TAMARIKI AND FANAU: CHILD SPEAKERS OF MĀORI AND SAMOAN IN AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

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Abstract

After English, the two languages most spoken by children in Aotearoa/New Zealand are Māori, the indigenous language of the country, and Samoan, the language of one of New Zealand's first migrant groups. The ongoing vitality of both these Polynesian languages relies on them being transmitted to new generations of children. This study uses specially commissioned datasets from the 2013 Census to explore the rates of intergenerational transmission of these two languages, and sheds light on how the different circumstances relating to Māori and Samoan affect their rates of intergenerational transmission. The statistics presented also generate a number of potential questions for future investigation.

1. Overview

Since 1996, quinquennial Censuses have included a language question designed to elicit information about how many and which languages are spoken by people who live in New Zealand. English is the main language with 96% of the population reported as being able to speak it. At present, the two languages other than English with the highest number of speakers

are Māori and Samoan, these two languages being the most widely spoken in the Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. Māori is New Zealand's sole indigenous language, the language of the first inhabitants of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Te Reo Māori is also an endangered language and has been the subject of concerted national and tribal revitalisation efforts over the last 35 years. As a consequence most speakers of Māori under the age of 60 can be regarded as "new speakers", that is speakers "with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners" (O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015: 1).

Census data from 2013 shows that just under 600,000 New Zealanders indicate that they are Māori (13% of the total population of 4.5 million) and that there are 148,395 speakers of Māori (the majority (125,352) being people of Māori ethnicity). Just under a quarter (21.31%) of the Māori population can speak Māori to some extent. With regard to the level of fluency, 14% of Māori adults report being able to speak the language "well or very well" (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008: 19).

New Zealand has had a close association with Samoa dating from the period when the New Zealand Government administered Samoa from 1914–1952. The Samoan language was brought to New Zealand with Samoan migrants, with migration being particularly strong since the 1950s. As a consequence, Samoans are the largest Pacific ethnic group in New Zealand (144,138 people) with 62.7% being born in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand n.d.a). The population in the Independent State of Samoa in 2013 was 190,652 (Samoa Bureau of Statistics 2017) meaning that nearly as many Samoans now live in New Zealand as live in the homeland. Samoan is not regarded as an endangered language in its land of origin.

Almost two-thirds of Samoan people (66.5% or 95,916 people) live in the Auckland region, and they comprise half of the Pacific population who live there (Auckland Council 2015: 8). The 51,336 speakers of Samoan in the Auckland area (Statistics New Zealand 2014: 25) comprise 60% of Samoan speakers in New Zealand as a whole.

The long term viability of any language relies on generating ongoing cohorts of child speakers. In this paper we focus on child speakers of both Māori and Samoan in New Zealand, in particular the rates of intergenerational transmission, in other words, the likelihood that a child who lives with a Māori or Samoan adult speaker is also a speaker of that language. The analysis reveals the respective influence of a range of factors which affect the rate

of intergenerational transmission of each of these languages. The statistical information provided in this paper will be useful for a range of research projects, including the sub-project *Emergent Bilinguals in the Digital World* (co-led by the second author) which is part of the National Science Challenge: "A Better Start - E Tipu e Rea". This sub-project focuses on the digital and linguistic policies and practices affecting young Samoan- and Māori-speaking children in East Christchurch.

2. Data

Except where noted, all data used in this paper originates from the 2013 Census conducted by Statistics New Zealand. Much of the data is drawn from several commissioned datasets.

The Census data about language ability has some limitations. Firstly the responses are reported data, that is, respondents make their own determination as to whether they can speak a language or not. Thus the numbers cited are susceptable to both under or over reporting. Typically parents fill in the forms for their children and will make their own judgements as to whether the child can speak any particular language or not. In addition, the wording of the Census question (*in which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things?*) gives no indication of relative fluency. The only language in New Zealand for which aspects of fluency are surveyed is Māori where surveys have been conducted after the 2001 and 2006 Censuses (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002, 2008).

