The Revitalization of a Maori Family

A discussion on the Pedagogy of Language Acquisition in relation to Cultural Acquisition.

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INTRODUCTION:

'E nga iwi, e nga mana, e nga reo,

'Tena koutou katoa.

The emergence of Nga Kohanga Reo, Maori Language Nests for preschool children in New Zealand, has created a context for the revival of the Maori language, (Ka'ai 1990, Hohepa 1991). This has resulted in the Kohanga Reo and Maori families approaching the rearing of these children from a perspective more culturally appropriate to the Maori. This outlook has been different to that of conventional early childhood education services in New Zealand. Very little information is recorded about the effects that this cultural approach to learning Maori in an English speaking dominated society has on the development of the young child within his/her own social contexts, the family and the Kohanga Reo.

This paper focuses on the transference of cultural values through language from a total immersion Maori language early childhood setting, Te Kohanga Reo, to the home, and the rich interactions which occur within that home. It looks at these interactions and the role that the child plays. 'To understand why I undertook to carry out such a study as part of my requirement for a Master of Arts Degree one needs to understand the depth of feeling I experienced with my loss of the Maori language and the excitement experienced observing my own acquisition of te reo through my two young Kohanga Reo children. My recent Maori language development did not just happen without much inner searching, reconditioning, analysis, and feeling totally inadequate and often embarrassed by this inadequacy. This situation was the outcome of an assimilation policy which promoted the idea that for Maori children to succeed in schools they needed to master the English language, (Moorfield 1987, Walker 1990 ). This paper is more than a discussion about one small case study on a very young Maori child's acquisition of Maori language at home and in her other social setting Te Kohanga Reo, it is also about that child's family and the transformation which took place within her immediate and extended family. It is most likely a reflection of what is happening within other Maori families throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. A historical account on the decline and resurgence of the language for Maori
people will be discussed in relation to Te Kohanga Reo which became the catalyst for revitalising the language. The interrelationship between language acquisition, language socialisation and cultural acquisition will be explored, drawing upon some of the many examples observed in a small case study conducted by the speaker. The discussion will summarize the importance Nga Kohanga Reo are to the revitalisation of not just the language but also the values or tikanga of the Maori and consequently the effect that this has on the family through the active participation of the child.

History:

According to Ka'ai - Oldman (1988) education policies of the late 1800's undermined the Maori language and along with it its people by replacing the culture with a predominantly English one. This policy was known as assimilation and over the following one hundred years, the denial of the Maori language within the education system ensured that its status was lowered. Coupled with this was the assumed inferiority of the Maori culture as a whole in comparison with English and European cultures. It was thought that for Maori children to succeed at school the Maori language needed to be discouraged. Educational achievement could only be attained through gaining competency in English. The Maori language and the culture was expected to 'die out and fade away' (Ka'ai-Oldman, 1988, p 23).

After 1900, education authorities took a hard line against Maori language which was forbidden in the playground and corporal punishment was administered to children who disobeyed. This repressive policy marked a period of retreat for the Maori language. It was a period in which raw power was used to suppress the heart and soul of a people. (Ka'ai-Oldmann, 1988, p 23).

The use of Maori language was discouraged in the majority of Maori homes and along with the large number of families moving to the urban areas away from extended whanau support and strong identity with the land, arose a formula for future discontent.

The outcome of the assimilation policy was that by the 1960's Maori people were no further towards achieving academic success. In fact Maori children's rate of failing in schools was high. The Hunn Report of 1960 stated that Maori people had the worst health and the worst educational achievement in the country. The fault was placed on the inadequacies of the family. This gave rise to a strong sense of guilt amongst the Maori people. In 1978, a study conducted by Richard Benton reinforced the concern expressed by Maori activist groups that the Maori language was in danger of being lost within a short period of time (Ka'ai 1990, Smith 1990).

The birth of the Kohanga Reo movement began from the first Hui Whakatauira which was organised by the Department of Maori Affairs, at Waiwhetu,
Wellington in 1979. Maori elders at that gathering were also concerned that, based on Benton's study, (1978), the Maori language was rapidly becoming extinct. From that meeting it was decided that Maori language nests, Nga Kohanga Reo should be established based upon Maori kaupapa or philosophy. The first Kohanga Reo was opened in 1982 at Waiwhetu, Wellington. No one anticipated the enthusiasm of the Maori families, and the way that they took hold of the philosophy. (Manatu Maori, 1991). The success in the establishment of a vast number of Kohanga Reo in such a short space of time was due to the dedication of a small team within the National Kohanga Reo Trust, and the personal commitment that the Maori people gave through voluntary assistance called aroha or love.

NGA KOHANGA REO:

Kohanga Reo means Language nest and is a centre for children mainly under five years of age whose medium of instruction and communication is conducted in the Maori language (Hohepa 1990, Irwin 1990, Ka'ai 1990, Smith 1990). The main reasons for this total immersion programme were to revitalise the language, stress the importance of 'whanaungatanga' (familiness), which reintroduced the values of the culture and traditional Maori knowledge to generations of Maori families who had migrated to the cities away from their family base and family support. Lastly the importance of being able to determine one's decisions for oneself, Tino Rangatiratanga.

"The driving force of this organisation is the Kohanga Reo whanau centres of managers." (Irwin 1990, p117)

It would also provide the Maori family with a safe, culturally appropriate and non threatening environment where they could learn Maori language and reinforce these Maori values and concepts alongside their children, (Smith, 1990). The very philosophy of Kohanga Reo, which was established by Maori for Maori under a Maori form of decision making, was nutured and protected by the then Department of Maori Affairs led by a Maori and overseen by a Maori Minister of Parliament. This collective power to negotiate with Government for better funding was fought for and won by Maori people who had become politically aware through their involvement with Te Kohanga Reo. "Many Maori people became conscientized. The philosophy of the movement was based on their two most precious 'taonga' or treasures. These were their children, which embodied the Maori concept of 'whanaungatanga' or familiness and the other was their 'language, which linked them with their 'tupuna' (ancestors) and with 'Io' the Supreme Being through their whakapapa or geneology. Therefore they were prepared to access resources from as many areas as possible to make the movement live. Much of the energy to revitalize the Maori language was provided by the Maori women, who according to Horsfield & Evans (1988), had the worst rate of employment and according to a Maori Women's Welfare League report on Maori women's health, had the worst health
rate in the country (Murchie 1986). It blew apart the theory that these women did not care for their children's well being, that they were lazy, and that because they did not succeed at school, they were failures.'

