CHAPTER NINE

KŌRERO PUKAPUKA I NGA KĀINGA -

BOOKREADING IN HOMES

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines intersections between the fall and rise of te reo Māori, print literacy, and intergenerational processes of language regeneration. The point of intersection explored in this chapter relates to how parents, who are second language speakers of Māori, interact with their children during bookreading activities. Of particular interest are the kinds of interactions parents and children have around written Māori text, and the significance of these interactions for intergenerational Māori language use and development in the home. In families who have a demonstrated commitment to te reo Māori, reflected in the choice of kaupapa Māori schooling for the children, it can be expected that family literacy practices in the home provide contexts for te reo Māori.

The aim of the two studies, discussed in this as well as the previous chapter, was to examine language interactions around Māori language texts read in the homes of kura kaupapa Māori new entrants. It was originally envisaged that readings recorded by whānau would involve reading Māori language books that were being sent home from kura. However, during Whakawhiti kōrero with the children’s new entrant teachers reported in the previous chapter it became apparent that early new entrant literacy-related tasks being sent home at the time of the studies were predominantly letter and word recognition activities.

During Whakawhiti kōrero, parents were asked about the availability of books written in Māori in the home (see Chapter Eight). These included books owned by or available to the whānau, such as books borrowed from local libraries. Information given indicated variations in access to Māori language print resources across participating whānau.
Observational data collected from whānau indicated further variations, in frequency of bookreading activities, in the language of books read, and in the categories of books read. Bookreading activities across whānau involved differences in the number and range of participants as well as differences in interaction patterns between participants, both within whānau and across whānau. Data is presented on exchanges that took place during bookreadings, and on parent (pakeke) and new entrant child (tamaiti) language use during these exchanges.

**STUDY ONE**

Study One looked at instances of bookreading in the homes of five new entrant children who started kura kaupapa Māori in 1995. As described in Chapter Seven, parents audi-taped bookreadings that involved their new entrant child. Parents were not given specific directions in terms of the kinds of books to read or who should be involved in the bookreadings.

Two kinds of information were being sought. One related to indicators about the kinds of reading activities that target children were experiencing in their homes. The other related to indicators about the uses of te reo Māori in such reading activities. A total of 24 bookreadings were collected. All but three of those recorded were of bookreadings that involved a parent as well as the new entrant child. In one whānau, two of the bookreadings recorded involved a grandparent reading with the new entrant child, in another whānau one of the bookreadings involved an older sibling reading with the new entrant child.

**WHĀNAU ARANGA**

During their conversational interview, Whānau Aranga parents described themselves as having very little fluency in te reo Māori. Their two children, new entrant Rata and his pre-school aged sister, had regular contact, although not weekly, with whānau members
who had more fluency in Māori. These were their maternal grandmother, a native speaker, and maternal grandfather, who in the past had taken Māori language courses.

Reading with children was described as a regularly occurring activity in the home, in particular during periods when the father was present. The nature of his employment meant that he was away from home for weeks at a time. The language of books read with children was reported as almost always English.

Seven recordings of bookreadings were collected and provided by Whānau Aranga. All but one of these bookreadings involved English language books. The first bookreading recorded was of Rata and his father reading an English book. In readings 2, 3, 6 and 7 Rata’s mother read English books with Rata and his younger sister. Rata’s grandmother read a book written in English with him in reading 4 and a book written in Māori with him in reading 5.

**Inserted words**

Counts of the total number of insertions of Māori words and the total number of insertions of English words made during bookreadings were made across all whānau. During Whānau Aranga readings, the majority of insertions made during each reading were in English, except for reading 5. During this, the only Māori book read, the few words that were inserted were Māori.

Rata’s insertions across the 7 readings included a total of 18 Māori words. Rata’s mother inserted between 10 and 26 Māori words across four bookreadings, Rata’s father inserted 9 Māori words. In all instances of Māori insertions, the parents used Māori words in English utterances, e.g. “This is the manu”, or used Māori in one or two-word utterances, e.g. “Manumahu kōrero”.

Figure 1 shows the total number of words inserted by Rata and by the adult participating in each bookreading. There is a noticeable downward trend in the number of insertions across the recorded readings. It is most likely that these differences reflect differences in adult participants across the readings. Another possible explanation relates to the
respective lengths of books. The pattern of variation in the number of words inserted mirrors the length of books read. Reading 1 text consisted of the largest number of words, followed by 2, 3, 6, 7, 4. Reading 5, the only text written in Māori, had the least number of words.

![Figure 1. Word insertions during Whānau A bookreadings](image)

The category of text each book fell into may also have influenced the amount of additional talk generated. Reading 1 involved a non fiction, informational book, describing inhabitants of the ‘natural’ world. There was no narrative structure. All the other readings fell into the category of narrative. Reading 3 involved quite a complex storyline with relatively few illustrations compared with the amount of text. Readings 5, 6 and 7 involved much simpler, highly repetitive, heavily illustrated storylines. Reading 2, though similarly illustrated with some repetition of actions, had a longer and more complex storyline.

The amount of insertions also varied to a much smaller degree according to the adult participating in the reading. There was a difference in the amount of insertions across the readings involving Rata and his grandmother, with more insertions occurring when English was the language of the text.

These explanations can be described as both overlapping and contrasting. One of the key goals of the two studies of bookreading reported in this chapter was to collect data that indicated and reflected the social realities of participating whānau and the resources and
knowledge brought to bookreading by whānau members (Auerbach, 1989; McNaughton, 1995).

This has resulted in data that by definition (in the conventional, empirical understanding of the concept) can be described as ‘conflated’. Often empirical research seeks to tightly control for such variables, in order to argue clear and unequivocal relationships or directional causality. However, the very (over)controlling of variables, I would argue, results in such a control of the meaning of data, that it ends up almost meaningless in relation to the real lives and experiences of those from whom it has been generated (Burman, 1994).