The main commissioned dataset used for this study comprises data for households where at least one person speaks Māori or Samoan. This dataset has been used to determine the rate of intergenerational transmission. That is, the likelihood that a child who lives in a household where an adult speaks a language also speaks that language. We term this the "intergenerational transmission rate". Note that the dataset includes not only parents but also other adults who live in the household who also speak the target language. Affecting the data for Māori in particular, the dataset also includes a significant proportion of child speakers who were living in households where there were no adult speakers. This data was excluded when calculating the rate of intergenerational transmission.

We have excluded data for children under two years old since their speaking ability is limited. Accordingly the word "children", unless otherwise

defined in this paper, refers to young people aged 2–18. The commissioned dataset is based on whether a household contains at least one Māori or Samoan speaker. In other words, the dataset is not based on ethnicity, meaning that a small number of adults and/or children who are not Māori or Samoan will be included in the results. This affects the Māori data more as we know that 15.5% of the number of speakers of Te Reo are non-Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2013b).

Due to differences in the parameters within which the data has been framed there may occasionally be some slight differences between numbers which are cited in different parts of the text. Other Census data cited in this paper is available on the *Statistics New Zealand* website (http://www.stats.govt.nz/). Data relating to education and schooling is sourced from the statistics section of the *Education Counts* website (https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/home) where more recent data is available, but for the sake of consistency, data for 2013 is presented to provide comparison with the data from the 2013 Census. Data for Māori and Samoan child speakers overall is reported separately, with a further separate section focussing on data for both languages in Canterbury and Christchurch.

3. Child speakers of Māori

In 2013 the Census showed that there were 40,263 children in New Zealand aged 2–18 who indicated that they could have a conversation in Māori about a number of everyday things. About a third of these children (13,293) were living in a household where there wasn't an adult who could speak Māori. That leaves 26,970 children who speak Māori who live in a household where at least one adult can speak Māori. In other words, 67% of those children who are reported as being able to speak Māori live with an adult who speaks Māori, meaning that these children have an opportunity to be exposed to the Māori language in the home environment. Information from another report states that 61,300 (28%) of Māori children live in a household with at least one adult speaker of Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008: 26).

There are 34,836 children who cannot speak Māori growing up in a household where an adult can speak Māori. Thus the intergenerational transmission rate for Māori is 43.6%. That is, 44% of children aged 2–18 who live in a household where there is at least one adult who speaks Māori are also speakers of Māori.

Table 1 shows the intergenerational transmission rates of Māori in different regions of New Zealand.

Table 1: Intergenerational transmission rate of Māori among 2–18 year olds by region

REGION	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	TRANSMISSION RATE
Rest of North Island	24,030	47.2
Wellington	3,801	40.4
Auckland	8,070	39.5
Canterbury	2,250	35.6
Rest of South Island	2,112	34.2
Total	40,263	43.6

The Māori population is unevenly spread across New Zealand. The majority of Māori (60%) live in the northern half of the North Island (Research New Zealand 2014: 18). Children being raised as speakers of Māori are more likely to be living with a Māori-speaking adult if they reside in the North Island, and even more so if they live away from the two largest urban regions: Auckland and Wellington. Despite the fact that 30% of the Māori population live in Auckland, the rate of intergenerational transmission there is lower than that in the rest of the North Island. Areas where there are more Māori, such as the Far North District (60.6% of the population) or even parts of cities like Rotorua (70%) or the suburb of Aranui (23.9%) in Christchurch which is a high concentration of Māori for the South Island may provide a more amenable context for the intergenerational transmission of the language. Of course the ethnicity of the residents is only one factor and there are many valid reasons why families may not prioritise language transmission. Thus, data from Te Kupenga 2013 (Statistics New Zealand n.d.b) (a computer-supported individual survey of a sample of Māori in New Zealand) reveal that 40.5% of Māori in Northland report speaking Māori very well, well or fairly well and 23.1% of them claim to speak Māori at home regularly or as the main language. This can be compared to data from Canterbury where 13.5% of Māori claim to be able to speak Te Reo Māori very well, well or fairly well and 13.4% use it regularly at home. Those who have Māori as the main language at home in Canterbury were too few to report and the figure was supressed

for reasons of privacy. Of those who regularly attend a club or interest group in Northland, 35.1% use no Māori when at the club compared to 55% in Canterbury. Interestingly, when helping at school, there seems to be pressure to use some Māori, so only 33% of Māori in Canterbury use no Māori then, compared to 24.3% in Northland.

