't hear one school that was kia ū ki te reo Māori as us. I think because we played a lot of teams and the teachers were speaking English and the kids were speaking English... I thought that the reason that we went to Puni Reo Poitarawhiti is to speak te reo Māori, not to speak Pākehā.

(Girl, primary–intermediate group)

One student provides their own analysis of the challenges and their own expectations:

I think it is just kind of like who you are surrounded by, I guess. I feel like it is who you are surrounded by, and I guess what you feel comfortable with. I wouldn't mind speaking Māori if other people would speak Māori back, but I am not going to speak Māori and they answer me in English.

(High-school student)

As language revitalisation movements depend on a common, shared purpose, being surrounded by like-minded people is crucial to success. The above statement alludes to students themselves needing to be conscious and deliberate in knowing that they are in a Māori-speaking environment where concerted efforts are made to speak Māori.

For me, I think that we don't really usually speak Māori when we are playing just in general, because I feel like if we don't hear other people around us speaking it, some of us don't want to be like the odd one out, they just want to be like 'normal'. We will just speak English, and I feel like, also as they said, if someone else in my team is talking to me in Māori then I will just be encouraged to talk back. I will just talk back to them by speaking back in Māori, and it is also an advantage for us so that means not many other people can understand.

(Girl, primary–intermediate group)

The need to be 'normal' indicates that, for students that can speak Māori, this has yet to be an accepted norm, and they do not want to be seen as different from the majority of their peers or whānau who do not speak Māori. This sense of normalcy can be a deterrent to speaking Māori. The final part of the above excerpt also indicates that proficient speakers of te reo Māori in attendance at Puni Reo are a relatively small group.

The need for all participants to contribute to a space committed to te reo Māori is highlighted, but just as important is the need for awareness around the purpose of these events in terms of language strategies. While the students do not necessarily state this outright, they bring their own awareness to the discussion in articulating their observations on the impact of English being spoken during the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event.

It kind of wrecked the mood a bit when people just started to speak English.

(Girl, primary–intermediate group)

Each of the three focus groups commented on the speaking of English during the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event, and they also felt that penalties for speaking English should be enforced:

I think also there should be more rules about the reo, like there should be a point taken off if you speak reo Pākehā, something like that.

(High-school student)

... i te wā kōrero koe Pākehā, ka tango piro.

(Boy, primary–intermediate group)

In contrast to this, one of the students spoke about just wanting to speak English at times:

Nā te mea ētahi wā kāore e pīrangī ana te kōrero Māori i te wā katoa. E pīrangī ana te kōrero Pākehā, engari kāore e āhei ana koe.

(Boy, primary–intermediate group)

One group of students spoke about their teachers' high expectations of students' adherence to te reo Māori in terms of their participation in the Puni Reo tournament. Though it was only raised by this one group, the teachers' strictness of ensuring students' commitment to speaking Māori was seen by the students as positive. The students spoke about being well inducted in terms of the rules of participation prior to the event:

We had to know the rules before we went, in te reo Māori and English.

(High-school student)

Knowing the ground rules of participation in the event was important to these particular students' adherence to te reo Māori. One student expressed that it was sometimes difficult to find the appropriate words (Boy, primary–intermediate group), while another made the suggestion that students should be familiarised with the names for their positions and rules of the game.

Ko te whakamāramatanga i ngā tūranga me ngā ture o te kēmu.

(Boy, primary–intermediate group)

It was also suggested that announcements be made throughout the tournament as a reminder to all participants to speak Māori (Girl, primary–intermediate group); students further expected that this should apply not only to students, but also teachers, referees and umpires (High-school students).

Te Rere o Te Reo

Several students relayed that hearing Māori spoken in a social setting was encouraging and being exposed to other students who had high levels of fluency was seen as beneficial.

He tino pai te rongō i te reo i a rātou hoki (kkm). Ahakoa te pakeke, e rere tonu ana te reo, he tino pai tērā ki au.

Reference is also made here to the speed of the game, consequently the use of the language also follows suit and reo can become highly animated, providing a more dynamic use of te reo where the language is 'in play'. Being exposed to te reo in this kind of setting can be exhilarating and inspire motivation for players and supporters alike to kōrero Māori.

Te tere o te mahi poitarawhiti nā te mea e mōhio ana tātou he rere te kēmu, so me tere hoki tō rere.