Exchanges

![Figure 2. Number of exchanges during Whānau A bookreadings](image)

The patterns of exchanges varied across readings. Categorising exchanges that occurred during reading 1 was problematic. As noted earlier the English text involved was non-narrative. However, many book-related exchanges that occurred during this reading reflected the defining characteristics of Narrative rather than Performance or Display. That is, many exchanges focused on clarifying and expanding on the meanings of text being read, and on the development of shared meaning. Figure 2 shows the types and quantities of exchanges that occurred during each bookreading. Exchanges during bookreading with the father were almost evenly divided between Narrative and Display. There were more Narrative exchanges, followed by Display, than Performance exchanges.
during bookreadings with Rata’s mother. Exchanges during readings with Rata’s grandmother were predominantly Performance.

**Māori words inserted by Rata**

Rata made very few insertions of Māori words during bookreading exchanges, as shown in Figure 3. Rates for Māori words inserted by Rata were less than 1 word per exchange across all types (Narrative 0.31:1, Performance 0.1:1, Display 0.06:1). Nearly two-thirds of the few Māori words that were inserted occurred during Narrative exchanges in the bookreadings involving his parents. Māori words inserted by Rata when reading with his grandmother occurred during Performance exchanges.

![Figure 3. Rata’s Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau A bookreadings](image)

**Māori words inserted by pakeke**

Totalled across readings, the greatest number of adult or pakeke insertions of Māori words, shown in Figure 4 below, were during Performance exchanges, made by his mother or grandmother (34). This was followed by insertions of Māori words made by his father or mother during Narrative exchanges (32), Display exchanges (22) and Other exchanges (11). Adult insertion rates of Māori words were highest for Display exchanges (1.6:1). Rates for Narrative and Performance were below one Māori word insertion per exchange (0.9:1).
WHĀNAU ERUERA

At the time of the study, the mother in Whānau Eruera reported having developed a level of fluency such that she was able to sustain conversations in Māori. She estimated that in the home she communicated to her children through Māori about half of the time. The children’s father used very little Māori when interacting with his children and other whānau members. While the mother reported reading English and Māori books with the target new-entrant child (Orewa) and her two older siblings two or three times a week, a rated of just over once a week was reached during the study period.

Four recordings of bookreadings were collected and provided by Whānau Eruera. Māori texts were read in readings 1 and 3, English texts were read in readings 2 and 4. Both Māori texts were categorised as narratives. One was written in Māori, one was a dual-language simple picture book, English with a Māori translation. Both were illustrated page by page. The English texts were categorised as one narrative, similar in complexity to the Māori texts (reading 4), and one non-narrative (reading 2). The non-narrative book was a collection of nursery rhymes, for example, “The Grand Old Duke of York” and “The Crocodile”. The four books ranged from 375 (English narrative), to 626 (Māori translation of English narrative) words in length. The participants for all four readings were Orewa, her mother and two siblings.
Inserted words

Figure 5 shows the number of words inserted by Orewa and her mother during bookreadings. For three of the four bookreadings, nearly all words inserted by the mother were Māori. For one of the English bookreadings, less than half of the mother’s insertions were Māori words. She also inserted 5 mixed language utterances. These involved the use of English exclamations in Māori insertions, e.g. “Wow, he aha tēnā?” (Wow, what is that?) or the insertion of proper nouns, e.g. “O--- heard the um, A--- Kōhanga Reo singing that in Māori”.

In readings 1 and 3 nearly all the words inserted by Orewa were Māori. It was the opposite case for readings 2 and 4. Orewa inserted 4 mixed utterances during Māori text bookreadings. English words were used in insertions of Māori utterances, e.g. “kei te burn i tā rātou fire” (Their fire is burning).

![Figure 5. Word insertions during Whānau E bookreadings](image)

During reading of English books Orewa’s inserted utterances in Māori occurred when answering display questions:

e.g. Mama He aha tēnā? (What is that?)

Orewa Arewhana! (Elephant!)

or were translations of text being read;
e.g. **Orewa** ("reading") ....**teddy bear teddy bear shine your shoes. Teddy bear***...katia te raiti. Teti pea, teti pea haere ki te moe, ka kite.

(...Turn off the light. Teddy bear, teddy bear, go to sleep, goodbye.)

**Mama** **Ka kite.** (Goodbye.)

**Exchanges**

Figure 6 shows the number of exchanges that occurred involving Orewa during each recorded bookreading. Over half the exchanges during both Māori and English text bookreadings were Narrative exchanges. All but one of the remaining exchanges that occurred during Māori text bookreadings were Display. The remaining exchanges around English text were almost evenly shared between Performance, Display and other.

![Figure 6: Number of exchanges during Whānaup E bookreadings](image)

**Māori words inserted by Orewa**

Figure 7 shows the number of Māori words inserted by tamaiti Orewa during bookreadings recorded at home. Over half of these insertions occurred during Narrative exchanges. Most of the remaining insertions of Māori words were made by Orewa during Display exchanges, with the remaining few evenly distributed between Performance and Other exchanges. As illustrated earlier, Orewa inserted Māori translations of text during the reading of an English anthology of rhymes. These insertions may signify either a breakdown in Orewa’s recitational memory of English, her decoding of English print, a
combination of both, or reflect that ‘reading’ English text in Māori is a familiar practice. Orewa’s rates of inserted Māori words per exchange for book-related exchanges were 12.3:1 for Display, 11.6:1 for Narrative and 2.8:1 for Performance.

