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Te Reo Māori in the linguistic landscape of New Zealand

Te Reo Māori en el paisaje lingüístico de Nueva Zelanda.

RESUMEN: El maorí o Te Reo Māori se ha convertido en una parte vital del estilo de vida del neozelandés. Uno de los aspectos donde Te Reo Māori puede ser más notable en Nueva Zelanda es dentro de su paisaje lingüístico: en los nombres de las calles y en los letreros turísticos. En ese sentido, el objetivo de este trabajo es el análisis del paisaje lingüístico de una ciudad de Nueva Zelanda para determinar el uso y la posición de este idioma dentro de la cultura kiwi, si actualmente se trata de un idioma decorativo para el inglés o si es en verdad un idioma con una creciente identidad lingüística más allá del ámbito comercial. El resultado de este trabajo fue el análisis del paisaje lingüístico de Nueva Zelanda a través de un corpus recogido en la ciudad de Rotorua donde la presencia del maorí en los letreros de la ciudad es bastante considerable. Los trabajos de John Macalister en la relación inglés-maorí y el paisaje lingüístico de Nueva Zelanda fueron el principal punto de comparación para el estudio de este corpus.

PALABRAS CLAVE: māori, inglés de Nueva Zelanda, paisaje lingüístico, SPEAKING.

ABSTRACT: Māori or Te Reo Māori has become a vital part of the New Zealander's lifestyle. One of the aspects where the Te Reo Māori can be most conspicuous in New Zealand is within its linguistic landscape: in the names of streets and in the country's tourist signs. The aim of this work is the analysis of the linguistic landscape of Rotorua to determine the role Māori language plays in New Zealand culture and its linguistic and functional role in the territory of the country; and whether Kiwi culture currently uses Māori as a decorative language for English or is it truly a language with a growing identity beyond mere commercial aims. The result of this work was the analysis of the linguistic landscape of New Zealand through a corpus collected in the city of Rotorua where the Māori presence on the city signs is quite considerable. John Macalister's work on the English-Māori relationship and the linguistic landscape of New Zealand was the main point of comparison for the study of this corpus.

KEYWORDS: Māori, New Zealand English, Linguistic Landscape, SPEAKING

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Introduction

This work presents the results of a research carried out during the months of September and October in 2018 in the city of Rotorua, on the North Island of New Zealand regarding the study of the regional Linguistic Landscape as a reflection of the general trends and practices around the country.

Landry & Bourhis (1997) were the first to provide a clear definition of 'linguistic landscape'. For them, linguistic landscape is the "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry and Bourhis 1997:23). This definition is often built on in Linguistic Landscape studies.

In some cases, signs are multilingual and reflect an expected multilingual readership. In other cases, there are monolingual signs in different languages, written in relevant languages found within a multilingual community (Hult, 2009). Backhaus points out that some signs are not meant to be understood so much as to appeal to readers via a more prestigious language (Backhaus, 2007). This paper, however, takes a narrower view.
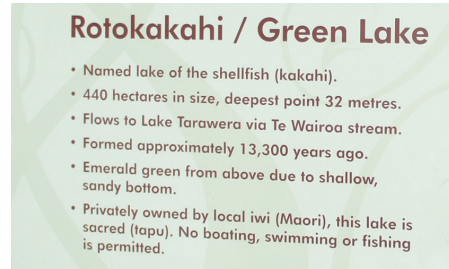
Figure 1
Example of a multilingual sign with the same information in Māori and English. Size hierarchy in English

Figure 2
Example of a monolingual sign with Māori loans

Here Linguistic Landscape is understood as that context in which it is relevant (and in some cases mandatory) to include a second language in the signage of a given community or territory. This concept, (presented in, but not limited to bilingual countries), arose from the need to mark the linguistic limits of certain territories through the regulation of the use of language on public roads such as traffic signs, commercial advertisements, billboards, information boards, etc

The study of Linguistic Landscapes (LL) is not a recent topic, but at the same time it remains a new and very little explored field. In the case of New Zealand, two languages are considered official,[1] the first is English, which serves as the primary, commercial and communicational language; the second is Te Reo Māori, the indigenous language of New Zealand, which not only has gradually gained ground in society, but has contributed much of its own lexicon to the English of New Zealand (NZE).

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[1] A third language has the status of official: New Zealand Sing Language.

This inclusion of a language commonly appears in many cultural and political contexts, however, the presence of Te Reo Māori is a predominant factor in its linguistic landscape. Road signs, tourist signs, and government bulletins all show this contact of the two languages. Even so, it is not possible to always speak about bilingualism. Sometimes only indigenous words are presented within the English lexicon, and other times these words may have an English equivalent, but the indigenous name is preferred. This trend suggests a possible Māori exoticism either as a sign of national identity or as a tourism strategy, because, since the appearance of movies filmed in New Zealand, the country's tourism industry has positioned itself as one of the most important activities for its economy.