(High-school student)

Kia Māori te Reo – Reo Māori Focused

Students expressed the need for ensuring focus for these events was on te reo Māori, rather than the sport itself. The competitive nature of sport was expressed as detracting from the purpose of Puni Reo. One group of students spoke about the need to induct all players around the kaupapa of Puni Reo, in which the use of te reo Māori was understood as first and foremost.

We should make sure that they know it is about Māori not about just netball, not the sport.

(Girl, primary–intermediate group)

Though Puni Reo participants interviewed expressed their enjoyment of playing the sport, they were clear in the necessity of holding a commitment to using te reo Māori during the event. Comments made by students also indicated that they felt that participants who were more focused on the competition and winning were also prone to speak English as tensions mounted during play.

CONCLUSION

Puni Reo Poitarawhiti is a recently introduced community-led initiative with the potential to become a regular feature in te reo Māori calendar in Tāmaki Makaurau. Supported by Te Puni Kōkiri, the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event has opened 'new' spaces for te reo Māori to be spoken, celebrated and, in this case 'played', in the context of netball. Normalising te reo Māori on the netball courts is significant for our young people. The importance of having fun in aligning language activities and events with sports and other recreational activities is highlighted in their feedback. The voices of the students show that rangatahi themselves have a considered view of the importance of Puni Reo events, not only for Māori but for society more generally. They also place high emphasis on adhering to speaking te reo Māori during Puni Reo events and consider that this needs to be reinforced by all those

participating. In addressing some of the challenges they have in doing this, they also offer solutions. The students interviewed appreciated that they could participate in a Māori-language event through sports in which they were exposed to more proficient speakers. Each focus group supported the idea of ongoing Puni Reo events, suggesting incorporating other sports, such as ki-o-rahi, touch and different types of hākinakina common within Te Ao Māori. In terms of normalising te reo Māori, it is everyday events and activities that will create the right environment for speaking te reo Māori—sport is only one such event.

Professor Jenny Lee-Morgan (Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Te Ahiwaru) is the founding Director of Ngā Wai ā Te Tūi, Māori and Indigenous Research Centre at Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka, Unitec. Jenny has a distinguished track record of teaching and kaupapa Māori research. Previously a Māori secondary school teacher, Jenny has a strong background in education, te reo Māori and community-based research. She was formerly the Head of School of Māori Education at the University of Auckland, and Deputy Director of Te Kotahi Research Institute at the University of Waikato with Prof Leonie Pihama. In 2016, Jenny was awarded Te Tohu Pae Tāwhiti Award by the New Zealand Association for Research in Education in recognition of her high-quality research and significant contribution to the Māori education sector. Building on her interest in pūrākau as methodology, her most recent publication is a co-edited book with Professor Joann Archibald and Dr Jason DeSantolo (2019) titled *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology*, published by Zed Books. Jenny is also a very devoted grandmother.

Dr Jen Martin (Te Rarawa) is a te reo Māori lecturer at the University of Auckland. Along with her sister, she is also the co-founder and co-director of Pae Tū Ltd, a Māori language consultancy. She is a graduate of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura (Kaupapa Māori immersion schooling) and maintains strong relationships with this community. Jen is passionate about the revitalisation and normalisation of te reo Māori and the advancement of Māori educational aspirations. Her PhD, written in te reo Māori, focused on conceptualisations of success in the context of kura kaupapa Māori.

Dr Jo Mane (Ngāpuhi-nui-tonu) is a researcher at Ngā Wai ā Te Tūi, Māori & Indigenous Research Centre. Her area of research interest is in kaupapa Māori, Māori education, Māori-led initiative and community based research. As part of a whānau and hapū-led initiative, Jo was part of establishing tribal radio in Ngāpuhi. Her Masters study documented a history of iwi broadcaster, Tautoko FM and her doctoral thesis studied “The Impact of Māori Language Broadcasting on Māori Language Survival.” Jo received her PhD from the University of Auckland. She works in community education and development, tertiary teaching and as an educational researcher.

Eruera Lee-Morgan (Te Arawa / Pare Waikato Pare Hauraki) is a Senior Advisor at Te Puni Kōkiri, Tāmaki Makaurau Regional Office. He is well known and highly respected as a Māori language journalist and broadcaster with more than 23 years' experience in the Māori media industry, in particular, television and radio broadcasting. He has a wealth of experience including, producer, presenter, director, writer, journalist, film maker and strategist. Over the last decade, he has held a number of key senior positions at Māori Television including Head of Te Reo programming, Executive Producer Te Reo, Head of Production and Programme Commissioner.

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