

TE TIROHANGA I TE KŌREROTANGA 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

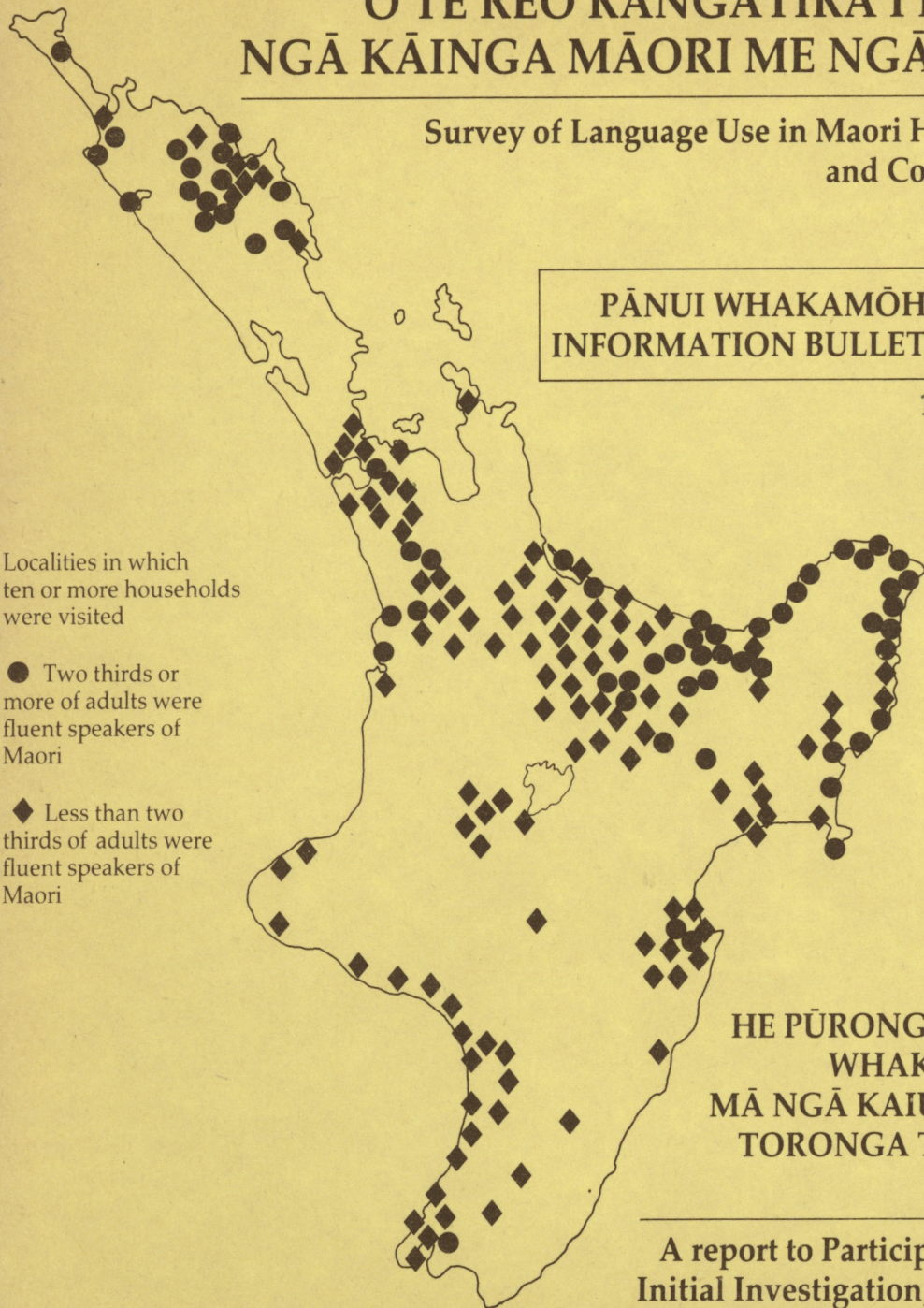
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Localities in which
ten or more households
were visited

