

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

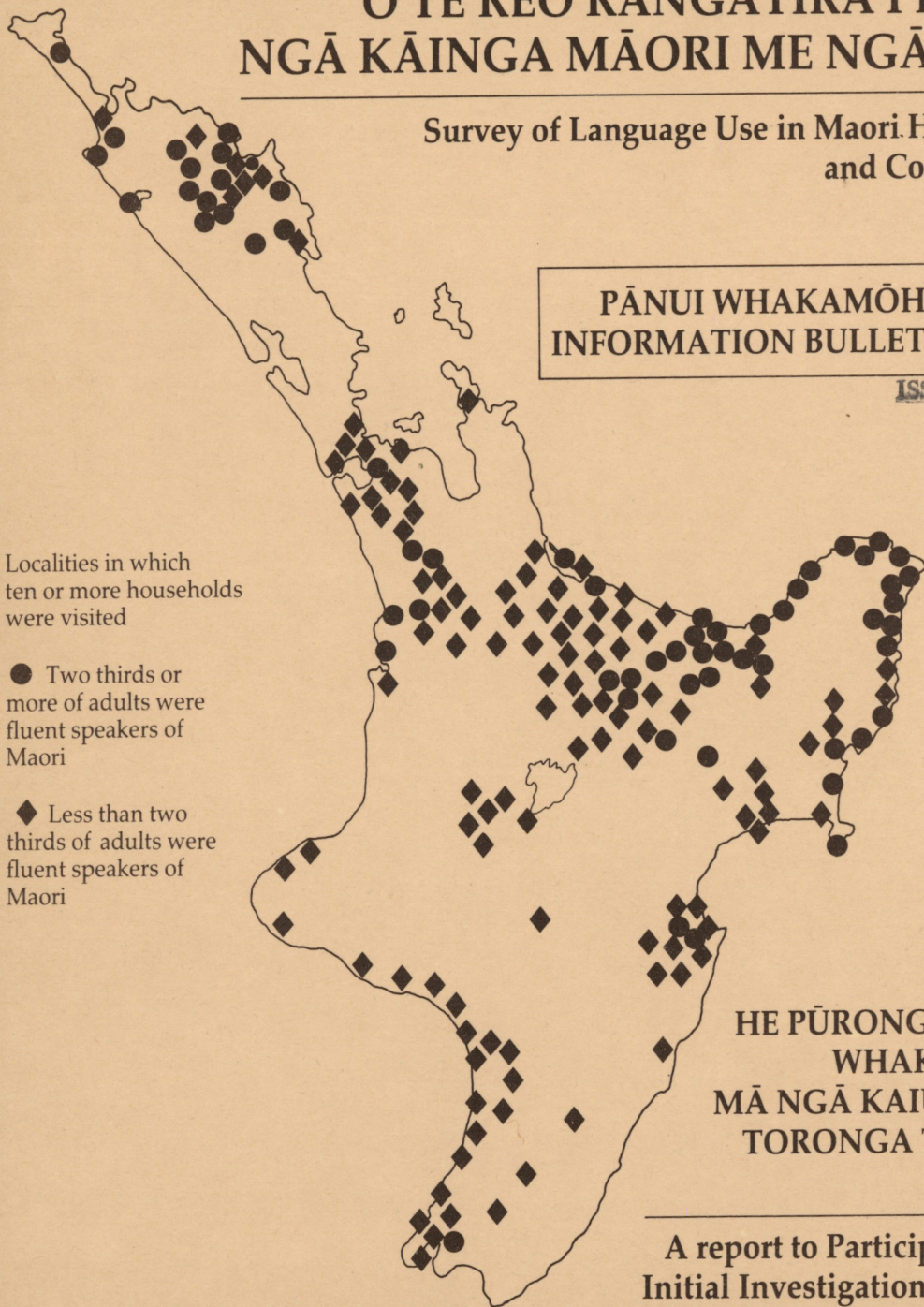
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Localities in which
ten or more households
were visited