**Figure 7.** Orewa’s Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau E bookreadings

![Graph showing Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau E bookreadings]

*Māori words inserted by pakeke*

**Figure 8.** Pakeke Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau E bookreadings

![Graph showing Pakeke Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau E bookreadings]

Figure 8 above shows the number of words inserted by Orewa’s mother during the different kinds of exchanges in Whānau Eruera bookreadings. The mother inserted Māori
words most often during Narrative exchanges, followed by Display exchanges, except in the case of one of the English text bookreadings.

As noted earlier, for reading 2 the English book read was an anthology of nursery rhymes. In this reading, over half of the Māori insertions made by the parent were during Performance exchanges. During these Performance exchanges Orewa ‘read’ or recited from memory segments from the text. The mother’s contribution to Narrative exchanges in this bookreading were predominantly English words. The mother’s rates for insertions of Māori words per exchange were 25.9:1 for Narrative, 25.6:1 for Display and 11.4:1 for Performance.

WHĀNAU IHAIA

For Whānau Ihaia, the levels of fluency in Māori for both parents, and the amounts of reading in Māori, were described as low during the interview. Both had enrolled in Māori language courses and night classes in the past, although attendance was subject to pressures of family and work. The eldest child (aged 8 years) and the father were the only ones described as reading regularly at home. Occasionally the younger children were read to in Māori or English.

Four bookreadings were recorded by Whānau Ihaia. Māori books were read during readings 1, 2 and 4. The book read in reading 3 was an English text. All four books were categorised as narrative texts. The three Māori books were titles from Te Purapura series produced by Te Pou Taki Kōrero. They were short, relatively simple, illustrated texts ranging from 37 to 53 words in length. The English book was also illustrated, with a longer and more complex storyline (121 words). Each reading involved the father and at least two children, including the new entrant child, Te Rina.

**Inserted Words**

Figure 9 shows the total number of words and the total number of Māori words inserted by Te Rina and her father during each bookreading.
The majority of words inserted by Te Rina were Māori except bookreading 3, (the book read was in English) where over half of the words Te Rina inserted were English. The parent’s insertions were relatively similar in proportion of Māori to English (just under half of all words inserted for each reading were Māori). The gap between Māori and English word insertions widened for reading 3, where the father inserted proportionately more English words than Maori. Reading Māori texts with Te Rina provided a context for her to interact with her father (and siblings) predominantly in Māori. Māori texts also resulted in her father using proportionately more Māori than English in interactions around print, albeit at lower levels.

Exchanges

Narrative, Performance and Display exchanges were features of book-related exchanges during bookreadings in Whānau Ihaia. The levels of occurrence were low, with only 3 to 5 exchanges occurring during readings of Māori language books and 11 exchanges during the English text bookreading. Performance exchanges were the more common, making up over half of those occurring during the three Māori text bookreadings. There was one Narrative exchange and no Display exchanges during each of these bookreadings.

Of the 11 exchanges during the English bookreading, 7 were Narrative related. Display exchanges occurred twice. Figure 10 shows the number and kinds of exchanges occurring during Whānau Ihaia bookreadings.
Māori words inserted by Te Rina

Figure 11 shows the total number of Māori words inserted by Te Rina during different types of exchanges for each bookreading. Except for reading 3, the reading of an English text where the majority of Māori insertions were almost evenly divided between Display and Narrative exchanges, most of Te Rina’s Māori word insertions occurred during Performance routines. Te Rina’s rates for Māori word insertions were 6.9:1 for Narrative exchanges, 11:1 for Performance exchanges and 21.5:1 for Display exchanges.

Interestingly, there was an increase in the number of Māori word insertions for reading 3, the reading of an English book. This was the only reading during which Display exchanges occurred. Display exchanges involved the father asking Te Rina to name or describe aspects of the story in Māori:

(Display exchange, father asking what an illustration is of)

\textit{e.g.} \quad \textit{Papa} \quad \textit{He aha tēnei?} (What is this?)

\textit{Te Rina} \quad \textit{Mm. he taretare taniwha?} (A monster doll?)

\textit{Papa} \quad \text{\textit{(laughs) Ne?}} (Is that so?)

Readings 1 and 5 included Performance exchanges in which Te Rina evaluated the ‘performance’ of her father’s reading in Māori and modelling what she saw as the correct
performance, e.g. “Kaore i kōrero pēnā. Me kōrero pēnei.” (It's not said like that, say it like this).

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**Figure 11.** Te Rina's Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau I bookreadings

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**Māori words inserted by pakeke**

The total number of Māori words inserted by Te Rina’s father during different types of exchanges for each bookreading is shown in Figure 12. The rates of Māori insertions for the different kinds of book-related exchanges were 2.75:1 for Performance, 4:1 for Narrative and 12:1 for Display.

During reading 3, the father asked Te Rina in Māori to repeat or retell parts of the story, to give Māori vocabulary for English words, or to describe illustrations. Te Rina would do this in Māori, or in mixed language utterances;

(Narrative exchange, father asks Te Rina what the main character is doing)

*e.g.*

**Papa**

*Oo, kei te aha ia?* (what is she doing?)

**Te Rina**

*Kei te find ia (i) tona tare tare taniwha.* (She’s finding her monster doll.)

The balance between the father's Māori and English insertions shifted towards English in Narrative exchanges that took place during reading 3. In four of the seven Narrative exchanges the father would initially interact with his children in Māori, then switch over
and conclude in English. During the few Narrative exchanges that occurred during Māori text bookreadings, he interacted in Māori or Māori with some English words, his utterances often essentially paraphrasing the text.

![Figure 12. Pakeke Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau O bookreadings](image)

**WHĀNAU OPAI**

Awhina, the new entrant child of Whānau Opai, was the only target child in Study One whose co-residing whānau included a native speaker, her maternal grandfather. Her mother described herself as a second language learner and a reasonable speaker of Māori when interacting with her children in Māori, but a lot less fluent when interacting with native and fluent adult Māori speakers. An uncle who also lived in the home was described as having very little fluency in Māori. Awhina was the only child living in the home, although her older eight year-old sister came to stay at least once a week.

