

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

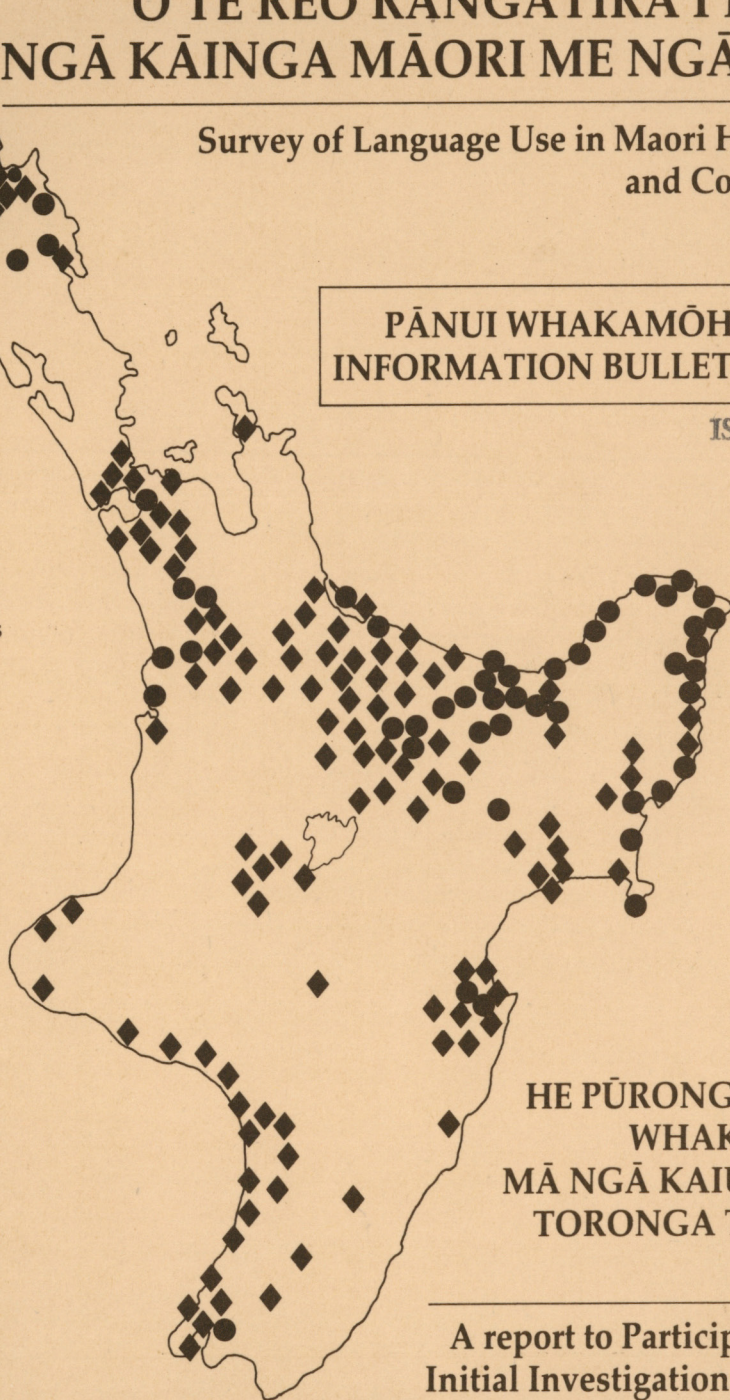
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Localities in which
ten or more households
were visited

