

TE TIROHANGA I TE KÖREROTANGA O TE REO RANGATIRA I ROTO I NGĀ KĀINGA MĀORI ME NGĀ ROHE

Survey of Language Use in Maori Households
and Communities

PĀNUI WHAKAMŌHIO
INFORMATION BULLETIN

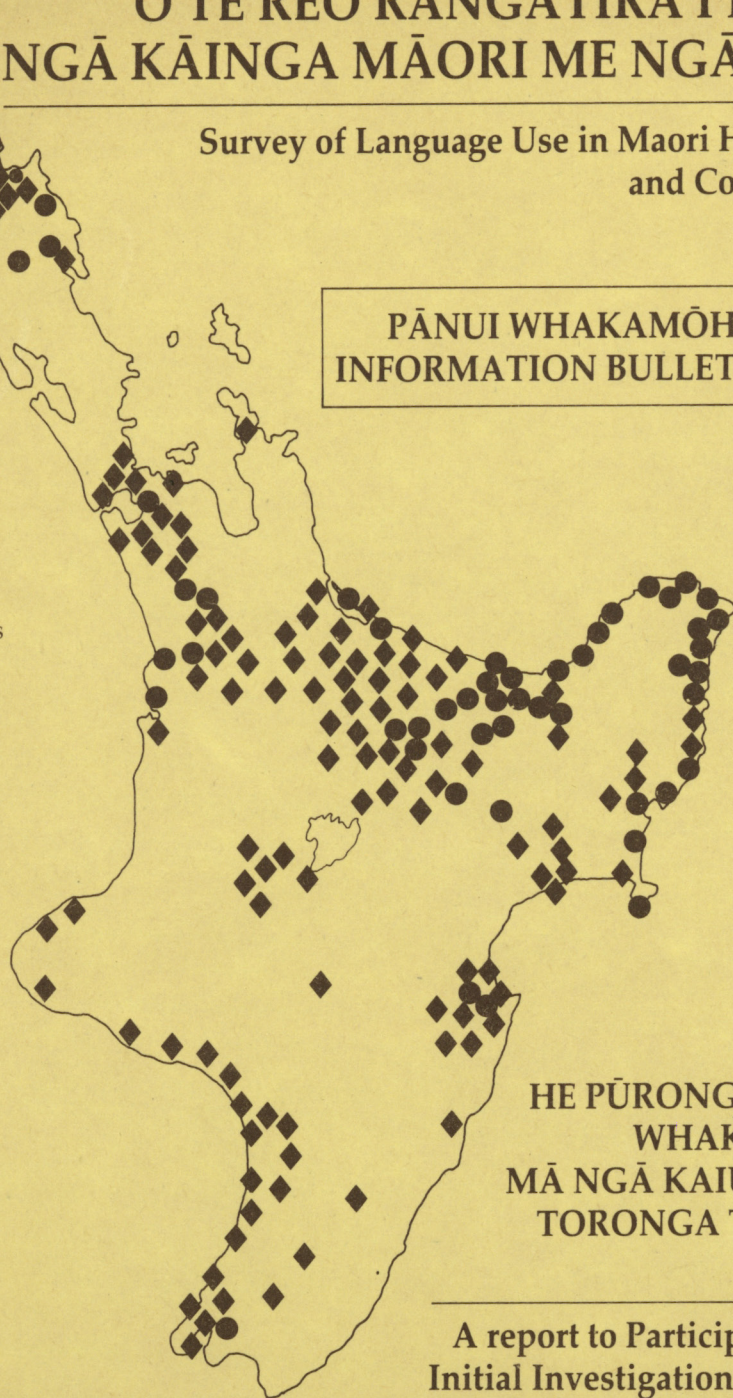
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Localities in which
ten or more households
were visited