It was reported that Awhina participated in reading activities with her mother two or three times during the week. Her older sister often took part in these when she came to stay. Eight recordings of bookreadings involving Awhina were collected by Whānau Opai.

Readings 1 and 5 were of a simple book from the ‘Spot’ series, translated from English to Māori. Readings 2 and 7 were simple books from the ‘He Purapura’ series produced by Te Pou Taki Kōrero. The book used in reading 5 was a simple alphabet book, matching
letters and diphthongs of the Māori alphabet to objects or actions that started with them. Reading 8 was a book produced from a television series, aimed at beginning learners of Māori. These books ranged from 60 to 90 words in length. Readings 3 and 6 were of the same book, translated from an English text to Māori, categorised as a simple picture book, illustrated and longer and relatively more complex (812 words long). All eight readings involved Māori texts. Awhina and her mother took part in readings 3, 5, 7 and 8. Readings 1, 2 and 6 involved her older sister, who in each case read the book to her mother and sister. Awhina and her sister were the only participants in reading 4.

**Inserted words**

Figure 13 shows the total number of words, and the number of Māori words inserted by the adult (except for reading 4, which shows the insertions made by the older sibling) and by Awhina during each reading.

![Figure 13. Word insertions during Whānau O bookreadings](image)

As shown in the figure by the overlapping lines, nearly all inserted words were Māori. Awhina inserted 15 English words in total across the eight readings. These were uttered in relation to naming people e.g. “Ooo, mummy”; “Me Uncle Daryl”; or in directing her mother how to ‘perform’ the reading of a book, e.g. (reading book titled ‘Te Reo’) “You, you point, Te Reo. Do the line, okay?".
Awhina’s mother inserted 8 English words in total across the bookreadings. These were used when clarifying the meaning of written text. For example, during reading 7, Awhina and her mother were reading the story together, Awhina ‘reading’ from the pictures, her mother giving the text. Awhina was unsure about the terms denoting location, and of their meanings ‘muri’ behind, and ‘mua’ in front. Awhina’s mother used English, initially as a prompt for the Māori word, then to try and clear up the misunderstanding.

Performance exchange

\[\text{Awhina} \quad \text{Kei hea te kiore? (reading - “Where is the rat?”) Kei….Kei aha?}\]
\[\text{Māmā} \quad \text{in front of}\]
\[\text{Awhina} \quad \text{Kei muri? (Behind?)}\]
\[\text{Māmā} \quad \text{mua (front)}\]
\[\text{Awhina} \quad \text{mua}\]
\[\text{Māmā} \quad \text{Kei muri, kei muri, at the back.}\]

Awhina’s mother inserted very few words (no more than 31 inserted words per reading) during readings for which Awhina’s sister was the book reader.

**Exchanges**

Figure 14 shows the number and kinds of exchanges involving Awhina that occurred during each recorded bookreading. Of the total number of exchanges across all readings (45), Performance related (18) and Narrative related (20) were the most common. A total of 6 Display exchanges occurred. There was variation between the total number of exchanges for each reading, ranging from 1 through to 13.

There was also a range of exchange patterns reflected across the readings. Readings 1 and 2 involved a performance style of reading with little or no additional words inserted. In reading 1, Awhina and her mother negotiated for Awhina to read the book, a translation of a simple book from the ‘Spot’ series. In reading 2 Awhina’s mother read a sentence of text and Awhina repeated it. Readings 3, 5 and 8 included Narrative, Performance and Display exchanges. The other readings also involved combinations of
exchange types, except for reading 4, where two Narrative exchanges occurred between Awhina and her older sister.

![Figure 14. Number of exchanges during Whānau O bookreadings](image)

**Figure 14. Number of exchanges during Whānau O bookreadings**

- **other**
- **display**
- **performance**
- **narrative**

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**Number of words inserted by Awhina**

Figure 15 below shows the number of Māori words inserted by Awhina during recorded bookreadings.

![Figure 15. Awhina’s Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau O bookreading](image)

The number of Māori words inserted by Awhina during each bookreading ranged from 0 to 56. In total, 58 words were inserted during Narrative exchanges, 40 words during...
Performance exchanges and 39 words during Display exchanges. For Awhina, Display exchanges resulted in at least twice as many Māori words being inserted per exchange (6.5:1) than during Narrative exchanges (2.9:1) or Performance exchanges (2.2:1).

Māori words inserted by pakeke
Display exchanges also resulted in more Māori words being inserted per exchange by Awhina’s mother (1:9.7), followed by Performance exchanges (1:5.7) and Narrative exchanges (1:3.9).

Figure 16. Pakeke Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau O bookreadings

WHĀNAU UTUTAONGA

Whānau Ututaonga was made up of a mother and her son, Nepia, who shared rental accommodation with a single father and his high-school aged child. Both children attended kura and both adults were working or studying in contexts in which te reo Māori was the main medium of communication. According to Nepia’s mother, Māori and English were spoken in the home with Māori probably being used up to about a quarter of the time.

For the three older members in the home, reading was described as a regularly (almost nightly) occurring activity. Nepia’s mother said that while she did read with him, it was
not done on a regular basis. When they did read together, Nepia would usually choose English and Māori books from the supply of children’s books available in the home. They also borrowed mainly English children’s books from the local public library. At the end of the time set aside for taping, there was one bookreading recorded that was of too poor a quality to transcribe.