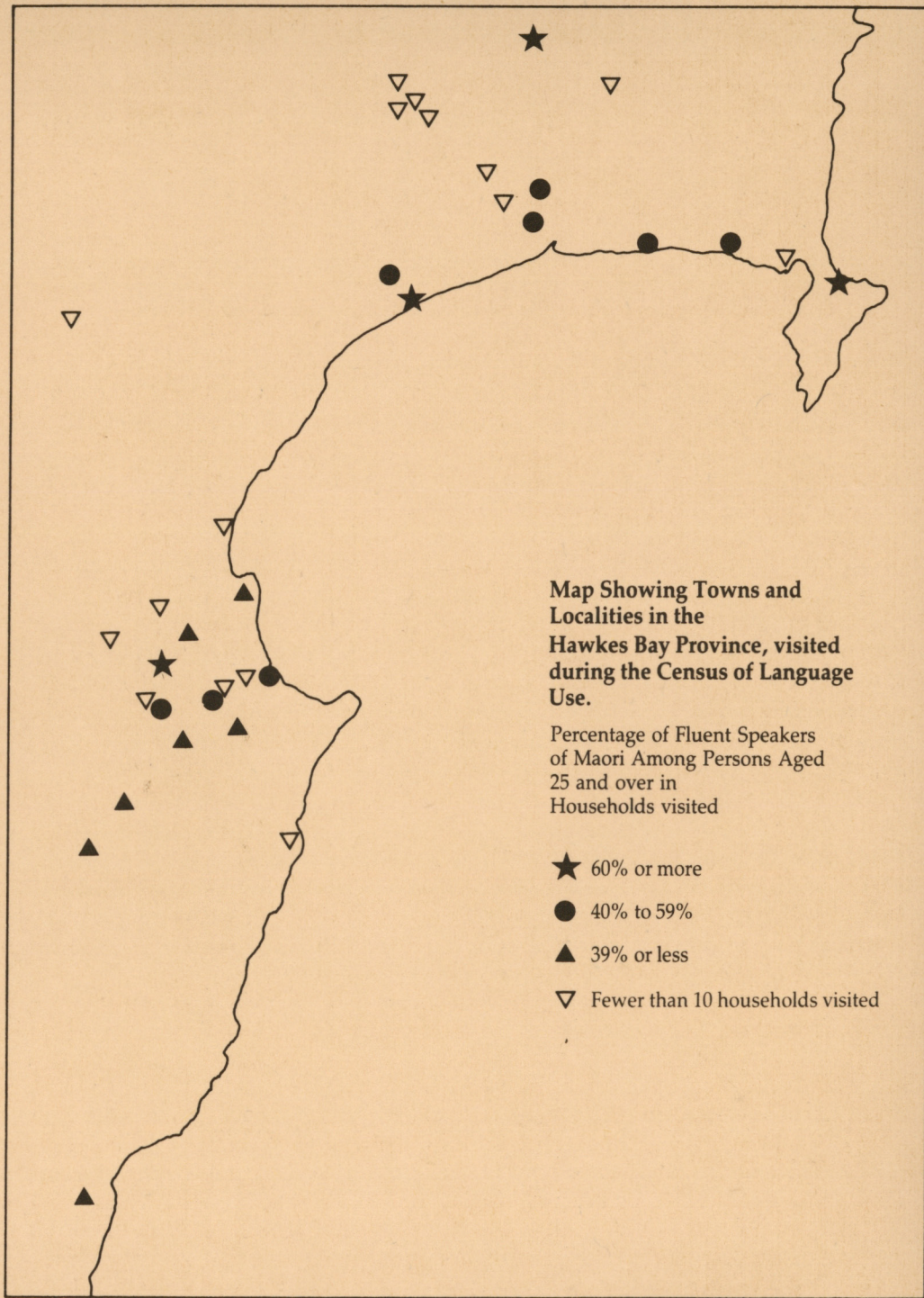
● Two thirds or
more of adults were
fluent speakers of
Maori

◆ 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



THE MAORI LANGUAGE IN NAPIER AND BAY VIEW

Between August 1977 and January 1978, members of 78 families in Napier City, and another 9 families in Bay View, were interviewed during the NZCER Maori language survey of North Island Maori communities. This report summarizes the results of the survey in these two districts. Other Central Hawkes Bay localities were also visited during the survey, and have been reported on separately. These include Hastings City (Report no. 86 in this series), Haumoana (no. 54), Bridge Pa and Ngatarawa (no. 11), Omahu (no. 5), Pakipaki (no. 8), Te Hauke (no. 10), Kohupatiki and Waipatu (no. 68), Havelock North and Waimarama (no. 112), Pukehou (no. 113), and Waiohiki, Runanga, and Moteo (no. 138).

