



**WAIKATO-TAINUI**  
COLLEGE FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

# Literature Review on Maaori Language Dialect and Regional / Iwi Variation

Produced for Te Maataawai

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## Introduction

The journey into Maaori dialectical research is not merely an act of academic enquiry, or an exploration of Maaori linguistic structure and discourse, it is a journey into one's own identity. To know one's own language, is to know oneself. Dialect is not merely about words, it is really about identity. It is about knowing who you are, where you come from, how you are related to others and where you fit in the world. The Maaori language, as a dialect of the Pacific languages, and a member of the Eastern Polynesian languages (see Harlow, 1998), tells us that we as Maaori are related to the peoples of the Pacific, and Maaori origins lie within the Pacific Ocean and the Austronesian region. Waikato-Tainui reo, as a dialect of te reo Maaori o Aotearoa, tells us that Maaori have close connections to the tribes on the West Coast of New Zealand, reaching up as far North as Te Raarawa and Te Aupouri, and as far south as Ootaki. Through our dialects, Maaori connect to various iwi, marae and hapuu and whakapapa. Through our Waikato-Tainui dialect, the distances that our people travelled from Hawaiki, to Rarotonga, to Whangaparaoa in the East Coast, to Kaawhia in the West Coast, to Mookau in the North, Taamaki in the South, Pare Hauraki is the East, Pare Waikato in the west, and eventually Ootaki, located near the head of Te Ika a Maui. The Waikato-Tainui dialect, and the Maaori language, are a great source of pride in, and allegiance to our whakapapa and identity.

This paper is organised in three parts. The first part will discuss the project background, objectives, Waikato-Tainui context and research methodology. The second part will review the literature on dialect. The third part will highlight some of the gaps in the current research on dialect and highlight recommendations. It is important to note here that this report deliberately uses the double vowel convention to indicate the elongated vowel because it is a style that is now typical of the Waikato-Tainui writing style, and has become the standard for our official tribal documents.

## Part One: Waikato-Tainui Context and Project Background

Waikato-Tainui is a tribal collective of 68 marae, 33 hapuu, with a membership of over 70,000. Waikato-Tainui Whakatupuranga 2050 strategy is a 50-year plan that serves as the tribal blueprint for cultural, social and economic advancement - of which te reo and tikanga are central. The vision of Whakatupuranga 2050 is drawn directly from King Tāwhiao's tongikura,

“Maaku anoo e hanga i tooku nei whare. Ko ngaa pou o roto he maahoe, he patate. Ko te taahuhu he hiinau. Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga. Me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki” (2007, p. 2).

That vision is further supported by the mission statement, “Kia tupu, kia hua, kia puaawai” drawn from the tongikura of Te Puea Herangi (p.2).

The Waikato-Tainui education strategy *Ko te Mana Maatauranga: Education plan 2015-2020* (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, 2016) is directly informed by and aligned to Whakatupuranga 2050, and identifies the importance of te reo and tikanga in achieving educational success for whānau. The five-year plan articulates three priorities, the first of which is: “All Waikato-Tainui tribal members are fluent in Waikato reo me oona tikanga” (p, 12).

In 2016, Waikato-Tainui launched its reo strategy, Tikanga Ora Reo Ora (TORO), which outlines how Waikato-Tainui will support iwi members to become confident and fluent te reo Māori speakers. A priority and aspiration within the Waikato-Tainui TORO strategy is to lift the fluency in Te Reo o Waikato for iwi members to over 80% by 2050. The strategy's primary goal is to capture within Waikato-Tainui reo, the Waikato-Tainui identity, history, continuity, tikanga, and places of significance. One of the key principles of this strategy, is that the Waikato-Tainui dialect thrives.

This principle is significant in relation to this research because in order to ensure the growth and development of a dialect, it is first important to identify exactly what dialect *is* and how it is measured and defined.

## Project Objectives

The objectives of this literature review are to: (a) examine Maaori dialect across the country; and (b) highlight the Waikato-Tainui reo and context.

## Project Scope

The literature review explores dialect and its definitions, meanings and parameters.

Aligned to the project objectives above. 'In scope' will be existing literature regarding dialectal expressions within Waikato-Tainui and comparing them to other iwi. The focus questions guiding this project are:

1. What literature resources do we have that discuss dialectal expressions within te reo and te ao Maaori in general? (For example, idioms, idiomatic expressions, accents, language tone, language music are all dialectal expressions).
2. What does the literature say about dialect and dialectal expression within te reo Maaori?
3. What literature resources do we have that discuss the unique dialectal expressions of Waikato-Tainui?