For this work, a sample of several signs (Linguistic Landscape Units, LLUs) was taken from one of the most important tourist destinations in New Zealand. The city of Rotorua was chosen due to the large number of Māori settlements and the ongoing attempt to make the city become the first 100% bilingual city in the country. These units were classified and analysed according to the type of issuer and the type of audience, as well as the type of content they have in their discourse in both English and Māori.

The model proposed by Huebner was used to perform a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the sample. And it is based on Hymes' SPEAKING model (Setting or scene, Participants, Ends or goals, Acts, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genre).

New Zealand and Māori

Included with the traditional English-speaking bases –Britain, Canada, Ireland, and the United States– New Zealand is a country in the inner circle (Kachru, 1997). Its inhabitants, born in the country, speak English as a first language and they welcome many other languages from different parts of the world, especially Asia and Europe. At the same time the indigenous language of the country, Te Reo Māori has gained official status and has gradually positioned itself in the lexicon of New Zealand English, which has adopted phrases, expressions and words of Māori origin to communicate daily and to name the diverse flora and wildlife.

Before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, Te Reo Māori was the language of New Zealand. English speakers, such as traders, missionaries and whalers needed to learn Māori more than the Māori population had to learn English. But Europeans started to populate New Zealand and by the 1860s; Māori were the minority people in the islands, and numerically declining. Therefore, there was much less reason for *Pakeha* (white people) to require knowledge of the Māori language, and far greater reason for Māori to require English.

In the late twentieth century, the fear about the loss of the Māori language, and the possibility of language death, made some authorities' focus on the need for a revitalization of the language, which began in 1982 and led to the creation of the Māori Language Act of 1987, and in the early twenty-first century, the launching of Māori TV in 2004.

Nevertheless, despite these efforts and large numbers of Te Reo speakers, Te Reo's increased profile in the linguistic landscape and its presence in the media; it is not possible to speak of a total revital-

ization since it is obvious that Te Reo was not restored to its previous status as a trade language, vital for the economy and politics of New Zealand.

For New Zealanders, Te Reo Māori is a *taonga* (a treasure) which must be protected and preserved(Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016); and undoubtedly, the Māori language plays an important role in marking a New Zealand identity through its influence on the New Zealand English lexicon (Holmes, 1997). The importance of the Māori for both Māori and New Zealanders is always related with identity issues; since the fact that *Te Reo Māori* is the language of the indigenous people of New Zealand and it is spoken only in New Zealand; and thanks to this ideology, the revitalization of the language can take place. As Deverson (1991: 21) says "Māori is making its presence in English more strongly felt than ever before".

New Zealand's linguistic landscape presents an easily observable characteristic: the presence of indigenous words in its urban signage, in a city like Rotorua is shown as *inclusion* or as *bilingualism*. However, the penetration of Te Reo language is not equitable nor systematic. Sometimes the Māori is present as a translation of information provided in English; sometimes the discourse is entirely in English but with the adoption of indigenous words that were used as synonyms for existing nouns in English.

This justifiably raises a doubt: is it truly bilingualism that is presented? or is it, rather, a flag of identity used by New Zealanders or the result of some tourism strategies such as exoticization?

Macalister in his *Dictionary of Māori words in New Zealand English* (2005) mentions

three main reasons for the adoption of Māori words in the New Zealand lexicon:

The first reason why English adopts words from Māori is when it provides the most economical way of referring to a thing. There are no easy synonyms available, so the speakers prefer the more economical loanword whose meaning has been understood by the wider speech community. e.g.: marae (village square), pa (fortified village), haka (war dance).

The second reason for adopting Māori words into English is when Māori also allows New Zealanders to express a distinctive national identity. e.g. tui (parson bird), weka, (woodhen), Aotearoa (the original Māori Name for New Zealand). Another example is the use of the word kiwi, and how this use has been changing until it became an identity flag. First it was used only to refer to this bird, unique to New Zealand. This animal came to be a national symbol, although not the country's only symbol at first. New Zealand was also the land of the moa. However, the kiwi emerged as the national bird, and from there it was a short step to becoming a term of entrenched usage during, and as result of the Second World War. Today the word kiwi is used for the bird, the fruit, any New Zealander and the New Zealand dollar.