NGA KAUPAPA O TE KOHANGA REO;

Te Kaupapa -The Philosophy

'There were several explicit outcomes embedded in the purpose of Te Kohanga Reo. These were the revitalization of the Maori language, the concept of whanaungatanga - that everyone was an important member of an extended family, ie whanau, hapu, iwi and finally the right of self determination and control over Maori resources, 'Te Tino Rangatiratanga' (Bennett 1984, Hohepa 1990, Irwin 1990, Ka'ai 1990,).

Te Reo Maori

'Kohanga Reo were charged with the responsibility of revitalizing the Maori language. It was hoped that Kohanga Reo would attract as many Maori children as possible so that the language would be learned. It soon became evident that not only were the children learning the language but so too were the parents. Te Ataarangi language courses were set up to try to match the demand (Smith 1990 p66). During the process of learning the Maori language many parents relearned the values and concepts of the culture. The commitment of the Kohanga Reo whanau to immerse the young child in the Maori language only within the Kohanga Reo setting and if possible in the home environment stemmed from the purpose that the language should not die. The underlying belief was that if the language died then so would the essence of the people.

"Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori" "The language is the life principle of Maori mana" (Sir James Henare) It was important for the Kohanga Reo and family environment to complement each other and to ensure the young child's optimum development in the language and in the culture.

"Because Maori was a minority language it was believed that the child would acquire two languages Maori from the Kohanga Reo and English from the medium outside the Kohanga Reo. Hence from this would grow a bilingual child, confident in the two cultures, with high self esteem and a positive self identity.'

Whanaungatanga

'When enrolling a child at Kohanga Reo the family's commitment to the philosophy of Kohanga Reo and the importance of being actively involved were emphasised. The successful operation of the Kohanga Reo was dependent on these two points. All major decisions were made by the whanau and support to members of the whanau was paramount. The family and this included the child's extended family, were welcome to remain at the Kohanga Reo with their child. Ka'ai, (1990), stated that it was common to see an adult to children ratio that was better than conventional childcare centres. The atmosphere of a welcoming Kohanga
Reo was one of warmth and acceptance. Parents were required to state their Hapu and Iwi, sub tribal and tribal connections, and the importance of supporting the child's acquisition of Maori language in the home on the enrolment form. Many families saw the Kohanga Reo as a supportive way of assisting them while they were at work. The care of the child was entrusted to the elders, usually a kuia or 'nani', who guided the other adults within the Kohanga Reo in a culturally appropriate way. "The rearing of the young child by an elder was common practice in the Maori culture, (Makereti 1986), as it was felt that it was important for the knowledge and wisdom of the elders to be passed on to the very young child during their formative years. "Many of the values such as aroha (love), awhina (embracing support), manaakitanga (caring) and wairua (spirituality) would be taught to the child and s/he would be encouraged to practise these with the other children. The values of caring for one another and working together were taught as being important components of whanaungatanga, (Hohepa 1990, Ka'ai 1990, Pere, 1991). "The children were also encouraged to care for the babies in the Kohanga Reo by hugging them, assisting them physically and comforting them when they were distressed.

The Tuakana/Teina concept is an important part of whanaungatanga. Ka'ai (1990) defined ‘this as the shifting of roles between a teacher and a learner and stated that she found this relationship present in a number of Kohanga Reo. Children could take on the role of teacher and give directions as well as become the learner and receive directions. This shifting of roles was encouraged and according to Hohepa 'b(1990) the children were 'able to take responsibility for their own and other's learning.' This pedagogical approach to learning and teaching was intricately interwoven with the whanau concept of the older person/child caring for the younger and the responsibilities that these roles had within the family. Tino Rangatiratanga'Ka'ai 1990, stated that this third kaupapa was to 'achieve Maori control over Maori resources'. It was a structure which enabled Maori people within the individual Kohanga Reo to make decisions for themselves, their children, their Kohanga Reo and their future. "Collectively it was a structure which was able to make its wishes known nationally and internationally. The whanau have the authority to determine what they wish for their Kohanga Reo, with the Te Kohanga Reo National Trust acting as a buffer between the whanau and non Kohanga Reo organisations or individuals. "Nga Kohanga Reo has gained national and international recognition, status and mana. The successful establishment of Nga Kohanga Reo has worked through the process of 'self determination'.

Te Kohanga Reo is a Maori movement which is controlled by Maori people governed by a Maori kaupapa to ensure survival of Mana Maori, Tino Rangatiratanga. It promotes the 'rightness' of being Maori and in so doing it validates Maori forms of knowledge and a Maori view of the
world. Therefore it can only enhance the young Maori child's self confidence and self identity.

FROM LANGUAGE ACQUISITION TO LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL SOCIALISATION

'Ochs (1986), argues that language socialization intricately interweaves the rules of language and culture. As the child acquires language she also acquires socialization skills which in turn gives rise to the use of more complex language.'

"Language Socialisation ........ mean(s) both socialisation through language and socialisation to use language." (Ochs 1986,p 2)

Schieffelin and Ochs (1986), see the child as an active agent during the process of socialization. Just as the child is able to receive support to acquire language from a person or persons more expert that herself so too does that child receive support to acquire social skills required within that culture.