## Research Methodology and Resources

The methodology employed for this research project, was a collection of data and information from published literature and resources that are currently in public circulation. The only exception to the publicly circulated resources are the archived material from the Waikato-Tainui Archives. Whilst the tribal material was analysed, it is not referenced or discussed in this report because the information from these materials lay outside of the project scope. The method for collecting the literature was a desktop search of the University of Waikato library database, the Waikato-Tainui Archives database and the New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound website database. The resources sought from within these databases, were material that analysed and defined dialect. There was nothing found in the Waikato-Tainui Archives that specifically analysed or defined dialect. In the New Zealand Archive of Film, Television and Sound database, I found the Maaori Television *Koowhao Rau* 2014 Series 5, Episode 1 (Hita, 2014). This episode has Quinton Hita travelling to the North to capture the Ngaapuhi dialect through casual conversations with people, kaumaatua in particular, about their lives. The Waikato University database search, provided a much more comprehensive list of resources around dialect and its parameters, however, this list was barely one-page long. In short, the database

search for literature and resources on dialect is minimal, which is a strong indication that there is very little research produced, published and available for public consumption on Maaori dialects.

## Key Resources

The following is a list of key scholars and resources on Maaori dialect. These works were deliberately singled out in this way, is because they are, in my opinion the leading scholars the investigation of Maaori regional dialectical variances. Ray Harlow, is without a doubt the leading scholar in the study of Maaori dialectical variances in Aotearoa, New Zealand. It is impossible to not include his extensive work on the subject. His work 1979 article on regional variation in te reo Maaori, is still the best reasearch on Maaori dialect after nearly 40 years. However, it would be imprudent of me to not include the work of Bruce Biggs in this section because the research completed by Bruce Biggs on the linguistic structure of te reo Maaori including his own extensive study of Maaori dialects provided the foundation upon which Ray Harlow build his research. However, Ray Harlow, is by far, still the leading authority on dialect, and that is clearly visible in the extent of his publications. Peter Keegan, Hemi Whaanga and Hineiti Greensill are included in this list because they are producing very new current research on dialect. Their current work is arguably 'cutting edge' in relation to the linguistic and discourse analysis of te reo Maaori. They all take into account the evolution of te reo Maaori and discuss current issues that we face, and will likely continue to face in the everyday reality of a te reo Maaori speaker, learner, teacher, scholar and researcher. Wharehuia Milroy and his chapter "Ngaa reo aa rohe" from the Te Whanake 4 - Te Kohuretanga, is a chapter that is written entirely in te reo Maaori about te reo Maaori and its dialectical variances. This chapter is rather unique compared to all the other dialectical literature currently in public circulation. It is beautiful elegantly written piece of prose, designed for the fluent te reo Maaori speaker. These scholars are listed here in alphabetical order.

### Biggs, Bruce:

- Biggs, B. (1978). The history of Polynesian phonology. In S.A. Wurm & L. Carrington (Eds.), *Second international conference on Austronesian linguistics: Proceedings. Fascicle 2, Eastern Austronesian. Pacific Linguistics C-61* (pp.691-716). Canberra, Australia: Australian National University.
- Biggs, B (1989). Towards a study of Maaori dialects. In R. Harlow & R. Hooper (Eds), *Vical 1 Oceanic Languages: Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics* (pp.61-75). Auckland, New Zealand: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Biggs, B (1991). A linguistic revisits the New Zealand bush. In A. Pawley (Ed.), *Man and a half. Essays in Pacific Anthropology and Ethnobiology in honour of Ralph Bulmer* (pp.67-72). Auckland, New Zealand: Polynesian Society.

### Harlow, Ray:

- Harlow, R. (1979). Regional variation in Maaori. *New Zealand Journal of Archeology*, 1, 123-38.
- Harlow, R. (1987). A word-list of South Island Maaori (2nd ed.). Auckland, New Zealand: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.

- Harlow, R. (1989). Ka: The Maaori injunctive. In R. Harlow & R. Hooper (Eds.), *Vocal 1 Oceanic Languages: Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics* (pp.197-210). Auckland, New Zealand: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Harlow, R. (1993). Lexical expansion in Maaori. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 102(1), 99-107.
- Harlow, R. (1994a). Maaori dialectology and the settlement of New Zealand. In D. G. Sutton (Ed.), *The origin of the first New Zealanders* (pp.106-122). Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Harlow, R. (1994b). *Otago's first book*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago Heritage Books.
- Harlow, R. (1996). *Maaori [Languages of the world/ materials 20]*. Munich, Germany and Newcastle, England: Lincom Europa.
- Harlow, R. (1998). Polynesian \*f and \*s in eastern Polynesian languages. *Rongorongo Studies*, 8(2), 47-58.
- Harlow, R. (2000a). Possessive Markers in Maaori. In S.R. Fischer (Ed.), (2000). *Possessive markers in central Pacific languages. [Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung 53(3/4)]* (pp.357-370). Bremen, Germany: Akademie Verlag.
- Harlow, R. (2000b). He aha te reo tuuturu? *He Puna Koorero: Journal of Maaori and Pacific Development*, 1(1), 47-71.
- Harlow R. (2007). *Maaori: A linguistic introduction*. NY, New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### Keegan, Peter:

- Keegan, P. (2017). Maaori dialect issues and Maaori language ideologies in the revitalisation era. *MAI: New Zealand Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, 16(2), 129-142.

#### Milroy, Wharehuia:

- Milroy, W. (1996). *Ngaa reo-aa-rohe*. In J. C. Moorfield (Ed.), *Whanake 4 - Te Kohure*. Hamilton, New Zealand: University of Waikato.

