

Changing language hierarchies and ideologies in New Zealand dual language picturebooks: 1973-2020

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Abstract

Aotearoa New Zealand is a multilingual country with three official languages, Te Reo Māori and New Zealand Sign Language, and English. The presence of Māori and English in picturebooks published in New Zealand between 1973 and 2020 offers a method of exploring and documenting the changing language hierarchies and ideologies across a 47-year period. This is of particular importance because of the contribution of children's literature to developing language attitudes in child and adult readers. In this article, a sociolinguistic lens called Linguistic Landscape is used to analyse a sample of seven picturebooks, showing how picturebooks reflect language beliefs and attitudes to official yet minority languages in an English-dominant society. The picturebooks are analysed in terms of the relative space and dominance afforded each language. Links to language status in law and education are examined exploring the potential of picturebooks as a source for the study of changing language hierarchies and ideologies.

Introduction

Multilingual picturebooks are not a new phenomenon. Known as the first picturebook written for children, *Orbis Pictus*, first published in 1658 had text in both Latin and German.¹ A later version published in 1666 was published in Latin, French, German and Italian. This book was written by the Czech educator John Amos Comenius; the range of languages he used in his text tells us about his location and the era in which he lived where Latin and German had high status as languages of education and religion in Europe. The addition of French and Italian in the 1666 edition reflects two vernacular languages in Western Europe. Picturebooks featuring text in two or more languages have continued to be published throughout the world since then, but it is fair to say that monolingual picturebooks are the norm. In this article, I refer to de Bres's definition of language hierarchies as indications of the relative power or perceived importance of languages within a society,² and ideologies as "positions on language adopted by individuals to advance their linguistic and non linguistic interests" (p. 680). I argue, with specific reference to picturebooks featuring English and Te Reo Māori, that where picturebooks featuring more than one language exist, they can be used as a record of changing language hierarchies and ideologies. I show that there is an increasing use of Te Reo Māori in English language picturebooks published since 1970, which I suggest reflects a positive change in attitudes by the English speaking audiences embodied in government policy and effected by some publishers.

Context

Aotearoa New Zealand is located in the Southern Pacific ocean. It was populated by Māori from the 1200s and a process of colonisation by the British crown began in the late 18th century, culminating in the signing of a Treaty (Te Tiriti o Waitangi) between the crown and some (but not all) Māori chiefs in 1840. In the present, Aotearoa New Zealand is a multicultural and multilingual society in which the English language dominates most official settings. While many other languages are spoken in New Zealand, there are only three languages with official status: Te Reo Māori (de jure), NZSL (de jure), and English (de facto). De Bres analysed the

language hierarchy of minority languages in Aotearoa through an analysis of policy and interviews with government officials, showing that after the dominant language of English, the accepted language hierarchy in Aotearoa is Te Reo Māori followed by New Zealand Sign Language, then Pacific languages and then languages of other community groups.³ In this article, I focus on English and the first language in de Bres's minority language hierarchy: Te Reo Māori.

Te Reo Māori is the indigenous language of Aotearoa but due to the urbanization of Māori people in the 1950s and a concerted effort to discourage the use of Te Reo Māori by children in the education system, by the 1970s, the language was in danger of becoming extinct.⁴ Due to determined efforts of language activists who took a petition to parliament in 1972, and recognition that language was a taonga (treasure) protected under the Tiriti o Waitangi, Te Reo Māori was given official status in the 1987 Māori Language Act, alongside English, a de facto official language.⁵ In the present day, statistics show that while the majority of New Zealanders speak English, among Māori adults, one out of five report being able to speak Te Reo Māori and nearly a third said they could understand the language at least fairly well.⁶ The New Zealand Government has a strategy aimed at having one million speakers of Te Reo Rangatira (Te Reo Māori) by the year 2040 called *Kia Ukaipō Te Reo*.⁷

In 2007, New Zealand ratified the United Nations Convention for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.⁸ In order to promote the linguistic identity of the deaf community, the New Zealand government was now responsible for ensuring that deaf children could access education through New Zealand sign language. This led, in 2016, to New Zealand Sign Language being accorded official status.⁹ This resulted in more state support for the learning of NZSL, the recognition of NZSL being core to the identity of the Deaf community, and a recognition that Deaf children have a right to access education through this language. Certainly, in recent years NZSL has become much more visible in the public domain.¹⁰