Altogether 47 people (42 of Maori descent) in Bay View (about a quarter of the Maori population there at the time), and 408 in Napier (385 Maori, about seven percent of the total Maori population of the city) were included in the survey. Six interviews were in Maori, three in Maori and English, and the rest in English (except for one question which everyone was asked in Maori).

The interviewers were Kahu Waititi (Te Whanau Apanui and Ngapuhi), Ian Maxwell (Ngai Tai), Himiona Henry (Waikato & Maniapoto), Tamati Kruger (Tuhoe), Tawini Rangihau (Tuhoe), Awhina Ngatai (Ngai-terangi), Tom Rangihuna (Ngati Porou), Brian Wiki (Te Aupouri), Meri Wiki (Ngapuhi), Candice Scrimshaw (Ngati Kahungunu), Judith Hawera (Waikato), Arapera Baker (Ngapuhi) and Allan Hawea (Ngati Awa).

Knowledge of Spoken Maori in Napier City (1978)

| | Ngati Kahungunu | Other Maori | Non- Maori* |
|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|
| SPEAK MAORI FLUENTLY | | | |
| 45 & over | 16 (67%) | 11 (69%) | 0 (0%) |
| 25 to 44 | 5 (13%) | 12 (26%) | 1 (7%) |
| 15 to 25 | 1 (2%) | 1 (2%) | 0 (0%) |
| 2 to 14 | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | .. |
| Overall | 22 (12%) | 24 (12%) | 1 (4%) |
| UNDERSTAND EASILY | | | |
| 45 & over | 20 (83%) | 13 (81%) | 0 (0%) |
| 25 to 44 | 15 (39%) | 18 (39%) | 2 (13%) |
| 15 to 25 | 2 (5%) | 3 (7%) | 0 (0%) |
| 2 to 14 | 0 (0%) | 4 (4%) | .. |
| Overall | 37 (20%) | 38 (19%) | 2 (9%) |
| LIMITED UNDERSTANDING | | | |
| 45 & over | 1 (4%) | 0 (0%) | 1 (17%) |
| 25 to 44 | 14 (37%) | 16 (35%) | 5 (33%) |
| 15 to 25 | 15 (34%) | 17 (41%) | 1 (50%) |
| 2 to 14 | 4 (5%) | 13 (14%) | .. |
| Overall | 34 (18%) | 46 (23%) | 7 (30%) |
| NO KNOWLEDGE | | | |
| 45 & over | 3 (13%) | 3 (19%) | 5 (83%) |
| 25 to 44 | 9 (24%) | 12 (26%) | 8 (53%) |
| 15 to 25 | 27 (61%) | 21 (51%) | 1 (50%) |
| 2 to 14 | 77 (95%) | 79 (82%) | .. |
| Overall | 116 (62%) | 115 (58%) | 14 (61%) |

* Joint-heads of households where other members were Maori
(Figures refer to members of households visited;
percentages have been rounded to nearest whole number)

Twenty iwi were mentioned by the families we visited in Napier City as the ones they belonged to; however almost half (191) had Ngati Kahungunu as their main iwi. The next most numerous were Ngati Porou (75 members, about twenty percent of household members), and Tuwharetoa (35 members, nine percent). Only 36 people of Maori descent either did not know what iwi they belonged to, or said that they did not regard themselves or their children as belonging to a particular iwi. Ngati Kahungunu was also the main iwi in the Bay View households.

Most of the household heads in the families we visited were from other parts of Hawkes Bay province, or more distant localities; only 13 of the 138 in Napier and two out of 14 in Bay View had grown up in Napier, Hastings, or nearby communities.