Wood, Bruner and Ross, (1976), have described systems and processes of acquisition. But it is implicit in their analyses that beliefs values and knowledge about the world that one's family belongs to will determine in some way the scaffold, patterns formats and routines. This is made explicit by researchers concerned with language socialization." A number of authors, who have included their work in Schieffelin and Ochs' book 'Language Socialisation Across Cultures' (1986), have studied the role of language usage, language acquisition and language socialization across cultures. Their work shows examples of the presence of similar formats and routines such as turntaking, prompting, repeating and games, during the interactional process between the adult and the child. In all these cases the presence of culturally specific forms of scaffolding or support systems were evident not just for language acquisition but also for social acquisition.

Paralleling this with Bruner's term, a Language Acquisition Support System, LASS (see Bruner 1983), I have called this a Cultural Acquisition Support System, (CASS). Language is but a tool towards successful socialisation. Ochs (1986) also says that the child's correct interpretation of the language, both verbal and non verbal, gives rise to an interpretation of that social situation and enables the child to gain knowledge of their place and role within, firstly, the family and then within society. The routines established are important for the child so that she can be repeatedly exposed to ways of acquiring language, social skills and the very essence of that culture, - its values. '

'The child's development grows like a stones ripples in the water so that experience and understanding is reached and expanded on in all parts of the circle. Eventually the child makes more and more sense of her universe and her special relationship with her family ......' (Royal Tangaere 1992
Therefore the general framework of language socialization argues that language is a vehicle for socialization and socialization is dependent on language usage, (Ochs 1986). The acquisition of language develops from a support system consisting of a variety of formats, such as cues, turntaking, repetition, etc., (Bruner 1983). The acquisition of a language gives rise to the acquisition of socialization skills and therefore cultural values and practices. The pedagogy of language acquisition has embedded in it the support system necessary for the acquisition of culture, (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986).

The Study:

This study drew on Bruner's (1983) work of scaffolding and routinization, and Schieffelin & Ochs (1986) discussions on language socialisation, to study the child's acquisition of language through waiata and placed these observations within the cultural-practice or ecocultural framework of Bronfenbrenner, (1979). This parallels with Pere's Maori world view of the child belonging to the universe, (1991). It illustrates that the child must always be surrounded by aroha or love and that any decision made will impinge in some way on that child whether directly or indirectly.

In relation to the study that I conducted it was important to place the child's language and cultural acquisition within her two main settings and to analyse the observations for presence of routines or patterns which were common to both these settings. It was taken as given that there should be transference of learning between the two contexts but the study was interested in seeing what mechanisms the child would employ to achieve this transference.

Based on the theory that the child as an active agent (Bronfenbrenner 1986) within her social environment will initiate the transference of routines from one setting to another, the study examined whether these interchanges enabled the two settings to complement each other. The child's active role was observed to see how she achieved the connection from the Kohanga Reo into the home which may have facilitated her language socialization.

Method:

Through the methodology of formal and informal observations the study described the conditions which promoted her action of interchanging these formats from the kohanga to the home. It looked at the support systems within these two contexts and the way in which these systems promoted the acquisition of the Maori language, in particular, and the acquisition of Maori cultural values and practices.

Family Setting:
The subject was my own child, Rangi, who was four years of age at the time. The observations were recorded by video, tape and running records, the latter being both formal and informal recordings. Although many of the observations were recorded from when Rangi was two years old this study focused on her later age period, (age 4 years 1 month to 4 years 9 months). Rangi is the third child in a family of four children. Her youngest sister is also at Kohanga Reo and featured many times during the study. Both parents are Maori, her father being a Maori language teacher at a local secondary school. The first language of the home was predominantly English with the use of Maori increasing as the children's competency increased. Rangi and her younger sister Arapera attended the same Kohanga Reo where their mother worked. Rangi is now five and attends the Kura Kaupapa Maori which is associated with her Kohanga Reo. 'Te Kohanga Reo: Awh... Kohanga Reo is situated within the Marae complex of the Maori Studies department at the local College of Education. It has been operating since 1984 with the nanny of the kohanga having been there since 1986. The Kohanga Reo is licensed to care for 30 children at the time of the study. This included four children under two years of age. During the observations there were six teaching staff present as well as other adults such as parents, teacher trainees and other personnel. 'Nani' was the supervisor (kaiako) and was a fluent Maori speaker. Parents played an important role in the Kohanga Reo's smooth operation through participating in the fortnightly whanau meetings to joining the children's programme when possible. The entire programme was conducted in the Maori language and parents were not allowed to speak English in the presence of the children. The parents were also encouraged to learn the language as an indication of their commitment to the kaupapa of Te Kohanga Reo. Cultural values such as manaakitanga (caring), aroha (love), awhina (embracing) and spirituality (wairua) were an integral part of the programme alongside the importance placed on the children learning their tribal connections. Within the concept of whanaungatanga or familiarity the children were taught to enjoy caring for one another and particularly for the younger children. Ka'ai (1990) defined the care that the older child (tuakana) gave to the younger child (teina) as the tuakana/teina relationship and stated that it was an important part of whanaungatanga. She also said that within the Kohanga Reo the more experienced child's role could shift from that of learner to one of teacher and caregiver. 'Both she and Hohepa (1991) found evidence of the tuakana/teina relationship evident in the Kohanga Reo that they studied.' Observations: The observations focused mainly on the waiata (singing) activity (see Leontiev 1979), although other activities such as mihimihi (greetings), karakia (prayers), games and the presence of Maori pedagogical methods of learning and teaching (see Ka'ai 1990, Metge 1983, Smith 1987). In all the observations carried out in the Kohanga Reo for this study
singing activities always took place in the morning when all the children and staff were gathered together for karakia (prayers) and mihimihi (greetings). However, on other occasions a staff person was observed playing the guitar and singing with a few children. The only other time that singing activities might occur were when visitors arrived at the Kohanga Reo and the 'formality of speeches occurred.

Hohepa (1991), also found in her study within a Kohanga Reo that the commencement of the day began with karakia, himene, and mihimihi.

The majority of the observations were recorded in the home environment but it was important to record observations within the Kohanga Reo to determine the transference mechanisms. Observations were recorded over a six month period with the majority of them being in the home.