New Zealand English is a distinctive geographic dialect of the English language, distinguished from other forms of English by vowel sounds and the use of a range of borrowed Māori vocabulary.¹¹ It was brought to Aotearoa New Zealand by English settlers in the 19th century, and by the 1850s it was spoken by the majority of the New Zealand population. English is used by the majority of the New Zealand population (90% in 2013 statistics). It is used in courts, parliament, education and all other official settings.

Literature Review

Dual language picturebooks come in a range of formats which can be positioned along a continuum from translingual (also known as interlingual) picturebooks which tell a story in one language with words and/or short phrases from another language woven into the text, to multiversion picturebooks in which the same story is published (simultaneously or asynchronously) in different language versions. Somewhere between these two ends of the continuum are what is known as bilingual (or multilingual) picturebooks, in which the full story is presented in two or more languages within the same book, either on the same page, facing pages, or different sections of the same book. The use of language in children's picturebooks not only reflects current language ideologies determined by the adults involved in book creation including authors and publishers; it also has the power to either support or disrupt hegemonies in wider society by exposing the readers of the books (both adults and children) to a range of linguistic landscapes.¹²

Research exploring the ways in which bilingual picturebooks can be used with children includes several studies in Canadian educational settings. Naqvi, McKeogh, Thorne and Pfitcher,¹³ showed how the use of dual language picturebooks featuring languages from the linguistic repertoires of the children in the classroom and their families positioned multilingualism as the norm and promoted culturally responsive pedagogy among teachers; Zaidi's work showed how the use of such dual language picturebooks framed linguistic diversity as an asset.¹⁴ Earlier work in South Wales by Edwards, Monaghan, and Knight exploring children's interactions with digital multimedia storybooks showed children making hypotheses about how language works.¹⁵ Sneddon's work in London involved working with immigrant children and their families to create dual language picturebooks, resulting in enhanced parental engagement and linguistic awareness.¹⁶ Work with 8-10 year old children in an after-school class in the USA showed how exposure to a range of dual language picturebooks across a six week period supported the development of working theories (or developing understandings) about language;¹⁷ and, in a dual language picturebook club with third year education majors in a USA public university¹⁸ findings showed participants' increase in both language awareness and critical language awareness.¹⁹

The study of language use in picturebooks does have some history. Some studies have examined the use of single words or phrases in community or Indigenous languages woven into English texts in dual language picturebooks known as translanguaging picturebooks. For example, Barrera and Quiroa examined Spanish words and phrases in Latino picturebooks published in the USA between 1995 and 2000,²⁰ showing the range of ways in which the meaning of Spanish words were communicated, and the ways in which cultural authenticity was communicated through these words. They concluded that the words used were often words which were "formulaic and safe uses of Spanish that will not over tax monolingual readers" (p. 263).

Hadaway and Young analysed dual language picturebooks from Australia, Canada and New Zealand,²¹ discussing how the use of Indigenous languages in these picturebooks can support Indigenous language revitalisation. Daly examined 13 New Zealand picturebooks published between 1999 and 2009, documenting the different ways in which Te Reo Māori words and phrases were woven into the English text.²² This research examined the frequency of the use of Māori words and phrases in the picturebooks as compared with previous studies of such frequency in other domains such as Hansard records of parliamentary proceedings, newspapers and a freely distributed education publication in the form of a school magazine, known as the *School Journal*, established in 1907. Findings showed a rate of 56 Māori words per thousand English words, a frequency far in excess of the highest frequency previously found in Hansard records of debates concerning Māori topics which was 25 per thousand.²³ The explanation for this striking difference was linked back to the particular publishing house the picturebooks had originated from which have a stated intention to publish works which allow Māori to see themselves and hear their stories.²⁴