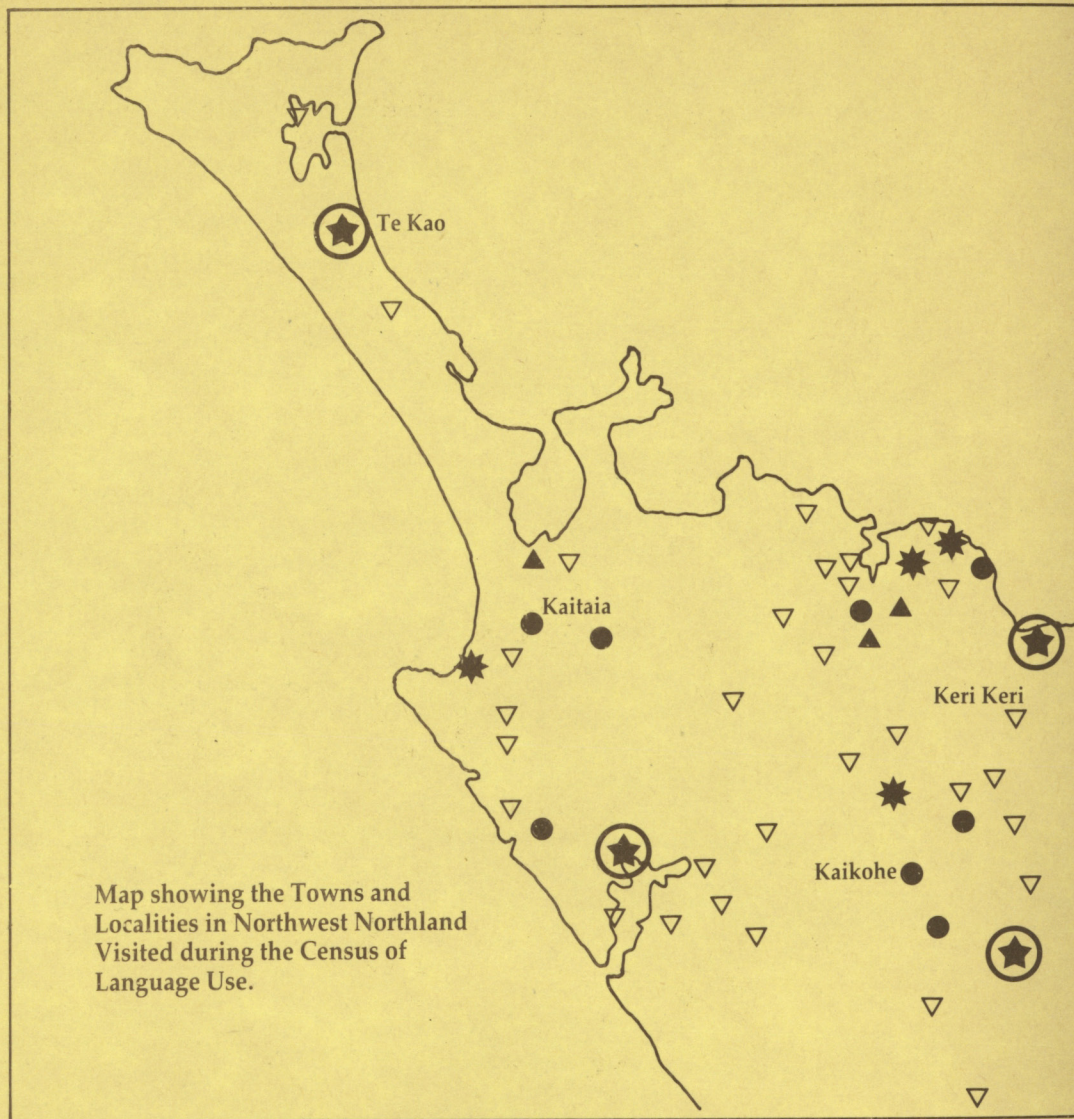
● Two thirds or
more of adults were
fluent speakers of
Maori