Results:
Waiata as an activity (the importance of waiata to the Maori.) Waiata is a part of the formality of Whaikorero on the Marae or the more informal mihimihi during special occasions. A whaikorero and mihi always finished with a waiata. This is regarded as the Kinaki or relish to complement a speaker's words. There were many different types of waiata, such as waiata tangi or songs for the dead and oriori or children's lullaby, (Best 1966). All waiata had a purpose and to the Maori were not just for entertainment. The purpose was to pass on to future generations the history, whakapapa or geneology, events and stories of the Iwi. Therefore the singing of a waiata would give more status to that speech and to the speaker. For example, the following song was taught to the children in preparation for a summer gathering of all the local Kohanga Reo. It tells about the Kohanga Reo that the children belong to, the important landmark that they identify with and the purpose for their Kohanga Reo. The waiata reinforces the importance of the kaupapa of Kohanga Reo not only to the children but also to the Maori people.

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Waiata 1 "Ko Te Awhireinga" (December 1991)```

Original Translation Non Verbal Dialogue Actions

`Ko Te Awhireinga Te Awhireinga Older chn do`

`10 matou Kohanga is our Kohanga actions. R. stands`

`'Ko Maungawhau Maungawhau and sings only`

`Te Maunga e is the mountain`

`Anei ra matou Here we are`

Nga uri whakatipu the growing descendents`
I ako nei te reo learning the language "mo te iwi e for the people.
The place of nga waiata in the Maori culture is of extreme importance not just for the messages that they contain but also because they are a part of a session such as the Whaikorero and a part of the speech process which complemented the speaker and enabled the people of that Iwi to support him by singing and thus reaffirming their tribal oneness. The session in this case termed "whaikorero" or speechmaking consists of several parts or activities which are easy to identify. One of these is the waiata. Within the waiata are routines and patterns which enable the members of the Iwi to not only learn the song, but also to acquire the values of the culture which reinforce the concepts of whanaungatanga. The Cultural Acquisition Support System for Maori culture is based on the perceived importance of people, (Makereti 1986).

"He aha te mea nui o te ao? Maku e ki atu, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata."'g'What is the most important thing in this world? I will say, 'tis people, 'tis people, 'tis people.' ''(Maori proverb.)"Therefore the role of whaikorero or mihimihi serves to reinforce this by acknowledging those ancestors who have passed on and by acknowledging those people who are present at the function.

The structure of whaikorero and mihimihi can be seen as a vehicle for Cultural Acquisition Support Systems, CASS. Similarly waiata, an activity that is a part of the Whaikorero, can tell the stories of the tribe, its family genealogy and its boundaries, and also provide (as a component) a vehicle for Cultural Acquisition Support System.

Within the waiata activity are examples of leadership and 'turntaking', prompting one another, and support. Waiata were learned in a group with other members of the whanau, rather than in isolation. This enabled the whanau to act as a support or a form of scaffolding to one another so that the song could be learned. It was also recognized that the leader teaching the song would also be a support to the whanau during the learning/teaching session. The occurrence of waiata was very predictable. Observations revealed that each day when the children sang a himene, said a mihimihi or greeting to the rest of the whanau, they always chose a song to complement their short greeting. The waiata followed the speech and therefore reinforced the pattern found in the formal kawa of the marae and informal speechmaking within the culture. Once all the children had had the opportunity to greet the whanau, supported by 'Nani', a short group singing section would follow.

Like the other children when Rangi and her sister finished their mihimihi to the rest of the whanau in the Kohanga Reo, 'Nani' would ask them
what their song would be. The typical prompt for the routine (see Peters & Boggs, 1986) was "He aha korua waiata?", "What is your (two people) song?" Rangi and Arapera would then lead the other children. The session continued onto the bathroom area where the children were directed to wash their hands and it was not completed of the session was morning tea which is the same pattern as the hakari (partaking of food) on the marae after the formalities of the speeches had concluded, (Salmond 1975). "When analysing the session it is plain to see that the entire procedure had a set of rules that have been established within the culture itself. Not only is it the required format for marae kawa but also the protocol to follow when entertaining visitors. It can be argued that through the repeated daily action of greeting one another the children would internalize this process (Vygotsky 1978) and acquire the importance of acknowledging people as an important practice.

The next transcripts are observations of examples of waiata taught to the children in the PKohanga Reo and were analysed for the presence of Cultural Acquisition Support Systems, (CASS). This example is of the children learning a new song, a hymn. The leader, ('K 1' or the ``Kaako), was standing at the front of the children singing the lines of the song once at a time and the children were repeating these words. Rangi was taking part in this session but noticed a close friend of the family, enter the Kohanga Reo. Rangi acknowledged the observer by smiling but did not leave the group to greet her. She continue to watch the `observer while repeating the words of the song. This continued until Rangi's friend who was standing next to her grabbed Rangi's hand and turned her attention back to the song.

``Waiata 2  "Ko tenei te wa" (No 1) (May 1991) Kohanga Reo``+Systematic Observation- running record

Original Translation    Non Verbal`

Dialogue Actions

`8K.1     Ko tenei te wa This is the day     R. looks around     "
`                   at observer & smiles.
`4R.     Ko tenei te wa This is the day     R. doesnot look     "
`                   at K.1 but does   actions. Copies
`                   children.
`K.1     Ka waiata ahau I am singing     "

`0R. Ka waiata ahau I am singing     R.turns faces K
`3K.1     Ka waiata ahau I am singing     R. looks at K.2
`            ki Ihoa     to God     & copies
`            actions`

`+R. Ka waiata ahau I am singing     R. turns to
`            ki Ihoa     to God     observer`
The waiata activity had many components which were important to the child's acquisition of cultural values which would assist her cultural socialisation within a Maori context. For example the children learnt the new waiata as a group, the preferred method of learning and teaching (see Smith 1987). As the waiata was a hymn the children knew that there were a set of rules which ensured that due respect was paid to the purpose of the song. Rangi's friend demonstrated the concept of Tuakana/Teina by 'playing' the role of teacher and without being prompted took responsibility for redirecting Rangi's attention.

