MĀORI WORDS – READ ALL ABOUT IT:

TESTING THE PRESENCE OF 13 MĀORI WORDS IN FOUR NEW ZEALAND NEWSPAPERS FROM 1997 TO 2004[1]

Carolyn Davies and Margaret Maclagan: *Department of Communication Disorders, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch 8020, <margaret.Maclagan@canterbury.ac.nz>*

Abstract

Four New Zealand newspapers were surveyed between 1997 and 2004 for articles containing thirteen selected Māori words. Frequency and distribution of the items are analysed and attitudes to te reo Māori discussed. The results show there is support for the inclusion of te reo Māori with attitudes changing in its favour. Frequency is affected by news value, geographical influences, population base, circulation and reader influences. Some words, particularly social culture words, have increased frequencies, other words remain steady, while some are identified as nonce words. *Hui* (meeting) and *hīkoi* (march) are found in non-Māori contexts, but the majority of Māori words are found only in articles with a Māori context. Intrinsic meanings, seen particularly for *kaumātua*, create translation difficulties. Semantic divergence is noted for some English/Māori word pairs.

1. Introduction

An essay by Elaine Geering on *The use of Māori in the late nineteenth-century Auckland press* states 'there were no examples of a Māori word being used in a European context as an alternative to an English word, or as an attempt to find in a Māori word a more exact term to express the desired idea.' From a sampling of 12 papers in each of the 1860s, 1880s and 1890s Geering found 84 different Māori words, of which 73 were nouns, which 'indicates that the

use of Māori in the sampled papers was almost exclusively to identify and label groups and objects, but not to elaborate on these in Māori' (1993: 251). Macalister (2003, 2006) surveyed the use of Māori words in newspapers, parliamentary debates (Hansard) and the *School Journal*. Overall, he found a small but steady increase in the number of Māori words in these sources (2006: 11).[2]

An interest in how Māori words were faring in late twentieth/early twenty-first century newspapers compared to Geering's findings of 100 years ago was the inspiration for this study. The general perception is of a greater, and growing presence of Māori lexical items in spoken New Zealand English (NZE); but Macalister points out that recent hypotheses on the pattern of such borrowings are 'based upon observation and intuition rather than objective analysis of the language in use' (2006: 4). Also, in a diachronic study on Māori language content in television news, de Bres (2006) found disappointing results for te reo. She compared television news broadcasts in 1984 and 2004 and found a very low frequency of Māori words in both years: most Māori items fell into the proper nouns category, the items appeared almost without exception in Māori-related news only and Māori lexical items were used more often by Māori than Pākehā participants.

The first author of this article is a practicing journalist. Her experience led her to expect that use of Māori words would be higher in newspapers than de Bres found for television news. It is important to note that editorially the styles of television and newspapers differ with the spoken word in television news being more informal and the written newspaper style relatively more formal. In addition, newspapers have traditionally been relatively conservative, and have regarded themselves as guardians of correct English (see note 6). The aim of this study is a) to ascertain whether Māori words are appearing more frequently in newspapers over time, and b) to use the styles of the different papers as a way of determining underlying attitudes toward te reo Māori.

2. Background

2.1 Words

Macalister (2006: 9) divides Māori words which appear in NZE into four groups: proper nouns (which he further subdivides), flora and fauna, material culture and social culture. He defines material culture as 'objects that are visible and tangible,' such as *pā* (fortified site) and *whare* (house), most

of which are nouns. Social culture can include words other than nouns and incorporates the non-material aspects of culture (*utu* – revenge, *tapu* – sacred), actions (*kōrero* – talk, *haka* – dance) and relationships (*kaumātua* – elder, *kaitiakitanga* – guardianship). By comparing Māori word tokens per 1000 words from three sources – selected newspapers, Hansard files and School Journals – Macalister found an increase for social culture types in newspapers from 0.2% in 1970 to 2.5% in 2000 (2003: 197, 2006: 18).

This survey looks at 13 Māori lexical items. Nine are social culture items: *hui* (meeting), *hīkoi* (march), *iwi* (tribe), *kaumātua* (elder), *kaupapa* (philosophy), *kaitiaki* (guardian or protector), *tangata whenua* (people of the land), *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *whānau* (family). Three are material culture types: *marae* (meeting area in front of meeting house), *nohoanga* (temporary camping sites) and *taiapure* (local fishery). We also include the plural of the proper noun *Māoris*. The words were not expected to appear equally frequently in the newspapers. Three of them are established loanwords, *Māoris*, *marae* and *iwi*. They were included to look at pluralisation and frequency. Three words, *kaitiaki*, *nohoanga* and *taiapure*, are included among new Māori loanwords by Deverson (2005: iv), and were included to check whether they were becoming established or whether they should be regarded as nonce words. Flora and fauna words and proper names were not included.

We used *The Dictionary of Zealand English (DNZE)* (Orsman 1997) to check the first recorded occurrences of the words. The three new loan words (Deverson 2005), *kaitiaki*, *nohoanga* and *taiapure*, did not appear in Orsman and Orsman (1995). *Kaitiaki* appears in *DNZE,* but *nohoanga* and *taiapure* do not. This omission confirms their recent appearance within NZE. *DNZE* has entries for the other ten words. It specifically notes for *iwi* 'from the 1980s, frequent in official and popular reference' (1997: 375) but no such indication of relative frequency is given for the other words. *Marae* (1769), *kaumātua* (1835), *iwi* (1843), *hui* (1846), *whakapapa* (1904), *tangata whenua* (1905) and *whānau* (1938) have appeared in written sources for some time. *Māori* also has been in use for some time; the first citation in *DNZE* is for the plural form, in 1834. *Hīkoi* (1984) and *kaupapa* (1989) are more recent. *Kaitiaki* first appears in 1908 as the title of a nursing journal, and the next listed reference is 1985. However, these dates are not an indication of acceptance into general NZE use (see Macalister 2006: 20). Bartlett (2002) describes two periods of borrowing from Māori into NZE: an initial wave during the early years of European settlement and a later wave at the end of the twentieth century.

> The colonial intake primarily involved words *taken* by the European settlers to describe Māori society … The more recent intake, triggered by the Māori Renaissance, involves words *given* to the language, as a means for NZE speakers to better understand Māori society (original emphasis) (2002: 6).

The time period covered in this article is within the second period, the period when Māori words are being 'given' to NZE. Macalister's more recent *Dictionary of Māori Words in New Zealand English* (2005) lists all the words apart from *taiapure*.