SUMMARY

What this study set out to do was to develop an understanding of Māori language use during print literacy activities in whānau of new entrant Kura Kaupapa Māori children. Observations of bookreading activity involving a new entrant child were collected from five whānau. The observations collected illustrate the diversities and complexities that exist in the language and literacy practices within and across kura kaupapa Māori whānau. Another objective was to develop ‘pictures’ of bookreading practices in a way that involved little outside interference and control in terms of ‘posing’ participants in reading activities. That is, I was after reality shots, rather than formal portraits, looking for information that reflected real-life practices and behaviours around bookreading in these homes, and that reflected the social situations, resources and knowledge bases in which these took place.

Analyses focused on relationships between bookreading practices and Māori language use in interactions of older and younger generations, represented in these whānau by parents, a grandparent and new entrant children (and in many instances these children’s siblings). What do the snapshots of bookreading practice indicate? How do the indicators compare and contrast with other discussions in this thesis?

Access to te reo Māori texts

There was a great variability in access to Māori language books across the group of whānau involved in this study. This was indicated by information given about whānau ownership and access to Māori books in the interviews and by the number of bookreadings recorded that involved Māori language texts. Proportions of English texts
to Māori texts read ranged from one Māori to six English for one whānau, two of each for another, through to eight Māori to no English texts for another whānau.

Analysis of bookreadings reinforced previous findings that access to books written in Māori is problematic for families whose children are in kura kaupapa Māori, as well as for those in other Māori medium education provisions (Hohepa & Smith, 1996). Twenty-two different books were read across the twenty-four bookreadings audio-taped by the four whānau. Of these, fourteen were Māori texts. These books fell into categories of simple and complex narratives, picture books and instructional books. These are also differentiated in terms of texts originally written in Māori and texts translated from English to Māori.

The reality that there are few narrative books in te reo Māori commercially available was reflected in the kinds of narrative books represented in this study. Six of the nine Māori books categorised as narratives were written and produced through Ministry of Education contracts for distribution to schools. In this sense the three books from commercial publishers used in two of the whānau represent the tiny pool of recreational reading material available in Māori. Two of these involved English text translated into Māori.

It can be argued that access to narrative text is significant in terms of both literacy and language development. Access to and development of knowledge and familiarity with narrative texts (in both print and oral forms) has been linked to success in literacy development and academic learning (Heath, 1983, McNaughton 1995).

**Role of language fluencies**

One of the characteristics shared by all whānau is the potential to draw on two languages when communicating and attempting to make as well as to take meaning. Using both languages in strategic ways, for example code-switching, reflects bilingual competence (Hakuta, 1986; Hoffman, 1991; Romaine, 1995). In many bilingual communities it is viewed as a legitimate form of communication. It is also viewed as a legitimate strategy for language and literacy learning by literacy programmers for bilingual families, particularly those focused on intergenerational literacy and language development (e.g.
Quintero & Huerta-Macias, 1990). There was evidence of codeswitching being used as a strategy by all whānau in the bookreadings collected.

There are also echoes of the “Matthew effect” (Stanovich, 1986, 1992) coming out of the observations collected. For instance, Whānau Opai who had the resource of a resident, native speaking grandfather, and a parent who expressed some confidence in her fluency in Māori language was also the one from whom the most reading recordings were obtained, all of which involved Māori language texts. Consistently reading Māori texts also seemed to provide opportunities for increasing use of Māori across readings, as shown by the upward trend in Figure 13.

In contrast, Whānau Aranga parents who defined themselves as having minimal levels of fluency in te reo Māori did not read any books written in Māori with their new entrant child. However, this did not stop them from trying to incorporate Māori language into an essentially English language activity. Notwithstanding Whānau Ihaia, this descriptive study indicated that the probability of Māori words being inserted by both adults and children was much higher when reading Māori texts.

An issue that is not focused on in this chapter, or indeed in this thesis, is that of the linguistic ‘correctness’. For example, the degree to which Māori being used by the children and adults participating in the recorded bookreadings was grammatically correct is not examined. The need for Māori language that is being used to be linguistically correct versus the need simply for the language to be used is hotly debated through the media and in other contexts. For instance, I have been privy to in-house kura discussions regarding the use of ‘simplified ‘babytalk’ register, and transliteration by children and by second-language learning adults. Two camps often emerge; one that argues that spoken Māori should be of high standard, grammatically and linguistically sound, the other arguing that the major challenge facing Māori language is to get spoken at all. In the context of this thesis there is a leaning to the latter position. However, the concept is developmental in the sense of envisioning the two camps as a continuum rather than positioned as ‘either-or’ for Māori language use.
Language generativity of exchange types.

Whānau showed varying linguistic preferences in the interactions that occurred around text. For example one whānau showed a strong preference for te reo Māori over English, irrespective of the language of the text. Another whānau varied in their use of Māori and English, in relation to the language of the book being read at the time. Within the same whānau, there were instances of a strongly performance style of interaction in some readings, and an emphasis on narrative style in other readings. Exchange patterns across whānau indicate that Narrative and Display exchanges corresponded with higher rates of Māori word insertions for children and adults.

Key questions arising out of this study included;

i. How might whānau read Māori language books when they were more easily accessible?

ii. What difference might information about ways of reading and their significance for literacy and language development make for whānau in which adults are developing competencies in te reo Māori?

These questions helped to shape the direction of Study Two reported below.
STUDY TWO

In Study Two I wanted to examine two things. I wanted to continue looking at ways parents, who are Māori second language speakers, read with their Kura Kaupapa Māori new entrants. However this time I wanted to focus specifically on practices involving Māori language books. As before, I was interested in the kinds of interactions parents and children have around text and the significance of these interactions for intergenerational Māori language use and learning.