Actions and movements to the songs were a common occurrence and assisted the children in learning the song. They also assisted the children in associating the meaning of the song to a particular action as shown in this example, during the learning of a haka or war chant.

Original Translation | Non Verbal

Dialogue

Timata
Begin
R. watches K.1
and places hands on hips
Ringa pakia
Hands hitting R. slaps hands
onto front of her thighs
Waewae takahia
Foot stamping R. stamps right foot in
time to beat.
Aha ka mate ka mate
Die die R. stamps foot
&( Ka ora Ka ora
Live live & slaps thighs
(R. Ka mate ka mate
Die die while saying
Ka ora ka ora
Live live the haka.

The kaiako began the haka with the prompt command 'timata' and then 'ordered' the children to slap their thighs and stamp their feet building the children into the force and energy of the haka, or war dance. This alerted the children to pay attention and make ready to
participate in the war chant. The children knew that they had to be fierce and show kaha or strength whilst performing. As in the previous waiata the children participated as a group. The teacher captured their attention with the prompt 'timata' and then gave instructions to stamp their feet and slap their thighs. The children knew when to begin the chant. Children learned traditional waiata which contained important information about historical events. The following waiata was learned for the special end of year gathering of Kohanga Reo at the local domain.

Waiata 4 "Pine Pine Te Kura" (December 1991) Kohanga Reo

Original Translation
Original Translation
Dialogue, Actions
5 Pine Pine te kura Gathering treasured All the chn possessions are standing
Hau te kura Spoils of accumulated together in a Knowledge group.
Hanake te kura Proud possessions
i raro i Awarua stand proudly below
Awarua
Ko te kura nui The great accumulation
Ko te kura roa The long accumulation
Ko te kura na Tuhaepo The accumulated possessions of Tuhaepo
Tenei te tira hou This is the new group
Tenei hara mai nei This new era approaching
"Na te Rongomai comes from Rongomai
"Na te Rangimarie and Rangimarie
Nau mai ka haere taua Welcome, let us enter
ki roto Turanga upon Turanga

The children stood together as a group and supported one anothers' singing. Rangi said the entire waiata with the other children from her Kohanga Reo. This activity demonstrated the importance of group support and reinforced the idea of being a whanau (family), in this case a kohanga whanau. Belonging to an identifiable group engendered a sense of pride and belonging.

Transference of waiata
It was evident that Rangi was transferring waiata from the Kohanga Reo to the home setting. The following transcripts showed the strategies and mechanisms she employed to achieve this, such as the routine prompt 'timata' as used in waiata 4 in the following example.

Waiata 5 "Ko Tenei te Wa" (No. 2) (July 1991)
which she knew they sang at Kohanga Reo. In fact Rangi had taught the family. The mother was quickly interrupted by Rangi who decided to sing a song that they had been learning at Kohanga Reo for two weeks. The preferred song was "Ko Tenei te Wa" (see waiata 2).

Original Translation Non Verbal
Dialogue Actions

M. Ko waka patu ahi au I'm a little fire M. begins song

R. No, no, no Nothing R. stops M. & A

Not that song Not that song from singing

'Ko Tenei te Wa' 'This is the day' Starts own

song

M. Kaore au e mohio I don't know

tenei waiata this song.

R. Whakarongo Mama Listen Mum R. looks at A.

Timata

A. Begin A.

R. Ko tenei te wa This is the day R. begins the

Ka waiata au that I will sing song and A.

joins in,

Ka waiata ki that I will sing singing most

Ihowa to the lord of the words.

Ko tenei te wa This is the day

Ka inoi ahau I will pray

Ka inoi ki te Ariki I will pray to God

Waiata arohanui Song of great love

Waiata arohanui Song of great love

Ki te Atua To the Lord

Ki te Atua To the lord.

M. Kiaora korua Thank you both M. praises chn

Tino ataahua tenei That song is All three sing

waiata. Waiata very beautiful the song with

ano maku Sing again for much 'kaha' or

me. gusto.

When new songs were learned at the Kohanga Reo it was not unusual for Rangi to transfer these to the home setting. This often took place while driving to or from the Kohanga Reo. Rangi had no difficulty adopting the role of the teacher in waiata 5 and lead her younger sister in singing it to their mother. She had asserted her role as tuakana and 'began with a prompt used in her Kohanga Reo - 'timata' (See waiata 3). The 'newness' of the waiata and the current familiarity would also act as a prompt to initiate the singing. Waiata (5) and the following song, waiata (6), are examples of this transference. Waiata (6) is also such an example.
Waiata 6 "Awhireinga" (November 1991) "Incidental Observation - car"
Rangi and Arapera sang a new waiata entitled "Awhireinga". It was composed especially for "the December picnic arranged for all Kohanga Reo in the district. They were returning "home in the car with their mother when Rangi began the song accompanied by the "appropriate hand actions."

"Original Translation Non Verbal"
"Dialogue Actions"
"Ko Te Awhireinga Te Awhireinga Unable to observe"
O matou Kohanga is our Kohanga R.'s actions
Ko Maungawhau Maungawhau clearly as
Te Maunga e is the mountain observer was
Anei ra matou Here we are driving the car.
Nga uri whakatipu the growing descendents However it was
I ako nei te reo learning the language obvious that the
mo te iwi e for the people. song had actions"

The words of the song reinforced the children's knowledge of belonging to Te Awhireinga 'Kohanga Reo. The song also linked the children to the mountain which the Kohanga Reo was situated below, teaching the children to identify with the land. The song then reinforced the kaupapa of Te Kohanga Reo 'learning the language for the people'. "

"The following waiata was initiated by Arapera, Rangi's younger sister. The two sisters had 'been observing the older children from the Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori language immersion primary school), practising a new chant to a favourite haka. During the car ride home that afternoon Arapera began. Rangi quickly intervened and took over the leadership role.