Table 2 shows that the rates of intergenerational transmission also vary by age group with 2–6 year olds having the highest likelihood of being recorded as a being a speaker of Māori in a household where an adult speaks Māori.

Table 2: Intergenerational transmission rate of Māori by age group

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	TRANSMISSION RATE
2–6	12,510	45.6
7–12	14,721	44.1
13–18	13,032	40.9

These results confirm data which indicates that Māori adults living with children are more likely to use Te Reo Māori with younger children. 34% of Māori adults use Te Reo Māori most of the time when communicating with their preschool children, 26% use Māori most of the time with their primary school-aged children, and 21% of Māori adults use Te Reo Māori most of the time with their secondary school-aged children (Te Puni Kōkiri 2008: 27–28). This pattern of diminishing input is commonly observed in heritage language situations (Montrul 2013: 172).

As with other minority languages, mothers play an important role in raising children as speakers of Māori. The intergeneration transmission rate for children living in households with Māori-speaking mothers is 49%, while for fathers it is 41%. While this is not a large difference, many more Māori-speaking children are being raised in a household with a Māori-speaking mother (53%) than those who live with a Māori-speaking father (24%). The majority of speakers of Māori in the 20–44 year old age group are female (57%) (Statistics New Zealand 2013a: Table 9). This could partly explain why more Māori-speaking children are being raised by mothers than fathers. Just under a quarter of Māori-speaking children (9,291) live with two or more Māori-speaking adults. However, only 2.5% of Māori-speaking children live with two Māori-speaking parents and at least one other Māori-speaking adult in the household.

Māori is a language undergoing revitalisation and the school system plays a strong role in the transmission of the Māori language to children. Table 3 shows a compilation of 2013 data taken from the Ministry of Education *Education Counts* website detailing the numbers of children enrolled in Māori Medium Education (MME). Māori medium education is defined as services where 51% or more of care or instruction is delivered in the medium of Māori. The overwhelming majority of children attending MME services are Māori.

Table 3: Number of enrolments in MME by schooling level in 2013

SCHOOLING LEVEL	NUMBER	% MĀORI
Preschool	10,181	94.4
Primary and secondary	17,343	97.3
Total	27,524	96.2

Presumably all these children would have indicated in the Census that they could speak Māori. As a result we can say that 68% of all the children who can speak Māori are attending MME schooling. Conversely, there are 12,739 children not in MME who are reported as being able to speak Māori.

4. Child speakers of Samoan

The second largest number of child speakers of a language other than English in New Zealand are the 22,461 speakers aged 2–18 who speak Samoan. There are a further 16,635 children who cannot speak Samoan but who are growing up in a household with at least one adult Samoan speaker. Accordingly, the intergenerational transmission rate for Samoan is 55.4%. The commissioned dataset does not record the ethnicity of the Samoan-speaking children or adults, but we assume that the numbers of non-Samoans would be extremely low.

However, as shown in Table 4 this rate of intergenerational transmission is much higher in Auckland where the majority (70.9%) of Samoan child speakers live. Although Samoan is the second most spoken minority language in New Zealand overall, it has the largest number of child speakers of any minority language in Auckland, where there are nearly twice as many children who speak Samoan as there are children who speak Māori (15,921 compared to 8070).

Table 4: Intergenerational transmission rate of Samoan among 2–18 year olds by region

REGION	NUMBER OF CHILD SPEAKERS	TRANSMISSION RATE
Auckland	15,921	58.6
Rest of NZ	6,540	48.4
Total	22,461	55.4

The strong role of language transmission in the home in Auckland is evidenced by the fact that 96% of child speakers of Samoan in Auckland live in a household with at least one adult speaker compared to 87.7% in the rest of the country.

As shown in Table 5 the rates of intergenerational transmission also vary by age group with more speakers reported among older age groups than younger groups. This is a consistent effect and noted in other data which shows slightly higher rates amongst teenage speakers of Samoan (Statistics New Zealand 2007: 12). This effect seems likely to be the result of incoming Samoan-born teenagers being sent to New Zealand to pursue educational opportunities (Faifai 2016), as well as those arriving during childhood with their families. In 2015, 989 Samoans aged 19 and under were granted permanent residency in New Zealand (Tan 2016).