#### Whaanga, Heemi and Greensill, Hineiti:

- Whaanga, H., & Greensill, H. (2014). An account of the evolution of language description of te reo Maaori since first contact. In A. Onysko, M. Degani, & J. King (Eds.), *He hiring, he puumanawa – Studies on the Maaori language* (pp.7-32). Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.

The MAONZE (Maaori New Zealand English) project, led by Ray Harlow, Jeanette King, Margaret Maclagan, Peter Keegan and Catherine Watson, is a project that analyses Maaori and New Zealand English speech. The purpose of this project is to create a corpus of Maaori speech from three sets of speakers (these sets are divided by generation and age) to track the changes in Maaori pronunciation and to evaluate the influence from English. The team has produced three publications that are all accessible through the Waikato University Library database. The publications are:

- Keegan, P. J., King, J., Maclagan, M., Watson, C., & Harlow, R. (2009). Changes in the pronunciation of Maaori and implications for teachers and learners of Maaori. In S. May (Ed.). *LED 2007: 2nd International Conference on Language, Education and Diversity, Refereed*

*Conference Proceedings and Keynotes, The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, 21-24 November 2007 [CD-ROM].* Hamilton, New Zealand: The University of Waikato.

- King, J., Maclagan, M. M., Harlow, R., Keegan, P. J., Watson, C. I. (2011). The MAONZE corpus: Transcribing and analysing Maaori speech. *New Zealand Studies in Applied Linguistics*, 17(1), 32-48.
- King, J., Maclagan, R., Harlow, P., Keegan, C.I., Watson. (2010). The MAONZE corpus: establishing a corpus of Maaori speech. *New Zealand Studies of Applied Linguistics*, 16(2), 1-17.

It is also important to include masterate and doctoral theses in this list of key resources to show that university with a really strong regional and tribal focus. Iraia Bailey, for his Masters thesis focuses specifically on Tuuwharetoa language and initiatives. Ruakere Hond focuses on reo from Te Tai Hauāuru, with a specific focus on Taranaki and Whanganui communities and their reo Maaori journeys and linking language outcomes to health and wellbeing. Hana O'Regan focuses on the Kaitahu rautaki reo, Kohtahi Mano Kāika. All three of these theses, I believe are important because they all focus on tribal and regional distinctiveness.

- Bailey, I. (2013). *Kei moenga-taaraa i te aarero. Lest it be served from the tongue* (Master's thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand). Retrieved from <https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/handle/10289/7903>
- Hond, R. (2013). *Matua te reo, matua te tangata. Speaker community: visions, approaches, outcomes* (Doctoral thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand). Retrieved from [https://mro.massey.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10179/5439/02\\_whole.pdf](https://mro.massey.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10179/5439/02_whole.pdf)
- O'Regan, H. (2016). *Te tiimataka mai o te waiatataka mai o te reo* (Doctoral thesis, Auckland Institute of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand). Retrieved from <http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/handle/10292/10646>

However, a less formal publication that really highlighted personal views and understanding of dialect, can be found in the *Te Karaka*, which is an online periodical produced by Te Ruunanga o Kai Tahu (Panoho, 2007). In this periodical, reporter, Amokura Panoho (2007), examines 'The language of identity - k vs ng' by interviewing Kai Tahu leaders such as Michael Skerett (Te Ruunanga o Kai Tahu Waihoapai representative), Kukupa Tirikatene (Kai Tahu kaumaatua), Tahu Pootiki (Ootaakou Ruunanga Chairman) and Hana O'Regan (Dean of Te Puna Waananga).

The list indicates a relatively limited range of books, journal articles, theses and tribal periodicals that explore tribal dialect. There is only a handful of scholars and researchers who are making headway into the study of Maaori dialect. Based on the literature and resources gathered for this report, it is safe to say that the leading scholar in Maaori dialect at present is Dr Ray Harlow who is of Paakehaa descent and was a Professor in the Linguistics Department at the University of Waikato. He is also one of the founding members of Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Maaori.

There is much room for growth in the study of tribal dialects, however, it is important to note, that while academia has played a big part in developing the research on iwi dialect and reo-aa-iwi, it is

important to highlight that the source of these languages are the iwi. Therefore, the iwi must determine for themselves the future direction of research into their own 'mita', 'reo-aa-iwi' or 'rangi'.

## Waikato-Tainui Reo Strategy and Dialect

The Waikato-Tainui Language strategy titled *Tikanga Ora Reo Ora*, has outlined six core values which highlight the overall vision of the strategy (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, p.10). These core values are:

1. Kia whakahokia te reo ki ngaa tara-aa-whare
2. Kia haapaingia ngaa tikanga ki te tuanui o te whare
3. Kia whakairohia anoo te reo me ngaa tikanga i roto i ngaa ngaakau o te iwi hei te tau 2050
4. Kia pakari te re me ngaa tikanga i te kaainga, i te marae, i te kura, i te haapori
5. Kia puea anoo te rangi o te reo o Waikato-Tainui
6. Kia amohia ake ngaa tikanga a Waikato-Tainui

The fifth core value, "kia puea anoo te rangi o te reo o Waikato", refers specifically to the Waikato dialect. However, the use of 'rangi', is a specific reference, not only to the lexicon, grammar, morphology, phonology and idiom of Waikato-Tainui, but also the rhythm, intonation and accent of the reo.

