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"An unrealistic expectation": Māori youth on indigenous language purism

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Abstract: Linguistic purism can play an especially political role in legitimising and authenticating indigenous identities. For languages now undergoing revitalisation after histories of colonial conquest, purism that precludes foreign influences in language corpora and behaviour can be seen as reversing the impacts of language contact and reasserting indigeneity. This is indeed the case for te reo Māori, the indigenous language of New Zealand, that was suppressed and essentially outlawed by the British but is now undergoing revitalisation. How indigenous New Zealanders feel about such purism, however, has been subject to minimal inquiry. This article analyses the attitudes of around 200 Māori youth, solicited through an online survey, to purism in Māori vocabulary development and to a recurring purist discourse, commonly reproduced by indigenous elders, that criticises errors when speaking te reo Māori. The article reveals a tension between supporting purism for the linguistic self-determination of the indigenous collective, and rejecting purism on the basis this inhibits the linguistic emancipation of individuals. On balance, it appears these Māori youth may hold significantly less purist attitudes than current language policy and locally pervasive ideology.

Keywords: linguistic purism, Māori, language revitalisation, language attitudes, indigenous youth

1 Introduction

Ideologies of linguistic purism can be especially potent in the case of indigenous communities. Under colonisation, indigenous peoples suffered not only the annexation of land and resources, but also the eradication of indigenous ways of being. In the name of Social Darwinism, Europeans lauded whiteness and its cultures as

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evolutionarily superior to the people in all corners of the globe whose lands they pillaged. As has been widely documented, colonial policies forcibly assimilated indigenous peoples to European culture, values and languages through violence, resettlement, and restricting the economic participation of those who refused to comply (Corson 1996; Grinevald 1998; Bull 2002). Oftentimes, indigenous languages essentially became outlawed. However, as Amery (2001: 141) notes "there is currently a worldwide linguistic and cultural renaissance among the world's Indigenous people". Language revitalisation, as a policy to address the linguistic injustices committed against indigenous peoples, is profoundly political (Walsh 2005: 293). Within that revitalisation, minimising the influence of majority languages on minority languages is seen as helping to realise and advance Indigenous identity. This serves to clearly delineate the minority language from the majority culture (Brunstad 2003), and ensure the minority language can transmit the community's culture without the assistance or interference of the majority language. Te reo Māori in New Zealand is one such example, where tolerating English linguistic influences in the revitalisation of the indigenous language would be seen by many as an "admission of defeat" (Harlow 1993: 103).

A question then is how today's indigenous youth feel about these ideologies of linguistic purism. This article analyses findings from a survey, undertaken with 207 self-identifying Māori university students, that collected quantitative and qualitative attitudes to Māori linguistic purism. The article firstly analyses their attitudes to different strategies for coining new words, and then to the recurring purist discourse – produced by Māori *kaumātua* (elders and leaders) and in other indigenous contexts more broadly (for example Dorian 1994; Zuckermann and Walsh 2011; Higgins and Rewi et al. 2014) – that the indigenous language is best spoken only at an advanced proficiency without errors or interference. The article shows that the youth seem much less purist than an ideology that shuns the switches and errors that arise through incipient bilingualism, and than current New Zealand policy approaches to developing the Māori vocabulary. This is because linguistic purism may be of political interest to a collective but creates unrealistic expectations and anxiety amongst youth who seek linguistic emancipation. The data suggests that Māori youth may sooner favour compromise (Dorian 1994) or realistic hybridity (Zuckermann and Walsh 2011) rather than linguistic purism.

2 Indigenous language purism

The critical role linguistic purism can play in authenticating an ethnic identity means it is understandable that indigenous language revitalisation can be

peppered with a purist ideology. Indigenous language revitalisation must be seen within the broader political contest, drawing on political science, of indigenous self-determination. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples assures that "indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture" (Article 8), and that "indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies …" (Article 13). For many indigenous minds, self-determination vis-à-vis language is understood as restoring, for the good of the collective, widespread proficiency and a precolonial language form of the language void of foreign influences. This serves to validate the indigenous language and its people who have now been given space to heal, revive, and assert their identity.