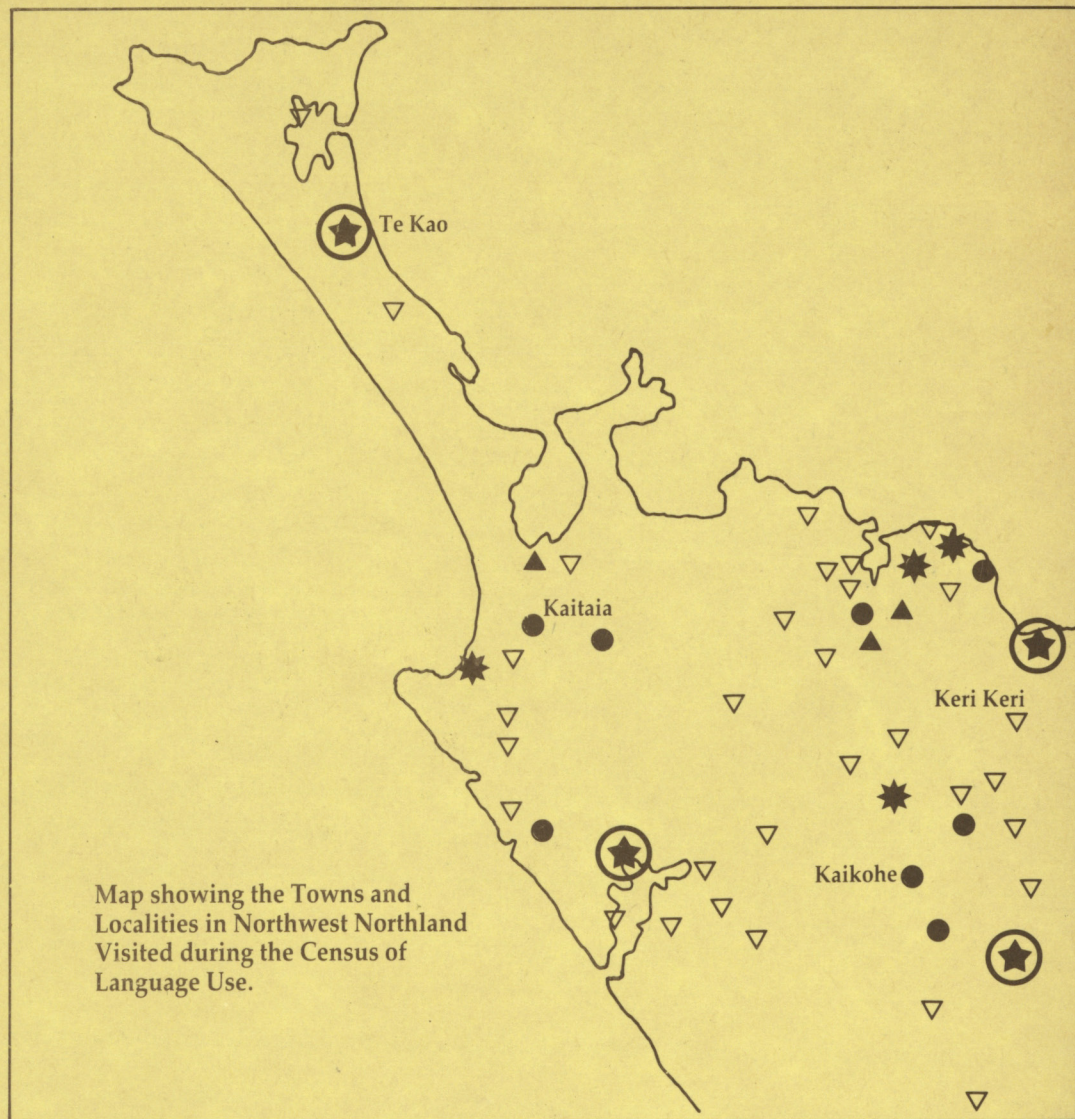
● Two thirds or
more of adults were
fluent speakers of
Maori

◆ Less than two
thirds of adults were
fluent speakers of
Maori



HE PŪRONGORONGO
WHAKAMŌHIO
MĀ NGĀ KAIURU KI TE
TORONGA TUATAHI,
1973-1978

A report to Participants in the
Initial Investigation, 1973-1978



Percentage of fluent speakers of Maori among persons aged 25 and over in the households visited.

★ More than 85%

☆ 76% to 85%

● 60% to 75%

▲ Less than 60%

▽ Fewer than 7 households visited

THE MAORI LANGUAGE FROM HEREKINO TO PAWARENGA

This report is a summary of the results of the linguistic survey carried out in January 1976 in Whangape and Manukau, and a year earlier in Pawarenga. The purpose of the survey was to try to find out where and how widely Maori was still spoken, and what could be done to help families and communities to hold on to the Maori language in the face of so much competition from English. Several other communities in the Mangonui and Hokianga Counties were included in the survey, and the results of the work there have been reported on in other bulletins in this series: Te Hapua, Te Kao and Ngataki (No. 25), Panguru and Rangī Point (No. 28), Kaitaia and neighbouring communities (No. 115), and Eastern Hokianga (No. 125). A number of more general reports which include information from all these districts are also available from NZCER, and others are in preparation.