A subsequent study of the frequency of Māori words in the entire suite of English language picturebook publications in New Zealand (1995-2005) showed the frequency to be much less in picturebooks published by all publishing houses in New Zealand (13 per thousand); however, when picturebooks which used no Māori lexemes at all were removed, the frequency was still higher than in other settings at 37/1000.²⁵ This higher frequency of Māori words woven into the English text of children's picturebooks was attributed to a range of reasons including the ethnic identity of the writers, the stated intention of the publishing house to tell Māori stories, and the intended audience of the picturebooks.²⁶ There is an acceptance that

much of the language in picturebooks is new to a child audience, so using Māori words which may not be familiar is less challenging for this audience. Additionally, it has been noted that the accompanying illustrations support the acquisition of new and possibly unfamiliar vocabulary.

The linguistic landscape lens has proved to be a useful tool for exploring language hierarchies in picturebooks,²⁷ and was used to examine the language hierarchies evident in 24 multilingual picturebooks from the Internationale Jugendbibliothek (International Youth Library) in Munich, Germany. This involved analysis of the typographic setting of the text in terms of order of language, size of text, and typographic styling (such as use of bold/italics). The picturebooks featured between 3 and 11 languages and were from a range of countries including South Africa, Poland and Norway. Findings showed that, particularly on the outer cover and in the front and back matter of the picturebooks, the language hierarchy of each country of publication was replicated. Languages which had more speakers were often given first, and the order of subsequent languages often followed the relative proportions of speakers of those languages in each country. In the body of these picturebooks the treatment of languages was more even in terms of space and font size, but not order.

Another study of bilingual picturebooks which presents the picturebook text fully in both English and Māori (compared with the woven text of translingual picturebooks), analysed the linguistic landscape of four picturebooks published across a 25 year period. Findings showed the privilege afforded to English in such texts, except where there was a pedagogic intent regarding the teaching of Te Reo Māori. In the picturebooks that signalled a pedagogical intent with regard to supporting the reader to learn Te Reo Māori, Māori was given first in the body of the book, and first and larger on the cover of the picturebook. In the other books, English was given more space. Similarly, in a more recent study exploring the pedagogical and ideological implications of the typography of five Māori-English bilingual picturebooks published between 1983 and 2015, analysis showed Māori text being presented first in texts published with educational intent.²⁸ The potential for developing critical language awareness amongst readers when encountering such books is pointed out.

In the present article, I propose that by examining the linguistic landscape of picturebooks featuring Māori and English published since the 1970s, we see evidence of changing language hierarchies and ideologies in Aotearoa.

Materials and Methods

The approach of using linguistic landscapes to critically analyse the status of languages in multilingual picturebooks is based on an approach to assessing status of languages in public spaces.²⁹ This approach can be linked to the work exploring the contribution of typography to meaning making in picturebooks.³⁰ In their work analysing the typographic weight, colour, size, slant, framing, formality and flourishes of typography used in five monolingual picturebooks, Serafini and Clausen argue that “typography is a visual element and a social semiotic resource with its own meaning potentials” (p.2). Using a method called the linguistic landscapes of picturebooks,³¹ I analyse the linguistic landscape of 7 picturebooks published between 1973 and 2020 in terms of three variables: (1) the order in which the languages were presented, assuming that in a Latin script, the top or the left hand side has more power than the bottom or right hand text; (2) the relative size of the text, assuming that larger text is seen as more important than smaller text; (3) the font used, assuming that bold is seen as more important than standard weight, and italics is seen as ‘other’ or less important than standard font (Daly, in press)

Selection of texts

The selection of the 7 picturebooks published between 1973 and 2020 (see Table 1) was an intentional selection of books published across a time period when the status of languages in Aotearoa has changed considerably. In 1973 when the first picturebook in the selection was published, Te Reo Māori was not an official language of New Zealand. There was considerable agitation at the time for the language to be given official status, culminating in the presentation of a petition at parliament on 14 September 1972, but as yet this had not been achieved. The higher proportion of picturebooks published between 2016 and 2020 (5/11) reflects the new development of picturebooks being published using NZSL after it became an official language in 2016.