The strategy outlines five key goals that will drive the iwi to fulfilling this vision. These goals and objectives are:

1. Kia rangahaua ngaa tohu o te mana o te reo me ngaa tikanga i ngaa taangata, i ngaa kaainga, i ngaa komiti marae, i ngaa kura, i ngaa hapori hei aarahi i te anga whakamuatanga;
2. Kia whakatairangatia te kitenga, te paanuitanga, te rongotanga, te koorerotanga o te reo me ngaa tikanga i ngaa waahi katoa e whai paanga ai a Waikato-Tainui;
3. Kia whakakotahingia ngaa maramarama maatauranga o Waikato-Tainui hei taonga tuku iho;
4. Kia whakahokia te reo me ngaa tikanga ki te ngaakau o te iwi;
5. Kia arotake, kia aromatawai, kia arohaehae i ngaa hua o te rautaki (Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust, p. 10).

The fourth and fifth goals in particular, are key in retaining and revitalising 'te rangi o Waikato'. The objective for the third goal is to collect "koorero tawhito i ngaa rua mahara, i ngaa pukapuka tuupuna, i ngaa hopunga reo me ngaa whakapapa, kia putu ki te waahi kotahi". The Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development has an archives collection that is an invaluable treasure trove of written and video recorded material. The reo o Waikato-Tainui is preserved in these resources, which provides the iwi with an opportunity to further study and analyse the 'rangi' of Waikato-Tainui. The objective to the fourth goal is to "kookiri i ngeetehi hootaka reo" such as:

- Te Reo Kaakaho, which is a waananga designed for all tribal members to learn reo and tikanga;
- Te Reo Kaapuia, which is designed specifically for teachers and professionals;



- Te Reo Uukaipoo, which is designed to return the language to the home by placing Waikato-Tainui specific everyday language resources in the homes;
- Taiohi Kaakao, which is designed specifically for taiohi; and
- Te Reo Aratau, which is designed specifically for Waikato-Tainui rangatahi leaders.

These initiatives are all designed to return the language to the homes and to the hearts of the people. They are also designed to enhance and uplift confidence and competency in te reo Maaori. The 'rangi' of Waikato-Tainui flows through all of these initiatives, however, at present, there is no initiative that is designed to specifically define, articulate, understand, and retain the true nature of the 'rangi' of Waikato-Tainui reo. There are also no specific resources within Waikato-Tainui that discuss what the Waikato-Tainui dialect is. However, whilst we do not have literature and resources that discuss and analyse Waikato-Tainui dialect, we do have resources that hold examples of Waikato-Tainui 'rangi', which are invaluable and will provide a foundation for future research into Waikato-Tainui dialect. Therefore, what is needed within Waikato-Tainui, is an initiative that is specifically designed to learn and to teach the 'rangi o te reo'. However, this then begs the question, what is the 'rangi' of Waikato-Tainui, and for that matter, what is in fact 'rangi' or dialect? How is dialect defined? What are the parameters of language that differentiates one dialect from another?

The following section of this project will explore these questions in some detail.

## Part Two: Review of Literature

### What is dialect?

Dialect is a form of speech that is used by certain groups of peoples, which indicate connections, relationships and shared experiences. According to Tom Roa (personal communication, 2017) “dialect is an identity marker.” That is, our dialect identifies our iwi connections and relationships. Ruakere Hond (2013) agrees with this but extends this definition by stating that dialect is an identity marker that demonstrates a person’s authentic relationship to a specific region. He explains further that people speak their reo to specify their tribal region and asserting their knowledge of history and tikanga of their people (ibid). Peter Keegan (2017, p. 137) asserts that our efforts to revitalise, not just te reo Maaori, but also the dialect can be attested to Maaori keenness to signal a form of iwi allegiance. Kukupa Tirikatene (2007, p. 38), in identifying Kai Tahu dialect states that “we should ensure in seeking ways to retain our distinctive identity, [that] this is not done at the expense of te reo Maaori generally”. Tahu Pōtiki (2007, p. 39) expands his definition of dialect by stating “Although the ‘ka’ is a Kai Tahu icon and acts to immediately inform other iwi of the speaker’s origins, it is the turn of phrase, colloquial idiom and vocabulary that holds the depth and beauty of the language”.

What is important about these statements made by Maaori scholars, linguists and rangatira, is that dialect is more than just words and phrases. Lexicostatistic scholars define dialect as a single language with high levels of shared vocabulary. That is, “speech forms with levels of shared vocabulary of 81% or greater, [is a] dialect of a single language” (Harlow, 2007, p.51). If this was indeed the case, and Maaori measured our dialect based on our shared vocabulary, then Tuuhoe and Ngaati Porou, who have an 82% shared vocabulary would have a single dialect. Tuuhoe and Kahungunu, who have an 80.1% shared vocabulary would have a single dialect. Ngaapuhi and Te Aupouri, who have an 84.9% shared vocabulary would also have a single dialect (for further information on the percentages see Harlow, 2007, p. 51). The point is, if Maaori tribal leaders and scholars define dialect as a speech form that indicates tribal identity, connectedness, allegiance, and authenticity, then dialect must be measured by more than just vocabulary. As Tahu Pootiki (2007, p.39) points out, it is not just the vocabulary that holds the depth and beauty of a language, but it is also its turn of phrase and colloquial idioms that also make it distinct.