The interviews in Pawarenga were conducted by Awa Hudson (Ngati Whatua, Te Rarawa and Te Aupouri), Erima Henare (Ngapuhi, Te Aupouri and Ngati Kahungunu), Ripeka Koopu (Te Whanau-a-Apanui) and William Martin (Ngati Manawa and Te Aupouri). The interviewers in the other communities were Tawini Rangihau (Tuhoe), Kahu Waititi (Ngapuhi and Te Whanau-a-Apanui), Candice Scrimshaw (Ngati Kahungunu), Raiha Smith (Ngati Kahungunu) and Peter and Iriaka Wensor (Ngapuhi). The fieldwork was supervised by Peter Ranby.

Altogether 18 households were visited in these areas; 5 in Herekino and Manukau (with 27 people, 25 of Maori descent), 5 in Whangape (21 people, all Maori), and 8 in Pawarenga (39 people, all Maori). This was about a third of the Maori population in Pawarenga at the time, and a quarter in the other districts. All the interviews in Pawarenga and one in Whangape were in Maori; the rest were in English.

KNOWLEDGE OF SPOKEN MAORI IN HEREKINO, MANAKAU
WHANGAPE AND PAWARENGA (1976)

	Manukau & Herekino		Whangape		Pawarenga	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
<i>Fluent Speakers</i>						
45 yrs & over	3	60	7	100	9	100
25 to 44 yrs	0	..	0	..	2	40
15 to 24 yrs	0	..	0	..	1	50
2 to 14 yrs	0	..	0	..	5	24
Overall	3	11	7	33	17	46
<i>Understand Easily</i>						
45 yrs & over	4	80	7	100	9	100
25 to 44 yrs	1	33	0	..	3	75
15 to 24 yrs	0	..	2	50	2	100
2 to 14 yrs	0	..	5	63	11	55
Overall	5	19	14	66	25	71
<i>Limited Understanding</i>						
45 yrs & over	1	20	0	..	0	..
25 to 44 yrs	0	..	1	50	0	..
15 to 24 yrs	1	33	1	25	0	..
2 to 14 yrs	6	40	1	13	8	40
Overall	8	30	3	14	8	23
<i>No Knowledge</i>						
45 yrs & over	0	..	0	..	0	..
25 to 44 yrs	2	67	1	50	1	25
15 to 24 yrs	2	67	1	25	0	..
2 to 14 yrs	9	60	2	25	1	5
Overall	13	50	4	19	2	6

(Numbers and percentages refer to members of households visited; percentages have been rounded to nearest whole number).

Results of the Linguistic Survey

Iwi Affiliation

The people we visited in Herekino and Manukau named a variety of iwi to which they or their children belonged, although about half belonged to either Ngai Tupato (which is linked with Ngapuhi and Te Rarawa) or Ngati Whatua; 4 people were said to belong to Ngapuhi, and 3 to Te Rarawa. Almost everyone in the households visited in Whangape belonged to Te Rarawa, and four out of five of the people included in the Pawarenga survey gave Te Aopouri and/or Te Uri-o-Tai as their iwi (the rest belonged either to Ngapuhi or Ngati Kahu). Half the household heads we interviewed in Herekino and Manukau had lived in the district since childhood, compared with three-quarters of those in Pawarenga and about two-thirds in Whangape.

Ability to Speak and Understand Maori

The table on page 2 shows how much Maori was known by people of various ages in the households we visited in these communities. In Herekino and Manukau, all the fluent speakers of Maori were over 45 when the survey took place, and two out of three younger adults and children had little or no knowledge of the language at that time. In Pawarenga, however, there were fluent speakers of Maori in all age groups, although children under 15 were more likely to be able to understand Maori than to speak it as their first language. The situation in Whangape was somewhere in between, with most people knowing a little Maori, but few fluent speakers in the under-45 age groups.

Eight of the nine household heads we interviewed in Pawarenga had Maori as their first language, and three of them had learned to read and write in Maori before they were able to read and write in English. Four of the five household heads in Whangape also had

Maori as their first language (one had learned English also when very young), but six of the seven interviewed in Manukau and Herekino were native-speakers of English, and everyone in these three districts had first learned to read and write in English.