2.2 Influences

Four daily newspapers were chosen for this study: the *Waikato Times, The Dominion (Post)*[3], *The Press* and *The Southland Times*. Regional influences, population and circulation figures have to be considered when comparing the content of individual newspapers (Tables 1 and 2). The two provincial newspapers in the survey, *The Southland Times* and *Waikato Times* have smaller circulations than the two metropolitans, *The Dominion (Post)* and *The Press*.

Table 1: Circulation trends for newspapers surveyed

	1997	1999	2001	2004
Southland Times	33,229	31,652	30,922	29,557
Christchurch Press	97,684	95,506	91,003	92,436
Dominion (Post)	68,575	68,521	68,454	99,123
Waikato Times	40,770	40,622	40,427	41,009

Supplied by *The Press* Company Ltd

Table 2: Population figures and ethnicity for main centres of newspapers surveyed.

POPULATION BASE	TOTAL*	EUROPEAN	MĀORI	PACIFIC PEOPLES	ASIAN
Invercargill	46,305	92.6%	12.1%	2.1%	1.2%
Christchurch	334,104	89.8%	7.2%	2.4%	5.5%
Wellington	339,747	78.3%	12.4%	9.3%	8.0%
Hamilton	166,128	80.8%	19.2%	2.9%	5.6%

*As people may specify more than one ethnic group, the sum may be more than 100%.

(Source: Statistics New Zealand 2001)

The *Waikato Times*, situated in Hamilton, is geographically close to the home of the Māori King or Queen at Tūrangawaewae Marae, and has the highest percentage of Māori population in the sample. *The Southland Times* area has a higher percentage of Māori population than *The Press*, but *The Press* in Christchurch covers the business centre for the South Island's biggest iwi, Ngāi Tahu, which in the period surveyed was highly politically visible. *The Dominion (Post)*, in Wellington, is at the heart of the seat of government and would be expected to have a high level of reporting involving Māori issues from that source (see Macalister 2001: 15). The location and different demographics of each newspaper's circulation area were expected to affect the number of Māori words they used. Issues of the day, both local and national, will also affect the number of Māori words used. This we refer to as the *news-driven effect*.

Also, the number of pages in each edition given over to news varies: a tally of news pages for Wednesday, October 12, 2005 showed *The Press* had 14 pages, *The Dominion (Post)* had 11, *The Southland Times* had 9, and *Waikato Times* had 7. Note that the number of news pages is not dependent on circulation but rather on editorial discretion. Each of these factors was expected to influence the frequency of Māori lexical items in the different newspapers.

3. Methodology

The four daily newspapers chosen were all from the Fairfax Media group. They were searched in a text database for the period from January 1, 1997 to December 31, 2004. The search was carried out using the Fairfax Media online text database. This contains all articles in the New Zealand newspaper group, categorised and uploaded by each newspaper's Information Services staff and accessed through a company-wide intranet located in Wellington. 1997 is the first year for which all newspaper material is available online and defined the start of the search period.

There is an immediate problem in terms of what to count. It would be possible to compare the number of Māori words used with the number of English words used, but the number of Māori words in newspapers is very small, and the search period is relatively short. Macalister (2006: 11) included proper nouns and flora and fauna terms in his count, and found less than 10 Māori words per 1,000 tokens in each of the years he analysed. It was considered

that a simple comparison of words would not be particularly illuminating. The survey, therefore, did not compare the percentage of Māori lexical items to English words in the newspapers. Nor was a simple count made of the number of occurrences of the items of interest. Rather we counted the number of articles that contained the selected words (see Bartlett 2002 for a similar use of newspaper articles). Each article containing one or more instance of the lexical item was counted as one token. We did not count the number of times a word appeared in an article. We decided that five articles, each of which contained one token of one of the selected words, were of more interest than one article that contained five tokens of the same word, or even five tokens of more than one word. Therefore, for this survey an article containing only one of the target words was as important as an article containing more than one. The number of articles gives an indication of the status of Māori issues in a Pākehā-dominated industry. Only the News category was searched, with items appearing in such categories as Sport, Features, Business etc. not being included. Māori lexical items in headlines were not included, nor were proper nouns (apart from *Māori<u>s</u>*) or titles searched.

4. Results

4.1 Overall frequency

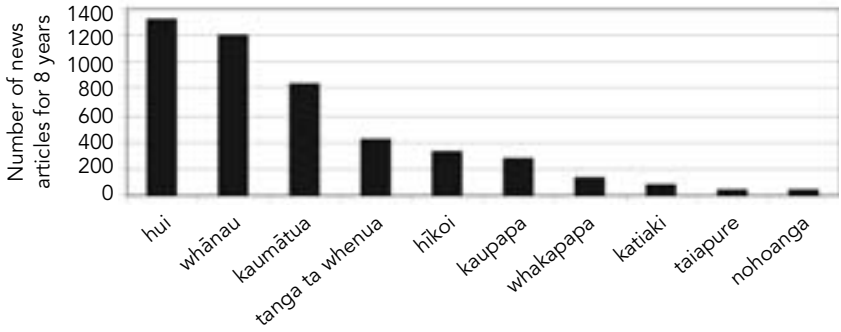
The number of articles in which each word occurs is shown in Figure 1. We comment briefly on the results for each word, and then consider in more detail six words that raise particular issues (section 4.2). We then look at pluralisation on the word *Māori* (section 4.3) and consider what this might reveal about attitudes towards the Māori language. The extent to which each word is glossed is used as an indication of its acceptance into NZE.

Hui (Figure 2) has the highest frequency at 1325 articles for the eight years and *nohoanga* the lowest at 36 articles. The lack of in-text glosses makes it clear that *hui* is a borrowing that is well-established and integrated into written New Zealand English from te reo Māori.

Likewise for *whānau* (1204 news articles), although it is also often used in conjunction with the head word *family,* as in 'Mental health service users, *families, whānau* and (staff) have expressed their concern about the hearing.' (*The Southland Times*, March 9, 2004). It is not subject to glossing.

The frequency of *kaumātua* is steady (Figure 3) with 835 news articles. *Kaumātua* is also well-established and may be used in non-Māori contexts

Figure 1: Comparison of number of articles containing selected words from 1997 to 2004. (Not including Māoris, iwi and marae).



(Macalister 2005: 38). There is a steady percentage of articles where *kaumātua* is mixed with *elder* and the trend away from glossing, which is seen for other well-established words, does not apply (Table 8). We focus further on *kaumātua* in section 4.2 because it raises issues of culturally specific meaning.