◆ 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%
- ▲ Less than 60%
- ★ 76% to 85%
- ▽ Fewer than 7 households visited
- 60% to 75%

THE MAORI LANGUAGE IN EASTERN HOKIANGA

This report summarizes the information gained in the survey of the use of the Maori language which was carried out in six communities in the eastern part of Hokianga County in January 1975. These were Rawene, Waima, Horeke, Mangamuka, Omanaia and Whirinaki. Three other Hokianga communities were also visited at that time, and are included in other reports in this series: Panguru and Rangi Point (Report No. 28), and Pawarenga (Report No. 124).

Altogether 24 households with 104 people (99 of Maori descent) were visited in the six districts discussed here. Five families were visited in Omanaia (with 22 people, 21 of whom were of Maori descent), five in Horeke (17 people, all Maori), four each in Waima (22 people, 19 Maori), Rawene (20 people, 19 Maori), and Whirinaki (21 people, all Maori), and only one in Mangamuka (2 people, both Maori). This was far fewer than we would have liked to include in our survey of this part of Northland, but we did not have the resources to do a more intensive study of the fate of the Maori language there. Nonetheless, even though only a few people from each community were interviewed, the information we were given by the families we visited fits in well with what we learned in other parts of the North, and seems to give a good picture of the language situation in their districts at the time.

The interviewers were Kahu Waititi (Ngapuhi & Te Whanau-a-Apanui), Peter and Iriaka Wensor (Ngapuhi), Joan Walker (Ngapuhi), Charis Rata (Te Whanau-a-Apanui), John Miller (Ngapuhi), Pare Rata (Ngapuhi), Hiti Tientjes (Tuhoe), William Martin (Ngati Manawa & Te Aupouri), Ripeka Koopu (Te Whanau-a-Apanui), Pare Irwin (Ngati Kahungunu), Lorraine Williams, Joe Rua (Te Whanau-a-Apanui), Ameria Ponika (Tuhoe), Gerard Ngawati (Ngapuhi), Carol Hindmarsh (Ngati Porou), Ani Allen (Ngati Awa), Helen Gillespie, and Titihuia Pryor (Tuhoe).

Iwi Affiliation

Ngapuhi was the iwi to which most of the people and their families belonged everywhere except Rawene. In Rawene, five different iwi were mentioned, with Ngapuhi having six members, and Ngati Kaharau (which is also linked to Ngapuhi) having five. More than half of the heads of the households we visited had been born and brought up in Hokianga County, and many had spent most of their lives in the district where they resided at the time of the interview.