Results of the Linguistic Survey

Ability to Speak and Understand Maori

As the table on the page opposite and the one on the next page show, Maori had become a language mainly for adults in both Napier and Bay View at the time of the survey. Fluent speakers were mostly in the age group 45 years and above. This was equally true of people from Ngati Kahungunu, the tangata whenua of the region, and the members of other iwi who had made their homes in Napier. There were a few more Maori-speakers among the immigrant iwi in the 25 to 44 age group, but the difference was not very great, and there were no fluent speakers under 25 of any iwi in the homes we visited in Napier, and only one in Bay View. Non-Maori members of these families had seldom become fluent speakers of the language; most had little or no knowledge of the language.

Knowledge of Spoken Maori in Napier City (1978)

===== Knowledge of Spoken Maori in Bay View (1987) =====

| Age Group | Fluent Speakers | Understand Easily | Limited Understanding | No Knowledge |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 45 years & over | 2 (40%) | 5 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |
| 25-44 yrs | 0 (0%) | 2 (18%) | 4 (36%) | 5 (56%) |
| 15-24 yrs | 1 (12%) | 1 (12%) | 4 (50%) | 3 (38%) |
| 2-14 yrs | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 5 (23%) | 17 (77%) |
| Overall | 3 (7%) | 8 (17%) | 13 (28%) | 25 (54%) |

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

Maori was the first language that 35 of the 83 household heads we interviewed in Napier had spoken as children; three others had learned both Maori and English about the same time. Only two of these people, however, had learned first to read and write in Maori. The experiences of the people in Bayview were similar; four out of nine household heads were native-speakers of Maori, but eight of the nine had first learned to read and write in English.

Use of the Maori Language in the Household

Although English was the main or only language used most of the time in almost all the households we visited in Napier and Bay View, Maori was used occasionally in just over half of those where there were dependent children when all the family were together. This meant that in those homes where at least one parent could speak Maori well, the language

still had some place, despite the competition from English, which had pushed it into the background in most situations.

English remained, however, the language in which parents and children normally spoke to each other in most families. Seven Napier parents spoke in Maori to their children occasionally, although only one used Maori more than English; in five of these families the children were likely to use Maori occasionally when speaking to their parents, although English would be used as much or more. Maori-speaking visitors were likely to be the major source of exposure to Maori language for members of many households; 24 of the Napier households and four of those in Bay View spoke Maori as well as English with visitors. (Altogether, only 26 of the 76 Napier and Bay View families with young children had at least one Maori-speaking parent.)

Several people mentioned that they themselves or their parents had the policy, as one person described it, that children should "learn the basic language first -- that's English -- then take up

===== LANGUAGE USED WHEN ALL THE FAMILY WERE TOGETHER =====

Households with Dependent Children

| | Napier City | Bay View |
|------------------|-------------|----------|
| Mostly Maori | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) |
| Half and half | 1 (1%) | 0 (0%) |
| Mostly English | 35 (52%) | 4 (44%) |
| Entirely English | 31 (46%) | 5 (56%) |

No. of Households 67 9

Maori". The people we spoke to were divided in their opinions about the place of Maori in the family; several said that the home was the proper place for the language, but that this was no longer practical. One person from Marewa was critical of some of her relatives, who, she said, were teaching Maori at school, but never spoke it at home or to their children. Someone from Tamatea, however, had tried to get her children's grandparents to speak Maori to them at home; however they gave up because she and her husband always spoke in English, as they were not fluent in Maori, and the children were obviously influenced by this. Another person said they had reacted the same way to their own grandparents, and now wished they hadn't; one man from Onekawa, however, said that his grandparents had punished him if he spoke English, and he thought that the Maori language was dying out partly because not enough people had taken similar measures.

Some people who had tried to use Maori at home themselves had found that their children did not respond, mainly because it seemed such a strange thing to want to use a language other than English. One mother said that her children just laughed at her; one of them, who was present at the interview, had since learned Maori, but said he spoke it only to friends at parties. The same things obviously had happened in other homes, including the use of Maori as a "special" or "secret" language; some people mentioned how their own parents had only used Maori to talk about things they wanted to keep hidden from the children, and a man from Taradale said he had originally hoped to raise a Maori-speaking family, but later found it handy to be able to use the language just with his wife so they could discuss things openly without the children being able to understand.