Tangata whenua has had a steady frequency during the period with a total of 428 articles. There is a spike of 100 news articles in 2004 which is due to the news-driven effect of the foreshore and seabed issue.[4] Out of the total number of articles, it was glossed in only seven, as *hosts* (2) in *The Southland Times*, *people of the land* (2) in *The Press*, and as *locals* (3) in *Waikato Times*. The low gloss count indicates *tangata whenua* is an accepted borrowing in written NZE.

Although its frequency is relatively low at 332 articles, *hīkoi* is shown to be an established borrowing in this study, in that it does not incur glosses and explanations. It is used in non-Māori contexts. The time period of the study identifies the context in which the word became integrated into NZE usage in mainstream newspapers (Figure 4). It is further discussed in 4.2.

The head word *kaupapa* is found in 282 articles for the period (Figure 5). It occurred as four different lexical items – *kura kaupapa, kaupapa atawhai, kaupapa taiao* and increasingly just as *kaupapa*, which is likely to become more commonplace over time (Table 4). All the lexical items are included in the total and their individual use is surveyed in section 4.2.

Whakapapa is surprisingly low in frequency at 133 news articles. The item

is now generally understood and used in spoken NZE. The highest number of articles in a year was in 1998 due to land claims heard by the Waitangi Tribunal – another news-driven effect. It then falls to nine articles in 2002, and fifteen in 2004. The item is glossed in earlier years, but glosses drop off in later years, following the overall trend. This indicates its acceptance as a borrowing. It has been variously glossed as *lineage*, *descent*, *ancestry*, *family history*, *family tree*, but the most popular is *genealogy*.

Taiapure (42) and *nohoanga* (36), the two words omitted from *DNZE*, have the lowest frequency of articles in the study, and *kaitiaki*, which was omitted from Orsman and Orsman (1995) is next lowest at 84. The head word *kaitiaki* also occurs as *kaitiakitanga*. The number of articles with *kaitiaki* is relatively low compared to other, more established words in the survey, but, on the other hand it is steady. *Kaitiaki* is becoming a more familiar borrowing in NZE and integration may be expected. The item has a variety of translations – *guardians, managers, caretakers, trustees*.

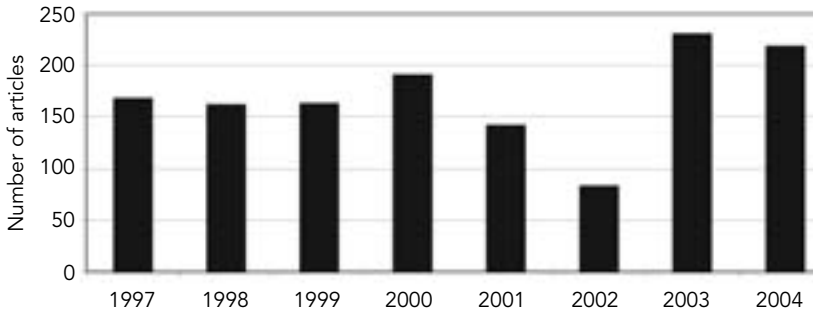
Nohoanga and *taiapure* are very meaning-specific in terms of news value and appeared in news articles referring to the management of fishing grounds (*taiapure*) and to exclusive Māori camping areas (*nohoanga*). Articles with *nohoanga* fell to only one in 2004, from sixteen in 1997, and *taiapure* from seven to six, with only one article in 2000 and two in 2002. These two items could be seen as nonce words and the results for *nohoanga* support Macalister's (2005: xxi) contention that it has 'some of the characteristics of a nonce, or one-off borrowing, but is also well-established in official language use.' He says it is useful to think of this type of borrowing as being on a continuum and that although its use is unlikely to disappear entirely it will never gain widespread acceptance.

4.2 Individual lexical items

Hui — a social culture item with increased frequency

The word *hui* (meeting; see Figure 2) has been becoming more common over the course of this study. The period covered has seen Māori land court hearings in the news and hui based on issues such as ownership of forests and fisheries. Newspapers have demonstrated that they, and their readers, understand the meaning of the word *hui,* through the absence of glosses and translations. *Hui* falls into Macalister's social culture category, the category which showed the greatest increase in newspapers between 1970 and 2000 (2006: 16). The overall increasing numbers of newspaper articles with *hui* supports this finding. The figure for 2000 was generated mainly by

Figure 2: Number of articles with *hui* from 1997-2004 for all newspapers.



government departments conducting hui around the country on issues such as the nationwide cervical smear inquiry and the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification. Under the heading *Cancer inquiry move to Gisborne hailed as victory,* for example, *The Dominion* wrote:

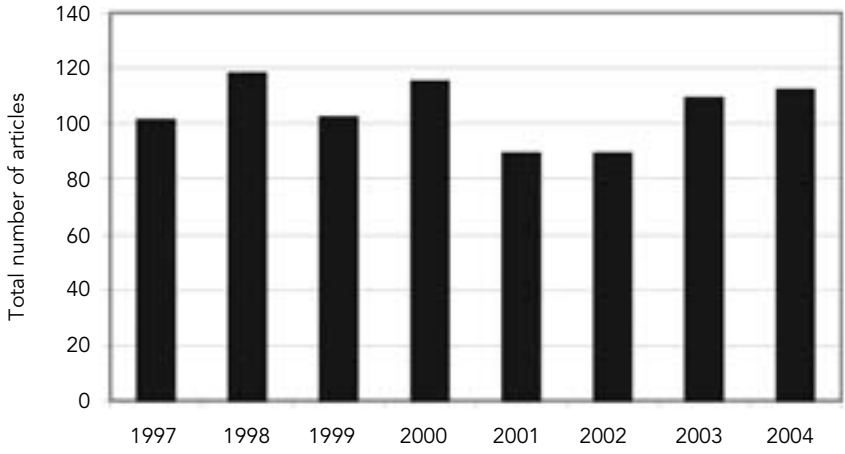
> Bruce Corkill, one of the lawyers recently appointed to represent victims, said the application to have the venue shifted was made after victims voiced their concerns at a *hui* held at Tokomaru Bay last week. Fifty to 60 women had already asked him and Stuart Grieve, QC, to represent them at the inquiry, he said.
>
> *The Dominion*, February 5, 2000.

The debate over ownership of the foreshore and seabed (2003–2004), generated by proposed legislation (see note 4), pushed the occurrence of articles with *hui* even higher. It has become integrated into NZE and its use promoted by government departments. Hui today can be called by groups without Māori associations, and are not held only on marae.

Kaumātua — a culturally specific term

Kaumātua (see Figure 3) is a word which does not have a simple equivalent in English. It demonstrates the effects of specific cultural content on the use of Māori words in the NZ media. Its frequency is steady over the eight-year period. It is still regularly glossed and combined with the word *elder,* which is not consistent with the trend away from glossing and translations for other established Māori words found in this study.