Therefore, the question remains, what are the linguistic elements that define dialect? The short answer is that dialect can be measured by vocabulary/lexicon, phonology, morphology, grammar/syntax, idiom, as well as rhythm, metre, and accent.

### Measuring Dialectical Distinctiveness

Dialectical distinctiveness can be measured in a number of ways. Linguistic scholars analyse the phonological (structure of word sounds), morphological (structure of words), grammatical (sentence structure) and lexical (word/vocabulary) structures to measure the differences between dialectical languages.

One of the first research on dialect was conducted in Otago by Reverend James Watkins in 1840-1841, who immediately took notice of the distinct differences of the Southern Maaori dialect. He recorded these differences and published Otago’s first book in the Southern Maaori dialect through the Wesleyan Church, (Harlow, 1994). Ray Harlow (1994) examined the dialectical nature of the Southern Maaori reo based on vocabulary, phonology and grammar and compared them to the common Northern Maaori reo.

The grammar, for example, notes the following:

	<u>Southern Maaori</u>	<u>Northern Maaori</u>
a. The omission of particles	<i>ratou ware</i>	<i>oo raatou whare</i>
b. <i>Starting with a pronoun</i>	<i>I aia e kite taatau</i>	<i>Maana e kite taatou</i>
c. <i>A/O inconsistencies</i>	<i>tou tamaiti</i>	<i>taau tamaiti</i>
d. <i>singular/plural</i>	<i>te mea katoa</i>	<i>ngaa mea katoa</i>
e. <i>Phonology</i>	<i>poueru</i> <i>pounemu</i>	<i>pouaru</i> <i>pounamu</i>

It is important to note here that Ray Harlow (1984) compiled an invaluable list of Kai Tahu words and analysed the linguistics in this James Watkins publication. However, it is perhaps fair to question the authenticity of James Watkins sources because very little is published about his methodologies for producing his book. Bilingual informants are not acknowledged in his publication and there are instances where Harlow believes Watkins may have coined some of the words himself. Harlow also notes that some of the grammar in this book may have been influenced by the Tongan language, of which Watkins was familiar.

In Ray Harlow's research on te reo Maaori and specifically, his work on tribal dialects (2007, pp.4161), he also explores phonological, morphological, grammatical, and vocabulary variations, amongst the different tribes and regions throughout Aotearoa.

### Phonological Differences

Perhaps the most significant phonological differences amongst the tribes are the Taranaki glottal stop, ' , in place of the common h; the Kai Tahu k, and the Tuuhoe idiomatic n in place of the common ng; and the Northland h, as in *hakarongo*, in place of the common wh, as in *whakarongo*, (excluding the Taranaki/Whanganui *w'akarongo*). Following are some examples of phonological differences from Harlow, (2007, pp.41-61):

<u>Most Dialects</u>	<u>Bay of Plenty</u>	<u>South Island</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>anga</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>aka</i>	<i>shell</i>
<i>punga</i>	<i>puna</i>	<i>puka</i>	<i>anchor</i>

A distinct phonological difference, particularly between the west coast tribe of Waikato, and East coast tribe of Ngaati Porou (and Kai Tahu) is the use of *ei/ai*, *ou/au* and *u/i*. For example:

<u>Waikato</u>	<u>Ngaati Porou</u>	<u>English</u>
<b>(ei)</b>	<b>(ai)</b>	
<i>teina</i>	<i>taina</i>	<i>younger sibling same gender</i>
<i>kei kai at present</i>	<i>hei hai at future</i>	
<i>wheero</i>	<i>whaairo</i>	<i>be seen, understood</i>

(ou)	(au)	
<i>you</i>	<i>tau</i>	<i>pronoun</i>
<i>maapou</i>	<i>maapau</i>	<i>tree</i>
<i>tuumou</i>	<i>tuumau</i>	<i>permanent</i>
(u) (i) <i>tupu tipu grow</i>		
<i>pupuru pupuri grasp/hold tuturu tuturi drip</i>		
<i>tupa</i>	<i>tipa</i>	<i>Scallop</i>

## Morphology Differences

Following are some examples of morphological differences organised by tribes from Harlow (ibid). These differences are measured by the variations in morphemes, for example, the variation of the *ah* in *ahau/au*, or the *aw* in *awau/au*.