Secondly, I wanted to investigate to what extent drawing parents' attention to, and discussing the ways that in which, they interacted with their child around Māori books influences the amount of Māori spoken during bookreadings. Following analysis of Phase One bookreading observations, a booklet was produced using examples of exchanges across bookreadings of all the whānau to illustrate different kinds of interactions that had occurred (see Appendix 5). This, and a flow diagram showing interaction patterns during reading, were used as the basis for discussions with parents (see Appendix 6). Following discussions the second focus was examined in a structured semi-experimental format. Essentially this study consisting of two phases is like the first, made up of a series of replicated case studies.

In Phase One, the parents of five Kura Kaupapa new entrant children participated in Whakawhiti kōrero, discussed in the previous chapter. They were asked to audio-tape instances of reading with their new entrant children in their homes across a period of three weeks. In contrast to the first study, in the second study parents were specifically asked to participate in these bookreadings.

To ensure that all whānau would have access to Māori books suitable for reading with young children, each was supplied with a set of eight books at the beginning of Phase One, and then again at the beginning of Phase Two. The sets were made up mainly of books produced by Te Pou Taki Kōrero (Learning Media Limited). Two or three books produced commercially by other publishers were also included.
All books had a narrative structure that told a story. McNaughton (1995: 89) describes a typical narrative structure as having an initial setting, an explicitly stated problem, characters performing a series of actions in a series of episodes, and concluding with problem resolution. Some of the books were clearly of this structure, others were much simpler, but all books told stories that had an identifiable beginning, middle and end.

A total of 75 bookreadings were collected. As in the first study, there was variation across the whānau in terms of the number of readings recorded, the numbers and patterns of exchanges occurring and the amount of language produced during bookreadings. Phase One recordings showed that there were some exchanges occurring across all whānau. In four of the whānau there were instances of all four categories of exchanges described and defined in Chapter Seven. Rates for exchanges varied both across and within whānau, again reflecting the daily realities of each whānau and the variations in, for example, language, literacy and temporal resources.

**WHĀNAU HIKUROA**

Parents from Whānau Hikuroa described themselves as not very fluent in te reo Māori. Both had sought contexts for learning Māori, ranging from personal contexts such as spending time with more fluent members of their respective whānau through to wānanga-a-iwi (social institutions for tribal learning) and Māori language university papers. Kura provided a major setting in which whānau members, particularly the children, heard and used te reo Māori. Kapa haka (performing arts) and taiaha (Māori weaponry) classes provided other settings in which Māori language was a major feature. Parents estimated that Māori was used in the home as the medium of communication less than half the time.

Reading was a regular personal activity for the eldest two of the four children in Whānau Hikuroa. The eldest child tended to read mainly English books, the second eldest mainly Māori books. Parents said that they themselves read Māori books "now and then". Both said they hardly ever read with the two youngest children, the new entrant (Maia) and a pre-schooler attending kōhanga reo, prior to their involvement in this study.
Whānau Hikuroa recorded eight bookreadings during Phase One. Readings 1, 5, 6 and 7 involved Māia and his mother, readings 2, 3, 4, and 8 involved Māia and his father. A further eight readings were recorded during Phase 2. The adult participating with Māia in the readings was his mother for all but one of these (reading 13, involving his father). All bookreadings involved Māia and one of his parents, reading 9 also involved his younger brother.

**Inserted words**

In both phases, nearly all words inserted during Whānau Hikuroa readings were Māori, shown by the two sets of largely overlapping lines in Figure 17. In all but one of the nine readings where English words were inserted, these were in the form of an English word or phrase incorporated into a Māori utterance e.g. “Tīmata anō, please, koa” (Start again please, please); “No Papatūānuku, I mean Tangaroa” (Of Mother Earth, I mean God of Sea).

![Figure 17. Word insertions during Whānau H bookreadings](image)

Following the discussion of Phase One readings and the introduction of ‘Tautoko i te Reo’, a booklet of suggestions for reading in Māori with children in the home partly developed out of Phase One observations, there was an increased rate of insertions of Māori words for both Maia and his parents.

In reading 15 there were three interactions consisting predominantly of English inserted words. These insertions occurred in exchanges around the meanings of different kinds of punctuation used in the text; exclamation mark, comma, and pause (....). Māia initiated
two of the interactions, his mother initiated one. In all three interactions the mother (Māmā) and Māia resorted to English to negotiate meaning, in one instance his mother stated that she did not have the Māori vocabulary to answer his question directly.

(Other exchange, Māia asking for explanation of comma)

Māia (referring to a comma in the text) But *what is that? It looks like a little line.*

Māmā *Oooo, kore au i mōhio he aha, um, te kupu Māori mo tēnā, engari kei roto i te reo tuarua he comma, he comma tēnā.* (I don’t know the Māori word but in the second language it is a comma...) *And it means that you have a little stop. You stop when you say it, you have a little rest.*

(Other exchange, Māia asking for explanation of speech marks)

Māia (referring to “…” in text) *What’s those?*

Māmā *Um that means keep going, that means there is more kōrero coming. Something like that.*

Exchanges

![Figure 18. Number of exchanges during Whānau H bookreadings](image)

Figure 18 above shows the number of exchanges that occurred between Māia and his parents during bookreadings. There was a marked increase between the rate of exchanges for readings during Phase Two, compared with Phase One. There was an increase in the
rates of three categories of exchanges, the greater increase was in the rate for Performance exchanges, followed by Narrative, then Display.

During five of the Phase One bookreadings less than 3 exchanges occurred. Interestingly, readings 5 and 7, where about five and fourteen times as many exchanges occurred respectively in comparison with the six other readings, involved reading books for the second time (readings 2 and 5 were of the same book, likewise readings 6 and 7). There is evidence that repeated shared readings of the same text involve shifts in child-adult interaction patterns around the text (Phillips & McNaughton, 1990). In this case, initial familiarity was associated with increased exchanges.