Figure 3: Number of articles with *kaumātua* for all newspapers from 1997 to 2004.



Also, there is a potential confusion with gender. *Kaumātua* alone may mean elder without specifying gender. However, if gender is important, *kaumātua* refers to men and *kuia* to women. *DNZE* (1997: 397) indicates that *kaumātua* often appeared in the plural *kaumātuas*. With the new style rule of not adding the plural inflection to Māori words (see section 4.3), plus using gender-inclusive words, sub-editors now have a dilemma with expressing a collective noun for *kaumātua* and *kuia* which they resolve by using *elders*.

> FIERY STAND-OFF AT EVA'S FAREWELL
> The charge on to the marae by about 40 women and men waving tino rangatiratanga (Māori sovereignty) flags drew an angry response from Tainui *kaumātua* and *kuia*. One of the *elders* told the leader of the group…
>
> *Waikato Times*, December 11, 1997.

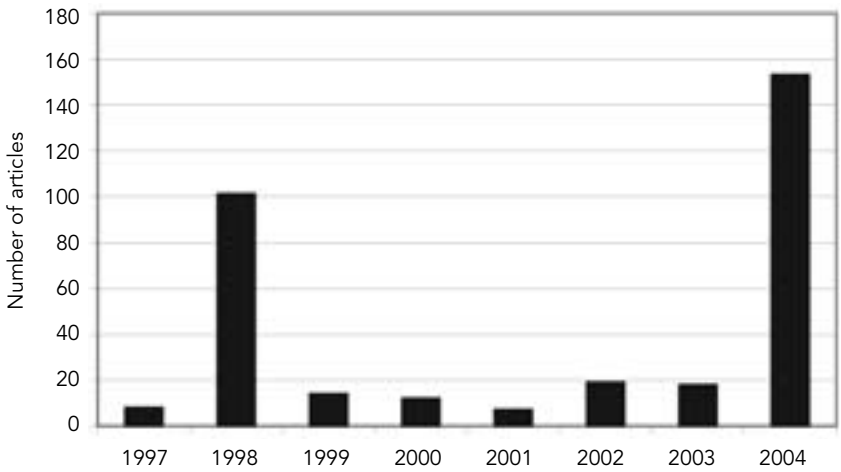
Macalister (2005: 38) says that *kaumātua* is increasingly applied to non-Māori, and quotes the *NZ Listener* referring to Sir Geoffrey Palmer as 'the nation's *kaumātua*'. He also indicates that, in a number of publications, the lexical item *kaumātua flats* is not restricted to dwellings for Māori pensioners.

There were no instances in this survey of the item *kaumātua* being applied to a non-Māori. The item *kaumātua flats* occurs several times in the newspapers in this survey, but all instances appeared to refer only to Māori. For example, from *The Dominion (Post)* on April 24, 2004 under the heading *Island elderly moving out of home* we read: 'The challenge would be for Pacific Island communities to come together to provide care for the elderly, much like the *kaumātua flats* for elderly Māori.' The implication is that the flats relate to housing specifically for elderly Māori, and that general housing for the elderly are called pensioner flats. This would, however, need to be checked with the providers concerned.

Hīkoi — a word where the point of acceptance by the newspapers in the study can be established

Hīkoi (march, see Figure 4) became accepted relatively quickly by the newspapers in the time-frame of this study during 1998, the year of the Hīkoi of Hope. The Hīkoi of Hope was organised by the combined churches of Aotearoa and was a march throughout New Zealand designed to highlight areas of social injustice. The word *hīkoi* quickly gained status and was adopted by the newspapers as a loanword. Early in 1998 glosses and translations were abandoned. The year before the Hīkoi of Hope, 1997, there were eight articles

Figure 4: Number of articles with *hīkoi* for all newspapers by year.



overall containing the word, and in six of these – 75% of the articles – glosses were used compared to just under 1.2% in 2004 (see Table 3).

The entry for *hīkoi* in *DNZE* (1997: 347) says it was 'popularized by the protest march by a Māori group to Waitangi for Waitangi Day celebrations, 6 Feb, 1984.' A search of *The Press* files for articles on that event from January 25, 1984 to February 14, 1984, found eight articles with *hīkoi*, seven of which had *hīkoi* glossed in the first instance with *peaceful march* and all of which used the translation *march* in conjunction with *hīkoi*. Difficulties with accessing pre-digital databases prevented our checking earlier material in the other newspapers. A comparison between *The Press* coverage of the 1998 Hīkoi of Hope and the 1984 Waitangi Day hīkoi, points to a much greater acceptance of the word in that newspaper at the later date, with only nine glosses out of a total of 100 articles from 1997 to 2004, and none at all in the 51 articles in the 2004 coverage of the foreshore and seabed protest hīkoi.

Table 3: Comparison of articles with and without glosses for *hīkoi*.

HĪKOI	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Articles	8	101	14	12	7	19	18	154
Articles with glosses	6	12	1	1	3	3	5	2

Hīkoi stands out in this study for the speed with which it became accepted by these newspapers over the survey time period. Although it is not a high-frequency word, such as *hui*, it is found in non-Māori news contexts and in parts of general New Zealand culture. e.g:

> SPELLING IT OUT
> More than 1000 Wellingtonians took their place in Civic Square on Saturday to spell out their feelings on genetic engineering … Similar protests were staged in 20 centres around New Zealand. A *hīkoi* from Kaitaia supporting a GE ban arrived in Auckland to join actions there.
>
> *The Dominion*, Oct 8, 2001.

Examples of its use in general culture found in this survey are: from *The Southland Times*, *Hīkoi Fatigue Kete* – title of a road safety initiative (where *kete* is 'basket' or 'kit'), and *Te Hīkoi – Southern Journey*, the name of a Riverton museum, and from all newspapers the reports on a new orchestral piece by New Zealand composer Gareth Farr called simply *Hīkoi*.

Kaupapa — a word that demonstrates the 'news-driven effect'

Figure 5: Number of articles with *kaupapa* for all newspapers by year.