Results of the Linguistic Survey

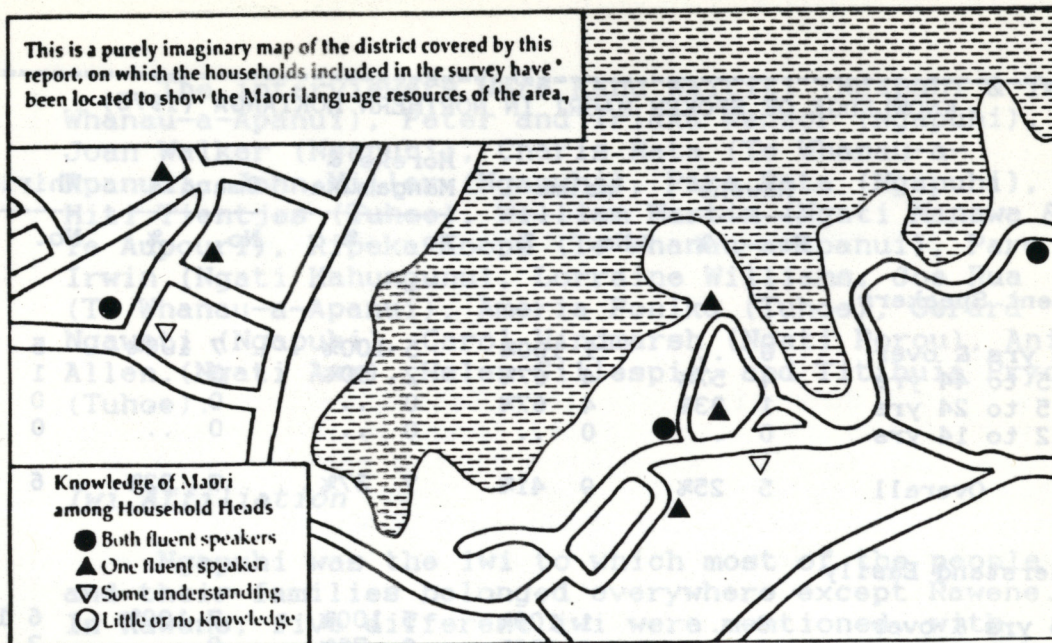
Ability to Speak and Understand Maori

As you can see from the table on the page opposite, most of the older people in the various districts could speak and understand Maori. In Waima, Omanaia and Rawene, the majority of the younger adults in the families surveyed at least understood Maori well. There were no households where young children were fluent Maori speakers, and it was only in Waima that a majority of children were said to be able to understand conversational Maori without much trouble.

KNOWLEDGE OF SPOKEN MAORI IN NORTHERN HOKIANGA (1975)

	Rawene		Waima		Horeke & Mangamuka		Omanaia		Whirinaki	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fluent Speakers										
45 yrs & over	0	..	1	100%	5	100%	7	100%	5	83%
25 to 44 yrs	4	57%	4	67%	2	50%	0	..	1	33%
15 to 24 yrs	1	33%	4	67%	0	..	0	..	0	..
2 to 14 yrs	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
Overall	5	25%	9	41%	7	37%	7	32%	6	29%
Understand Easily										
45 yrs & over	0	..	1	100%	5	100%	7	100%	6	100%
25 to 44 yrs	6	86%	6	100%	3	75%	0	..	2	33%
15 to 24 yrs	3	100%	6	100%	0	..	5	71%	2	40%
2 to 14 yrs	2	22%	5	63%	1	11%	2	29%	0	..
Overall	11	55%	18	86%	9	47%	14	64%	10	48%
Limited Understanding										
45 yrs & over	1	100%	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
25 to 44 yrs	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	1	33%
15 to 24 yrs	0	..	0	..	1	100%	2	100%	3	60%
2 to 14 yrs	4	44%	0	..	0	..	3	43%	3	43%
Overall	5	25%	0	..	1	5%	5	23%	7	33%
No Knowledge										
45 yrs & over	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
25 to 44 yrs	1	14%	0	..	1	25%	1	100%	0	..
15 to 24 yrs	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
2 to 14 yrs	3	33%	3	38%	8	89%	2	29%	4	57%
Overall	4	20%	3	14%	9	47%	3	14%	4	19%