And the third reason for Māori's adoption into English is to make an impact on the speaker's audience. The impact does not need to be political; however; as in the choice of speaking the Māori name for New Zealand, Aotearoa; it could just as well be, for example, humorous e.g. Pa (tribe) – Pa Wars, as a parody of Star Wars; Kai (food) – Kai Kart, referring to a fast food truck. Another way of using this im-

pact is replacing some words or particles to create puns or wordplays. e.g. Roto (Lake) – Roto Vegas (a reference that Rotorua is a very entertaining city in NZ); Te (the) / whare (house) – Te Ware Whare (nickname to refer to The Warehouse, a retail chain of stores).

These reasons behind loanwords will later be important to determine the type of tokens that are in the sample of the New Zealand linguistic landscape and its nature. In this way it can be intuited–prior to the collection of the corpus– that most of the words will have an origin linked to the previous motives and will be related to the flora and fauna of the place, with sacred objects of cultural importance for the Māori identity.

Hypothesis

The assimilation of Māori words in the New Zealand English lexicon can be easily noted across the Linguistic Landscape of New Zealand. On many occasions, signs share writing in English and its equivalent written in the Māori language. However, it is increasingly common to find expressions written in English peppered with words of Māori origin. Some of these Māori words have an equivalent in English; however, a preference for the indigenous word is maintained. It could be possible that the strategy for increasing the number of Māori speakers during the '70s and the growth of the tourist industry have turned this instance of language contact into an exotic English.

The signs comprising the linguistic landscape of New Zealand are affected, especially in tourist and commercial zones. People prefer the native names of places instead of European names; however, the use of Māori loans in the tourist discourse may be the result of the government-sponsored revitalization of Te Reo Māori or a cultural tendency on the part of New Zealand's inhabitants to make their language *exotic* as a sign of identity.

Exoticism of Māori

Exotic is defined by Oxford as "Attractive or striking because [it is] colourful or out of the ordinary" and to exoticize means to "Portray (someone or something unfamiliar) as exotic or unusual; romanticize or glamorize." The word Exoticism has a negative connotation in academic fields since it is associated with colonialisms; therefore, it is necessary to add a more flexible definition to understand the concept. Perhaps who best expresses it in a very understandable way is Berghahn (2017:16) who defines it as "a particular mode of cultural representation and a highly contested discourse on cultural difference, by bringing it into dialogue with cosmopolitanism."

It is not the same "exotic" as "exoticism." The first one denotes a particular perception of cultural difference from the encounter with foreign cultures, that are either remote or taken out of their original context and inserted in a new one, meanwhile the second one denotes a representational strategy that is capable of rendering something as exotic.

In addition, Shapiro expresses that exoticism is not "necessarily false and evil" but has a rightful place in imaginative representation because "the imagination and political policies" need to be kept separate (2000, pp 42, 47). Taking such conceptions into account, the purpose here is not to determine if the exotic perception of Māori

is negative or positive, but only existent in New Zealand, and for this research, when the *exotic* of Te Reo Māori is mentioned we refer to the unusual, colourful or out of the ordinary way that this language can be presented to the audience. Equally, exoticism will be understood as the practice of presenting Māori as something unusual or colourful and to exoticize as the intention to make Māori unusual and out of the ordinary, all this within the messages of each LLU.

For example, in the following sign issued by the Royal Air Force of New Zealand, its intention is to persuade a citizen to choose a military career. It has a Māori translation that, although it is not literal, but a very approximate equivalent (Air Warriors of New Zealand), it is a translation with an official status, and the Māori language occupies a second place. Its secondary intention is not to *exoticize* the Māori but to inform about the indigenous name of the organisation and communicate to the Māori-speaking citizens.

Figure 3
A non-literal translation with an official status

However, in this second example, located in a business on the same street as the previous example, the bottom of the sign is also to persuade, but this time to take a personal growth course, there is a Māori presence but there is no translation, in its place shows an expression (*Toi Toi Manawa*

- You yourself lucky) without translation or context, making it something exotic for commercial purposes.

Figure 4
Example of LLU with Māori expressions without translation

Then, in addition to the three reasons that can be found in both signs, it must be considered whether the presence of the Māori is functional or not. In the example of Figure 2 the bottom of the sign falls into the category of Māori exoticism.

Research questions
One of several research questions, suggested by Macalister (2010) which is the most accurate on the relationship between the Māori language and English was taken into consideration:

- To what extent does an examination of a New Zealand linguistic landscape challenge the depiction of New Zealand as a bilingual nation?

This question forces the researcher to question the statement that New Zealand – with its official languages– can really support and reflect bilingualism and if it is done in a total, inclusive or just a decorative way. Additionally, since Rotorua was the first New Zealand city with the intention of reaching a 100% bilingual status, we adapted following three sub questions in the same way Macalister did from Backhaus (2006):

- Rotorua's Linguistic landscaping by whom?
- Rotorua's Linguistic landscaping for whom?
- Rotorua's Linguistic landscape *quo vadis*?