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

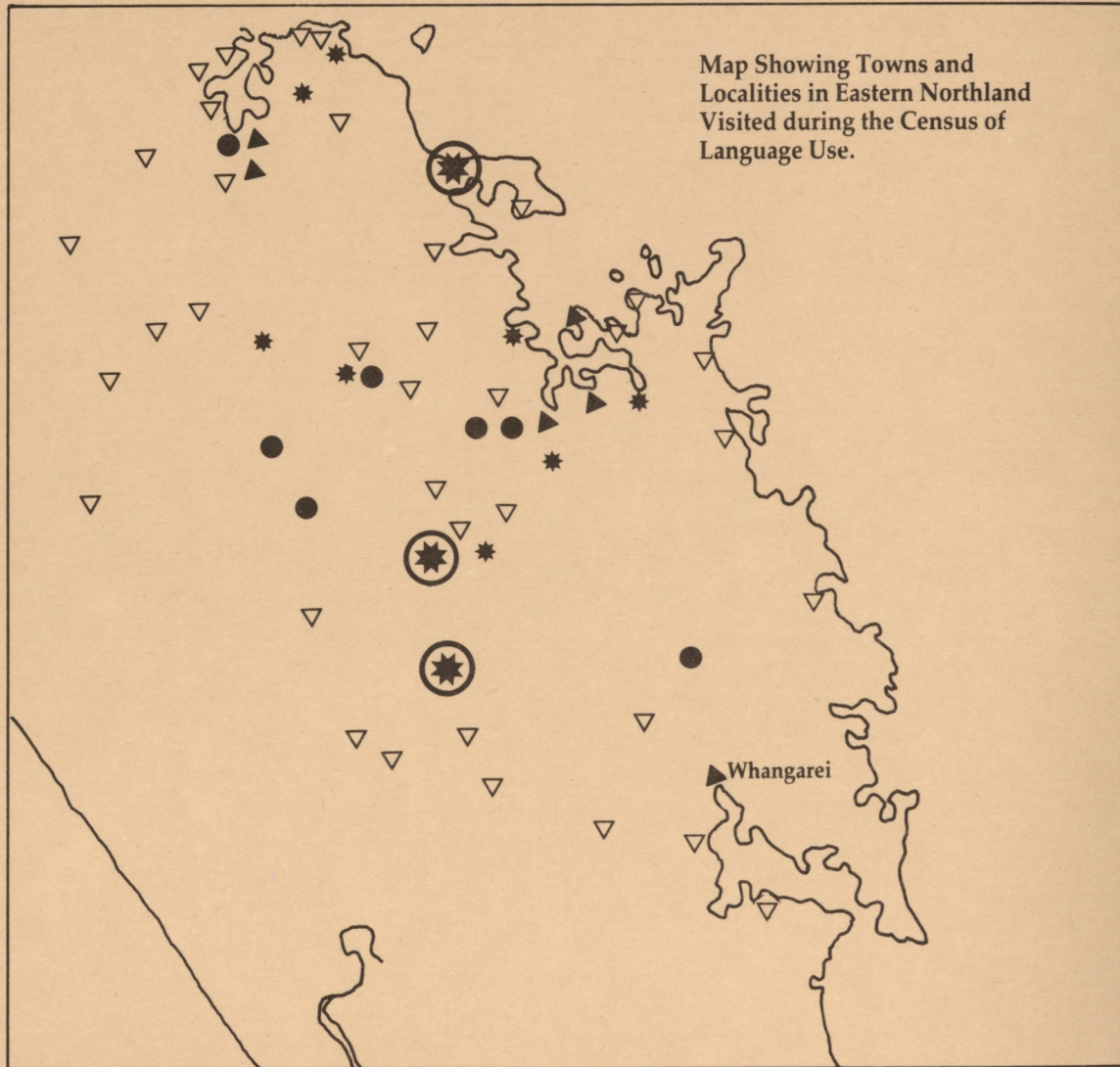
◆ Less than two
thirds of adults were
fluent speakers of
Maori



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

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

Map Showing Towns and Localities in Eastern Northland Visited during the Census of Language Use.



Percentage of Fluent Speakers of Maori among Persons Aged 25 and Over in Households Visited.