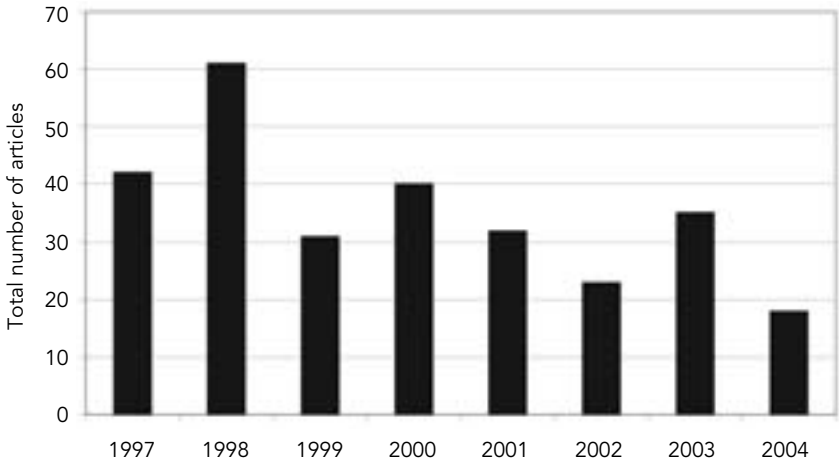


Table 4: *Kaupapa* lexical items by year.

LEXICAL ITEMS	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	TOTAL
Kura kaupapa	34	48	20	31	23	13	23	7	199
Kaupapa (Māori)	5	8	7	6	9	8	12	10	65
Kaupapa atawhai	3	3	2	3	0	1	0	1	13
Kaupapa taiao	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	5

Kaupapa is a word with an overall relatively low frequency that is trending downwards (see Figure 5). The higher figures for 1997/1998 were caused by the high-profile establishment of kura kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion schools), and the highest figure in 1998 was due to a specific kura in Spreydon, Christchurch, which caused a lot of community debate. This illustrates what we refer to as the news-driven effect on the frequency of articles with Māori words.

The headword *kaupapa* appears with different items: *kura kaupapa, kaupapa atawhai* (glossed as *Māori liaison officer* [in the Department of Conservation]), *kaupapa taiao* (glossed as *environmental manager*), and as

kaupapa, sometimes with *Māori* before or after. The incidence of these lexical items has altered over the period surveyed. With the social acceptance of kura kaupapa they have become less newsworthy, hence the trend downwards. However, the trend for the lexical item *kaupapa (Māori)* (*kaupapa* and *kaupapa Māori* are counted as the same item) is upwards and the number of articles has doubled in the survey years. *Kaupapa atawhai* and *kaupapa taiao* consistently appear in very few articles (see Table 4).

Table 5: Kaupapa glosses.

YEAR	GLOSS
1998	*foundation, set of rules, philosophy*
1999	*philosophy*
2000	*vision, philosophy*
2001	*medium, Māori principles and philosophy, things Māori*
2002	*by Māori, for Māori*
2003	*issue, health*
2004	*philosophy, theme, concept*

Kaupapa lexical items have been glossed in a variety of ways, with the trend being away from glossing from 2002, as found for other words. Table 5 shows that *kaupapa (Māori)* has varying translations. The lexical item *philosophy* is the most popular and we predict *kaupapa* will become an established, integrated borrowing in written NZE with its meaning of *philosophy/principle* readily understood by New Zealanders.

Iwi and *marae* — two established loanwords

Iwi and *marae*, as established borrowings, were tracked specifically for frequency during the survey period. Because they are much more frequent than the other words considered, just four years were chosen to assess any trends. Table 6 shows the frequency of both *iwi* and *marae* compared with *hui*, the most frequent of the words that were tracked for all eight years (see Figure 1). Table 6 shows that both *iwi* and *marae* appeared in considerably more articles than *hui* for each year in which they were all counted (see Table 6). Both *iwi* and *marae* are so well accepted that they are no longer glossed.

Both *iwi* and *marae* have a relatively stable frequency of articles for three of the selected years. The increase of frequency in articles in 2004 for *iwi* and

Table 6: Comparison of frequency of articles with *iwi, marae* and *hui* for selected years.

ARTICLES	1997	1999	2001	2004	TOTAL
Iwi	356	360	415	665	1796
Marae	280	287	237	374	1178
Hui	167	162	141	218	688

marae, and also for *hui*, reflects the discussion over the foreshore and seabed issue which was debated all over the country at hui on various marae. In addition, as Māori have become more politically and socially visible, *marae* is being used to describe a community of interest as well as the traditional meaning of a physical space in front of a meeting house. It is therefore expanding its meaning and moving, in some instances, from Macalister's material culture classification into his social culture classification:

> GO-AHEAD FOR PRISON
> The 650-bed Springhill Prison at Meremere has been given the go-ahead. In an Environment Court decision issued yesterday, Judge Laurie Newbrook dismissed objections to the prison by Horahora *marae*.
>
> *The Press*, July 8, 2004.

4.3 Pluralisation of Māori words and attitudes to te reo Māori

At the start of the survey period, the two metropolitan papers routinely added plurals to Māori words. There was an official about-turn on style regarding this rule about July 2001. Up to 2001, *The Press* style book states:

> Note that when a word is adopted into a language – and many have been adopted into English – that word is modified to conform to the general rules of the borrowers' grammar. Māori words adopted into English are no different in this respect to words adopted from any other language. They effectively become English words and assume English inflections, so we have *tuis* perching in *kowhais*, and not *tui* perching in *kowhai*. We are not printing a bilingual newspaper. (2001)

Newspaper style books normally state officially what has already become the

established style.[5] By 2001, the practice had changed so that the style book now reads:

> The style of *The Press* is that [Māori] words take no "-s" in the plural form. This includes Māori words in letters to the editor and columns. The 's' remains only if used in direct quotes. (2004)

Hui was pluralised quite markedly from 1997 to 2001 in some newspapers. From mid-2001 there is an obvious style change and only *The Dominion (Post)* retains the plural marker 's' during 2002 and 2004. *The Southland Times* had no incidence of pluralisation of *hui* and the *Waikato Times* only one in the period surveyed. *The Press* and *The Dominion (Post)* had a high number of plurals in the earlier part of the study (see Figure 6).

The change in style can also be seen clearly in the lexical item *Māoris*, which was investigated specifically to see if there had been any change in style of pluralising Māori words. (Only the word *Māoris*, with the 's' marker was searched, not the word *Māori*.) *DNZE* says that 'a zero inflection plural … has become increasingly common from the 1980s' (1997: 469-470). Both *The Press* and *The Dominion (Post)* have high numbers of articles with *Māoris* compared to *The Southland Times* (six articles with *Māoris*) and *Waikato Times*

Figure 6: Percentage of articles with *huis* in *The Press* and *The Dominion* (*Post*) from 1997 to 2004.