Use of the Maori Language in the Household

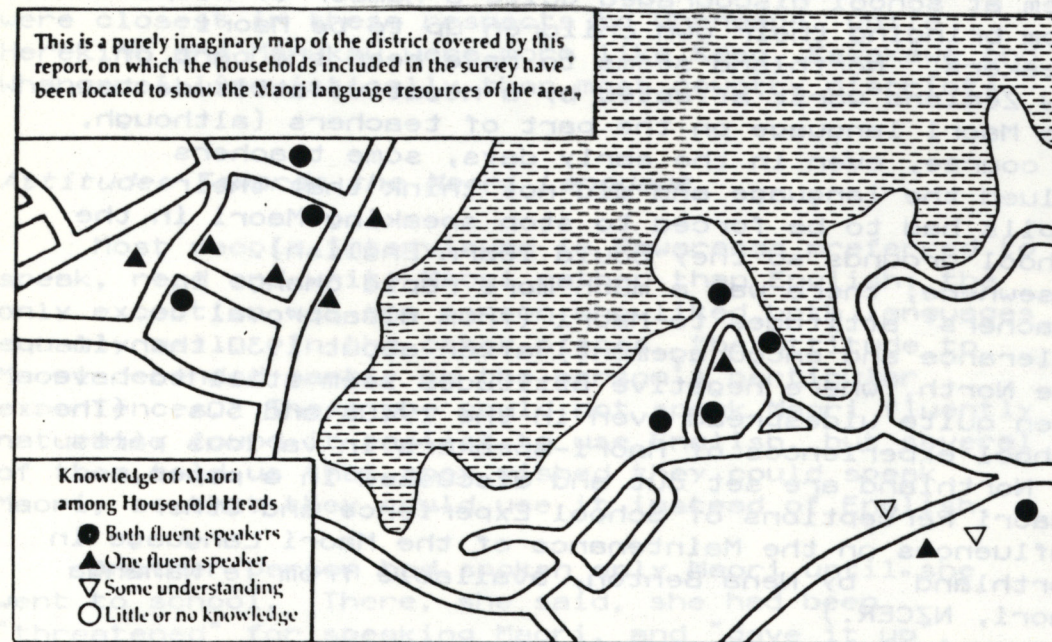
English was the main language used when all members of the family were together in households where there were still children of school age or younger, except in Pawarenga, where two of the eight families with dependent children used Maori most of the time, and three used Maori and English about equally. In all communities, however, visitors were more likely to be spoken with in Maori than were children in the family, and several parents who spoke Maori to their children at least once in a while mentioned that the children preferred to answer in English. All the homes we visited in Whangape and Pawarenga, however, had at least one adult fluent in Maori, but this was the case in only two of the five in Manukau and Herekino. (This is illustrated in the diagram on page 5.)

Maori Language in the Community

As might be expected, Manukau and Herekino were the places where English was used most of the time in all situations in the community; Maori people are in a minority in these two districts, and few of the people we interviewed regarded themselves as fluent Maori-speakers. Three of the five adults we interviewed there who spoke on the marae said they used English even in whaikorero, as their Maori was not good enough. However, these people also said that their kaumatua would use only Maori on such occasions. There were two people in Whangape and one in Pawarenga

who also spoke in English on the marae; however seven of the eight we spoke to in Pawarenga used only Maori in whaikorero, and three others in Whangape said they used Maori only (two) or a mixture of Maori and English. Again, they said that most of the kaumatua of their district would use Maori only.

Similarly, Maori was used by adults more often than English in many other situations outside the home in Whangape and Pawarenga. These included religious services in church (including sermons), prayers for opening and closing meetings, special prayers for the sick, as well as conversations with neighbors. In Whangape English was more likely to be used in addition to Maori in these situations; most people in Pawarenga said Maori was the main or only language they would normally use for such purposes.



HEREKINO TO PAWARENGA

Only one of the seven adults we interviewed in Manukau and Herekino had been punished for speaking Maori at school, although two others said that Maori had not been encouraged at school; one mentioned a rule against speaking Maori in the playground. Two others had found that they were allowed to use Maori at school. However four of the five people we spoke to in Whangape said they had been punished, while one had the opposite experience. One of those in Pawarenga also reported an accepting attitude among her former teachers, but the other seven said that they (three) or their classmates (four) had met the same fate as most of their Whangape counterparts.