<u>Northland</u>	<u>Waikato</u>	<u>East Coast</u>
<b>ahau</b>	au	<b>awau</b>
<b>tao</b> taaua taaua <b>mao</b> maaua maaua <b>rao</b> raatou raatau		
ko <u>u</u> rua	koorua	koorua
koutou	koutou	<b>kootou</b>

There are some instances where Waikato morphemes are slightly different to the rest of the country:

<u>Waikato</u>	<u>Rest of Country</u>	<u>English</u>
<b>ngeenei</b>	eenei	these
<b>ngooku</b>	ooku	my

In many instances, the East Coast and South island grammar are quite similar, but in the case of these possessive pronouns, they differ slightly in their morphological structure, and are quite distinct from the rest of the country. For example:

<u>East Coast</u>	<u>South Island</u>	<u>Rest of Country</u>
ta <b>ah</b> au/to <b>oh</b> ou	ta <b>ah</b> aku/to <b>oh</b> oku	taau/toou
na <b>ah</b> au	no <b>oh</b> ona	naau
m <b>oh</b> ou	mo <b>oh</b> aku	moou

## Grammatical Differences

Following are some examples of the grammatical differences from Harlow (ibid).

These differences are separated by West Coast and East Coast:

<u>Waikato/West Coast</u>	<u>Ngaati Porou/East Coast</u>	<u>English</u>
kei	kai	at present
hei	hai	at future
tou	tau	pronoun

The following grammatical differences are organised into Northland, East Coast and the rest of the country:

<u>Northland/</u>	<u>East Coast</u>	<u>Rest of country/ Maniapoto</u>	<u>English</u>
ko reira	hei reira	kei reira	at future
<b>tao/mao/rao</b>		taaua/maaua/raaua	plural pronouns
kourua		koorua	plural pronoun
outou	kootou	koutou	plural pronoun

With regards to the active progressive grammatical variances, these differences are noted as being preferred amongst the Western and Eastern tribal regions:

<u>West Coast</u>	<u>East Coast</u>
e ... ana	kei te

In the Northland, they also prefer to use the *e ... ana* structure to indicate habitual action. Whereas the rest of the country prefer to use *ai*.

In some grammatical variations, just like in the Southern dialect, some tribes tend to omit particles in their speech, for example:

<u>Northland</u>	<u>Rest of Country</u>	<u>English</u>
Ka kii Moetara	Ka kii a Moetara	Moetara said
<u>Taranaki</u>	<u>Rest of Country</u>	<u>English</u>
Ki raatou	Ki a raatou	to them/

Harlow (2007) continues to describe the lexical variations amongst different tribes. These differences are indicated by a shared word form but a different meaning. For example:

<u>Word</u>	<u>West Coast</u>	<u>East Coast</u>
Kirikiri	gravel/small stones	sand

Some unrelated word forms with similar meanings across tribes are:

<u>Word</u>	<u>Waikato</u>	<u>Ngaati Porou</u>	<u>Rest of Country</u>
Smoke	Paoa-Pawa	Kauruki	Auahi

And some varying but related words across regions are:

<u>Word</u>	<u>West Coast</u>	<u>Waikato</u>	<u>Tuuhoe</u>	<u>East Coast</u>
Worm	Toke			Noke
Fly	Ngaro			Rango
Stone	Koowhatu/		Koohatu	Poohatu
Right hand side	Katau			Matau
Heavy	Taimaha	Toimaha		Taumah a
Narrow	Whaaiti Kuuiti			Whaaiti

These phonological, morphological, grammatical and lexical examples of variances and differences from the tribes around the country not only provide a glimpse into what our differences are, but also a framework for continued research and discovery into the complexity of language and dialect. What is missing, however, is the study into idiomatic differences. According to Wharehuia Milroy (1996 as cited in Harlow 2007), “idiom is very important and points to a further type of variation such as exclamations which fall outside of the sentence.” This is, of course correct, when you think about exclamations such as ‘No!’ Tuuhoe, for example, use *E hee!*, Northland might use *Noo!*, and the rest of the country would use *Kaa*. These idiomatic variances not only indicate a distinctiveness across tribes, but can also indicate a distinctiveness within tribes. Ngaati Hauaa and Ngaati Maniapoto, for example, are both iwi within the Waikato-Tainui rohe. However, their idioms differ slightly from each other, where Ngaati Hauaa would use the exclamation *wiire*, and Ngaati Maniapoto would use *aiare*. From a linguistic perspective, it is merely a difference between the morphemes *wii* and *ai*. However, according to Maaori leaders and scholars, dialect is an identity marker, which means the difference between *wiire* and *aiare*, is not in the morphemes, but in the identity to whom these words belong because their use signals an allegiance and integrity to a specific whakapapa. Idioms capture a wairua Maaori that is linked to whakapapa and tribal identity. Whilst it is important to retain the idioms of old, because through them we gain an understanding of the Maaori worldview of old, it is also important to record newly coined idioms, to capture the Maaori worldview of today.

There are some areas of language and dialect that have been deliberately excluded from this report. The first is the dialectical comparisons between Maaori, Pacific and Austronesian languages, as well as the influence of New Zealand English on te reo Maaori. Other areas beyond the scope of this report, are the differences between male and female forms of speech, and the differences between

generations of speakers. The differences between age and gender are not indicative of tribal affiliations or allegiances, however, Peter Keegan (2017) observed that a person’s gender and age affects the rhythm and accent in the pronunciation of their reo. The rhythm of their reo was measured by the vowel length, quality and pause in their phrases. Bruce Biggs conducted a similar research in 1973, where he measured the pause and stress of Maaori to define the intonation and rhythm of the language. The results from his research, is that our dialect and language register is changing over time, and that each new te reo Maaori speaking generation is effectively creating their own dialect. This dialect is not measured by a person’s whakapapa, but the shared experiences of their gender and times in which they live.