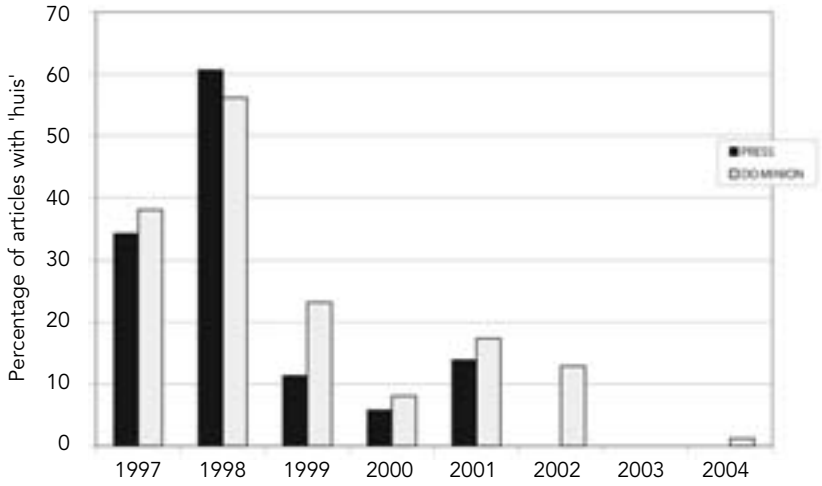


Table 7: Number of articles containing the plural word Māoris for individual papers.

ARTICLES	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	TOTAL
Southland Times	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	6
Christchurch Press	264	284	341	341	74	10	3	6	1323
Dominion (*Post*)	450	407	399	392	11	11	5	7	1682
Waikato Times	4	2	0	4	2	0	0	3	15
Total	718	693	740	738	88	22	10	17	3026

(15 articles with *Māoris*) (see Table 7). Differences between newspapers on this style were marked. Comments were sought from all newspapers on style, and *The Southland Times* was asked particularly to comment on its very low use of the plural 's' marker. This is the reply:

> … from my memory we've been desisting from whacking an S on Māori plurals since … erm … the 1980s … I suspect that our dropping the S was less a case of new-fangled political correctness than thoroughly old-fashioned politeness kicking in belatedly, once we were advised that the S was, actually, incorrect.
>
> Personal communication, (email), *The Southland Times* sub-editor.

Not imposing the grammatical rules of the dominant language in our culture reveals a growing acceptance of te reo Māori, and reflects the social and political status of Māori in general.

5. Discussion

Attitudes in the newspapers surveyed show a positive change towards te reo Māori, supporting Macalister's findings of steady growth in Māori word tokens and a 'marked upsurge in loanwords pertaining to Māori social culture' (2006: 21). Past newspaper styles centred on purist attitudes to the English language and decreed that te reo would be treated as a foreign language and subject to the grammatical rules of written English. Now, te reo is acknowledged as an official language of New Zealand and its own rules applied. More Māori words have entered the NZE lexicon with glossing generally falling off during

the period surveyed and established borrowings, like *hui, marae, whānau* and *iwi*, not being glossed at all.

Although the style changes on pluralisation can be seen as an overt sign of respect for te reo and a gain in prestige, Harlow (2005) would see this as part of covert attitudes that do not support the revitalisation of the Māori language. When writing about the pronunciation of Māori words in spoken NZE he cites the dropping of the 's' suffix for plural Māori words effectively as a covert attitude that reinforces the status of te reo Māori as a dependent add-on to NZE, along with an insistence on correct Māori phonology and phonetics when speaking English, constraints on borrowing from English to Māori, and 'real' Māori names for places and geographical features (the one-name fallacy). He argues that there is a view that 'it matters what happens in English' and 'what matters happens in English' (2005: 140).

But he allows, in the same paper, that much that has happened in the last 15 years has been aimed at increasing the status of the Māori language in New Zealand. Certainly, the present survey shows that progress for the written word compared to 100 years ago, is positive. Compared to Elaine Geering's findings of few Māori words in the Auckland newspapers of 100 years ago, te reo Māori enjoys a higher profile in the written media today. In particular, there is an increase in social culture word types which describe concepts, rather than the identifying and labelling words found almost exclusively in Geering's study.

In July 2004, Mike Houlahan, a *Press* reporter, wrote two articles for Māori Language Week under the heading *Te reo – embracing a treasure*. The irony in the heading is that *taonga* would have served very well instead of *treasure* considering the slogan for the week was *Give it a Go: Kōrero Māori*. Māori Language Commission chief executive Haami Piripi is quoted in the article:

> … It's about increasing the status of the language in our homes and in our lives. The other edge of the sword is that it can be seen as tokenistic, but I grew up in a Māori-speaking environment and my experience has been that non-Māori people who do try to speak Māori or make a bit of an effort, it's always seen as a sign of respect and an acknowledgment of our mana.
>
> *The Press*, 31 July, 2004.

The change in attitude to te reo Māori in newspapers compares favourably to spoken NZE in the electronic media. One of the main findings of Julia de

Bres' study into TV news was 'the tendency for Māori lexical items to be used almost solely in Māori-related news items' (2006: 32) This is only partially true for the present study in that both *hui, hīkoi* and possibly *kaumātua* are now being used in non-Māori contexts in newspapers.

5.1 Cultural specificity

The three words *kaumātua, hui* and *hīkoi* illustrate issues that arise for English language newspapers because of culturally specific aspects of Māori words. The treatment of *kaumātua* signals a clash in social culture as well as linguistic meaning. Gordon (2005) says: 'For some of the words borrowed from Māori there is just no English equivalent – words like *kaumātua* or *kuia* or *tūrangawaewae, kōhanga reo* for example. These have a great deal of cultural specificity.'

It is in the definition of *kaumātua* as *elder* that the cultural divide opens up. Sub-editors know that for Māori, kaumātua have *mana*, respect. For Pākehā there is no precisely equivalent word.[6] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (Pearsall 1999: 459) defines *elder* as 'adj. (of one or more out of a group of people) of a greater age. n. 1 (one's elder) a person of a greater age than one. 2. a leader or a senior figure in a tribe. 3. an official in the early Christian Church, or of various Protestant Churches and sects.' Also, the adjective *elderly* is derived from *elder*. For Pākehā, the word *elder* is about age or being elderly, unless you are a churchgoer, where it has status. Generally, it does not have much to do with being wise and may actually have negative connotations. The findings indicate that newspapers are ambivalent on whether it is well enough known to stand without a gloss or translation; they have yet to decide on a consistent style for *kaumātua*. This glossing and lexical mixing goes against the trend towards decreasing glossing for other established Māori words (see Table 8).