This is an ideology commonly held by indigenous elders. Elders are often the last remaining highly-proficient speakers and assume a linguistic mentoring role in the community. For example, amongst the Shoshoni people, elders are seen as "not only exemplary speakers but also the only authoritative speakers" (Kroskrity 2009: 75), and the California Indigenous Survival Organisation funds master-apprentice programmes to create immersive natural language settings for language learners with the guidance of language masters (Hinton 2017). Elders oftentimes have personal memories and experiences of oppressive colonial policies, of resisting language shift, and of demanding indigenous self-determination. This can inspire purist views about indigenous languages as elders seek to restore a linguistic past they themselves had fought to keep. As Levine (2001) discusses, the social psychology of elders is informed by their own childhood experiences and has pervasive influences on a community's culture and psychopathology, meaning ideas of purism held by elders affect the sociolinguistic culture of the broader community. Indeed, elders often "display linguistic authority but discourage younger speakers from adapting their heritage languages to the contemporary world" (Kroskrity 2009: 75).

The concern then, as scholarship has discussed, is that this purism may inadvertently inhibit, rather than support, language revitalisation (Dorian 1994; Zuckermann and Walsh 2011). In postcolonial societies, the linguistic repertoires and proficiencies of indigenous youth – and indeed of other minority peoples – are often complex and dynamic. Speakers often cross between their languages according to situations drawing on their translanguaging instincts to expedite meaning-making in spaces where translanguagers have broken down distinctions between discrete codes (Li Wei 2017). Even advanced indigenous language proficiency amongst youth is unlikely to replicate the language of elders, as changes within a language are normal. In as far as

elders harshly critique or reject the complex or evolving language behaviours of youth, they may inhibit language revitalisation by invoking linguistic anxiety and shame amongst language learners. The examples are many. Dorian (1994) reported that efforts to instil Tiwi literacy in Australia based on a contemporary rather than archaic form of Tiwi specifically to advance language acquisition in fact "stirred up a hornet's nest" (1994: 483). Pfeiler (cited in Cru 2016) explained that only those who speak Mayan without interference from Spanish are said to speak *jach* (authentic) Mayan. Such views politically position purism in language revitalisation as a matter of indigenous self-determination to restore the form of language for the benefit of an indigenous collective, even if in practice this oppresses rather than emancipates the complex linguistic repertoires of indigenous youth.

It is a philosophical conundrum. Does indigenous language revitalisation mean restoring a linguistic past including high-level proficiency and a form of the language that is as void as possible of external influences? Or does it mean accepting the consequences of language contact and language change if this encourages language learning and language use? Sociolinguistics has benefited from Dorian's influential call for compromise above purism (Dorian 1994), which means accepting linguistic realities rather than romanticising a now unobtainable linguistic past. By the same token, Zuckermann and Walsh (2011) have called on indigenous communities to deprioritise purism and to instead *stop, revive* and *survive* through hybridity. They recognise that indigenous languages today exist in a dynamic globalised world where change is not just normal but indeed accelerated, and indigenous language speakers are complex and dynamic multilinguals. The argument is that an acceptance of this dynamism should not be seen as inhibiting language revitalisation and language learning, but in fact supporting them.