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



RAWENE AND HOREKE

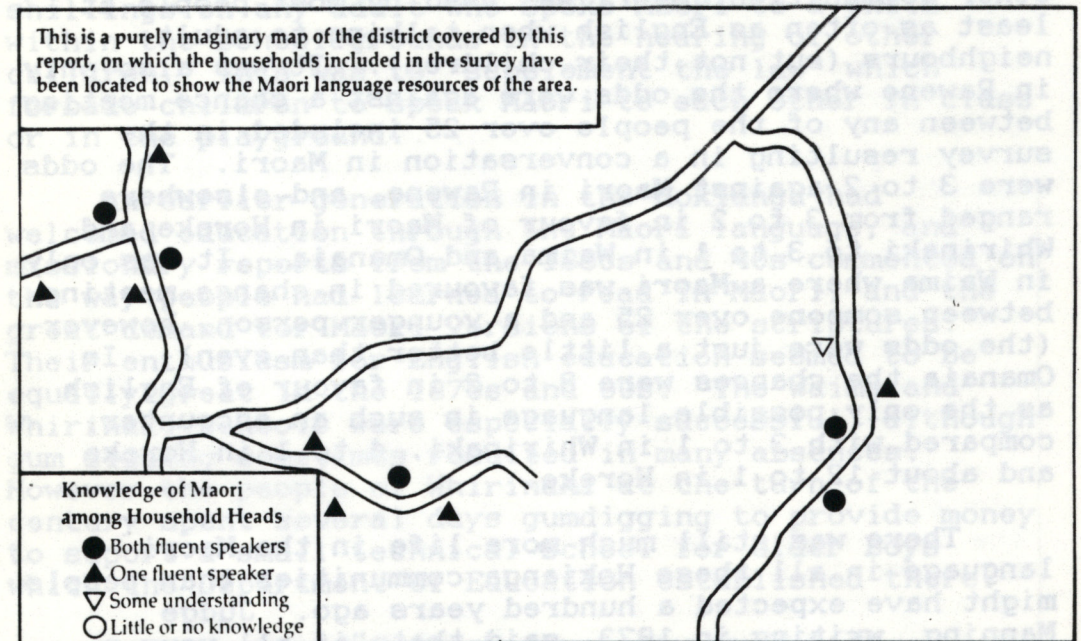
This was interesting, because several of the parents we interviewed there had learned Maori after they had already learned English. Elsewhere, the majority of the adults we interviewed were native speakers of Maori. Altogether, 13 people had Maori as their first language, one person had learned Maori and English together as a young child, and ten had English as a first language. Nine of the native speakers of Maori had learned to read and write in Maori at home, before they were able to read and write in English.

Use of the Maori Language in the Household

Maori was the main language used in six of the nine households we visited where there were no young children; two others used both Maori and English, and

only one such family spoke English all the time. Although Maori was used less often in the homes where there were children under the age of 18, only a few of these used nothing but English when all the family were together -- one each in Waima, Whirinaki and Horeke. Similarly, only one (in Waima), used Maori most of the time on such occasions. Of the remaining 11, six used both English and Maori fairly often, and five used more English than Maori. Of the five parents (one in each district, excluding Mangamuka) who told us that they usually spoke to their children in Maori, only two (one in Waima and one in Horeke) said that their children were likely to reply in Maori most of the time.

English was obviously the language most likely to be used by the younger generation, even in many of the Maori-speaking homes. Adult members of the family



WHIRINAKI, OMANAIA AND WAIMA

would often speak Maori to each other, however, and both Maori and English were likely to be used with visitors everywhere except Rawene (where most people said they used only English). There were no families among those we visited where the heads of the households had no knowledge of Maori at all. As the diagrams on the last two pages illustrate, only three homes (one each in Waima, Horeke and Rawene) did not have at least one fluent adult speaker of Maori, but even in these the household heads had at least a limited knowledge of the language.

Maori Language in the Community

In Rawene, the people we interviewed said that they spoke only English with their neighbours. In the other communities, Maori was used by most people at least as often as English when talking to adult neighbours (but not their children). It was also only in Rawene where the odds were against a chance meeting between any of the people over 25 included in the survey resulting in a conversation in Maori. The odds were 3 to 2 against Maori in Rawene, and elsewhere ranged from 3 to 2 in favour of Maori in Horeke and Whirinaki to 3 to 1 in Waima and Omanaia. It was only in Waima where a Maori was favoured in chance meeting between someone over 25 and a younger person, however (the odds were just a little better than even). In Omanaia the chances were 3 to 2 in favour of English as the only possible language in such an encounter, compared with 3 to 1 in Whirinaki, 4 to 1 in Horeke and about 12 to 1 in Horeke.