Table 8: Percentage of articles with glosses and lexical mixing of *kaumātua* and *elder* compared to articles with just *kaumātau*. (SLT figures too small for valid comparison)

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Southland Times	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Christchurch Press	22%	21%	35%	32%	24%	30%	33%	26%
Dominion (*Post*)	29%	21%	21%	18%	26%	21%	15%	16%
Waikato Times	13%	13%	13%	11%	17%	19%	15%	13%

Examples from *The Press* demonstrate these features:

> ELDERS 'LACK COURAGE'
> Waitangi marae *elders* lack the courage to face down activists such as Titewhai Harawira, leaving Helen Clark at risk, says one *kaumātua*.
> January 15, 2000.
>
> HIDE SLAMS TAPU-LIFTING CEREMONIES
> *Elder[s]*, 7, *kaumātua 1*
> July 13, 2001.
>
> KAUMĀTUA DEFENDS TAPU TRIPS
> *Elder[s]* 4, *kaumātua 1*
> July 14, 2001.
>
> NGĀI TAHU KAUMĀTUA TALK OF PAST, DISCUSS IWI'S FUTURE
> *Elder[s]* 4, *kaumātua* 32
> September 7, 2002.

The following extract from an article in *The Dominion* on December 1, 2000, shows that *hui* has a degree of cultural specificity, in that it is perceived as having a different meaning to the English word *meeting*.

> Commission chairman Sir Thomas Eichelbaum said that, in addition to written submissions, the public consultation programme had involved three days of scoping *meetings*, 15 public *meetings*, 10 regional *hui*, more than 25 workshops as well as the 14 weeks of formal hearings at which 'interested persons' and their expert witnesses were making presentations.

This supports Macalister's (2005: 21) definition of *hui* as 'a meeting, traditionally held on a marae and concerned with Māori matters, but no longer restricted in use.' The trend started by Government departments to use *hui* for meetings, which presumably they saw as being inclusive and where all views would be heard, has continued to boost the number of articles with *hui* in the written media surveyed. The word *meeting* often has a more formal and precise sense of a structured gathering with a chairperson, committee members and an invited group who may, or may not be allowed to speak.

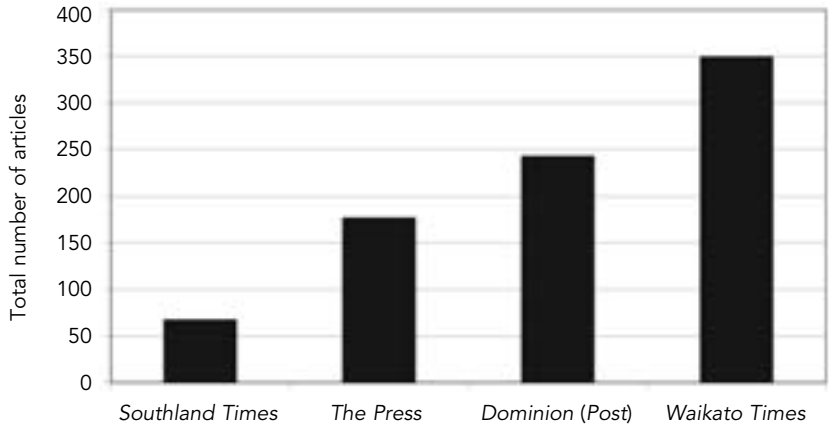
Like *hui*, *hīkoi* is subject to cultural specificity. The English language equivalent *march* comes from a military context and suggests the possibility of confrontation. Te reo Māori *hīkoi* has entered NZE with a more peaceful and positive context stemming from the churches' Hīkoi of Hope but still with the protest element. The few glosses that were used in its earlier appearances have positive meanings: *peaceful march* (*The Press*, 1997), and *journey of expectation* (*Waikato Times*, 1998). Ryan (1994: 15) defines *hīkoi* as 'step out, plod, pace', though other dictionaries include the meaning of *march* (Moorfield 2005: 26). Of note are the newspaper reports of the great land march from Northland to Wellington by Te Roopu o te Matakite led by Dame Whina Cooper in 1975. This was always referred to as a *march*. The first instance of reporting on the land march in *The Press* (September 5, 1975) is headed *Woman, 80, to join march,* and describes Whina Cooper as Mrs W. Cooper and goes on to quote her using very correct English with *Māori* and *Pākehā* being the only Māori words she is credited as using. This reflects the attitudes towards Māori people and Māori language and also the conservatism of editorial style prevalent in the 1970s.

The integration of *kaumātua, hui*, and *hīkoi* observed in this survey illustrates the ease with which English accommodates borrowings from other languages. The language's magpie-like tendencies have been a feature of its development ever since Anglo-Saxon times. In the many language contact situations English has been in, it has been expert at keeping words where there are different shades of meaning. Following the Danish incursions into England in the ninth and tenth centuries many word pairs survived because their meanings went in different directions – *skin/hide*, *hale/whole, sick/ill, skill/craft* (Crystal 2004: 74). *Kaumātua/elder, hui/meeting, hīkoi/march, whānau/family* fall into this word pair category. The many varieties of English have a rich inheritance to build on and NZE is adding to that storehouse with its Māori borrowings.

5.2 Influences on the use of Māori words

The distribution of *kaumātua* also shows the way in which different factors can influence the frequency of lexical items. The higher number of articles from south to north seen in Figure 7, is <u>not</u> due to the percentage of Māori population in each circulation area. *The Southland Times* area has a considerably higher proportion of Māori (12.1%) than *The Press* (7.2%) (see Table 2). Circulation is one factor which determines the space available for editorial content – the higher the circulation, the bigger the advertising base,

Figure 7: Number of articles with *kaumātua* by newspapers from 1997 to 2004.



which leads to more pages of which a percentage is given over for editorial content. *The Dominion (Post)* and *The Press* can therefore be expected to have more pages available in which articles can appear. But geographical location also influences the distribution of words like *kaumātua*. There is more political activity on Māori issues in which kaumātua would play a leading part in Wellington (Parliament) and Hamilton, home of the *Waikato Times* which is the main news outlet for activity at the National Marae at Tūrangawaewae, seat of the Māori King or Queen.

The distribution of articles with *nohoanga* and *taiapure* similarly illustrates the geographic influence. The assignment of nohoanga to local iwi and rūnanga (tribal councils) caused a stir in the South Island throughout the period and was reported in twenty-nine articles in *The Southland Times* and *The Press* out of a total of thirty-six articles – 80.5% of the total number of articles in all newspapers between 1997 and 2004. Likewise with *taiapure,* where the setting up of a marine reserve in Akaroa Harbour close to Christchurch led to *The Press* having the highest number of articles containing the item at twenty-nine for the period out of a total forty-two (69%).