One of the Whangape people said that "we were punished severely for speaking Maori, and that's the reason why none of us can speak Maori". What this really meant was that memories of what happened to them at school discouraged quite a number of people from bringing their own children up to be Maori speakers. Northland seems to have been the part of New Zealand worst affected by a negative attitude to the Maori language on the part of teachers (although, of course, even in the early days, some teachers valued the language and did not think that their pupils had to be forced to stop speaking Maori in the school grounds so they could learn English). Elsewhere, there was a much more rapid change in teachers' attitudes to Maori (from disapproval to tolerance and encouragement) after about 1930 than in the North, where negative attitudes seem still to have been quite widespread even in the 1940s and 50s. (The school experiences of Maori-speakers in various parts of Northland are set out and discussed in a paper, "Maori Perceptions of School Experience and Other Influences on the Maintenance of the Maori Language in Northland" by Nena Benton, available from Te Wahanga Maori, NZCER.)

It was only in Pawarenga that a Maori-speaker would have had a reasonable chance of being understood

if they were to speak Maori to anyone they came across, adult or child, at the time of our survey--the odds would have been 2 to 1 in their favour with adults, and just a little less than even with children. In Whangape, the chances of adults being able to use Maori in a chance meeting would have been just a little less than in Pawarenga, but only 1 in 5 between an adult and a child. In Manukau and Herekino, the odds were 4 to 1 against Maori among adults, and 50 to 1 against a successful chance conversation between an adult and a child. One person we interviewed in Herekino summed the situation there up by saying "not many people here can speak Maori--if they do, the conversation always finishes in English".

Other communities very like Pawarenga among those we visited in the North, as far as knowledge and use of Maori were concerned, were Waima, Te Hapua, Motatau and Te Tii. Awanui, Waitangi, Pupuke and Ohaeawai were closest in these respects to Whangape, while Herekino and Manukau were more like Kaeo, Kawakawa and Whangarei linguistically than most country districts.

Attitudes Towards the Maori Language

Most people interviewed in Pawarenga preferred to speak, read and write Maori rather than English; the only exception was one person who liked both languages equally well. In the other places, the attitude to Maori depended partly on the person's particular experiences. Those who could not speak Maori fluently naturally found it easiest to use English, but several of them told us that they wished they could speak Maori, so that they could use it instead of English.

Another person had spoken only Maori until she went to school. There, she said, she had been "threatened" for speaking Maori, and "gave it up". She spoke Maori again for a while when she moved to her husband's birthplace, but was "laughed at by the

locals", so "never spoke Maori again". However, she was hoping her daughter would study Maori at college. Several other people told us how their own parents, who were Maori-speakers, had not used Maori with them at home (presumably because they thought Maori might get in the way of schooling). At least one of these had since become a fluent speaker, but the others seemed to feel that it was too late now for them to learn.

Conclusion

There was much interest in the Maori language in all these communities at the time of our survey, although even in Pawarenga, where the language was strongest, Maori was fast being replaced by English as the main language of the community. Since then, the growth of the kohanga reo movement has given much hope to the many people in districts such as these, who want to see the Maori language flourish once more. The granting of official status to Maori from the beginning of 1988, and the establishment of a Maori Language Commission to promote the language will have given new hope to Te Aupouri and Te Rarawa that their ancestral language will not vanish from its heartland. However, the battle is still far from over, and unless Maori is used much more extensively on television, in particular, as well as in the schools, parents are likely to continue to find that English dominates their children's lives.