*Māori words inserted by Māia*

Figure 19 shows that across the first phase there was a very slight increase in the number of Māori words inserted by Māia. However, there was a much greater overall increase in Māia’s number of insertions during Phase Two, although there was a lot of variability between readings.

![Figure 19. Māia’s Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whanau H bookreadings](image)

For Phase One readings the average rate of Māori word insertions per exchange were Narrative 2.2:1, Display 3.3:1, Performance 4.5:1. The average rate for insertions of Māori words by Māia during Narrative exchanges rose in Phase Two readings, partly as a result of insertions made during Reading 15 narrative exchanges (Narrative 9.4:1). There
was also an increase, while not as substantial, in average Māori word insertion rates during Display (5.5:1). While there was an overall increase in the number of Performance exchanges from Phase One to Phase Two, there was a drop in Māia’s insertion rate of Māori words during Performance exchanges (1.1:1).

Māori words inserted by pakeke

Figure 20 shows the number of words inserted by Māia’s parents during different kinds of exchanges in Whānau Hikuroa readings. There was an increase in the number of Māori words inserted across the phases. The least number of Māori word insertions occurred during reading 13, which involved Māia’s father.

![Figure 20. Pakeke Maori word insertions during Whānau H bookreadings](image)

For the rest of the readings that involved the mother, there was an increase in Maia’s rate of insertions of Māori words during Narrative exchanges. While there was an increase in the average number of Performance and Display exchanges occurring per reading, the rates for Māori words inserted during these exchanges decreased. Average Māori insertion rates during Phase One readings were Display 24.3:1, Performance 7.7:1, Narrative 2.8:1. During Phase Two these rates were Display 15.3:1, Narrative 7.8:1, Performance 5.1:1.
WHĀNAU KIMIORA

Whānau Kimiora parents had varying degrees of fluency in te reo Māori. During the interview, the mother described her fluency as being between very low and not very fluent. She had taken Māori language night classes two years before becoming involved in this study. About seven years before this study the father had become “determined” to learn to speak Māori and was described as fluent. Kura and church group meetings were the major Māori language contexts for this family. It was estimated that parents used Māori for less than half of their communications in the home, and the new entrant (Roimata) used Māori for about half of hers. It was reported that bookreading occurred two or three times a week in the home, English books being read with the two children (three children, by the end of the study) twice as often as Māori books.

Whānau Kimiora recorded a total of eighteen bookreadings, eleven during Phase One and seven during Phase Two. There was a break of 4 weeks between Reading 7 and Reading 8 during Phase One, precipitated by the birth of their third child.

In Phase One, readings 4, 9 and 10 involved the new entrant child and her mother, reading 2 involved Roimata, her father and her older sister, and the remaining readings involved Roimata, her mother and her older sister. In Phase Two, readings 12, 15 and 17 involved Roimata, her mother and older sister, readings 13, 14 and 18 involved Roimata and her mother, Reading 16 involved Roimata and her father.

Inserted Words

During Phase One readings, very few word insertions were made. The overlapping lines in Figure 21 show that nearly all of the words inserted were Māori. Apart from readings 6 and 7, Roimata or her mother inserted fewer than ten words. Readings 6 and 7 involved the same book. Again, this may indicate a repeated reading effect. Following the break of four weeks between reading 7 and 8, the rates of insertions of words fell down to the low levels recorded for the initial readings.
There was a substantial increase in the number of words inserted and considerable variability with the overall level maintained during Phase Two readings. Again nearly all words inserted were Māori. Roimata’s mother inserted between twice to over four times as many words as Roimata during Phase Two readings.

Exchanges

Figure 22 shows the number of exchanges that occurred during Whanau Kimiora bookreadings. The average total number of exchanges per reading increased from 1.5 in Phase One to 13.3 in Phase Two. There was also a noticeable change in the patterns of
exchanges across the Phases. During Phase One a total of 16 exchanges occurred across the 11 readings. Eleven of these were Narrative (an average of 1 per reading, ranging from 1 to 5 per reading across four of the 11 readings), the remaining 5 were Other. In Phase Two the average rates of book-related exchanges for each reading were Narrative 6.4:1, Display 4.6:1 and Performance 1.7:1.

**Māori words inserted by Roimata**

In both phases the majority of Māori words inserted by Roimata occurred in Narrative exchanges with the other participant(s). There was an increase in the rates of Māori word insertions during exchanges and the kinds of exchanges she participated in across the phases. In Phase One the average rate of Māori word insertions per Narrative exchange was 1.5:1, while no display-related or performance-related insertions were made. In Phase Two the average rate of Māori word insertions was 2.9:1 for Narrative exchanges, and 2:1 for Display exchanges, 0.1:1 for Performance exchanges. There was an increase in the amount of interaction in Māori during bookreadings, in the form of short exchanges. There were also more diverse patterns of interaction, an increase in narrative-related exchanges, as well as the introduction of display-related and performance-related exchanges.

![Figure 23. Roimata's Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau K bookreadings](image)
Figure 24 shows the number of words inserted by Roimata’s mother. The Phase One rate of Māori word insertions by Roimata’s mother during book-related exchanges was 5.5:1 for Narrative. This more than doubled during readings in Phase Two, the rate of Māori word insertions for Narrative exchanges rising to 12.2:1. During Phase Two, Roimata and her parents’ interactions around text also included Display exchanges (a total of 378 display exchanges, at the average rate of 11.6 Māori word insertions per exchange) and Performance exchanges (a total of 38 exchanges, Māori word insertions rate of 3.2:1 per exchange).