★ 90% or more

★ 75% to 89%

● 60% to 74%

▲ 50% to 59%

▽ Fewer than 8 households visited

THE MAORI LANGUAGE IN HIKURANGI, WHANAKI AND THE MANGAKAHIA VALLEY

This report summarizes the results of the sociolinguistic survey conducted between 1975 and 1976 in Whananaki, Hikurangi, Awarua, Mangakahia, Pakotai, Parakao and Titoki.

The interviews were conducted by Peter Wensor (Ngapuhi), Iriaka Wensor (Ngapuhi), Rena Tito (Ngati Whatua), Willie Martin (Te Aupouri), Ripeka Koopu Martin (Te Whanau-a-Apanui), Kahu Waititi (Ngapuhi/Te Whanau-a-Apanui), Sue Rikihana (Ngapuhi), Tawini Rangihau (Tuhoe), Ameria Ponika (Tuhoe) and Joe Rua (Te Whanau-a-Apanui).

In all there were 31 households visited in these districts, with a total of 121 people: 14 homes in Hikurangi, with 57 people (about a fifth of the Maori community there at the time); 4 in Whananaki (19 people, about two-fifths of the Maori population); and 13 in Awarua, Pakotai, Mangakahia, Parakao and Titoki combined (with 45 people, just over a quarter of the Maori population of these districts). Four interviews were in Maori, three in Maori and English, and the rest in English.

Iwi Affiliation

In Hikurangi, more than nine out of every ten people in the study were of Ngapuhi affiliation; the other major iwi mentioned was Te Aupouri. About eight out of every ten people in Arawa, Mangakaha, Panakao, Pakotai and Titoki claimed membership of the Ngapuhi tribe and almost one-fifth belonged to Ngati Whatua. In Whananaki, most families were affiliated to both Ngapuhi and Ngati Wai. Almost all the household heads in Whananaki had been born and brought up in the Whangarei County compared with a little over half of the household heads in Arawa, Mangakaha, Parakao, Pakotai and Titoki and two fifths in Hikurangi.

Results of the Linguistic Survey

Ability to Speak and Understand Maori

Even a quick glance at the table on the opposite page is enough for readers of this report to appreciate that with the exception of Hikurangi, where there appeared to be more knowledge of Maori among children, fluency in the language tended to be confined to people over 24 years of age. There was evidence of a more passive form of knowledge among some younger people, but the high proportion of young people in all the communities with no knowledge at all of Maori meant that the chance of Maori being used as a language of conversation across different generations was quite slim. The people who either spoke Maori fluently or understood it easily were in the higher age groups in all the communities.

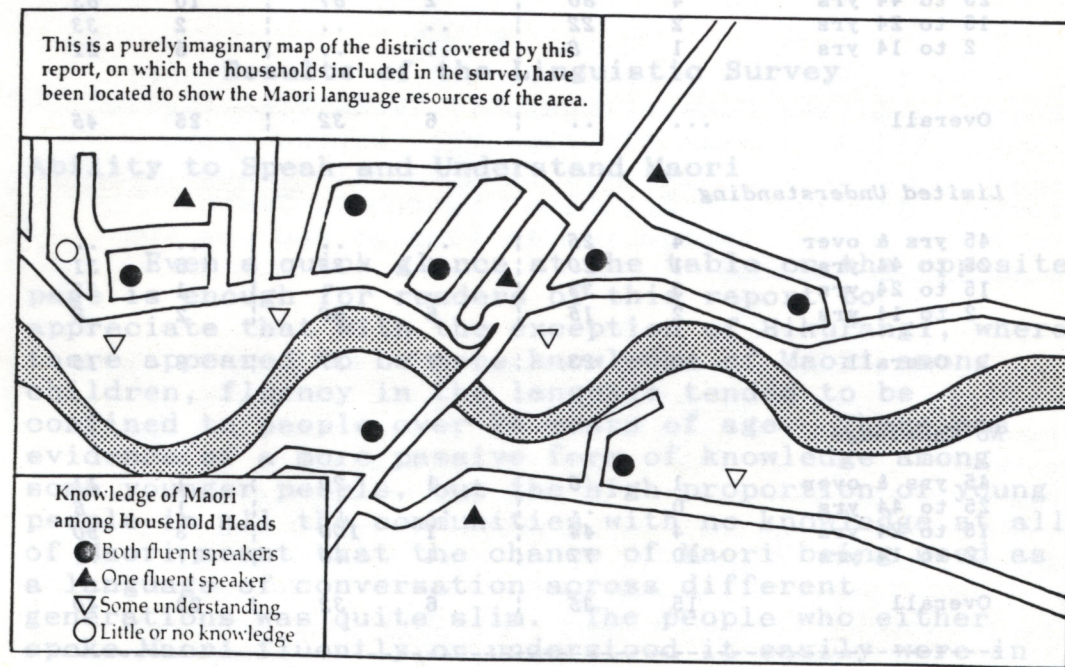
KNOWLEDGE OF SPOKEN MAORI IN HIKURANGI, WHANAKI AND THE MANGAKAHIA VALLEY (1975/76)