Maori Language in the Community

It is clear from the experience of many of the Maori-speakers we interviewed that the overwhelming presence of English in the outside world had been too much for most people to cope with, even when they wanted to continue to use Maori as their everyday language. For some, the first time they encountered this was when they entered school. A few had been punished for speaking Maori in the playground (by Maori as well as Pakeha teachers); altogether 18 of the 74 people in Napier who commented on their school experiences, and two of the eight in Bay View, had shared such a fate. For most, however, school had been a pretty neutral place: Maori language was simply absent; only three people had felt encouraged to use the language during their primary school days. (The school experiences of Maori-speakers in various parts of the North Island are set out and discussed in a paper, "The Kahawai and the Shark", by Nena Benton, available from Te Wahanga Maori, NZCER.)

Although several people commented that Maori was "forced out of them" when they were children, either in school or by parents anxious for them to do well at school (one mentioned a meeting of parents called by the school at which they were urged to stop speaking Maori at home), the problem for most was simply that English was the only language known by most people round about. Fluent speakers thus often felt they were losing the language, simply because opportunities to speak it often did not arise naturally. Only four people out of 81 interviewed in Napier, for example (and none of the nine in Bay View), had the opportunity to speak Maori with their neighbours. An all-English radio and television system did not help, either.

Although some had doubts, many people looked to the schools as a very important factor in helping

the language to survive. One person in Tamatea suggested that teaching Maori should start at kindergarten level; she, and others who were worried that secondary school was too late to have any lasting effect, would have been very heartened by the development of the kohanga reo a few years after the survey. Adult education was another source of hope. Some people said that there were few opportunities in Napier for adults who wished to learn Maori to do so; however, one mother in Bay View told us that she was taking Maori at night classes for her children's sake, so that she could help them have a better understanding of their Maori heritage and language.

Maori still played an important role on certain formal and ceremonial situations. In Napier 45 of the 67 household heads who attended church services said Maori was used in these, most of the time for 22 people, and along with English for the rest. Similarly, in prayers for opening and closing meetings, 30 Napier people said they would use only Maori, 17 would use either or both languages, and 26 used only English. Grace, however, was more likely to be in English (11 said grace in Maori, 7 used both languages, and 46 English), as were prayers for the sick (15 Maori, 6 either language, and 55 English only). Bay View responses to these questions followed the same patterns.

The marae was still a Maori-language domain, at least in its ceremonial aspect, but even there English was starting to make inroads. Only one person (in Bay View) said that kaumatua in the district would use English as the main language for whaikorero, and three thought Maori and English would both be used by some older speakers, as against 85 who said their kaumatua would use only Maori. Not many of the people we interviewed would speak on the marae themselves; one man in Maraenui, who was a fluent conversationalist in Maori, said he had no self-confidence in the marae situation, and

would not get up to speak. There were 13 who did speak on the marae occasionally; nine (including the one such person from Bay View) spoke only Maori, and the other four said they spoke mostly in English.

Away from the ceremonial side of marae activity, however, English was dominant, except perhaps when elderly native speakers of Maori got together. Most people thought the kaumatua would speak Maori when chatting among themselves. However, four out of eight people in Bay View, and 58 out of 81 in Napier, said that they themselves would chat only in English when at marae gatherings; 16 would use both languages, and only 11 thought they would speak mostly Maori. For many of the Napier and Bay View people marae gatherings were fairly rare; one woman in Pirimai commented that it was a pity Napier did not have a proper marae; Hastings people were much better off in this respect.

While a few people thought the marae was the ideal setting for children and adults to learn Maori, others were not so sure. One person who was very active in teaching aspects of Maori culture to Maori adults avoided the marae for his classes. He and two other people were teaching traditional waiata in his home. He did not think the classes would be successful in a marae setting, as marae protocol would have to be observed; this would mean, among other things, stricter observance of the tapu aspect of the activity, with no smoking, short breaks for a cup of tea on the spot, and so on.