Table 5: Intergenerational transmission rate of Samoan by age group and location

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	TRANSMISSION RATE	
		NEW ZEALAND	AUCKLAND
2–6	6561	53.8	56.8
7–12	7746	53.9	57.1
13–18	8151	58.1	61.6

As with other languages, the transmission rates are higher if there is a Samoan-speaking mother in the child's household (65% for New Zealand as a whole and 67% in Auckland). But the rates are also high if there is a Samoan-speaking father in the household (58% for New Zealand and 61.5% in Auckland). The rate of two parent households is high with only 9% of child

speakers living in a Samoan-speaking mother only household, and only 1.4% in a Samoan-speaking father only household.

Across New Zealand as a whole comparable numbers of Samoan-speaking children are being raised in a household with a Samoan-speaking mother (18,594) as those in a household with a Samoan-speaking father (15,012).

Data was also commissioned for place of birth for the Samoan-speaking children: "New Zealand" versus "elsewhere". Here "elsewhere" stands as a proxy for Samoa as it is assumed that the vast majority of Samoan-speaking children born outside of New Zealand were born in Samoa. In support of this assumption, the 2013 Census records that 94% of Samoans born overseas gave Samoa as their birthplace (Statistics New Zealand 2007: 8).

Table 6 shows that there are higher rates of intergeneration transmission to Samoan-speaking children who were born overseas.

Table 6: Intergenerational transmission rate of Samoan language by child's birthplace

BIRTHPLACE	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	TRANSMISSION RATE
New Zealand	16,257	50.6
Elsewhere	5,853	81.2

Note, however, that the vast majority of New Zealand child speakers of Samoan (73.9%) were born in New Zealand compared to the rate of 62.7% for the Samoan population as a whole. A high proportion of children who speak Samoan (72%) live in households with two or more adult speakers of Samoan. Furthermore, 25.7% of Samoan-speaking children in New Zealand live with two Samoan-speaking parents and at least one other Samoan-speaking adult in the household. The rate in Auckland is a little higher at 27.4%.

But while the home is undoubtedly the major site of intergenerational transmission amongst the Samoan community there are a growing number of Early Childhood Education (ECE) services offering some level of Samoan immersion for preschoolers. In 2013, there were 374 such services, but the majority (283) were at the lowest level of immersion (1–11%). Only 57 centres were providing Samoan Medium Education, that is, more than 51% immersion in the Samoan language. The majority of these services (33) were in Auckland.

In 2013 there were 1068 students in 17 schools providing Samoan Medium

Education in New Zealand, with a further 3805 students learning Samoan as a subject.

5. Māori and Samoan child speakers in Canterbury and Christchurch

The region of Canterbury is second in size of population of New Zealand's 16 regions with a population of 539,436, 12.7 percent of New Zealand's population. The 2013 Census indicates that there were 116 languages spoken by 2–18 year old children in Canterbury. This is 70% of the 168 languages spoken by children throughout New Zealand. Furthermore, 17,313 children in Canterbury were recorded as speaking two or more languages. This is 12.4% of the children in the district. This is low compared to Auckland where an average of 29.1% of children speak two or more languages. However, within the South Island, Canterbury has the highest proportion of children who speak two or more languages, with the average for the whole of the South Island being 11.1%.

5.1 Child speakers of Māori in Canterbury and Christchurch

Seven percent of Māori live in the Canterbury region (41,910 people). There are 2250 children aged 2–18 in the wider Canterbury region who can speak Māori, the majority of whom (1503) live in Christchurch. The intergenerational transmission rate in Christchurch is 38.9% which is slightly higher than the rate for Canterbury as a whole (35.6%), and also higher than that for the rest of the South Island (34.2%). While the intergenerational transmission rate of Te Reo Māori in Christchurch is roughly similar to that in Auckland and Wellington (39.5% and 40.4% respectively) it is still lower than the national average of 43.6%.

Table 7 shows that, as with the national dataset, intergenerational transmission rates in Christchurch reduce as the child gets older.