<i>Crayfishing with Grandmother</i> . Jill Bagnall; illustrated by Barbara Strathdee; Māori text by Hapi Potae. (Collins, 1973). (Bilingual)
<i>Pukunui</i> . James Waerea (Ngati Kahungunu, Te Arawa) (1976). (Interlingual)
<i>The Kuia and the Spider</i> . Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa (Penguin, 1981). (Interlingual and dual version)
<i>The Legend of the Seven Whales of Ngai Tahu Matawhaiti/Te Pakiwaitara o ngā Tāhora Tokowhitu a Ngāi Tahu Matawhaiti</i> . Mere Whaanga-Schollum and Epanaia Whaanga (Mahia publishers, 1988- republished by Scholastic in 2018). (Bilingual)
<i>Māranga Mai!</i> Sharon Holt and Deborah Hinde (Te reo Singalong, 2002). (Bilingual)
<i>Kanohi. My face</i> . Kitty Brown and Kirsten Parkinson (Reo Pepi, 2015). (Bilingual)
<i>Whakarongo ki o Tupuna/ Listen to your ancestors</i> . Darryn Joseph, illustrated by Munro Te Whata (Oratia Press, 2020). (Bilingual)

Table 1: Seven books selected for analysis

Findings and discussion

The findings will be presented for each picturebook, exploring the linguistic landscape of each text, beginning in 1973 and ending in 2020.

Crayfishing with Grandmother was first published in 1973. It is quite likely that this was one of the first, if not the first New Zealand picturebooks featuring the text fully in both English and Māori, a bilingual format. On the cover of the book, only an English title is given, so there is nothing to indicate to the reader that this is anything other than a monolingual picturebook. Within the body of the picturebook, the Māori text is given after the English text on the same page. The same text size and weight is used. Another indication (aside from the cover) that English is privileged in this picturebook is the inclusion of a glossary for some Māori vocabulary (which is woven into the English text), translating Māori words into English, with no glossary in the other direction. It is interesting to note, that while Māori orthography uses macrons to indicate phonologically salient long vowels (see the ā in Māori), the macrons on the Māori words woven into the English text do not use the relevant macrons which are found in the same words in the Māori text. This lack of macrons on Māori words woven into English text was common practice at the time of this book's publication, suggesting a common convention that even when both languages use the same letters, once a word is used within another language it takes on the orthographic practices of that language.³² A kind of linguistic

colonialism is evident here, whereby orthographic practices of one language subsume practices in another which changes in books published later (see below).

Written and illustrated by James Waerea (Ngati Kahungunu, Te Arawa), *Pukunui* was published in 1976 by Macmillan. In this case, the book was created by someone who identifies as Māori, but once again the English language is given dominance in the text. The story is given in English with characters in the illustrations speaking Māori in cartoon speech bubbles, and interlingual format. These utterances are translated in the English text within direct speech marks. A glossary is once again given for Māori phrases, translated into English, but nothing in the other direction.

A few years later in 1981, *Te Kuia me te Pungawerewere* and its English version *The Kuia and the Spider* were published, written by Patricia Grace (Ngāti Toa, Ngāti Raukawa, and Te Āti Awa iwi) and illustrated by Robyn Kahukiwa (Ngati Porou, Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti, Ngati Hau, Ngati Konohi and Whanau-a-Ruataupare), two Māori women. This appears to be the first time that a trade book is published by a major publisher (Penguin) in a Māori and an English version simultaneously. While this is now an increasingly common practice at Wellington-based Huia publishers (established in 1991) and Auckland-based Scholastic New Zealand (established in 1962), in the early 1980s this publication broke new ground. For this article, the English version of this picturebook is analysed because it is in this translingual version that the two languages are woven together. Only five Māori words are used in the English version, and macrons are not used where they are in the Māori version (e.g., hōhā cf. hoha); the Māori words are presented in the same typeface as the English text. It is worth noting that the emergence of such publications for children, weaving Māori words into English text was also reflected in publishing for adults, including *The Bone People* (Keri Hulme, 1984), *Pōtiki* (Patricia Grace, 1986), and *The Matriarch* (Witi Ihimaera, 1986).