3 Language purism in Zew Zealand

This section shows that while Māori language purism in New Zealand has featured as a theme of inquiry in existing scholarship, attitudes to purism have not yet received sufficient attention. Te reo Māori, like many other indigenous languages in postcolonial societies, is undergoing community- and government-sponsored revitalisation subsequent to a colonial policy of assimilating indigenous people and their languages (for the history of Māori langauge loss and subsequent revitalisation policy, see for example Benton 1996; Reedy 2000; May and Hill 2005; Harlow 2007, and Bauer 2008). To a certain extent, te

reo Māori corpus planning under the government's language revitalisation policy has been accented with ideas of linguistic purism. Although language planners have avoided developing and prescribing a single standard te reo Māori in the interests of maintaining dialectal diversity, the language does continue to be updated with new lexica to ensure the language meets contemporary needs. This corpus planning is somewhat ad hoc as it is pursued by various actors for various purposes. Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori (2016) takes government lead with a policy to uphold the linguistic integrity of the language when developing new words by following word formation standards, however its online interface does not elaborate on its methodology. It also encourages what it prescribes as correct pronunciation of te reo Māori words through an audio catalogue of phonemes (Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori 2017). Te Whanake (2017) manages an online Māori dictionary, and specialist boards develop subject-specific vocabulary (Stewart 2010; Trinick and May 2013).

In general, as Keegan (2005) notes, there has been a shift away from using foreign words or loanwords when developing new Māori terminology. Today, the general preference is for neologisms based on Māori lexicon and phonology through processes such as affixations, shortenings and compounding. That is to say, vocabulary development is now generally purist (Harlow 2003) and rejects a previous preference to adapt English loanwords to Māori phonology (see Degani 2012 for an overview). Local tribal experiences of language planning may differ. For example, the Ngāi Puhi people of the Auckland area are known to have enthusiastically embraced loanwords, seeing these as tokens of linguistic modernisation while staying loyal to Māori phonology (Te Ara 2017). In any case, hundreds of loan words that had already entered the Māori vocabulary are still used. Examples include *haratei* "holiday", *Mere Kirihimete* "Merry Christmas", *tiata* "theatre", and *hāma* "hammer". Language behaviour may also include direct foreign words from English, akin to lexical code switches. These are distinguishable from loanwords as these have not been adapted to Māori phonology (Te Whanake 2017), and might especially include English place names. For example, *Auckland* may be used instead of its Māori name *Tāmakimakaurau* or its English loan equivalent of *Ākarana*, and speakers may use *Wellington* instead of *Whanganui-a-Tara* or the loans *Werengitana* or *Pōneke* (from Port Nicholson).

Purism also extends to the ideologies of Māori *kaumātua* "elders and leaders", though discussions about this have been largely anecdotal rather than based on empirical research. It appears that a common Māori ideology is that being authentically Māori requires not only close familiarity with *tikanga* "customs" and *whakapapa* "genealogy", but also proficiency in te reo Māori (Karetu 1993). As early as the 1940s it was reported that middle-aged Māori

themselves often feel anxious about satisfying community expectations (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1946). Increased language proficiency is seen to equate to increased cultural and ethnic authenticity (Houkamau and Sibley 2010). Accordingly, many Māori parents still place high expectations on their children for language acquisition and proficiency (Borell et al. 2005). *Kaumātua* are known to be alarmed by changes in pronunciation (King et al. 2009). This is not to say that all Māori adhere to a common purist ideology. Instead, local histories and narratives produce local phenomena. Ngāi Tahu on the South Island whose elders are largely second language speakers of Māori, are known to authenticate tribal identities in ways other than through te reo Māori. Instead, *whakapapa* and the intergenerational transmission of *whakataukī* "proverbs" and *mātauranga* "Māori epistemology and knowledge" – even through English – play a more primary role in authenticating ethnic identity. Nonetheless, as Higgins and Rewi et al. (2014) note, New Zealand's language purists

> [...] are, at times, uncompromising in their expectations of Māori language speakers. They seek high-quality Māori language and display fluency, grammatical accuracy, and authenticity. At times, the purists are perceived as adopting the role of language police, reprimanding errors of learners on what they truly believe to be in the interest of language vitality. Perfection is the optimum.
> (Higgins and Rewi et al. 2014: 26–27)

However, Harlow (2005) and Keegan (2005) both noted in 2005 that societal attitudes specifically to Māori language purism are yet to be systematically researched. This seems to still be the case. Researching this feels overdue, as it has already been established that Māori youth are increasingly displaying less purist views about the role of language in Māori cultural and ethnic identity. For example, Albury (2016a) found that 96% of Māori youth surveyed at a New Zealand university rejected seeing te reo Māori as crucial to their sense of being Māori, and almost all Māori argued that non-Māori can also become authentic speakers of the language. A question then is what attitudes these youths hold toward linguistic purism in the revitalisation of te reo Māori.