What is also excluded from this research project, are the reasons for the linguistic variances and tribal difference in language forms and usage. The evolution of our dialects can be traced to a shared whakapapa through marriage, inter-connectivity, communication, and trade within and amongst tribal regions. English and Anglo-American influences play a big part in the way our language has evolved, particularly through the ever--increasing reliability on technology and the internet. These areas can perhaps provoke further research into the understanding and continued retention of dialect.

Returning to our definitions of dialect as a marker that identifies our tribal whakapapa and allegiance, then it is important to explore the spatial organisation of dialect.

**What are the regional and tribal spatial dialectical divisions?**

The spatial divisions of tribal dialect are just as dynamic and complicated as the spatial division and separation of iwi, waka and whakapapa.

Maunsell, in 1842 (cited in Harlow 2007, pp. 96-134), highlighted seven distinct dialectical identities based on iwi, region and waka:

Te Rarawa	-	iwi
Ngaapuhi	-	iwi
Waikato	-	iwi
Maataatua	-	waka
East Cape	-	region
Mookau to Whanganui		region
Whanganui to Wellington		region

Rikihana (1976) and Harlow (2007) divide dialectical variations specifically by iwi and waka, for example:

Te Arawa	-	waka
Waikato-Maniapoto	-	iwi
Ngaapuhi	-	iwi
Maataatua	-	waka
Ngaati Porou	-	iwi

Biggs (1978; 1989) divided dialectical variations broadly based on region and iwi. He effectively drew a line down the centre of the North Island and divided the dialectical regions into West Coast and East Coast:

West Coast Division

Te Aupouri	-	iwi
Ngaapuhi	-	iwi
North Auckland	-	region
Whanganui	-	region
Taranaki	-	region
South-West Coast of Bay of Plenty		region

East Coast Division

Ngaai Te Rangi	-	iwi
Ngaati Awa	-	iwi
Te Whakatohea	-	iwi
Tuuhoē	-	iwi
Te Whaanau a Apanui	-	iwi
Ngaati Porou	-	iwi
Rongowhakaata-	-	iwi
Ngaati Kahungunu	-	iwi
Wairarapa	-	iwi

Central North Island Division

Te Arawa	-	waka
Ngaati Tuuwharetoa	-	iwi

The Te Arawa and Ngaati Tūwharetoa tribes share both west and east coast dialects.

Harlow in 2007, divided dialectical identities based on regions, iwi and waka:

Most dialects

Bay of Plenty	-	region
South Island	-	region



Or

Northern - region Eastern - region

Or

Tuuhoe	-	iwi
Tuuwharetoa	-	iwi
Waikato	-	iwi
Ngaapuhi	-	iwi
Te Aupouri	-	iwi
Ngaati Porou	-	iwi
Ngaati Kahungunu	-	iwi
Te Arawa	-	waka

Te Maataawai, under the Te Ture moo Te Reo Maaori 2016, created iwi clusters that are based on both geographical regions and waka, for example:

Te Taitokerau	-	region
Tainui	-	waka
Maataatua	-	waka
Te Arawa	-	waka
Te Tai Raawhiti	-	region
Te Tai Hauaauru	-	region
Te Waipounamu	-	region

These regional, iwi and waka dialectical divisions are interesting, and the methodology and rationale behind all these divisions are unclear. Biggs (1989) states that regional variations are associated with place and tribe. However, this is not concrete because people maintain their dialect regardless of where they live. It is possible that as people become more mobile and inter-tribal marriage and connections increases, dialectical variances may in fact decrease.

## How have the dialectical divisions been impacted through the written word?

Keegan (2017), in his research on te reo Maaori indicated that through the publications made by Biggs, the te reo Maaori 'standard', that is the te reo Maaori 'norm' was the Ngaapuhi/Waikato/West Coast language, and the East Coast/Bay of Plenty Maaori, was the 'dialect'. Manu Bennett (cited in Keegan 2017) made a statement that the Biblical Maaori was the standard for Aotearoa, since the Bible was, at that time, the greatest te reo Maaori resource. However, in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, the East Coast reo became the standard as a result of the publications by Hoani Retimana Waititi, Tiimoti Kaaretu, Ruka Paora, Katerina Mataira, John Moorfield to name a few. Their publications were widespread throughout the country and new learners of te reo Maaori began speaking the reo in

those books, rather than the reo from their own iwi, waka and regions. The Te Taura Whiri publications and orthographic conventions have also impacted the standardisation of te reo Maaori, however, one of the greatest influences today, is Maaori Television, where a majority of the presenters are from the Bay of Plenty and East Coast regions. This is by no means a negative effect, it is merely an impact. During those times, the focus of language revitalisation was purely on the survival of te reo Maaori. It didn't matter which tribe it was, what mattered most was that it survived. Hana O'Regan (2007) pointed out that the study of dialect is one of privilege because it means that the focus has shifted away from te reo Maaori in general, towards iwi and regional dialects. This is a win for te iwi Maaori and te reo Maaori revitalisation efforts.