Table 7: Intergenerational transmission rate of Māori by age group in Christchurch

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	TRANSMISSION RATE
2–6	303	40.4
7–12	291	39.8
13–18	240	36.2

The intergenerational transmission rate is somewhat increased if the child has a mother who speaks Māori (44.6%, compared to 53% nationally). Of the Māori-speaking children who live in Christchurch, 669 do not live with an adult speaker (44.5%, compared to 33.0% nationally), indicating an increased reliance on language transmission via the school system in this region. In 2013 there were eight ECE services with 231 enrolments providing MME in Canterbury. In the same year there were 13 schools providing MME to 517 school-aged children in the region.

5.2 Child speakers of Samoan in Canterbury and Christchurch

In 2013 only 7.1% of Pacific peoples (21,135 people) in New Zealand lived in the South Island (Statistics New Zealand 2014: 16). Canterbury was the South Island region where the largest number of Samoan people live (6,984 people or 4.8% of all Samoans in New Zealand). There are 1083 children aged 2–18 in the wider Canterbury region who can speak Samoan. Within Christchurch city 900 children aged 2–18 speak Samoan. The intergenerational transmission rate for Samoan is 57.1% for Christchurch (compared to 55.4% nationwide, and 58.6% for Auckland).

As shown in Table 8, and in line with the data nationally, intergenerational transmission rates of Samoan in Christchurch are highest amongst older children. Again, this may be because of the influx of Samoan-born children. These figures can be compared with those in Table 7 where the percentages of older child speakers of Māori are lower than those of younger child speakers. There is no corresponding contribution of monolingual child speakers of Māori, so the decline of the proportion of teenagers who report speaking Māori is probably a real tendency for some older children to stop using the minority language, as has been documented in other minority language contexts (Baker and Wright 2017:120).

The intergenerational transmission rates for Christchurch fall between those shown in Table 5 for Auckland and for New Zealand overall, suggesting that cities with larger communities of speakers have higher rates of intergenerational transmission. The transmission rate when the child lives with a Samoan-speaking mother in Christchurch is 67.8% (compared to 67% in Auckland). The rate when the child lives with a Samoan-speaking father in Christchurch is 59.7% (compared to 61.5% in Auckland). In Christchurch 68% of children who speak Samoan live in households with two or more adult speakers of Samoan. This compares with 72% nationally. The proportion of Samoan-speaking children in Christchurch who live with two parents and one

Table 8: Intergenerational transmission rates of Samoan by age group in Christchurch and Auckland

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF SPEAKERS	TRANSMISSION RATE
2–6	276	55.7
7–12	297	55.1
13–18	327	60.4

or more other Samoan-speaking adult in house is 22%, slightly less than the national rate (25.7%) and the rate in Auckland (27.4%).

In 2013 there were 30 ECE services in the Canterbury region which offered some level of Samoan immersion. 25 were at the 1–11% level, 2 at the 51–80% immersion level and 2 at the 81–100% level. One school in Canterbury was providing Samoan Medium Education to 22 students with a further 50 students studying Samoan as a subject.

Table 9 gives an overview of comparative data for Māori and Samoan, which suggests that the higher rates of intergenerational transmission in Samoan families is strongly linked with the higher numbers of adult speakers of Samoan in most households.

6. Discussion

Māori and Samoan have the largest number of child speakers (40,263 and 22,461 respectively) of all minority languages in New Zealand followed by Hindi (10,388 child speakers) and Tongan (9,834). Despite these much larger populations, Māori and Samoan do not have the highest intergenerational transmission rates for languages other than English in New Zealand. Korean has by far the highest rate at 83% (King and Cunningham 2016: 88) with Samoan sixth at 55% and Māori fifteenth at 44%. The intergenerational transmission data presented here for Māori and Samoan highlight distinctive characteristics relating to each language and its speakers.