4 Theory and method

Inspired by chapters from Evans and from Niedzielski in Langer and Davies, (2005) edited book on investigating purism in Germanic languages, the research examined Māori language purism from a folk linguistic attitudinal perspective of Māori youth. In as far as linguistic purism can be a preoccupation of language

users who are not trained linguists or language planners, then they too will hold dispositions such as about what constitutes good, bad, pure, or impure language. Also, recognising that language purism manifests in official interventions by language authorities, as well as in discursively produced ideologies and in actual language behaviours, then purism can be seen as language policy (Spolsky 2004). Accordingly, the *folk linguistics of language policy* (Albury 2016a) was applied in respect to Māori language purism. However, whereas this approach examines what folk linguists claim to both *know* about linguistics topics parallel to what they *feel* about them, this research only solicited attitudes to language purism, whereby an attitude is a "psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor" (Eagly and Chaiken 1993: 1). This facilitated an investigation of how language users feel about te reo Māori purism.

The research formed part of a broader investigation of how Māori and non-Māori students at the University of Otago in Dunedin define Māori language revitalisation, including what it comprises, what it should achieve, and how it should happen, as well as how they feel about policy goals and processes (Albury 2016a, 2016b; Albury and Carter 2017). The university's reputation in the sciences, health, and the humanities attracts a student population from across New Zealand. An online qualitative and quantitative survey was sent across the student network in late 2014 to which around 1,297 students responded. To uphold the folk linguistic orientation of the research, students were only eligible to participate and proceed further in the survey if they self-declared to meet the eligibility criteria of being aged between 18 and 24 and never having studied any type of linguistics. For the purposes of this survey, attitudes to purism were investigated through how the students reacted to different purist and non-purist approaches to developing new Māori vocabulary and to the recurrent purist discourse that Māori should only be spoken to a high proficiency.

To do this, students were asked to rate, on a scale from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*, how they felt about two statements, and were then also invited to provide a qualitative reason for why they responded as they did. The qualitative responses underwent content analysis through coding and categorising (Spencer et al. 2003). The first statement was:

1) If a word doesn't exist in te reo Māori, it would be better to:
   a. create a brand new Māori word.
   b. create a new Māori word that sounds a bit like the English word.
   c. use the English word.

These choices formed a continuum between purist and non-purist approaches to lexical planning. Option (a) accommodates many possible purist strategies, including those currently used in Māori language planning, such as compounding, shortenings, and affixations. These specific strategies were not detailed to the students because, as folk linguists, their metalinguistic awareness was unlikely to extend to such technical matters (Preston 1996) and because the focus was on attitudes to purism as an ideology, rather than to specific corpus planning techniques. Option (b) amounts to loanwords that are nativised into the host language's phonological rules, such as the many examples already in use in contemporary te reo Māori (see Section 3). Option (c) amounts to using an English word without integrating it into te reo Māori's phonetic or phonological rules. While this is not prevalent in current Māori corpus planning, it was included nonetheless because it is the most non-purist of possible strategies in vocabulary development, and because te reo Māori speakers – who are all at least bilingual in English today – are known to use foreign English words in Māori conversation (Māori Language Information 2014).

The second statement was:

2) People shouldn't use te reo Māori until they can speak it without making many mistakes.