There was still much more life in the Maori language in all these Hokianga communities than people might have expected a hundred years ago. Judge Manning, writing in 1873, said that "if all your schools are going on as well as that of Wirinake [that is, Whirinaki] there will soon be no Maoris in

New Zealand". This was because one of the main purposes of the Maori schools was not just to teach English, but to turn Maori children into Englishmen and Englishwomen. At the time, a lot of people in the Hokianga seem to have thought that this was quite a good idea: Wi Te Hakiro and 336 others petitioned Parliament in 1876 asking that only teachers who themselves and their wives and children were "entirely ignorant of the Maori language" should be appointed to Maori schools. They thought that those children and adults at school at the time should be taught in Maori, but from that time on all Maori babies should be taught to speak English. They quoted the proverb *hutia te kauri i te itinga ano ka taea* to support their plan, which they thought would mean that their children "would soon attain to the acquirements of the Europeans". A few years later (in 1884) the Waima School Committee passed a law imposing a fine of five shillings on any adult who spoke Maori to a child within the school grounds in the hearing of other children. This was to "supplement the law" which forbade children to speak Maori to each other in class or in the playground.

An earlier generation in the Hokianga had welcomed education through the Maori language, and missionary reports from the 1830s and 40s commented on the way people had learned to read in Maori, and the great demand for Maori versions of the scriptures. Their enthusiasm for English education seemed to be equally great in the 1870s and 80s. The Waima and Whirinaki schools were especially successful, although gum digging sometimes resulted in many absences. However the people of Whirinaki at the turn of the century spent several days gumdigging to provide money to support a small technical school for older boys which the Department of Education established there.

So school and English were very much tied together, even though most people still spoke Maori at home. For this reason, many of the older people we

spoke to in the country districts did not have very happy memories of their school days especially where the Maori language was concerned. Of those who were able to speak Maori, only the ones from Rawene had no unpleasant experiences; 4 said there was no rule against using the language, and one had been encouraged to speak Maori by some teachers. Of the rest, 10 had themselves been punished physically for speaking Maori at school, 3 had been given other punishments (like "writing lines"), and three said they escaped but their friends were punished. Only one had gone to a school where it didn't matter if you spoke Maori or not. One kuia in Omanaia told us that she received no education while at primary school, because she never understood enough English. "Na te korero i tetahi kupu Maori i tona matou ki te tiki kohatu, ka wepua ranei" (the stones were used for the school path).

By the time of the survey, schools were already much happier places for Maori-speaking pupils, and for those who wanted to learn Maori. Several of the people we met in these communities were already teaching Maori in local primary schools, and were hopeful that this would lead to more use of the language in the homes. (The school experiences of Maori-speakers in various parts of Northland who took part in our survey 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.)

Two areas of activity where Maori had remained particularly strong were in religious practices and on the marae. In Rawene, the people we interviewed seem to use English more often, but elsewhere prayers for opening and closing meetings and prayers for the sick, as well as religious services, were likely to be in Maori. All the people we spoke to in Waima normally said grace in Maori, but those in Horeke and Whirinaki

were just as likely to use English. On the marae, however, Maori was the only language anyone would use in whaikorero; those whose Maori was not good enough would simply keep quiet. (In some other parts of the North English had already crept in, even in this very Maori domain.) Even chatting on the marae was likely to be done in Maori more often than in most other situations by the people we spoke to in these districts.

The chart on the next page shows how the Maori language had fared in the districts reported on here, compared with other Northland communities. Overall, it could be said that Maori was more the language of older people in these districts at the time of the survey, but it came closer to still being a language of the whole community in Waima than anywhere else. In some ways Horeke and Whirinaki had gone further towards being only English speaking communities in the future than the rest, but there were still enough Maori speakers even in these places to change this, if they were given help and encouragement to do so.

Attitudes Towards the Maori Language

On the whole, the people we spoke to in all these communities wished that Maori could be revived as a language which everyone was able to speak. There were many reasons why most families now tended to use English, among them outside influences such as television, the fact that English had for so long been the only language of the school, and of course some of the parents of young children had themselves been brought up in mainly English-speaking communities or families. One person in Horeke had given up using Maori with her younger children after "being berated for it by a Pakeha grandmother".