These questions are intended to determine whether the presence of Māori in New Zealand's Linguistic Landscape comes from the government (public LL) or from the population itself (private LL) and, more importantly for the hypothesis, if this inclusion of an indigenous language is targeted to the international public (New Zealanders) or to the external public (foreigners). It is worth mentioning that the internal public could be subdivided into Māori and not Māori.

AIMS
To describe the relationship between English and Māori within the linguistic landscape of New Zealand we will focus the aims of the work in the following way:

To analyse the elements of "Linguistic Landscape" of New Zealand (traffic signs, information plaques, monuments, etc.) which are written mainly in English but where the presence of Māori words is evident; by taking as a sample one of the country's most representative tourist destinations, the city of Rotorua.

To know whom the linguistic landscape is for by separating the different audiences to which the discourse may be addressed in English and to make a qualitative and quantitative description of the exoticization of New Zealand.

Previous works
In 2010 John Macalister conducted similar research; his study of the linguistic landscape of New Zealand was conducted in the city of Picton, an important harbour city of the South Island. One of his major findings was the apparent lack of bilingualism on the part of the city's signs; the great majority of the signs were written in English with little presence of other languages. (Macalister, 2010).

Besides the fact that the South Island has less presence of Te Reo Māori and its speakers; the city of Picton is a port for fast arrivals and fast departures. Travelers only arrive to board the ferry to the North Island or to disembark from the same one coming from the city of Wellington. The travellers' linguistic needs are limited to "booking services" or "food purchases" the use of English fulfils these needs as well as those of local businesses.

Methodology
The first step to carry out this research was to determine the survey area which in this case is the city of Rotorua–as seen below in this text– where a corpus of Linguistic Landscape Units could be collected, and finally distinguishing between monolingual and multilingual signs.

Signs' *discourses* were separated, into those that are complete translations in Māori from English discourses with mixture of the two languages. Then it was determined quantitatively how often the use of a Māori word was preferred over an English word, and each word was classified within the New Zealander lexicon to determine if it is more commonly used in Māori or English.

Following the definition of Backhaus (2007) a sign was considered as "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame" (p.66). Icons without any text were excluded, but icons with text were counted as a sign.

The model of analysis that seemed to be the most suitable for our research was Huebner's model (2008), based on the Hymes' SPEAKING mnemonic (1972) where each letter represents an element to be analysed in the linguistic landscape: S = setting or scene; P = participants; E = ends or goals; A = act sequences; K = key; I = instrumentalities; N = norms and G = genre.

This model was modified by Huebner (2008) and adjusted to his needs for the analysis of the "universal" linguistic landscape. Minor adaptations, which are described below, were made to the model to fit the unique characteristics of the New Zealand linguistic landscape:

Genre

Hymes says that "A genre is a class of communicative events identified by both its traditionally recognized form and its common functions" (Hymes 1972: 65). Swales (1990), in turn, identifies a series of defining characteristics that constitute a genre, among them "A shared set of communicative purposes and restrictions on allowed contributions." In the case of our corpus, the shared purposes are to include the Māori language to a greater or lesser extent in the linguistic reality of the streets of New Zealand. That is why, although the quantitative analysis includes signs in English and other languages, only those that have the presence of Māori constitute the "genre" of this model.

Setting and Scene

Much of Rotorua's activities are based on tourism and geological attractions in its surroundings, with around 10,000 visitors a day that are added to its 65,280 residents conformed by the following groups: European (67%), Māori (37%), Pacific Islands (5%) and Asian (6%) (Rotorua Lakes Council, 2016). Rotorua's Central Business District (CBD) is located to the south of Lake Rotorua, an international tourism icon. Rotorua is famous for being the heart

Figure 5
City Business District of Rotorua

of Māori culture. In summer the collective resident and visitor population peaks at 100,000.

Due to these factors it is possible to think that the main objective of the linguistic landscape of Rotorua is to attract tourists or at least to be in contact with them. That is why the distribution of the sample is taken from the 11 streets that conform the CBD of Rotorua:

• Arawa St.
• Pukuatua St.
• Hinemoa St.
• Eurera St.
• Amohau St.
• Amohia St.
• Tutanekai St.
• Fenton St.
• Hinemaru St.
• Haupapa St.
• Randolf St.