"Waiata 7 "Toi te kupu""
Incidental Observation - Car"

"Original Translation Non Verbal"
"Dialogue Actions"
"A. Toi te kupu A. shouts the"
" Toi te mana chant using the"
" Toi te whenua e appropriate tone"

R. timata Arapera Begin Arapera R. interrupts"

" R. Ka mate ka mate Die die R begins haka"
Ka ora ka ora live live A. joins in"

A. Ka mate ka mate Die die both saying the"
Ka ora ka ora Live live chant together"
Tenei te tangata    This is the
Puhuruhuru    hairy man They continue

............. chanting until
............. the end of the haka
............. when they both say

............. the new chant

Toi te kupu    with alot of kaha

Toi te mana

Toi te whenua e

Aue hi    Shouting"

'Rangi had recognised that Arapera had begun with the ending to the haka and established her tuakana role by taking the lead. Arapera seemed contented to allow this to happen. 'This same waiata was initiated by Rangi a few days after. During that session Rangi was prompted into chanting whilst playing with a metre ruler. She swung her ruler out from her 'body and began stamping her foot in time to her haka. Arapera immediately took the same warrior stance and copied Rangi. It was interesting to note that she began the haka with the chant whereas in the previous waiata she had corrected Arapera for doing this. The metre ruler was used as a 'taiaha' (Maori weapon similar to a spear)'

Waiata 8 "Toi te Kupu" (taiaha)"

Original    Translation    Non Verbal

Dialogue     Actions

'R. Toi te kupu    R. holds taiaha

Toi te mana    out

Toi te whenua e   stamps foot

Aue

hi! aue ha!    and grimaces

&R.    Ka mate ka mate    Die die

A. joins R.    (&    Ka ora ka ora live live in haka stamps

Ka mate ka mate    Die die foot & swings)

Ka ora ka ora live live taiaha to & fro

To begin this haka she began with the ending rather than the word 'timata' as in ''Example#12. This was probably because the presence of a 'taiaha' in her hand 'necessitated a stronger beginning than that one word 'timata' could express.

'The children at the Kohanga Reo had become familiar with the routine prompts that began 'waiata activities. Routines which began with "he aha korua wai(ata):" cued the activity, ''Sand, routine prompts such as "Timata" (waiata 4) enabled the children to prepare themselves for the leader to begin the song. The everyday repetition of the ensuing 'routines and the role of the kaikako in supporting the children's learning of the songs (waiata 2) also reinforced the importance of nga waiata in the Maori culture and the role that it played.

Observations also revealed that learning a new song reflected traditional ways of learning (Buck 1966). That is, a formal session was conducted with much seriousness and children were expected to attend quietly to the task at hand, (waiata 2). According to Sir Peter Buck, (1966), children were also expected to learn long complicated waiata, which told a
The role of repetition or modelling could also be seen in waiata 2 where Rangi was learning a new hymn. An unspoken prompt started this performance. The 'silent' routine prompt was "Listen and Repeat". The children repeated the lines of the song after the kaiako. In this way the children learned the song. At the same time the children were learning the hymn there was another kaiako showing the children the actions which accompanied the song. The waiata sung in the family setting saw Rangi being the leader as compared with her role as a learner in the Kohanga Reo. To transfer the waiata to the family she used the shifting role strategy to initiate them. As her mother was also learning the language she (the mother) was contented to listen to the songs and encouraged Rangi to take the role of teacher. The waiata were a cultural acquisition tool to ensure that Rangi learned the cultural values which would prepare her for socialising in an appropriate manner. It was also important for her to learn waiata as it played a necessary part of whaikorero or mihimihi as mentioned previously, (see Salmond 1975).

Mihimihi Activity
Closely aligned with the language support system is the acquisition of cultural values and practices. The acquisition mechanisms were present in the waiata activities and were seen for example in Rangi's ability to become a leader and teacher. Their presence in other activities demonstrated their generalised almost automatic function.

The following three transcripts are examples of mihimihi activities, the first in a Kohanga Reo and the second and third one in the home setting.

"Mihimihi Te Kohanga Reo" (May 1991) Study Observation - Incidental
The children were seated on the mat in the main area of the Kohanga Reo, the Kaiako and Kaimahi amongst them. Nani had been conducting the mihimihi session with the children when she chose to call Rangi and Arapera to the front of the group. Both children were shy and needed to be encouraged. They had been absent from Kohanga Reo for a month.

Original Translation Non Verbal

Dialogue Actions
N. Haere mai Rangi Come here Rangi Nani looks at
```
me Arapera and Arapera R. & A. Smiles`
```
They go to her.

N. Mihi ki te whanau Greet the family R & A are shy

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Kiaora te whanau Greetings family Nani begins

Kiaora te whanau Greetings family R & A repeat`
"Mihimihi in bed" (May holidays1991) 

"Study Observation - Incidental "
"Rangi and Arapera joined their parents in bed. While they lay in bed a conversation began where Rangi wanted a bubblegum. Her father asked her for her greeting first."

Original Translation Non Verbal "
Dialogue Actions "

"F. Morena korua Morning you two R. & A. on bed "
"A. Morena Morning Kiss father "
R. Kiaora Daddy Greetings Daddy R. talks to "
" Pirangi au I want father "
" he bubblegum a bubblegum "
"F. Kaore No F. reminds R. "