Many of the statistics relating to Māori highlight aspects related to it being a language undergoing revitalisation. Almost all of the other languages other than English spoken by children in New Zealand are languages with substantial populations of speakers in other parts of the world. Very few would be endangered languages. For the eighteen languages most spoken by children

Table 9: Comparison data for Māori and Samoan in Auckland and Christchurch

	AUCKLAND (REGION)		CHRISTCHURCH	
	MĀORI	SAMOAN	MĀORI	SAMOAN
Total number of speakers	29,253	51,336	8,277	4,059[1]
Number of child speakers	8070	15,921	1,503	900
Ethnic group concentration	10.7%	7.2%	8.5%	1.5%[2]
Maximum ethnic group concentration	28%	30%[3]	23.9%	8.4%
% of child speakers in households with only one adult speaker	37.2	19.4	31.7	16
% of child speakers in households with two or more adult speakers	21.5	73.9	17.2	68.3
% of child speakers where Mother speaks	45.3	66.6	44.6	67.8
% of child speakers where Father speaks	36.5	61.5	37.4	59.7
Rate of intergenerational transmission	39.5	58.6	38.9	57.1

1 The 'total number of speakers' data was taken from Statistics New Zealand 2014: 25. Note that these figures in this row only are for Canterbury, not Christchurch.
2 The figure of 1.5% is extrapolated from figures which show 3.1% of the population of Christchurch is 'Pacific peoples' and a report that half of Pacific peoples in Christchurch are Samoan (Radio New Zealand 2011). Similarly, for the figure below where the proportion of Pacific peoples is highest in Aranui (16.8%).
3 The figure of 30% is extrapolated from figures that 60% of the population of the suburbs of Māngere-Ōtāhuhu are Pacific peoples and that just under half of Pacific peoples in New Zealand are Samoan (Statistics New Zealand 2014: 16).

in New Zealand, typically all but 2–3% of children who are recorded as being able to speak that language live in a household where at least one adult also speaks that language. In contrast, only 67% of children who are recorded as being able to speak Māori live in a household where there is at least one adult who speaks the language.

The reason why a large number of Māori-speaking children are growing up in households where no adults speak Māori is that the initial and continuing Māori language revitalisation efforts have focussed on children. In the late 1970s it was realised that few children were being raised as speakers of Māori (Benton 1991). As a consequence the initial thrust of Māori language revitalisation measures in the 1980s focussed on schooling options. Kōhanga reo (*language nests*) and kura kaupapa Māori (*Māori philosophy schools*) were

set up with the aim of immersing the child in a Māori-speaking environment. Initiatives which focus on supporting language transmission in the home have had a comparatively recent history.

Taking this context into account, the fact that 67% of children who speak Māori live with a Māori-speaking adult in fact indicates that the majority of Māori-speaking children have a good possibility of acquiring or reinforcing their school language in the home environment and shows the commitment that the majority of families with Māori-speaking children have made to ensure that their child grows up speaking Māori. The transmission rate for Māori also needs to be contextualised in that the parents who are transmitting Māori to their children are typically "new speakers" for whom fluency rates are low (only 14% of Māori adults can speak Māori "well" or "very well"). Another aspect which mitigates against language transmission is that most Māori-speaking children who do live with a Māori-speaking adult live with only one adult speaker. Only 25% of Māori-speaking children live with two or more Māori-speaking adults. This could be related to the fact that the rates of within-group marriage for Māori are around 53% although the rates are highest (around 67%) for those who are Māori speakers (Callister, Didham and Potter 2005: 30 & 64), indicating a higher level of social focus and cohesion amongst adult Māori speakers of Māori. Nevertheless the chances of two Māori-speaking Māori adults forming a relationship are not high.

The importance of the home as a site for language transmission was brought to the fore in New Zealand after a visit by Joshua Fishman in 2000. Fishman's emphasis on the crucial role of the home in language revitalisation (Fishman 1991) was the inspiration for a range of tribal and national strategies and initiatives which aim to strengthen the use of Māori in the home, neighbourhood and community.