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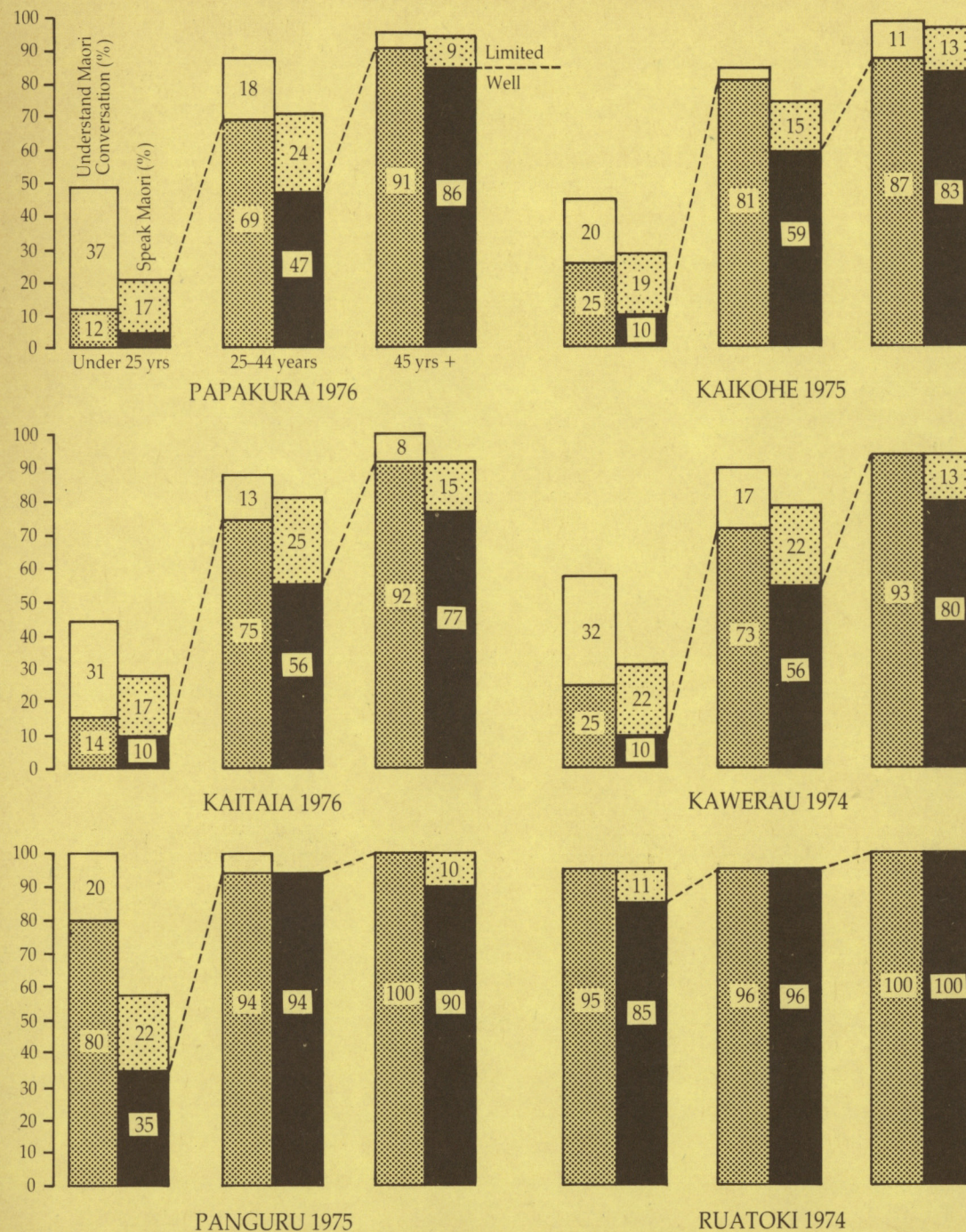
This report was prepared by Richard Benton

Field Records abstracted by Esme Fagasoia

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Knowledge of Maori Language by Age Groups in Selected Areas,
at the Time of the Linguistic Census



The Survey of Language Use in Maori Households and Communities

The census of language use on which this report is based is the first part of a general study of the place of the Maori language in Maori communities, its structure, how it is spoken and written under modern conditions, and its relevance to New Zealand as a nation. This study is being conducted by the Maori Unit of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Fieldwork for the census phase began in Whangaroa County and Te Tii in August 1973, and ended in August 1978. Follow-up studies and studies in additional communities will be undertaken from time to time (the first of these was conducted in Waverley in August 1979).

The map on the front cover shows the approximate localities in which ten or more households were visited between 1973 and 1979. Since the linguistic census was completed, the major task of the Unit has been the analysing and reporting of the information collected. At the same time, however, studies of the structure and usage of the Maori language have commenced; these will result in a series of handbooks and other materials for teachers of Maori (including parents), and for people wishing to learn the language. An example of this is *The First Basic Maori Word List*, published in 1982. Other publications have included background studies for bilingual education projects, and reports on policy issues affecting the Maori language and Maori speakers – for example, the legal status of Maori in New Zealand.

The Purpose of This Report

This report has been prepared for the people who participated in the original survey and who provided the information on which it is based. It is hoped that it will encourage people to compare the situation now with that at the time covered by the report, and that this information will provide a basis for discussion and debate about what action, if any, each community might take to ensure that the Maori language is at least as important in the twenty-first century as it was in the 1970s.

Further Information

One copy of this report is provided free to each person interviewed during the linguistic census in the area concerned, and to local schools, Maori Language Boards, and Maori Committees. Further information about the linguistic survey, and lists of publications, may be obtained from the Maori Unit, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, P.O. Box 3237, Wellington.



Ngā Mihi/Special Thanks

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