Jumping ahead seven years to 1988, the bilingual *The Legend of the Seven Whales of Ngai Tahu Matawhaiti/Te Pakiwaitara ō ngā Tāhora Tokowhitu a Ngāi Tahu Matawhaiti* written by Mere Whaanga-Schollum and Epanaia Whaanga was published by Mahia publishers, a small press, and then in 1990 it was republished in conjunction with Ashton Scholastic. Here again, we have a picturebook created by Māori writers and illustrators, but this time both the English and Māori text is within the body of the same book (a bilingual format), like the much earlier *Crayfishing with Grandmother*. While the earlier text (*Crayfishing with Grandma*) had both languages on the same page, English was always given first, and it was not given at all on the cover. In *The Legend of the Seven Whales* the cover has both an English and a Māori title on the cover, albeit that English is first and larger. Within the picturebook, the two languages are given separately on facing pages with the illustration between them; however Māori is given on the verso or left page, placing it where it will be read first in a left-to-right orthography. These two factors (the use of Māori on the cover and the placement of Māori text on the left of the page where it will be read first) indicate a change in the status of Te Reo Māori. It has been included on the cover of the picturebook, and it has elevated status in terms of reading order. This reflects the changing status of Te Reo, having been accorded official legal status in the 1987 Māori Language Act. Once again, as was common in this era, neither macrons nor the alternative convention of doubling vowels (e.g., Māori cf. Maaori) are used on the Māori words used within the English text.

Between the early 1980s and the early 2000s, not many bilingual picturebooks were published; however, many dual version picturebooks were published (i.e., separate versions for each language) by Huia publishers, a publisher established in 1991. Huia has a clear focus on

producing Māori language resources for Māori medium education settings which were officially established in the 1980s including Kohanga Reo (preschool Māori medium language nests) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium primary and secondary schools). These dual version picturebooks do not privilege one language over the other. All the text in the Māori version, including publishing details, dedications, and author notes are given in Te Reo Māori. By contrast, within the English version some Māori words remain woven into the English text for a range of reasons including reflecting the language identity of the author, addressing the rhythm of the text, and reflecting the nature of New Zealand English.³³ This separation of languages in the two versions of the picturebooks can be understood in relation to the particular needs of supporting the revitalisation of an Indigenous language. Children receiving their education in the medium of Te Reo Māori are surrounded by English language when they are outside of their homes and schools in an English dominant society; thus there is a need to ensure, as far as possible, that while they are in school all of their educational materials are in Māori.³⁴

Maranga Mai! by Sharon Holt and Deborah Hynde (Te Reo Singalong, 2002) is the first of a series of nearly 30 picturebooks written by Sharon Holt, and originally self published by Te Reo Singalong, with the most recent being published in 2022. The key feature of these picturebooks is that the text is in Māori only throughout the body of the picturebook, and the text is accompanied by a cd or a QR code linked to a recording of a song using the words. The English translation in *Mārangā Mai* is at the end of the picturebook in text only, and so Māori is given status in terms of order and space. Here we have a picturebook which privileges Māori in order to teach Māori. This pedagogical intent is explicitly stated in the blurb of the book and is evident in the presence of a Māori English glossary, translating Māori words for the intended English dominant audience. Holt explains she created these picturebooks because of the need for resources to support teachers in early childhood settings to bring more Te Reo Māori into the English medium classroom,³⁵ as is required by the New Zealand Ministry of Education.³⁶ This reflects the fact that in this period of the early 2000s with the Māori medium educational system established, we now have an English medium educational setting needing resources to support the learning of Te Reo Māori.

Moving ahead 13 years we see the emergence of picturebooks for English speaking parents to use with their children in their home. *Kanohi. My face* is written by Kitty Brown and illustrated by Kirsten Parkinson who wanted to use Te Reo Māori at home with their children, but could find no books for babies on the market to support this practice.³⁷ Like Holt, they established their own publishing company, Reo Pepi (literally Baby language) and have published three series of board books for young children. Again, the focus on supporting speakers of English to learn Te Reo Māori is evident in the presentation of Māori text first in a larger and bolder typography than English, which comes second on each page. Thus, the Māori text is privileged in 3 ways: order, size and weight. Further evidence of the pedagogical intent of the board book is the use of a pronunciation guide for speakers of English at the back of the book. Here we have another of example of changes in attitudes towards language as English language speakers wish to learn Te Reo, this time not because of an educational policy imperative, but because of identity. The creators of the Reo Pepi books have Māori heritage and they want their children to have access to their heritage language.³⁸ Anecdotally, these books are also used in English medium early childhood centres and in the homes of families with no Māori heritage.