This statement represents purist discourses, especially amongst *kaumātua*, that lament te reo Māori being spoken with various perceived mistakes, including foreign influences such as code-switches and translanguaging, mispronunciation, and other interferences that would be seen as rendering language use impure. The wording of this statement was subject to much deliberation. Again, technical terms would likely be foreign to non-linguistics students and may distract participants from the task. It was also felt that while needing to capture the range of errors and interferences that invoke purist discourses, the statement should nonetheless remain short and user-friendly. As such, it was decided to include the terms *without making many mistakes*. It was felt that this wording captures different types of perceived impurity that might occur. It also creates a stance that is soft but sufficient to prompt an attitudinal response. It also reflects Higgins and Rewi et al.'s (2014) description of Māori language purism, provided above, which emphasises an aversion to inaccuracies, errors, and non-fluency, and it reflects how the purist discourses about language use were phrased by our own non-linguist Māori colleagues and friends who were consulted during the development of the survey.

Of the 1,297 students who responded to the survey, a total of 207 students self-identified as Māori. The ratio of Māori to non-Māori who took the survey is larger than the general ratio at the University of Otago. This article now looks at

how these Māori students responded to the items above in order to focus on how these indigenous youth, as language learners and future custodians of indigenous language policy, felt about indigenous language purism. The data retrieved through the survey provides a valuable insight into the attitudes of Māori youth attending a mainstream university.

5 Attitudes to purism in vocabulary development

As Figure 1 shows, the students did not appear to have a strong preference for purist nor non-purist approaches to developing the Māori vocabulary. It is striking that for each proposed strategy, the students mostly responded with neutral agreement or gave just general agreement. This suggests that they were ambivalent about how Māori vocabulary should be developed, but when given any option – purist or otherwise – some tended to signal agreement. Combined, this indicates that the students may not have already held strong opinions about purism in vocabulary development. This was also reflected in the fact that only 34 of the 207 students offered qualitative reasons for why they responded the way they did, which is significantly less than the rate of qualitative response to other items in the survey, such as about the value, rationale and agents of te reo revitalisation.

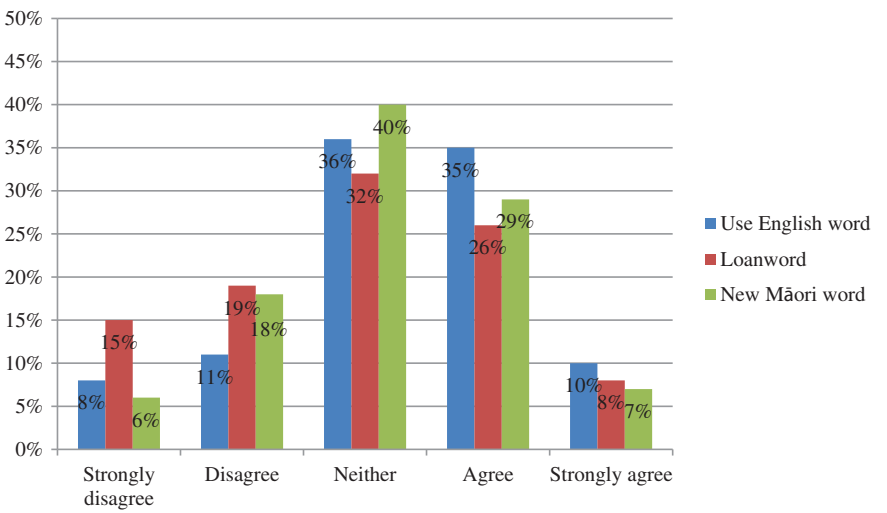

Figure 1: Quantitative attitudinal responses to purist and non-purist vocabulary development.