The two provincial newspapers, *Waikato Times* and *The Southland Times* have not favoured pluralisation of Māori words in the years surveyed. Both have a larger Māori population than *The Press*, with *The Dominion (Post)* only 0.3% above *The Southland Times* (Table 2). The two provincial newspapers

have smaller circulations, and this may allow readers to have a closer relationship with editorial management which may in turn be more readily responsive to community views. An illustration of the community makeup of the two provincial areas which may influence attitudes to Māori and the Māori language, is provided by the statistics for enrolment in kura kaupapa Māori schools. These are full immersion Māori language and culture schools. In 1998, there were 4501 Māori students enrolled in sixty kura throughout the country with the highest proportion (per head of population) enrolled in Southland and the greatest overall number of Māori enrolled in the Waikato region (Te Puni Kōkiri 2000). This suggests a higher profile for te reo Māori in these communities which is reflected in the usage of Māori words in *The Southland Times* and *Waikato Times* compared to *The Press* and *The Dominion (Post)*.

The two metropolitans may see themselves as more formal and conservative purveyors of the news and therefore more remote from their readership, although they too will be wary of alienating readers and will respond to issues where there is an obvious groundswell of support.

One way in which newspapers gauge the mood of the community and readers is through the Letters to the Editor columns. This influences news coverage and is a consideration in style issues. Language as it is spoken and written is a hardy perennial in the Letter to the Editor columns. From *The Press* letters column, under the heading *Language corrupted*, a reader became quite exercised with a headline that had lately been in the newspaper – *Emotion high as whānau celebrate win*. The writer berates the editor for 'corrupting' the English language and calls for it to stay pure

> … if this country is to have a civilised future and to enable its citizens to compete with the rest of the world for a living. It does not require much imagination to see New Zealand, 50 years on, as a country where people mumble a corrupted half language that is neither English nor Māori.
>
> *The Press*, October 8, 2005.

A few days later a correspondent replied:

> We will also have to be vigilant that words like *balaclava*, from Russia, and *chukka*, from India, and *abseil*, from Germany, and the words *language* and *corrupted*, from the Latin are kept from turning [the

> English] language into a quarter language or even a 16th language. I think it is probably time we organised a hui and had a jolly good old kōrero about it.'
>
> *The Press*, October 18, 2005.

Words like *whakapapa*, *hui*, *marae*, *kaumātua* and *kaupapa* appear in articles sub-categorised in the Fairfax database as 'Māori politics'. This highlights the importance Māori and Māori issues now play in newspapers. Māori are a political force emerging from a higher social profile. Gordon and Deverson (1998: 69) say this is '…part of a world-wide post-colonial movement of indigenous peoples seeking redress for historical injustices and a greater say in their own destinies.'

6. Conclusion

The thirteen words in this survey have fared somewhat differently over the eight years of the survey period. The words that have an increased or steady frequency are all social culture word types as defined by Macalister (2006). Articles containing social culture type words – *hui*, *whānau, kaumātua*, *kaupapa*, *hīkoi*, *whakapapa*, *kaitiaki* and *iwi* – have an increased or steady frequency over the time period. Articles containing *marae,* a material culture item, have a steady frequency; however its meaning is widening to include a social aspect as a community of interest. Frequency and distribution of the various words is news-driven and subject to geographical and readership influences. The results support Macalister's finding of a 'dramatic upsurge' in social culture types from 1970 to 2000 (2006: 16) and point to an increase in social and political status for Māori.

Overall, changes in newspaper style signify a change in attitude to te reo Māori. This is seen specifically in the dropping of the English plural marker 's' from Māori words, and in a trend away from glossing. However, Māori words are still almost always found in articles with a Māori context except for *hui* and *hīkoi* which are also found in non-Māori contexts and may be considered more fully integrated. They also demonstrate semantic divergence, whereby the Māori word, when used in English, has a slightly different meaning from its closest English equivalent. Overall, there is a trend away from glossing Māori words. *Kaumātua*, however, continues to be subject to glossing and is

used in conjunction with the English word *elder*. This demonstrates difficulties that can arise because of cultural and linguistic specificity.

In the Macmillan Brown lecture series for 2005, Elizabeth Gordon commented that 'the fact remains that more and more Māori words are being used in [spoken New Zealand] English and are being used comfortably. This blending of English and Māori is especially apparent when Māori are speaking English.'[7] The results of this survey show change in that articles containing Māori words are being used more often over time, but compared to spoken NZE the uniqueness of the Māori dimension in mainstream newspaper news items is not so obvious. However, the newspapers surveyed, which are representative of New Zealand newspapers in general, do have a uniqueness which sets them apart from other English-language newspapers: Māori words add an ethnic identity marker reflecting in a small way the country's bicultural makeup. As Gordon concludes: 'No other variety of English in the world has Māori words. This is what makes New Zealand English unique.'

Notes

1 We gratefully acknowledge *The Press* editor, Paul Thompson, for supporting this project and kindly giving permission to search the company text database, *The Press* Information Services personnel for their encouragement and advice on using the text database, and Jeanette King, Tony Deverson, John Macalister, Julia de Bres and the two anonymous reviewers who all gave generously of their expert advice and encouragement. This study originated as a student project in the New Zealand English course at the University of Canterbury in 2005.

2 Macalister (2006) provides an excellent summary of the history of Māori words in New Zealand English.

3 *The Dominion* merged with the *Evening Post* in July 2002, and was renamed *The Dominion Post*; the text database accommodates this change, so the title *The Dominion (Post)* is used unless the reference is clearly to *The Dominion*.

4 This issue arose when eight South Island iwi claimed customary title to the foreshore and seabed in an area of the Marlborough Sounds in 1997. The claim was tested through the courts causing much political debate when the Crown stepped in. A Bill was debated in Parliament in 2004 giving the Crown rights over the foreshore and seabed on behalf of all New Zealanders. The Foreshore and Seabed Act was passed into law on January 17, 2005.

5 The practice, when changes in style become official, is for the chief sub-editor to inform the relevant staff of the changes, nowadays by email, and for those changes to be incorporated into the next edition of the style book.

6 This cultural divide refers to newspaper sub-editors specifically and other

journalistic staff in general. A desire for correct, grammatical usage while reflecting common practice is always uppermost in the minds of those responsible for what appears in print; and, of course, that readers will readily understand what is contained in the newspapers. Traditionally, sub-editors are cautious in their response to change, and the inclusion of Maori words is a relatively recent linguistic/cultural change.

7 These lectures were presented in Christchurch in September and October 2005, and broadcast on the National Programme of Radio New Zealand in October and November 2005. The quote comes from the first lecture in the series. The lectures are currently available on the web and will be published in book form.

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