Participants

There are two participants to distinguish in the interaction of the linguistic landscape: *Agents* and the *Audience* (Huebner, 2008). *Agents* will be divided between a public issuer (local government, federal government, Māori authorities); and a private issuer (business owners, murals, commercial chains, etc.). At the same time, the Audience will be divided into the General Public (citizens and tourists who are exposed to signs with no intentions of reaching any of them exclusively), Tourists (when the purpose of the sign is to get this sector specifically), Citizens (when only the New Zealander public has an interest in the information on the sign) and Māori People (when the message is exclusively for this sector).

These classifications systematically affect the quantitative results of the corpus analysis, and they will be very useful during the qualitative analysis, since it is possible that the participants can belong to two or more of the groups. (i.e. a tourist and a citizen can be general public; a Māori person can be a citizen). Also, if both the message exposed and issuer of the message are taken into account, we can undertake a complete breakdown of the discourse that each sign shows to its audience. For example, a sign issued by a Māori authority about mortgage loans for Māori families is obviously targeted at the Māori People group, but at the same time it is necessary to be a citizen to have a mortgage loan. In the same way, if this sign does not have any Māori words in its text it carries a very different intention than if the sign is written only in Māori.

For example, from each of the Linguistic Landscape Units, its participants were identified in the following way:

From: Local Government
To: General Public

From: Private
To: Māori People

Ends

Linguistic landscape artefacts perform multiple functions such as expressing feelings, offering advice or persuading the audience to make decisions, inform, warn, describe or maintain contact with the audience (Kelly-Holmes, 2005). In order to analyse the aims of Rotorua's linguistic landscape, it is necessary to understand the type of issuer (public or private) and the type of message contained in the texts. The traffic signals have of course an informative intention (names of the streets, spatial information), their analysis tells us of the predominance of indigenous names in the local geography; but other signs such as business billboards or tourist plaques will mostly have a purpose of persuading or attracting more visitors. Using these principles, for the study of the linguistic landscape of New Zealand I identify three basic functions:

- To Attract tourism
- To Persuade
- To Inform.

But there is a fourth function that is of vital importance for this research and it is Māori "*exoticism*" which has been explained before, giving us a fourth function to our list: −To exoticize Māori.

Acts

In addition to these functions, Huebner attributes meaning to the spatial organization of a sign in relation to its context, as well as to the elements that complement the written text (Huebner, 2008), elements such as visual images that intensify or denigrate the semantic load of a sign. In the linguistic landscape of New Zealand the visual elements of a sign can be *Toi* ornaments (Māori art)but there is an element referring to the spatial organisation of the texts suggested by Macalister (p.c.): It is important to determine in the cases of bilingualism which language has the highest hierarchy in the distribution of space. Is it Māori or English? One of the two languages can be the predominant one and the second is only ornamental or complementary, even if there is a total translation of the text. Such instances can be treated as complementary because of size or the position.

A very simple example can be found among the signs with the expression "welcome" in commercial business and public offices. The greeting may be written completely in Māori or in English, but even when it is presented in both languages one of the two will inevitably have hierarchy either, by size, position or accuracy of the translation. Further, there may be a formal translation of the word "Welcome" (*Haere Mai*) or an informal translation that is not entirely equivalent (*Kia Ora*) as seen in the following examples:

Figure 6
The welcome "Nau mai Haere Mai"
in this case has a formal character

Figure 7
*The expression "Kia Ora" is completely informal
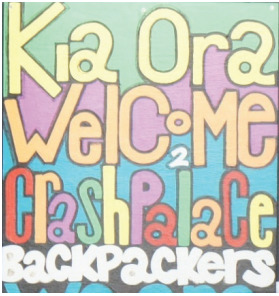and has the same hierarchy as the expression in
English*

Figure 8
*The expression "Nau Mai Haere Mai"
is formal but with a lesser hierarchy than
the English expression*

Figure 9
*The informal welcome in Māori "Kia Ora"
has a superior position with regarding
the welcome in English*

Figure 10
*Example of literal translation and with official
character and functional intention*

But undoubtedly a fairly simple element, which would bring more information to the qualitative study of LL of New Zealand is the use of *tohutō* (macrons) in the Māori language. The use of a macron on the vowels indicates the use of a long sound (formerly represented by a double vowel); and although initially the Māori began as a purely phonetic language, the need to distinguish, in an iconic way, the use of a long vowel from a short one is central for the practical and official use of Māori (Māori Language Act 1987). Taking for example the word "*Māori*" itself; the correct typography is Māori, with a macron on the letter "a" that indicates a long pronunciation of the first vowel, it is rare for the LL signs to use the macron (probably because it is a difficult character to type on most international keyboards or by simple ignorance of its function in the language) its use may denote a respect for the typographical rules of Te Reo while its absence may denote a lack of interest or disdain for a true inclusion of it as expressed by the newspaper, *The Stuff*, in its article *"Use of tohutō (macrons) to sign of respect"* (2018) where the Ōpōtiki District Council (Bay of Plenty) has determined to include the macrons in all the signs with

poper names and also it suggest that all proper names that require the use of macrons in all New Zealand Councils should do the same, and those that don´t, are exposedand to denigrate the importance of this as a languaje rule as well as a heritage issued.