Mirroring the qualitative data, the 34 qualitative responses from students presented an array of opinions. Nonetheless, four distinct themes arose. Fourteen participants argued, for various reasons, that it makes sense to simply adopt foreign words from English. However, these qualitative arguments often made no distinction between simply adopting a foreign word as it stands, or using loanwords which nativise the foreign word with Māori phonological rules. Some referred to international examples, explaining that it is normal for languages to use loanwords, such as that "in Spanish, they have taken some English words". Some explained that coining new Māori terms is wasted energy because the language is dying or because the linguistic impacts of globalisation and modernisation are inevitable. For example, they argued "don't make more words in Māori, it's a dying language, it would be a waste of time, just use English instead", "Māori culture is old, I don't think you can upgrade it to fit today's society", there is "no point making up a word", and "what would the Maori word for *Harley Davidson* be?". The remainder argued that foreign words or loanwords help rather than hinder revitalisation reminiscent of the arguments made by Zuckermann and Walsh (2011) for hybridity discussed earlier, and that loanwords reflect the natural change of Māori in contemporary society. They explained, for example, that this "would be an easier option for more people learning the word" and that "borrowing words from other languages isn't very unusual, this is how languages change and grow". Conceivably, those who positioned foreign words and loanwords as supporting language revitalisation most likely had in mind their own tendency to use English words as incipient bilinguals seeking to achieve communicative competency in te reo Māori, or as dynamic bilinguals who in practice cross fluidly between their languages.

On the other hand, another seven students gave no preference to foreign words nor to coining new words based on Māori word elements, but nonetheless argued specifically against adapting loanwords. The argument was, essentially, that incorporating foreign words into the phonological rules of Māori is gimmicky and that is more respectful to the language to either coin a new word or to simply use the foreign equivalent. They explained, for example, that "creating an English-sounding word in te reo seems a bit demeaning", that this "smells like cloning and bastardisation", "making up a new word that sounds like the English word totally defeats the purpose of having a new word in the first place" and that "transliterations and *Maoriglish* or whatever the pigeon language would be called seem like almost a mockery of the language, it takes all the *mauri* [life] out of the language". These emotive responses are compelling. One wonders if the folk linguistic knowledge of these students at the time of completing the survey had extended to the fact

that loanwords from English adapted to Māori phonology are "legion in the working lexicon of any Māori speaker today" (Stewart 2010: 67). Alternatively, they were aware of this and used the survey as an opportunity to express their disapproval of these loanwords in the language revitalisation process. In any case, in the attitudes of these students, the integrity of the language is best maintained by clearly delineating foreign words from native words.

Only 7 of these 34 students supported purism in vocabulary development in their qualitative arguments. In all but one case, these students argued that coining brand new Māori lexicon underscores linguistic authenticity, whereas loanwords and foreign words tarnish te reo Māori and its heritage. They argued that creating neologisms based on Māori word elements "preserves Māori history and heritage rather than 'faking' it", that it "gives the language a bit more flair if there's an equivalent that's unique to the language which isn't the same as it is in English", and that "it was part of the Māori language to create new words as Māori were exposed to new things. Therefore we should continue this process, and use words that are indicative of how Māori would name them traditionally". Rather than accepting foreign influences as a natural hallmark of language change, language revitalisation was constructed by these students as restoring authenticity, respecting Māori tradition, and therefore minimising the impacts of contact with the English language. An exception to this was one comment about the normativity of neologisms in other languages, with the argument that "new words get created in languages and this should be in keeping with Māori language meanings rather than an English-Māori hybrid". For these seven students, the focus was political. They placed emphasis on revitalising te reo in a way that reaffirms the indigenous, non-majority identity of the Māori collective. That is to say, linguistic purism was seen to respect the linguistic practices of ancestors, to see those practices as authentic, and to ensure te reo Māori as the language of an indigenous minority becomes and remains as distinct as possible from the language of the colonial majority. This, as we have discussed, is akin to indigenous self-determination for the ethnic collective as it manifests in ideologies of language.

The remaining six responses were especially void of purism. These students argued that individual language users should be free to speak as they wish, whether this be with foreign words, loanwords, or neologisms, and that vocabulary development should avoid sets of rules. They suggested, for example, that speakers should "use whatever is best in each situation", and that "it depends on what people want. We create new English words all the time (eg 'amazeballs') but we also pinch words from other languages (eg *schadenfreude*). There should be no set rule – the language should be allowed to evolve naturally". Their approach,

we believe, was postmodern and critical (Pennycook 2006) if compared to their peers. That is to say, they were sceptical of creating any rules – purist or not – that might underpin language planning, they promoted individual agency and decision-making, and they were open to variation.