	Mangakahia Titoki, &c		Whananaki		Hikurangi	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
Fluent Speakers						
45 yrs & over	9	56	4	80	6	67
25 to 44 yrs	3	60	2	67	11	69
15 to 24 yrs	..	..	..	..	1	17
2 to 14 yrs	..	..	..	..	2	8
Overall	12	28	6	32	20	36
Understand Easily						
45 yrs & over	11	69	4	80	8	89
25 to 44 yrs	4	80	2	67	10	63
15 to 24 yrs	2	22	..	..	2	33
2 to 14 yrs	1	8	..	..	5	21
Overall	..	..	6	32	25	45
Limited Understanding						
45 yrs & over	4	25	..	..	..	..
25 to 44 yrs	1	20	1	33	5	31
15 to 24 yrs	3	33	..	..	1	17
2 to 14 yrs	2	15	6	60	2	8
Overall	10	23	7	37	8	15
No Knowledge						
45 yrs & over	1	6	1	20	1	11
25 to 44 yrs	0	..	..	..	1	6
15 to 24 yrs	4	44	1	100	3	50
2 to 14 yrs	10	77	4	40	17	71
Overall	15	35	6	32	22	40

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

Use of the Maori Language in the Household

In Whananaki all the household heads spoke Maori as their first language; in Hikurangi there were eight who spoke only Maori when they were children, two who had spoken both Maori and English, and five who had learnt only English. In the other communities, however, there were only four household heads who said Maori they had spoken only Maori, two who had learned both Maori and English, and six English only. For writing the corresponding numbers who mentioned Maori as the first language they had used only were even lower: three people in Hikurangi, two in Whananaki and two in the other communities; the rest said English only.



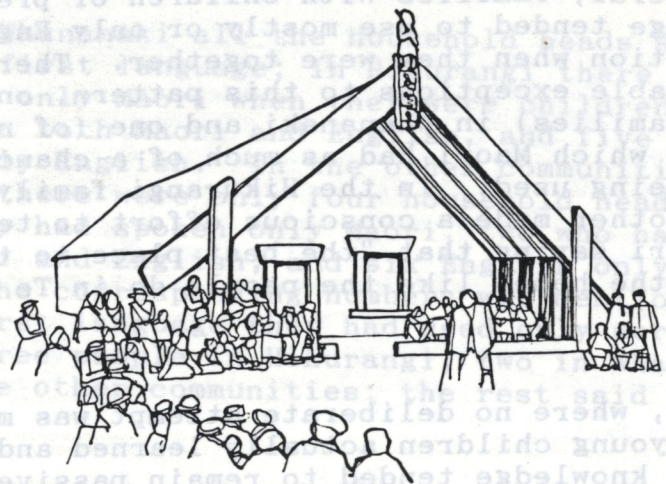
HIKURANGI

In general, families with children of pre-school and school age tended to use mostly or only English for conversation when they were together. There were only two notable exceptions to this pattern, one (of three such families) in Whananaki and one (of nine) in Hikurangi in which Maori had as much of a chance as English of being used. In the Hikurangi family, both father and mother made a conscious effort to teach the children Maori saying that "the best place to teach Maori is in the home, like the people do in Te Kao and Pipiwai."