USE OF MAORI IN THE MAORI COMMUNITY (1973-79)
(SELECTED DISTRICTS IN NORTHLAND)

MAORI-SPEAKING DISTRICTS

(1) Wholly Maori Speaking	(2) Mainly Maori-Speaking
(None)	Matawaia (14) Panguru (28)

MARGINALLY MAORI-SPEAKING DISTRICTS

Te Hapua (25) Pipiwai (53) Motatau (23) ** Waima

DISTRICTS WHERE AT LEAST ONE CHILD IN FIVE UNDERSTOOD MAORI EASILY

Chances that ADULTS could talk Maori with each other:
(1) Two-to-one (2) Fifty-fifty (3) Less than even

Te Kao (25)	Awanui (115)	Pukepoto (115)
** Omanaia	Whangape (124)	** Rawene

DISTRICTS WHERE MANY ADULTS WERE BILINGUAL

Chances that adults could talk Maori with each other:
(1) Two-to-one or better (2) At least fifty-fifty

** Horeke	Kaitaia (115)
Punaruuku (100)	** Whirinaki
Ahipara (115)	Whananaki (134)

DISTRICTS WHERE MAORI-SPEAKERS WERE A MINORITY

Proportion of families with a Maori-speaking head:
(1) Two-thirds (2) About half (3) Not many

Kaero (34)	Russell (100)	(none)
Whangarei (15)	Karetu (49)	

** Included in this report; () Other report numbers.

A few people who did speak Maori a lot thought that the quality of the everyday language had deteriorated in their generation. One person from Waima told us "we speak Maori gibberish; it's a shame we don't speak proper Maori". This person was probably applying too strict a standard, but just the same many people realized that their opportunities for using Maori were rapidly growing less, and the development of the language was stifled by this. Of the Maori speakers we interviewed, 16 preferred to speak Maori, 5 preferred English, and two found both languages much the same. For reading and writing, however, it was the other way around; 7 preferred Maori, but 15 liked English better for reading, and 17 preferred to write in English. This very much reflected the opportunities these people had for using English and Maori for such purposes.

Conclusion

A hundred years after Judge Manning and his contemporaries thought Maori language and culture would soon have disappeared from this part of the Hokianga, the language was still alive, and the culture flourishing. However, in the families we visited and their communities, there was concern that the earlier predictions that Maori would be replaced by English might yet come true. Several people we interviewed were already working hard to make sure that this did not happen. Some were continuing to use the language at home, despite the difficulties this posed because English had become so much easier for their children, while speaking Maori required a lot more effort. One was a primary school teacher who was teaching it to her pupils, and several others were helping to do this as volunteers at their local schools. In Waima, an interest was being taken in bilingual education; just as the people there in the 1870s had seen schools as the best way of adapting

their children for life in a modern, English-speaking world, they now saw the school as a place where their children could recapture their equally important Maori heritage.

Since then, the kohanga reo movement has had a tremendous impact on many Maori communities, giving the people the chance to take control of the education of their children and grandchildren, and making it possible for the Maori language to live on and flourish in the twenty-first century. This will still require a lot of hard work and sacrifice on the part of the people involved, because the Hokianga is one of the poorest parts of New Zealand, and its once thriving Maori communities are now often small and isolated. The Commission for the Maori Language, established under the Maori Language Act 1987, has the responsibility for advising the government on what needs to be done to promote the use of the Maori language and to ensure its survival. It is to be hoped that the Commission will take a very active part in helping people in communities like Waima, Whirinaki, Horeke, Omanaia and Rawene to obtain the resources and support they need in their task of re-establishing Maori as the first language of the Hokianga region.