The last picturebook in this survey across time is *Whakarongo ki ō Tupuna/ Listen to your Ancestors* written by Darryn Joseph, illustrated by Munro Te Whata (Oratia Press, 2020). Again, the way language is presented in this picturebook, and the history of its publication

speak to a different era in regards to language hierarchies and ideologies. This picturebook was first written in Te Reo Māori by Darryn Joseph (Ngāti Maniapoto), a university lecturer in Te Reo Māori, who had just visited a much loved teacher who was very ill.³⁹ After the visit, he reflected on her as a teacher and wrote a poem in Te Reo Māori, making links to the Māori gods. When he submitted his manuscript to a publisher, they were keen to publish it, but wanted to publish the text bilingually in order to make the proposition financially viable. Essentially, a book in Te Reo alone might not make enough sales as it would appeal to a smaller audience (there are fewer speakers of Te Reo than of English); however, a book with both languages would sell to a wider audience. While as a teacher of Te Reo Māori Joseph was hesitant, he has been pleasantly surprised by feedback he has received from families where parents or grandparents have been able to share his book with their tamariki/mokopuna (children/grandchildren) who are in Māori medium education settings.⁴⁰ The text throughout *Whakarongo ki ō Tupuna/ Listen to your Ancestors* honours the original text being written in Māori by presenting Māori text first on the cover and throughout the body of the picturebook. Thinking back to the first picturebook surveyed in the article, this is a significant shift from the picturebook created in 1973 in which Māori is present in the body of the picturebook only, and always given second. It would appear that the primary motivation for the presence of Te Reo Māori in *Crayfishing with Grandmother* is symbolic, to recognise its existence, and its importance at a time in New Zealand history when there was a movement gathering to support the revitalisation of a language which had been so detrimentally affected by the colonial presence of English. In this last book both writer and illustrator are Māori, and the presence of Māori is fundamental to the genesis of the picturebook. It was written first in Māori, with English included to increase the audience of the publication.

Conclusion

In this analysis of seven bilingual picturebooks published between 1973 and 2020, a nearly 50 year passage of time, changes in the status of languages in Aotearoa, and shifting language ideologies are reflected. While the language hierarchy remains the same with English dominant, followed by Te Reo Māori and NZSL, there have been some changes and shifts within this hierarchy. The move from Māori being presented second and in a diminished space changes to Māori being presented first and with more space in formats which suit different audiences and educational purposes (e.g., using cds and QR codes as well as board books for younger readers), reflecting the revitalisation of Te Reo Māori across this period.. There also appears to be a changing expectation of who the audience for these picturebooks might be. The expected audience ranges from picturebooks published as separate versions in order to support the Indigenous language for those receiving their education in Māori medium, to picturebooks published for English-dominant households, whānau (family) and educational spaces which want to bring Te Reo Māori into their linguistic repertoire, recognising its unique relevance in Te Ao o Aotearoa, New Zealand society.

Bringing in a critical language awareness lens,⁴¹ it is important to note that while the status of the minoritized Indigenous languages (Te Reo Māori) has changed in a positive direction over the period covered in this survey, it is clear that many of the changes in picturebooks are nonetheless aimed at English language audiences. Despite there being some change in the ways in which the minority languages are presented in picturebooks, English language speakers are still being catered to at every point. There is always an English version of the multi version books; the glossaries are always directed at English language speakers; English translations are always available in the bilingual picturebooks. There is no doubt of which language community has the most power, and which language remains at the top of the language hierarchy (de Bres, 2015).