Indeed, where no deliberate attempt was made to ensure that young children actually learned and used Maori, their knowledge tended to remain passive, even when both parents were fluent speakers. In five of the Hikurangi homes with young children both parents were fluent speakers but four of these families used more English than Maori and another four used only English when they were together. One of the people we interviewed in Hikurangi pointed out that children "don't have anyone to talk Maori to", which made the maintenance of Maori such an uphill struggle; she thought that the school could be of assistance in this struggle. Interestingly, this person spoke Maori to her own children the whole time the interviewer was there.

Even among the families that had no members below 18, the trend to use more Maori in the home was not very much stronger. There was only one such family (in Hikurangi) where members spoke to each other in Maori most of the time. Of the other families, almost half used only English and the rest used a mixture of English and Maori.

In general, families with children of pre-school and school age tended to use Maori for conversation when they were together. There were only two notable exceptions: three such families in Hikurangi in which English of some degree was used. In the latter two cases, the children were in the lower grades of school. In the first case, the children were in the upper grades. In the latter two cases, the children were in the lower grades of school. In the first case, the children were in the upper grades of school. In the latter two cases, the children were in the lower grades of school.



The Maori Language in the Community

English was fast becoming the language of conversation of the neighborhood, particularly in Hikurangi where more than half of the people we interviewed reported using only English when talking to their neighbors compared with one of four people in Whananaki and exactly half in the other five communities. Most people, however, did not hesitate to use Maori to visitors who could speak the language.

In church, the language used for services and the sermon depended very much on the priest's or minister's language; often the sermon was either in Maori or in a mixture of Maori and English. Hikurangi had the highest proportion of people who reported using entirely English in church services and other

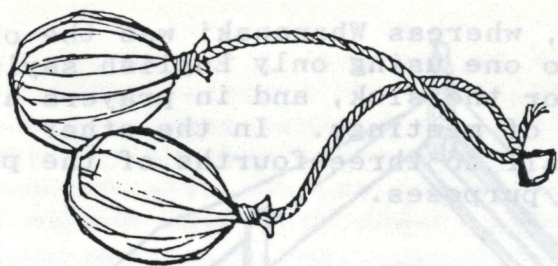
HIKURANGI

religious occasions, whereas Whananaki was the other extreme of having no one using only English saying grace, in prayers for the sick, and in prayers at the opening and closing of meetings. In the other communities about half to three-fourths of the people used Maori for such purposes.

In the marae all the kaumatua and other adults of Whananaki used Maori alone not only when giving whaikorero but also while relaxing during a hui. In Hikurangi and in the other communities formal speeches by the kaumatua normally were usually in Maori (the few exceptions were given in a mixture of English and Maori). When the kaumatua were chatting they used Maori in Hikurangi; in the other communities, a third used a mixture of Maori and English. About half of the other adult members of the community also used Maori when giving whaikorero but more English crept into their conversation as they relaxed.

None of the people we interviewed in Hikurangi or Whananaki had suffered corporal punishment for speaking Maori at primary school, but in the other communities there were three who reported being strapped or hit with supplejack. Some people said their teacher had a negative attitude although they have not directly experienced punishment. One Mangakahia resident said that he "found life very hard when young" and "could not understand the difference between Maori and Pakeha until he was older," having spoken only Maori until he was ten; he did not think he was alone in having such difficulty.





Attitudes towards the Maori Language

The people differed widely in their attitudes towards the Maori language. All the four Whananaki residents who were interviewed preferred Maori for conversation, but for reading only one preferred Maori, while two preferred English and the last one felt positive about both languages. For writing, there was also a mixed response: one person preferred English, one also expressed a definite preference for Maori and the other two said they would prefer Maori if it were possible for them to learn to write in it.

In Hikurangi, one-fifth of the people we interviewed preferred Maori for conversation, a third preferred English and half did not mind which language they used; for reading and writing about two-thirds preferred English, only one person preferred Maori for reading, also one person preferred Maori for writing, whereas one-third said both languages were good for reading and one-fifth did not mind which language they used for writing.