6 Attitudes to purism in language use

In contrast to their attitudes to how the Māori vocabulary should be developed, the students showed very little variation in their attitudes towards purism in actual language use. In particular, whereas a sizeable minority had argued against including foreign influences in the Māori vocabulary in the interests of linguistic authenticity, they mostly rejected the purist ideology that te reo should be spoken only to a high proficiency and without errors and other interferences. The quantitative data is at Figure 2. As shown, 71% disagreed to some degree with the statement that "people shouldn't use te reo Māori until they can speak it without making many mistakes", and only 4% agreed.

Fifty three students offered qualitative explanations to their scaled attitudinal response, up from 34 for the previous item. This suggests the students had

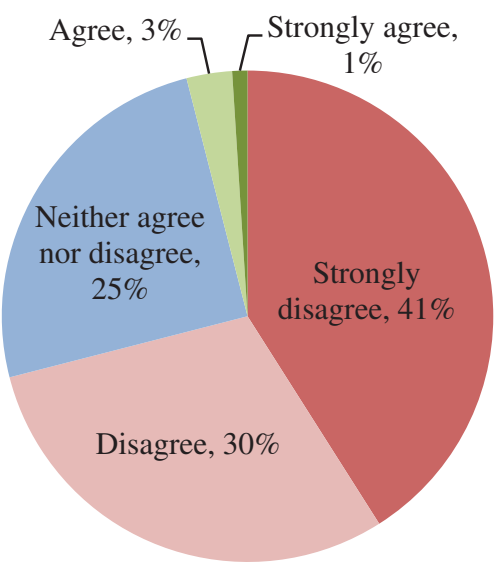

Figure 2: Quantitative attitudinal responses to the statement "people shouldn't use te reo Māori until they can speak it without making many mistakes".

more opinions on this topic than on vocabulary development, possibly because of their personal linguistic experiences. Only in one case did a student promote purism, arguing

> you see people trying to speak it on tv and they have a huge pause between each word because they're trying to think of the word to say and it just makes them look stupid, if you can't speak it fluidly and correctly then don't speak it at all.

Instead, the remainder rejected purism in language use, and 40 of the 53 students explicitly argued that purist attitudes to using te reo Māori inhibit language acquisition. They explained that "an important learning step is getting the confidence to try and speak more", "it slowly improves te reo speaking until one can easily converse in te reo", "speaking it actively is extremely useful for learning and correcting mistakes", and purism is "an unrealistic expectation for anyone learning a second language". Another five students expressed frustration at the high expectations often placed on language learners, and felt that purist attitudes to te reo Māori do not accommodate the range of proficiencies New Zealanders today might have. They argued, for example, that "people should always speak Māori, if there are any mistakes people can fix them as they become more fluent in the language", that "even a basic knowledge of te reo Maori is better than nothing" and "I know a lot of people that can't speak English properly (*yous* as plural for *you*, etc.) No language is perfect and it would take years of study and practice to be able to speak it fluently with minimal mistakes".

However, another seven students explained that ideologies of purism invoke feelings of anxiety when they speak te reo Māori, leading learners to avoid using the language. They explained that "people don't use it now because they are afraid of being critiqued on correctness or offending someone", that te reo Māori learners feel "embarrassed or laughed at", and that "being scared of speaking goes against learning a language". Indeed, learning and speaking a heritage language is known to induce a range of emotional responses (MacIntyre and Gregersen 2012). Sevinç's (2016) research with Turkish heritage language learners in the Netherlands explains that young, incipient bilinguals commonly experience socioemotional pressures when speaking Turkish within their ethnic community. The notion is that high-level proficiency in a heritage language can host connotations of cultural and ethnic authenticity, but for less than highly-proficient language users the result may be linguistic anxiety; "the fear or apprehension experienced when a language learner or user is expected to perform" (Sevinç and Dewaele 2016: 2). This research on Turkish is concerned with anxiety in maintaining a heritage language within an immigrant group context, but linguistic anxiety may conceivably be even more pronounced in the case of indigenous languages. Rather