Keys

For Huebner (2008), the keys are the intentions with which a sign is issued. Hard-sales ads involve more dense repetition, particularly of the brand name; in the case of Rotorua the name of the city itself -of Māori origin- is repeated constantly on countless occasions, even more than the word "Māori". Macalister (2004, 2007) stresses the importance of quantifying the proper names as the use of Māori words. This qualification will have a greater impact on the results of the quantitative analyses as will be seen later in the corresponding chapter since we have that much of the linguistic landscape of Rotorua uses the proper name of the city (or even the prefix *Roto-* as an abbreviation) as a sign of identity and therefore as a commercial brand.

Instrumentalities: Register and Code

Agha (2004: 24) defines register as "a linguistic repertoire that is associated, cultural-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices." For LLUs, this includes the choice of lexicon, spelling, and syntax of the chosen code.

The lexicon is a matter of great importance for my thesis, but in this *SPEAKING* model I have not addressed lexicon until now. The quantitative analysis of the corpus helped me determine the presence of a

"Code Switching" in the LL of New Zealand.

Macalister (2004, 2006) has dedicated much of the *Te Reo* study to compiling those words of Māori origin that are already part of the New Zealand English lexicon and to explain why loanwords from Te Reo occurring in the country are for very specific reason, he enlist the following:

• Naming something new.
• Identity.
• Popularity.

In addition, the types of words that are borrowed from the indigenous language fall into certain categories:

• Names of places
• Names of people
• Other proper names
• Flora
• Wildlife

I must add to these categories: names of sacred objects, religious places, and ceremonies, and a final category of protocol expressions such as greetings and farewells.

This lexicon of loans has increased in signs when the intention is to exalt the indigenous of New Zealand society with the choice of the code that in most signs will be in English, which is supported by the ornamental use of the secondary code–Te Reo Māori.

Norms and Regulations

For Huebner (2008) in the case of LLs, they are specific behaviours and properties that attach to the written production of

language. Norms of interaction may differ according to social class, age, ethnicity or speech community (Morgan 2004).

At first glance, the norms of the linguistic landscape of New Zealand are simple: if it is intended to be functional, a complete translation of the text is made; if it is intended to be ornamental, a few words from a pre-established lexicon is taken and entered into the English text. However, as one goes deeper into the language policy of Māori, one realizes that the rules change according to the intention; the sacred has a different regulation than commercial and institutional names. Translations with the status of "official" turn into adaptations that mix mythology with tradition, but even so, some rules such as the use of macrons in proper names are excluded without an apparent criterion.

Results

On the 11 streets around the Central Business District (CBD) of Rotorua, a total of 384 linguistic landscape units were taken and, as expected, the majority were from private issuers (280) and the rest (104) were from public issuers, local ones as well as national ones.

It is worth mentioning that the names of Māori places are quite common, but the absence of *macrons* is notorious on "federal" signs. At the "local" level there seems to be a respect for the use of this diacritic sign; however, its use is haphazard.

On the other hand, the signs issued by private companies have much more variety in design, exploit the word Rotorua as a favourite name for many small businesses or, alternatively, the prefix "roto-" as a synonym or abbreviation for Rotorua (al-

though Roto means Lake in Māori). Macrons are missing in private signs too.

Issuers and audience

In a surprising result, the number of LLUs with Māori language coming from private issuers and the number of LLUs with Māori language coming from public issuers is almost the same. Private issuers had a total of 86 LLU, while the public issuers 85. This indicates that it is not really an initiative only from the government institutions to include the Māori language in the New Zealand lexicon, but that the trend is generalized so much as both a national campaign and as a way of life.

Only a 30.3% of the Linguistic Landscape Units from a private origin had Māori language; meanwhile an 81.8% of the LLUs from public origin had Māori Language. *General public* was the group that got more units with a total of 137 signs that contained Māori and that could be of interest for any person regardless of his origin, legal status or ethnic group. The group of *Citizens* was the second with a total of 44 LLUs that contained Māori and that are only relevant for those with a legal status of resident in New Zealand regardless of their ethnic group. Then the group named *Māori People* got a total of 36 units or signs that contained the language and that were only directed to them or were of interest only to this ethnic group. Surprisingly, the group that got the least linguistic landscape units was that of *Tourists* with only 33 units.