In the other five communities the same proportion (about half) of the people preferred Maori as those who preferred English for conversation but two people viewed both languages favourably; for reading and writing two people preferred Maori, one had no preference and the rest (three-fourths) preferred English.

While some parents went out of their way to teach their young children the Maori language, there were others whose own unpleasant experience in the past had made them resolve to keep the children from suffering the same fate by teaching them only English. The situation, however, was also viewed with regret, as in the case of this parent:

"I couldn't speak English before starting school and was punished so severely that I was determined that my own children wouldn't have to go through the same thing. Now none can speak or understand [Maori]. I'm sorry about the children's lack of Maoritanga."



Conclusion

Some people looked to the school for support in teaching Maori to their children. Their feeling was that left on their own, young children just do not have enough opportunity to learn the language and their parents could not maintain a Maori environment for them without outside support.

When we did our study in 1975-1976 people already showed their awareness of what their children were missing, and, although bilingual education was not talked about much in those days, the need for it was already in the minds of some parents. For those who do not want to wait until their children go to primary school, the kohanga reo which have since been set up would be very helpful.

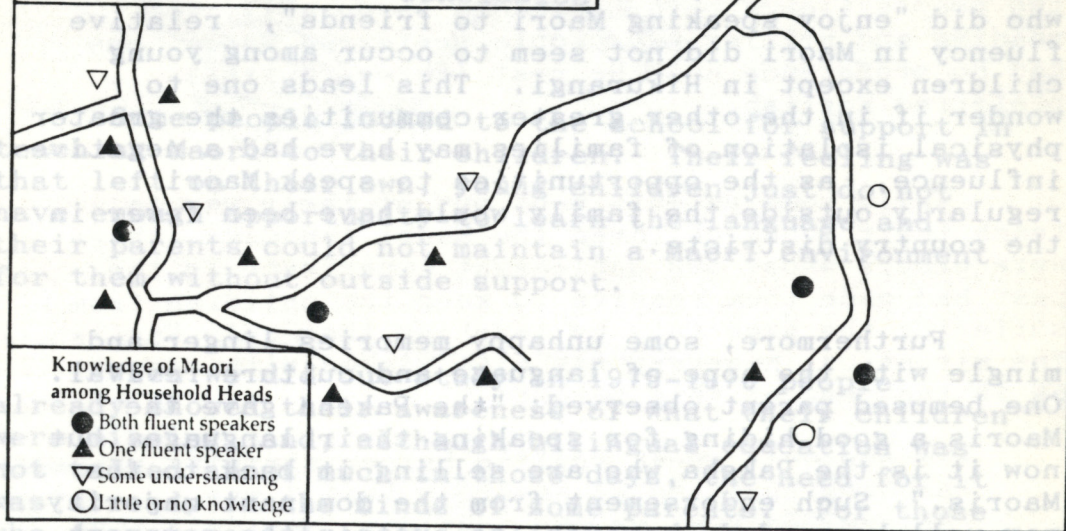
In Hikurangi a number of reasons were cited for the Maori language and culture not flourishing. Some of these were echoed in the other communities. Not only were opportunities for learning to speak, read or write in Maori limited, but as one concerned parent pointed out, the few children who managed to learn the language also got subjected to teasing by other children.

Nevertheless, although there was still a certain amount of passive learning going on in most of these communities, if only because there were a few adults who did "enjoy speaking Maori to friends", relative fluency in Maori did not seem to occur among young children except in Hikurangi. This leads one to wonder if in the other greater communities the greater physical isolation of families may have had a negative influence, as the opportunities to speak Maori regularly outside the family would have been fewer in the country districts.

Furthermore, some unhappy memories linger and mingle with the hope of language and culture revival. One bemused parent observed: "the Pakeha gave the Maoris a good hiding for speaking their language, but now it is the Pakeha who are selling it back to the Maoris." Such endorsement from the dominant majority may well be needed, however, to sustain the movement that is still gathering momentum.



This is a purely imaginary map of the district covered by this report, on which the households included in the survey have been located to show the Maori language resources of the area.