Another aspect of the results presented here is the fact that transmission rates in the North Island are higher away from the large cities of Auckland and Wellington. Benton (1991) notes that it was the rural heartlands in the early to mid 20th century which maintained intergenerational transmission of Māori the longest, and this difference seems to have been retained despite the fact that the revitalisation movement emerged, and has been strongest, in the larger urban centres. A good recent example of the importance of smaller communities as a site for language transmission is the small town of Ōtaki in the lower North Island with a population of just under 6,000. Ōtaki is home to a Māori tertiary institute, Te Wānanga o Raukawa. With a third of the town's population identifying as Māori and just over half of the Māori population

of this town being bilingual (Statistics New Zealand n.d.c), community leaders are hoping that Ōtaki will become New Zealand's first bilingual town (Poulopoulos 2017). The larger town of Rotorua where 37.5% of the population identify as Māori of whom 29% speak the Māori language, as well as Wairoa (a small town in the Gisborne district) are also part of a recent proposal from the Māori Party for bilingual status of these towns.

The challenge then for those in larger urban environments is to facilitate activities which promote strong Māori language group cohesion. Christianity no longer plays a strong role in the Māori community with 46.3% of Māori stating 'no religion' in the 2013 Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2014: 30), a figure which is equivalent to European rates. It has been argued that the strong cohesive role of the marae has dissipated somewhat over the decades and that kapa haka (Māori performing arts) is serving the functions of a modern day marae (Papesch 2015: 22). There are annual kapa haka competitions for school children both regionally and nationally as well as an important biennial kapa haka competition for adults called Te Matatini. These competitions attract a full range of age groups as performers and spectators. The challenge is to channel this engagement to reinforce and create a sense of neighbourhood and community, particularly amongst Māori speakers. It may be easier to build up neighbourhoods and communities in small towns where Māori form a larger percentage of the population than in the larger cities where the Māori population is higher but less concentrated.

The profile for Samoan, as a migrant language rather than an indigenous language of New Zealand, is quite different. Most child speakers of Samoan (72%) live in a household with at least two Samoan speakers and 25% are living with three or more adult speakers. Data from 2001 show that Samoans have the second highest rate amongst Pacific peoples of marrying people from the same ethnic group (around 68%) (Callister, Didham and Potter 2005: 48). It is hoped that further research will investigate this in more detail. A majority of Samoans are Christian (only 17.5% Pacific peoples report having no religion (Statistics New Zealand 2014: 30)). All of these factors indicate that there are strong levels of social and cultural cohesion in the Samoan population which undoubtedly support intergenerational transmission.

This is particularly evident in Auckland, a city of 1.42 million people, where Samoan has its largest numbers of speakers and higher transmission rates than in other parts of the country. Auckland is the place of initial arrival for the vast majority of Samoans with links back to the home country maintained via the 1–2 daily flights to Samoa. A feature of Auckland school

scene is the annual Polyfest which began in 1976. This year the festival featured performances involving 9000 Māori students and others with ethnic ties to the Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa and Tonga (Fernandes 2017).

This paper is the first exploration of Census data which focusses on intergenerational transmission of Māori and Samoan. New Zealand has legislative responsibilities for ensuring the health of the Māori language and it can be argued that New Zealand also has responsibilities towards Pacific Island languages, including Samoan, as Auckland (New Zealand's largest city) has the largest Polynesian population of any city in the world. The fate of the Māori language and the result of the revitalisation efforts that surround it are being keenly observed from other parts of the world where indigenous and other languages are at risk and where there is a will to maintain the vitality of the languages before they are lost. The mechanisms that threaten or impede the intergenerational transmission of indigenous languages like Te Reo Māori are different from those that threaten or impede the intergenerational transmission of migrant languages like Samoan, but solutions that work in one case will often work in the other. This has been the case in other contexts, such as in Sweden where the indigenous Sami people gained facilities to support the intergenerational transmission of the Sami languages (notably community language education) as part of legislation introduced for migrant languages, even though the Sami languages had already been accorded the status of National Minority Languages (Monica Axelsson, personal communication, 1 April, 2017).

The findings reported here have implications for the transmission of Te Reo Māori in particular. We know that it makes a difference if there is more than one adult in the household who speaks the language, so those hoping to raise their children as speakers of Te Reo might find it easier to live in households with other adult speakers. This would support the children's language learning at school. We know that where Māori (or perhaps Māori speakers) form a higher proportion of the population of an area, there is more intergenerational transmission of the language. This makes situations such as the proposal to declare the towns of Ōtaki, Wairoa and Rotorua officially bilingual well worth watching.

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