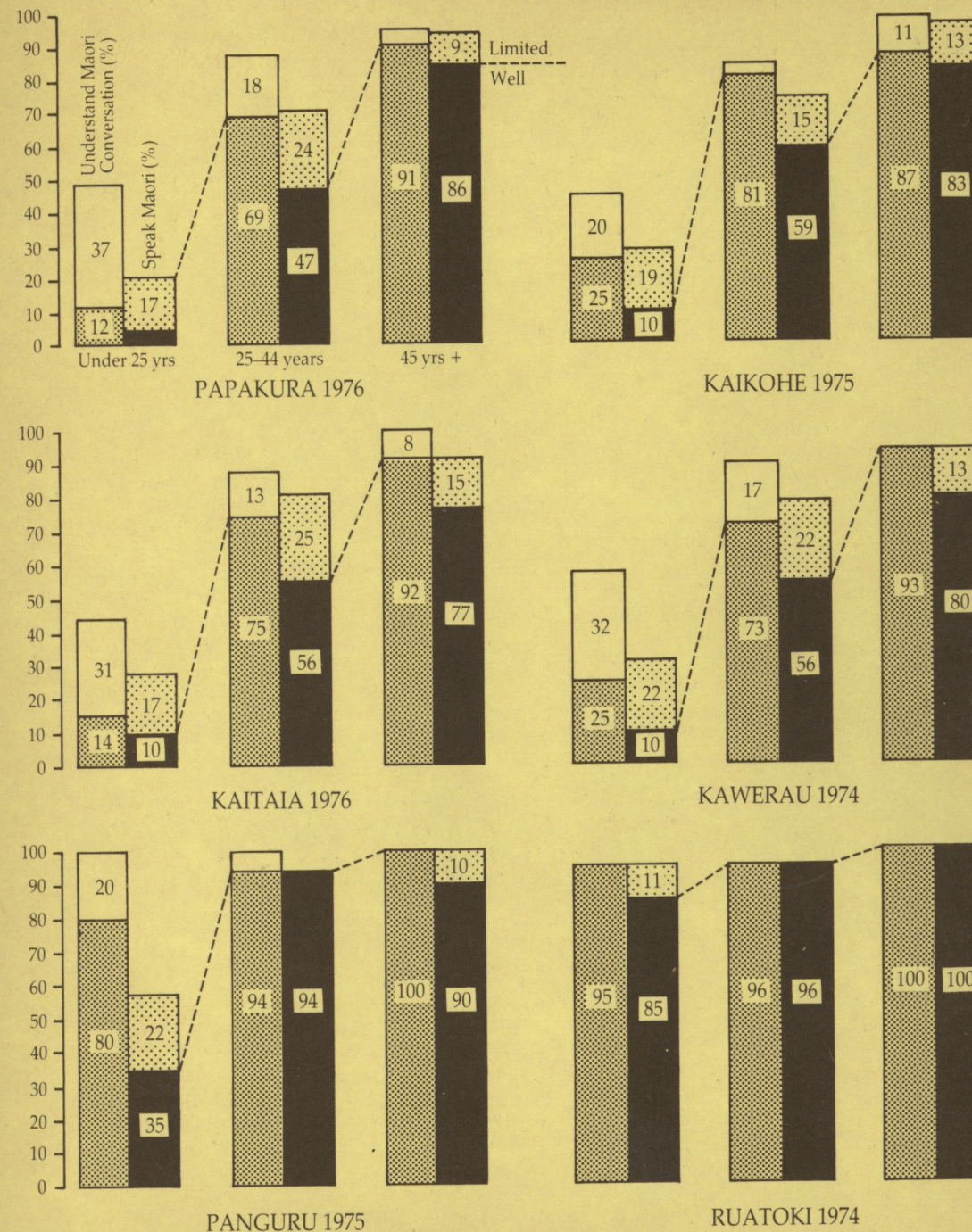


This report was prepared by Richard Benton

Survey data abstracted by Cynthia Yip & 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

Our first thanks must go to the 6,500 Maori families who entrusted us with the information presented in this series of reports. Fieldwork for the survey was funded substantially by contributions from the Lottery Board of Control, Fletcher Holdings Limited, the Maori Purposes Fund, and the Maori Education Foundation. The coding and analysis of the data was supported initially by a grant from Fletcher Holdings Limited, and further financial assistance for these purposes has been provided by Mobil Oil N.Z. Limited, the Post Primary Teachers Association, the New Zealand Educational Institute and the Raukawa Trustees. The writing of these reports was made possible by the generosity of the J.R. McKenzie Trust.