In this article I have used picturebooks to trace changing language attitudes in Aotearoa New Zealand. Acknowledging the semiotic contribution of typography in picturebooks,⁴² and using a linguistic landscapes in picturebooks approach⁴³ with an intentionally selected range of picturebooks published between 1973 and 2020, we can see picturebooks being used to acknowledge Te Reo Māori in the 1970s when many were fighting for its survival. Later we see more space being given to Te Reo Māori, reflecting its official status; and later the production of picturebooks featuring only Te Reo Māori to provide suitable resources for children receiving Māori-medium education which began in the 1980s. In the 2000s we begin to see picturebooks featuring both languages side by side, reflecting an educational requirement that Māori be used in English-medium educational settings, and a changing attitude amongst parents and caregivers in relation to bringing Te Reo Māori into home spaces via picturebooks. Through this analysis we see the ways in which picturebooks reflect and promote changing attitudes, probably at the same time as they are being shared in different settings. Their role as a Trojan Horse⁴⁴ which brings language hierarchies and ideologies into educational and home settings, packaged in an enjoyable bundle of paper and print, or digital dynamic sound and image, is quite clear.

While there is a great deal of published literature exploring the power of picturebooks,⁴⁵ there does not appear to be work tracing language hierarchies and ideologies through dual language picturebooks. Future analysis is needed on the representations of languages in picturebooks across time to see if this approach is also relevant in other linguistic contexts. I argue that the dual language picturebooks we share with children communicate language hierarchies and ideologies alongside the stories they tell. They have the power to both replicate existing hegemonic language structures, and also to make changes that ensure that children are aware of linguistic diversity, and hear the voices of their homes as well as the homes of other children in their community.

¹ M. Salisbury and M. Styles, *Children's Picturebooks Second Edition: The Art of Visual Storytelling*, Hachette, UK, 2020.

² Julia De Bres, "The hierarchy of minority languages in New Zealand," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 36, no. 7 (2015): 677-693.

³ De Bres, "The hierarchy of minority languages."

⁴ Ministry of Culture and Heritage, *History of the Māori Language*, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/maori-language-week/history-of-the-maori-language>, 2021.

⁵ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, *Māori Language Petition, 1972*, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/maori-language-petition-1972>, 2021.

⁶ Stats NZ, *1 in 5 Māori People speak Te Reo Māori*, <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/1-in-5-maori-people-speak-te-reo-maori>, 2013.

⁷ Te Mātāwai, *Our strategy*, <https://www.tematawai.maori.nz/en/about-us/our-strategy/>, 2021.

⁸ Ministry of Justice, Constitutional Issues and Human Rights, <https://www.justice.govt.nz/justice-sector-policy/constitutional-issues-and-human-rights/human-rights/international-human-rights/crpd/#:~:text=The%20Convention%20on%20the%20Rights,no%20reservations%20to%20the%20CRPD>. 2020.

⁹ Nicola Daly and Rachel McKee, "Putting NZSL on the page: multilingual/multimodal picturebooks in New Zealand," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 25, no. 9 (2022): 3475-3488.

¹⁰ Daly and McKee.

¹¹ Jennifer Hay, *New Zealand English*, Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

¹² Daly and McKee.

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- ¹³ Rahat Naqvi, Anne McKeough, Keoma Thorne, and Christina Pfitscher, “Dual-language books as an emergent-literacy resource: Culturally and linguistically responsive teaching and learning,” *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy* 13, no. 4 (2013): 501-528.
- ¹⁴ Rahat Zaidi, “Dual-language books: Enhancing engagement and language awareness,” *Journal of Literacy Research* 52, no. 3 (2020): 269-292.
- ¹⁵ Viv Edwards, Frank Monaghan, and John Knight, “Books, pictures and conversations: Using bilingual multimedia storybooks to develop language awareness,” *Language Awareness* 9, no. 3 (2000): 135-146.
- ¹⁶ Raymonde Sneddon, *Bilingual books: biliterate children learning to read through dual language books*, Trentham Books Limited, 2009.
- ¹⁷ Nicholas Vanderschantz, Nicola Daly, and Vouchleang San, “Typographic design in Māori-English bilingual picturebooks: some educational implications,” *Children’s Literature English Language Education* (2022): 14-40.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
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