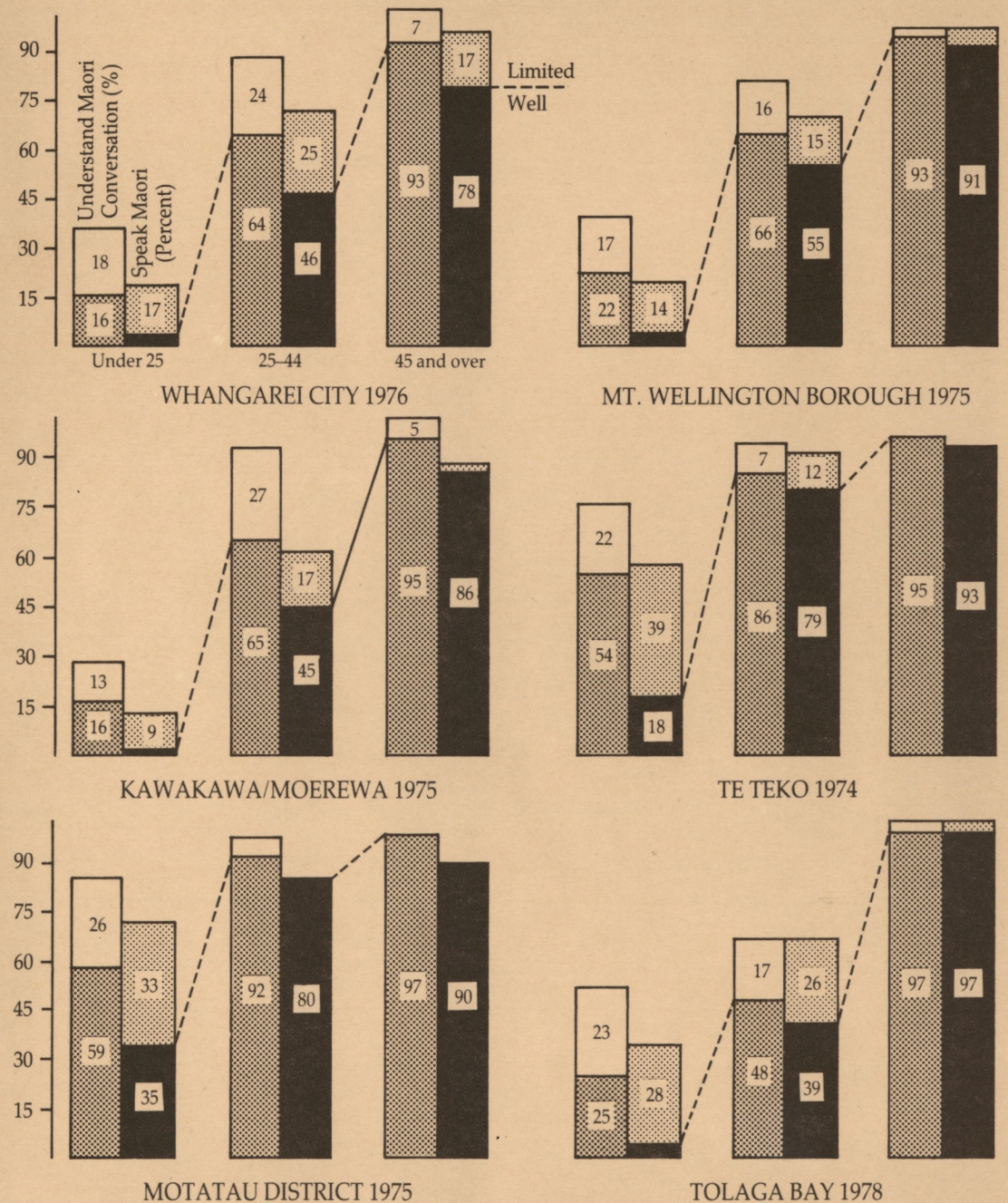
RURAL AREAS

In Hikurangi a number of reasons were cited for the Maori language and culture not flourishing. Some of these were echoed in the other communities. Not only were opportunities for learning to speak, read or write in Maori limited, but the concerned parent pointed out, the language was not being passed on to children.

This report was prepared by Nena Benton

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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.