Attitudes Towards the Maori Language

Quite a few people that our interviewers spoke to were obviously too busy making a living to be able to make much effort to learn how to speak Maori if they had not been brought up to do this as children. A few said so quite explicitly, like a

Taradale businesswoman who said that she had more important things to do than worry about the future of the Maori language. There was also disagreement within families about the value of the language. One Maraenui man said he saw no point in teaching Maori as his children would not experience it at home (he had lost his own command of the language after starting school). His wife, however, told us that there was "a great need" to introduce Maori into the school curriculum. Another Maraenui man said he was adamant that his daughter should learn Maori at school "so that she won't be in the same position as I am, ashamed that I can't speak Maori".

Many people probably shared the puzzlement of another Maraenui resident who told us that she was looking for someone to tell her "why it's so important that we learn the Maori language". She said she had told her own children to "learn English because that's what you need to get on in this world with". She had never bothered with Maori because she "never had time -- never interested". Her children had "taken it up for a while", but their interest quickly died. This person's attitude undoubtedly reflected a much more widespread view in the community at large, which affected the families even of those people who did not share it. Certainly, there seemed to be a close identification between "getting on", "education", and "English", which made it hard for many people to regard the Maori language as vitally important.

Nonetheless, a significant number of the household heads we interviewed told us that they wished they could speak Maori well enough to use it as an everyday language, and many of those who could do so preferred Maori to English for everyday conversations. Overall, taking Bay View and Napier together, 28 people preferred to speak Maori, 13 liked both languages equally well for conversations, nine would have liked to be able to speak Maori

habitually, and 41 (out of 91) preferred English. For reading and writing, however, it was a different matter; almost all had learned to read and write in English, and those who were literate in Maori had few opportunities to practise their skill. In all, 15 preferred to read in Maori, 14 liked both languages, and 61 preferred English; for writing, it was much the same, with 13 favouring Maori, 15 both languages, and the rest choosing English.

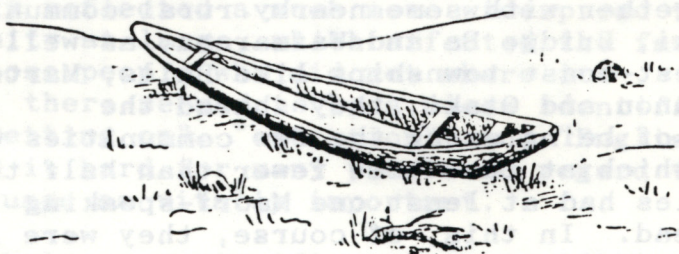
Conclusion

Even within the Maori community, Napier was very much an English-speaking city at the time of the survey. This partly reflected the linguistic history of Hawkes Bay as a whole; English seems to have displaced Maori as the language used between parents and children in many central and southern Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa communities a generation or more earlier than in many northern North Island regions. Taken as a whole, Napier and Bay View were among the most English-dominated areas in the North Island. Together with some nearby rural communities like Pakipaki, Bridge Pa and Waimarama, as well as a number of west-coast townships like Bulls, Marton, Foxton, Shannon and Otaki, they shared the distinction of being among the few communities we visited in which at that time fewer than half the Maori families had at least one Maori-speaking household head. In this, of course, they were just a little bit ahead of many others which were fast moving in exactly the same direction.

This state of affairs does pose a serious problem, however, for the revitalization of the Maori language in districts like Napier and Bay View. The lack of a substantial resource even within the Maori community makes any self-help in regard to handing the language on to the next

generation extraordinarily difficult, and the pressures of this situation weighed very heavily on many of the families we visited.

One of the best hopes for the future, at the level of family support, lies in the vigour of the kohanga reo movement. Two kohanga, Maraenui and Te Ao Marama, were established in Napier towards the end of 1983, and between them catered for 27 children by the middle of 1985. This small group represented a very precious resource for the Maori community in Napier, one which will have to be protected as it makes contact with the school system if the losses of a previous generation are to be avoided. In this task, however, the community has the benefit of a different social climate, where the schools, especially, are much more supportive of Maori language and culture. It can also draw strength from the official recognition given to Maori under the Maori Language Act of 1987, and the Commission for the Maori Language set up under that Act to ensure that the language flourishes.