than being maintained outside a homeland where the language otherwise enjoys vitality, te reo Māori is unique to New Zealand and was marginalised by colonisation. This means that language revitalisation and maintenance are not only contextualised by a specific political history of subjugation, but also carry responsibility for the language's survival on a global scale. From this perspective, indigenous language anxiety can be expected and is likely to be potent vis-à-vis purist language ideologies. Māori students from this survey indeed suggested that "we should encourage people to try. It doesn't matter if it's perfect. It can also be intimidating to learn a new language" and that communities "need to be more encouraging and understanding of learners".

These rejections of purist ideologies were constructed on the negative impacts purism is seen to have on Māori individuals. Whereas some students had argued in support of purism when developing the Māori vocabulary in the interests of linguistic self-determination for the collective, the focus had now almost entirely shifted to the implications of purism on the individual. That is to say, while some had been convinced that purism helps to define the language and identity of the indigenous ethnolinguistic group by keeping foreign influences at bay, they rejected this ideology if it was applied to an individual's own language behaviour. This contradiction is not perplexing. The pool of te reo Māori users is expanding in order to action language revitalisation, and most new speakers of the language are yet to acquire a high level of proficiency. When they practice their new language skills, errors and interferences are to be expected. However, as has been discussed, the language practices of both incipient bilinguals and dynamic bilinguals who switch between languages is known to attract criticism amongst language purists, who Higgins and Rewi et al. (2014: 26) describe as "uncompromising", even where an individual is eager to participate in language revitalisation. The students' very clear rejection of purism was motivated by an aversion to being subject to purist criticisms. Indeed, they called on their peers to accept and appreciate that they are acquiring new language skills through trial, error and translanguaging.

7 Conclusion

Purism is highly political, but as this article has shown, also highly contentious in that what is good for the collective may not be seen as good for the individual. This means that for languages such as te reo Māori that are being revitalised back from the brink, young indigenous people today may not simply give prima facie endorsement to purism as an optimal way forward in policy and ideology

for their endangered languages. Instead, some indigenous youth may endorse purism in some cases and not in others, as a tension can exist between indigenous self-determination for the collective and linguistic emancipation for the individual. In this research, a sizeable minority of Māori youth supported a purist approach to updating the indigenous vocabulary as they felt this underscores the authenticity and indigeneity of the language, upholds linguistic tradition, and respects the heritage of their ancestors. On the other hand, the same students almost unanimously decried the recurring purist language ideology that shuns the incipient bilingualism and dynamic linguistic repertoires that pepper their language practices with external interferences and errors. This, they argued, inhibits an individual's own language learning process and incites anxiety. For these Māori youths, indigenous language purism was seen to deter rather than emancipate individuals participating in language revitalisation, while nonetheless advancing claims of identity, indigeneity, and authenticity for the collective. The conundrum was clear, in the words of Dorian (1994) and of Zuckermann and Walsh (2011), whether indigenous language revitalisation is best pursued through purism, or through compromise and hybridity.

However, on balance it seems this cohort of indigenous youth, as future custodians of the language and its associated policies, indeed lean towards compromise and hybridity. Their language attitudes were notably less purist than today's Māori corpus planning efforts and were overwhelmingly at odds with local purist discourses about language behaviour that are upheld by Māori elders. A next step will be to investigate whether the attitudes presented by this cohort of Māori youth at an urban university are held by other cohorts of Māori youth. If these attitudes are indeed replicated, then it can be argued that te reo Māori policy and practices may become increasingly guided by a non-purist ideology of language.

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