What is most important in this section around regional, iwi, waka divisions and the standardisation of the language, is that these scholars, media and government agencies divide iwi, waka and regions for reasons that are specific to their purposes and goals. Tribal dialectical divisions must be self-determined by iwi. However, it is also important that iwi be fully informed on their dialectical differences and similarities with other tribes. To understand dialectical differences highlights a linguistic uniqueness in identity, and, to understand dialectical similarities acknowledges the multiple connections and relationships with each other.

## Part Three: Recommendations for Further Research

This project has noted some significant gaps in the current literature on dialect. Biggs (1978; 1989; 1991), Harlow (1994; 2007) and Keegan (2017) have highlighted dialectical differences in phonology, morphology, grammar, idiom, rhythm and accent, however there is still much work to do with vocabulary, idiom, rhythm and accent. The MAONZE project led by Ray Harlow, is currently leading the way in terms of recording and measuring rhythm and accent of te reo Maaori. Through their research they are finding rhythmic and accentual differences between male and female, and between different generations. As a result, they are finding that a new dialect is emerging, one that is not linked to region, iwi or whakapapa, but actually connected to gender and age. Raahui Papa (WaikatoTainui), for example, designed a methodology to gather Waikato-Tainui kaumaatua to provide their 'kupu' for certain objects. If they all shared the same kupu for an object, then that was recorded as a Waikato-Tainui word. Winifred and Laurie Bauer (2000) designed a methodology for identifying New Zealand English dialects by asking children what they would call the game which requires a player to run and tap another player. Once that player was tapped, then it is their turn to quickly find another player to tap. The children who called the game 'tiggy' used the same English dialect. The children who called the game 'tag' used a different English dialect. These two methodologies indicate the same idea, that the shared usage of vocabulary indicates a shared linguistic identity. What is significant about research in iwi vocabulary, is that you can numerically measure the differences and similarities of languages. This would be an extension of the research that Ray Harlow conducted in 2007 (p.51), where he was able to provide an exact percentage of the shared vocabulary between Tuuhoe and Ngaati Porou (82%), Tuuhoe and Ngaati Kahungunu (80.1%), and Ngaapuhi and Te Aupouri (84.9%). These percentages show that, whilst these two tribes have separate and distinct identities, they share the same lexical dialect. These numbers could also provide clearer regional dialectical divisions. The research into rhythm, accent, grammar and lexicon is significant, however, what is most important is to encourage iwi agency over their own dialects through iwi led research and initiatives.

**Recommendation 1:** To invest in iwi / hapuu / marae-based collections and collations of vocabulary; to create a trans-tribal task force to compare and contrast the similarities and differences of the vocabulary on these lists.

As stated previously, idioms capture a wairua Maaori and links us to our whakapapa and tribal identity. There is very little research on the dialectical variances on idioms. The examples provided, were exclamations, such as the Tuuhoe *e hee*, the Northern *noo*, the Ngaati Hauaa *wiire* and the Maniapoto *aiare*, are just some examples of dialectical idiomatic variances that lie beyond linguistic structure since idioms break all the rules of grammar. It is possible to replicate Raahui's WaikatoTainui vocabulary methodology to elicit Maaori verbal instinctive responses or verbal emotional reactions resulting in the idiom belonging to that tribe. Creating scenarios such as, "someone accidentally spills a glass of water on you, what would you say?" could elicit such a response. In my household, a typical response would be "aia!" If this study could be conducted by iwi, hapuu, marae, and even whaanau, and the results could be compared across the country, it could either confirm the lexicostatic definition of dialect, where Tuuhoe and Ngaati Porou, who share 82% of their vocabulary belong to the same dialectical identity. However, if in fact, Tuuhoe and Ngaati Porou share very little, to no idiomatic phrases, then they would indeed not belong to the same dialectical identity. If research proved this, then it would be creating a new method for defining dialect divisions not yet been done

before. Creating a new method for defining dialectical divisions and definitions, means creating new knowledge.

**Recommendation 2:** To invest in iwi / hapuu / marae-based collections and collations of idioms; to create a trans-tribal task force to compare and contrast the similarities and differences of the idioms across all iwi / hapuu / marae.

To understand what Maaori dialects are and to determine for ourselves the way Maaori dialects are defined, divided and measured is very important. However, having this knowledge is not enough. In order to retain iwi dialect, iwi need to be able to provide access to their reo and dialect resources to all tribal members. Technology is extremely effective in providing unlimited access to information. It is an innovative tool that can be used in numerous ways to connect people to te reo Maaori and te reo aa iwi, however, this unlimited capacity, can also be quite dangerous if people are not vigilant in the way in which information is shared. What could be quite helpful to iwi, is to establish a technological infrastructure and a digital strategy for their language and cultural resources.

**Recommendation 3:** To invest in iwi / hapuu / marae based technological infrastructures and digital strategies so that iwi maintain agency, mana and rangatiratanga over their digital data.

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