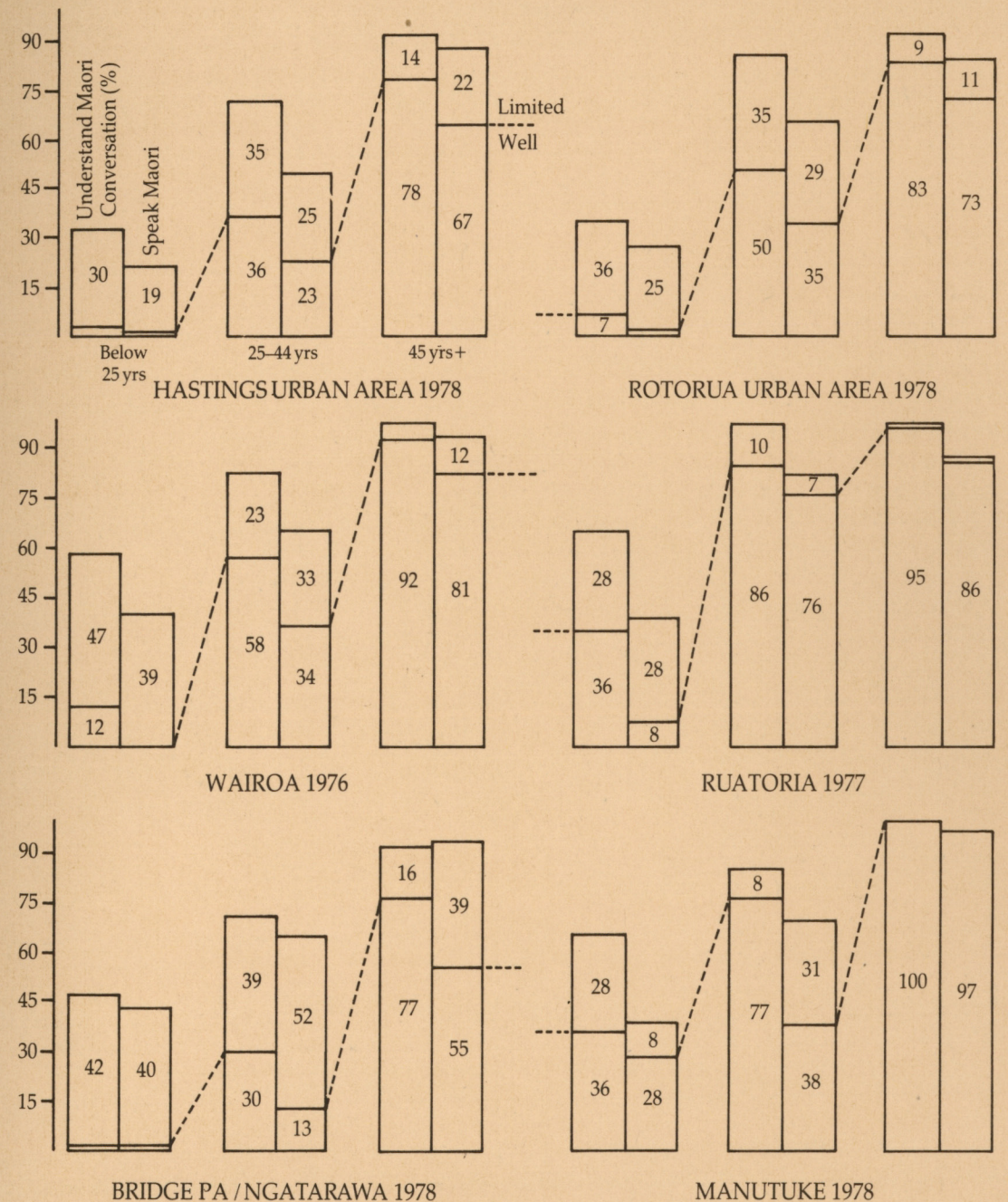


 This report was prepared by Richard Benton

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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.