Nani supported both children with their mihimihi as it was important for this process to happen after such a long break. It was observed that all the children had the opportunity to 'mihimihi'. At the end of the activity both Rangi and Arapera were praised for their greetings. Throughout the entire activity the two children repeated the phrases that the 'kaiako said. This was an acceptable form of practice for the activity. The importance was not just greeting the whanau but also participating in the activity. The kaiako finally finished the activity with the routine prompt for a waiata "He aha korua wai(atā)?", (what is your {two people} song?)
He aha tou mihi     What is your greeting     to greet first'
   tuatahi?     first?
R.   Oohh Oohh
   Kiaora te whanau     Greetings family      R. turns to
   both parents
A. Kiaora te whanau     Greetings family     A. copies R.
R. Ko Rangi toku ingoa Rangi is my name    R. continues
   kohanga    pattern
A. Ko Rangi toku ingoa Rangi is my name     A. copies R.
R. Ko Awhireinga toku Awhirenga is my
   Kohanga    Kohanga
A. Ko Awhireinga toku Awhirenga is my
   Kohanga    Kohanga
R. Ko Ngati Porou aku Ngati Porou is my Rangi makes a
   Iwi tribe    grammatical
   mistake 'aku' (pl)
A. Ko Ngati Polou aku Ngati Polou is my instead of 'taku'
   Iwi tribe    (singular)
F. Hahaha Kai te pai Hahaha Thats good     F. laughs because
   only his tribe is said.
M. Ko Ngati Porou Ngati Porou    M. repeats
   mihi & waits
   Ko Ngati Porou Ngati Porou    R. & A. copy M.
M. me Te Arawa    and Te Arawa    M. adds name
   of her tribe
   me Te Arawa    and Te Arawa    R. & A. copy
M. Aku Iwi    are my tribes    M. adds correct
   form
   Aku Iwi    are my tribes
M. Kiaora korua mo Thank you both for     M. praises both
   korua mihi    your greetings children
   me he aha korua    and what is your asks for song
   waiata?    song?
R. Awhireinga    Awhireinga    R. shouts name
   Awhireinga    Awhireinga    R. sings the
   E karanga i te Call to the song very
   iwi e tribe    loudly

"Mihi with grandfather" (May Holidays 1991)

'Study Observation - Incidental'
'Rangi's paternal grandfather, G, was visiting for two days. As he was
having breakfast Rangi joined him and her father, F, prompted her to
remember her manners and greet her grandfather.'
"F. Rangi mihi koe Rangi greet F. turns to R.
    ki a Papa H. Papa H."
R. Kiaora te whanau Greetings family R. greets her family
G. Kiaora Rangi Greetings Rangi G. replies R.
R. Ko Awhireinga Awhireinga is my
          toku ing..... na.... Pauses
          Ko... ko... Rangi Aaa Aaa Rangi Corrects
          toku ingoa is my name herself
          Ko Awhireinga Awhireinga continues mihi"
          toku kohanga is my Kohanga following
          Ko Te Arawa Te Arawa Kohanga
          me ...... and..... pattern
G. Kiaora Thank you G. praises R."
F. Me Ngati... and Ngati.... F. cues R."
R. Me Ngati Porou and Ngati Porou R. continues
          toku Iwi is my tribe`
F. Ko Te Arawa me Te Arawa and F. repeats
          Ngati Porou aku Ngati Porou are correct`
          Iwi my tribes grammar`
R. Ko Te Arawa me Te Arawa and R. copies
          Ngati Porou aku Ngati Porou are F.`
          Iwi my tribes``
G. Kiaora Rangi Thank you Rangi G. praises R."
          Ko wai tou papa? Who is your father? G. extends the mihi`
          "`
R. Ko Daddy Daddy R. replies`
G. Ko wai tou mama? Who is your mother?`
R. Ko Mama Mummy`
G. Kiaora Thank you g. praises R. & `
          Ko wai tou papa Who is your g/father continues to`
          kei Rotorua? in Rotorua? extend mihi`
R. Ko Grandpa Its Grandpa`
G. Ae Ko Papa Tai Yes its Grandpa Tai Praises &`
          me Ko wai tou Nani and who is your Nani? extends`
          R. Ko Nannan Joyce Its Nannan Joyce`
G. Kiaora Rangi Thank you Rangi Praises R.`

Discussion (Mihimihi)"
In one of the observations Rangi is not only asked by her father to
say her mihi to her parents but also reminded not to forget her
manners by neglecting to greet her elders. The third 'mihimihi'
observation was a recording of her with her grandfather. Although the
situation was initiated by Rangi's father she immediately gave a long
mihi to her grandfather. In return he extended her mihi by adding the
names of her grandparents. "Four months later Rangi said her mihi
(Example not transcribed for the study) and without 'prompting she added
her friend's name, her mother and father's name and proceeded to place
her sisters and brother into her mihi. She realized a mistake when she said that her 'brother P. was her sister, saw the humour of her error and immediately corrected it. All these examples were recorded after the Mihimihi in Te Kohanga Reo - First week of May 1991. This example showed the routine that was set in the Kohanga Reo for the 'Mihimihi' activity. Nani would encourage the children to greet everyone and use a scaffolding mechanism (Bruner 1983) for those children who had not yet internalized (Vygotsky 1978) the activity by getting them to repeat the words after her. When the mihimihi activity was finished she would then ask for their waiata. In the "Mihimihi in Bed" example the pattern learned in the Kohanga Reo was evident when Rangi cued by her father began her mihimihi and Arapera copied Rangi. This 'copying' behaviour from Arapera was acceptable and appropriate as it was the pattern established in the Kohanga Reo. Rangi had transferred the mihimihi activity from the Kohanga Reo to her home environment and in turn became the Kaiako, (Tuakana/Teina). Because the mother had observed the activity in the Kohanga Reo she was able to continue the completion of the mihimihi by asking for their song. Therefore the mother had also transferred a routine from the Kohanga Reo to the home context.

""The mihimihi activity reinforced the importance of family and placed Rangi within the family niche. She also learned through daily repetition at the Kohanga Reo that her Iwi and Waka were an important part of her. It reinforced the importance of people and the fact that it was culturally appropriate to acknowledge people and to know where one belonged. For these reasons the 'mihimihi' activity can also be seen as a Cultural Acquisition Support System to enable children to acquire the values of the culture."

Other Activities

""Other activities that were observed and recorded in the family setting and the Kohanga Reo were the 'karakia' activity where grace was said before eating food, the pedagogical activity of learning and teaching (tuakana/teina) and word games, which Rangi played with her mother and father."