In view of this result it must be emphasized that the hypothesis that the inclusion of Te Reo is limited to the tourist industry and it is a commercial strategy can be discarded; however, it must be highlighted

that general public covers a considerable range of units with Māori language, and that the dispersion of Te Reo around the audience is very high.

Ends

As expected, most of the signs had an informative function with 112 tokens, above the persuasive function that only had 50 tokens. The function of attracting tourists was the lowest since it got only 33 tokens. The function of Exoticism of Māori obtained 43 tokens, 25.1% of the linguistic landscape units with Māori language. This could mean that exoticism is a tool used in the linguistic landscape of Rotorua. It is not used with the intention of attracting tourists, but rather as a Kiwi identity flag. The way in which the Māori is represented in the social collective both internally and externally as something out of the ordinary, romanticized and attractive. Even though it has been assimilated into the New Zealand English lexicon, it is nevertheless a way to exalt the national identity of both European descendants and their indigenous population.

Even if they do exist, the rules of language are not always respected since only 23 LLUs were seen to use macrons to mark the correct pronunciation and the correct meaning of a word of Māori origin. These units belonged to local public issuers, especially those issued by the district council. However, the local and national toponymic signs entirely lacked the use of macrons.

Moreover, concerning the kind of words that make up the loans that English takes from Māori, it would be thought that "flora" and "wildlife" would be the predominant categories of the sample, howev-

er, it must be taken into account the place where the counting was made: In the Central Business District (CBD), the loans predominated in local businesses and self-service stores. If the sample had been taken in a national park or a botanical reserve, this situation would have been different. Anyway, only a total of 14 repetitions of these two categories were obtained.

The categories that obtained more tokens were the "Names of Places" with 80 followed by "Proper nouns" and "Names of people" that together gathered a total of 72 repetitions.

Another of the categories for which more examples were expected was the "Welcome or Salute" phrases, but only 16 were obtained. Twenty-one repetitions that had the words of "Sacred or mythological" origin of the Māori culture indicate an immersion in the indigenous beliefs is present even in the signs and commercial banners of the city.

Translations

Of the 171 linguistic landscape units with Māori presence, only 20 signs had a complete translation, showing an equitable "Māori-English" discourse. This trend is almost exclusive of public issuers. In turn, 25 partial translations of speech were found in the LLUs, which can be issued by both public and private sources; we consider a partial translation a word or a specific phrase that is translated, but the rest of the speech in the sign remains in the primary language.

Exoticizing of Māori

When we talk about exoticizing of Māori in the linguistic landscape we refer to the use

of Māori words that have equivalence in English; showing phrases in Māori without the corresponding translation; using Māori roots (as *Roto-*) to form new words (e.g. Rotofobia). If it is considered that in the collected sample of LLUs that contained Māori throughout the CBD, 25% of these are using Māori as an exotic language–regardless of the 19% that uses Māori to attract tourism–, it can be assumed that while the tourism industry is one of the most important in New Zealand and in the city of Rotorua, the Māori language is used as an advertising tool, not the main tool, nor the strongest; and the exoticism of Māori is more a social movement than a commercial strategy.

Other results

Some of the results that are not directly reflected in the linguistic landscape of the sample but that can be observed in other sites of the region are:

Most Māori loans are nouns and can be classified into:

Flora, Wildlife, Name of Places, Sacred objects or religious issues, Words with English Equivalent, Salutes and Concepts.

Although the names of flora and wildlife are countless in the New Zealand culture, in the sample the proper names and place names predominated. It should be noted that the names of places are always made up of two or more particles and these have a meaning within the Māori language. E.g.: Rotorua (Roto- Lake, Rua- two)

The Māori words with an equivalent in English are used as a national identity by both Māori and Pakehas. (Macalister 2006).

Most Māori words are accepted as part of the New Zealand Lexicon registered in the Macallister's dictionary.

Defying expectations, countless tokens of the word *Marae* (village square) were not found; however, in the CBD of Rotorua there was none of these buildings. The word can be found in other areas of the district and surely it must be quite common around the country. However, in the area of the sample, the presence of Māori sacred places is not common unlike other types of more orthodox sacred places such as Catholic or Christian churches.

The word "Te" is the equivalent of "the" in English. In addition to its daily use, it can be found on signs such as an identifier of the Māori language or a *false Māori*, just as the word "the" can give a detonation of singularity to a noun, "Te" does the same with the next word but indicating that the language or culture Māori has absorbed that noun even if it is not of Māori origin. E.g. Te papa, Te Wiki. Te Bard; this last, for example, refers to Shakeaspeare's well-known nickname "The Bard", but when written "Te" it refers to all shekaeaperean productions, performances and films made in the Māori language.