The family's role during the observed interactions with Rangi served to encourage and praise her speaking or singing in the Maori language. There were many examples of reinforcement given to the child whether it was verbally (kiaora Rangi / thank you Rangi, tino pai / very good), or non verbally (smiles, hugs or kisses). The presence of routines such as prompting, questioning, correcting, repeating and the element of play within the activities set in place support systems for both acquiring language and culture. These formats were often activated by the child particularly in the family setting and therefore involved the reversal of the teacher and pupil roles, (Tuakana/Teina). In a tuakana/teina example there was an interesting situation where the mother indicated to the child that she viewed that child as being more expert than herself where Maori language was concerned. Rangi immediately
picked up the cue and accepted the role of teacher giving her mother the appropriate word. Rangi then saw this opportunity as a way of turning the conversation into a naming game. \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots Rangi had now reversed roles and was supporting the acquisition of the Maori language for her mother, (Tuakana/Teina).

Summary:
Both Ka'ai (1990), and Hohepa (1990), found evidence of support systems which was conducive with the philosophy of Kohanga Reo. This is the essence of whanaungatanga or familiness. As mentioned previously the concept of whanaungatanga is to instill the values of aroha, manaakitanga and atawhai or awhina (love, support and caring) in the children.

In these other activities one is able to see the support systems for the acquisition of culture.
Within the programme of the Kohanga Reo the above activities were strong indications of cultural acquisition and the presence of support systems to ensure this. The role of Tuakana/Teina was a cultural value that was reinforced and found present in both Hohepa's and Ka'ai's studies (1990), as it assisted in the revitalization of one of Kohanga Reo's kaupapa which was 'Whanaunga'.
The mechanisms for enabling the young child to acquire language and culture were detectable. Both forms of acquisition were interdependent upon each other and it was possible to analyse not just the presence of 'scaffolding' (see Bruner 1983) for the acquisition of language but also that for the acquisition of the culture. \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots The characteristics for the acquisition of each were the same. Mechanisms were observed being used to focus on and teach waiata, which in turn lead to the child's acquisition of Maori language. Turntaking, modelling, prompting, physical actions and game playing were devices which promoted the child's development. These same mechanisms also assisted the child in acquiring cultural values which also promoted the child's development. The waiata activity, the mihimihi, karakia and game playing in themselves were not only tools which enable the child to acquire language but they were also vehicles which opened the door to understanding a culture.

It was exciting to see that the child had played an active role in transferring information from the Kohanga Reo to the home. Every observation recorded in the home setting reflected examples of direct transfers or aspects of them from the Kohanga Reo. It was also exciting to see that the family also played a role of transferring information from the Kohanga Reo to the home. This was possible only because the family were familiar with the Kohanga Reo programme and because both contexts were compatible. \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots The observations illustrated examples where Rangi used the same prompts in the home environment that were demonstrated in her Kohanga Reo such as the word 'timata'. In the 'mihimihi' examples the study demonstrated another direct transfer where when prompted by the father to say her mihi to the family Rangi
immediately repeated the lines she had learned in the Kohanga Reo with minimal assistance from her parents. The routine that involved movements and expression was also another example of transference whereby every song that had been recorded in the Kohanga Reo and in the family setting had actions specific to the song. The richest example however was in the way that Rangi shifted from the role of learner to that of teacher, from teina to tuakana when in the family setting. There was no recorded evidence in the Kohanga Reo setting of Rangi reversing her role of learner and taking the initiative to become the teacher. That is not to say that this role shift was not practiced by her in this environment. However when she was observed in the home environment she became the tuakana/teacher for a large part of the time. This role reversal was a mechanism that she used and with much success, to initiate transference of information from her Kohanga Reo setting to her home. This pedagogical mode of learning was encouraged, reinforced and even initiated at times by her mother. The supportive role that the family played in assisting Rangi in the transference of information was due to the involvement that both parents had at the regular Kohanga Reo whanau meetings. It was also due to the awareness that they had about the Kohanga Reo and to some of the more familiar routines and formats used for promoting the language. Examples of this were the karakia and mihimihi activity and asking the question "He aha tou waiata?" (What is your song?) and saying "Mihi koe ki te whanau" (Greet the family).

CULTURAL COMPATIBILITY
Bronfenbrenner (1986) and Tharp (1989) both emphasised the importance of culturally compatible cross links between the child's microsystems namely the home and the educational setting to optimize the language and social development of that child. In this study the Kohanga Reo is the 'educational' setting and because of its kaupapa it embraces all the whanau members of its children. This relationship is seen by the Kohanga Reo as being reciprocal wherein the family should embrace the Kohanga Reo and its purpose for revitalizing the language. Since the family were aware of the importance of greetings, karakia and waiata all members actively promoted these in the home such as Rangi's father prompting her to greet her family. The overlapping of the two microsystems ensured a move towards the cultural compatibility of the family and the Kohanga Reo. The fact that another cultural view, the pakeha world, also impinges on the kaupapa of the Kohanga Reo can at times upset this cultural compatibility. However when investigating the effect that the Kohanga Reo might have in influencing the family context then according to Tharp (1989), learning must take place within that family setting. As a personal note it has been obvious that a change had occurred within Rangi's family. Maori is now spoken more frequently in the home. The two older children are learning Maori at university and school and the grandparents speak Maori to Rangi and Arapera. It is common to hear both children speaking Maori whilst playing together. Although both children still tend to speak English more than Maori to me, Rangi will continue to speak Maori when prompted
to do so. "Te Kohanga Reo movement has reawakened Maori peoples awareness of te Reo Maori and the increased use of the language. "Te Kohanga Reo is important in relation to Maori families cultural success and educational success. Its intention is to socialize the child into its cultural setting and to give the child the tools to do this, the main tool being language. Language and its culture are inseparable. "Both are equally as important to each other, (Bruner 1983, Hohepa 1990, Schieffelin and Ochs 1986, Vygotsky 1978).

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