Conclusion

The relationship of the Māori culture and the New Zealander culture go together hand in hand, it is part of the New Zealand idiosyncrasy, where the average New Zealanders are proud of their culture and their variation of English with which they are willing to play in order to make it more and more exotic for visitors (something that authorities and businesses help) to demonstrate that geography, heritage and even history can be contained inside a linguistic aspect as basic as a loanword. The Māori is present in the language, in its art,

in the names of the streets and towns; New Zealand English is, therefore, a reflection of this culture. The linguistic landscape of the city of Rotorua provides a general representation of the type of inclusion that the country has towards its indigenous language.

There are many conclusions that can be drawn from the analysis of the corpus, some of the predictions coincided with the results, but in other cases, results and hypotheses were far apart, as in the case of Tourists group getting the least linguistic landscape units.

To be sure, the use of Te Reo Māori is linked to economic activity, especially in a city like Rotorua where Māori art, Māori traditions and Māori settlements are the main attractions of the city; and although the exploitation of this language and its presentation to the audience does not seem to be directly associated with a commercial strategy for purposes related to the tourism industry, –at least as far as the Linguistic landscape is concerned– its presence actively contributes to strengthen this industry.

The exoticization of the Māori language is not a phenomenon that rules all linguistic landscape units with Māori language, but its percentage is larger than expected since, when they use English in contact with the Te Reo , they take quite a lot of freedoms when using words from the Māori lexicon. They include expressions on the signs without providing a translation or even sometimes the translations are only approximate.

To finish this project, it is necessary to answer the questions raised in the respective sections:

The presence of Māori −171 in a sample of 384– is big enough to qualify the city as bilingual. There are many degrees of bilingualism and multilingualism, most of the words of indigenous origin in the linguistic landscape of New Zealand are part of the NZE lexicon, therefore, although loans remain as part of the discourse in the primary language. Even so, the presence of translations and equivalences on public signs, such as government offices, parks, and touristic areas are more than enough to consider the country is inclusive with its widespread languages.

Māori is still the only language that seems to exert an influence on the NZE. Other languages besides English were detected but in such a low percentage (6.5%) and on such sporadic occasions that one could only say that Māori and English are the predominant languages of New Zealand.

Despite their growing immigration and the undeniable presence of Asian languages, these languages are hardly represented in an ornamental way, and just a few of the signs of the linguistic landscape display this tendency.

Spanish is presented allegorically or with linguistic errors that we suspect is only a "false Spanish" for commercial terms. Even so, the presence of Spanish speakers in the country is not at all strange nor the recognition of commercial brands related to food and alcoholic beverages.

Other European languages such as German and French are barely glimpsed as having any kind of influence in the region.

The main difference between the participants in the linguistic landscape of New Zealand is that the public issuers are

concerned about Māori functionality for the audience, while the private issuers are concerned that the audience is functional for them and use Māori as a tool. And although the amount of public and private signs with Māori language is almost equal, only those of public origin show more extensive respect for language, taking care of linguistic rules such as the use of macrons. On the other hand, private issuers are more extensive in terms of the use of Māori words and exoticize language as a sign of national identity.

Regarding the questions about the linguistic landscape of Rotorua *for whom* and *by whom*, public issuers are more concerned about the integration of Māori as a second language while private issuers tend to exoticize Māori and use it as a commercial brand.

About the final question Rotorua's linguistic landscape quo vadis? The answer is very simple: in view of the integration that Te Reo Māori has within the linguistic landscape of Rotorua, where participant authorities such as the government integrate it as part of a bilingual transformation of the city, and private participants such as the local businesses adopt it as an identity flag or –to a considerable degree– as a commercial and tourist resource, a decrease is impossible. On the contrary, the aim of reaching the year 2030 with a 100% penetration of Māori seems achievable. However, a clearer definition of the role that is intended to be given to language in contact with English is required, which is likely to continue adopting words of Māori origin in their lexicon and normalizing their presence in the discourse of its signs.

In conclusion, the linguistic landscape presented in the city of Rotorua in New Zealand results in both a semantic and cultural organism used by the government and as by citizens to empower the Kiwi identity or pride in the country and its inhabitants. For this, an exoticization technique is used (understood in this context as something positive and not associated with its imperialistic reputation that was experienced in other former colonies) highlighting the particular and romantic way in which an entrenched language has been mimicked with the colonists' language and how this can be presented to the public–both local and foreign– to contain in this representation a sense of belonging to a culture that perceives itself as inclusive, exotic, and out of the ordinary.

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