WHĀNAU MITA

During Phase One, the new entrant child (Rangi) in Whānau Mita lived with his mother, his maternal grandparents and two younger cousins. His grandmother was a native speaker. During this time Rangi’s mother was working as a kaiawhina at a kōhanga reo. During Phase Two Rangi and his mother shared a home with her sister, sister’s partner and their two pre-school children.
Rangi's mother described her level of Māori language fluency as "between basic and intermediate". In order to develop her Māori she had worked voluntarily in a kōhanga reo and attended a Te Ataarangi course based at a local high school. At the time of the interview, while she and Rangi were living with her parents, the mother said that the adults in the home tried to speak Māori most of the time. She estimated that Rangi used Māori for less than half of his communications in the home.

Before taking part in the study, reading with Rangi was a regular activity in the home. His grandfather read English stories to him an estimated three nights a week before he went to sleep. When Māori books were borrowed from the community library, his grandmother or mother read a Māori book with him on most nights of the week. This did not happen every week, it depended on the supply of Māori books available at the library. The adults in the home often read magazines on a weekly basis.

A total of twenty-one taped bookreadings involving Rangi and his mother were supplied by Whānau Mita, eleven readings were recorded during Phase One, ten during Phase Two.

**Inserted Words**

![Figure 25. Word insertions during Whānau M bookreadings](image)

Whānau Mita had the highest rates of word insertions during Phase One. There was an upward movement in the levels of insertions following discussions with the mother and
the provision of the booklet of suggestions. As shown in Figure 25, there was a lot of overlap between word insertion rates of the child and of the parent across both Phases for this whānau. Reasons for this may be found in the pattern of exchanges considered below.

Also evident from the figure above is that there was a lot of variation within phases in terms of the numbers of words inserted during each reading. The length of the book may partly account for this variability. Readings 1, 13, 14 and 21, during which the highest numbers of words were inserted, all involved book texts of more than 500 words in length. Three of the lowest points, readings 4, 10 and 16 involved texts that were approximately 100 words long. This correlation holds to some extent across other readings, but not perfectly.

There was a difference in Rangi’s and his mother’s use of English insertions. The mother’s insertions of English generally consisted of one English word being used in Māori utterances, usually to clarify meaning and often in response to Rangi’s questions about text or illustrations, or when she was unsure of equivalent Māori vocabulary.

(Narrative exchange)

Māmā  Kei kōnā te pāpaka. (There is the crab.)
Rangi  He aha te mea...? What’s the one bad?
Māmā  Ahhh, pea...tena... stingray. Kaore au i mōhio i te kupu Māori mo
       stingray. (I don’t know the Māori word for stingray.)
Rangi  Is that a stingray?
Māmā  Mmmm.
Rangi  Does... what did you tell me about it before?

Rangi used inserted English words in the same way, e.g. He aha te mea Māori? Me nga presents. (What is the Māori thing [word?] for the presents.) He also used English during exchanges around a book’s text to clarify meaning for his mother, for example;
Rangi’s mother has just read “Kei te papa tuarima he whānau wahangū, he whānau kāre e kōrero ana ki ētahi atu.” (On the fifth floor was a quiet family, a family that didn’t talk to others.)

(Display exchange)

Rangi You know what wahangū means?
Wh Kāhore. (No.)
Rangi Quiet.
Wh (rereads “.....he whānau wahangū”) Oh, ne?
Rangi Mmmmm.
Wh Kia ora!

He often switched easily back and forth between languages, for example, during reading 2 Rangi’s mother was talking with him about the illustration on the next page of the book that they were reading. Rangi thought he should try and guess what would happen next, rather than his mother showing him the illustration.

(Narrative exchange)

Wh Titiro ki a rātou, ki a rātou ringaringa. (Look at them, at their hands.)
Rangi Ae, but (Yes, but)
Wh me a rātou waewae. (and their feet.)
Rangi Mum
M Ae (Yes.)
Rangi Pēnei tana puku (makes deep breathing noises) (His stomach is like this.)
M Ae. (Yes.)

(Rangi attempts to reshape the exchange into one more resembling a Display exchange)

Rangi But Mum, kaua e show ahau. Hide away and say he aha tana mahi? (But Mum, don’t show me. Hide away [the illustration] and say what is he doing?)
M He aha? (What?)
Rangi Hide away and say he aha tana mahi?
M He aha tana mahi?
Rangi Kei te haere ia ki roto i tana, i tana rūma nei. (He is going into his room.)
Looking across the phases, there is evidence of an increase of Māori word insertions, though this is not as marked as for Whānau Hikuroa, Kimiora and Ngahau.

**Exchanges**

![Figure 26: Number of exchanges during Whānau M bookreadings](image)

Figure 26 shows that there was an overall increase across the phases in the number of exchanges occurring during bookreadings. In Phase One, the majority of exchanges were Narrative and Other. In Phase Two, the greatest increase was in the numbers of Narrative exchanges. The emphasis on Narrative exchanges in both phases correlates with a greater similarity between mother and child in word insertion rates, compared to other whānau. In Phase Two, a greater proportion of the exchanges was story-related compared with Phase One, shown in part by fewer exchanges in the category Other.

**Māori words inserted by tamaiti Rangi**

There was an overall increase of Māori word insertions by Rangi during Phase Two compared with Phase One. In Phase One the highest rate of Māori word insertions occurred during Display exchanges (5.7:1), followed by Narrative exchanges (4.4:1). In the few Performance exchanges that occurred Rangi’s rate of insertions of Māori words was 0.5:1.

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In Phase Two there was an increase in the rate of insertions of Māori words across all categories of exchange, (including the category Other). While there were proportionately fewer Display exchanges during Phase Two readings, in these exchanges the rate of Māori word insertions was still the highest (10.2:1). As noted earlier, in many insertions Rangi used both Māori and English. There was a difference in language use across the exchange categories. Mixed language and English insertions occurred more often during narrative exchanges. During Display exchanges there were few instances where Rangi inserted English words (in only five Display exchanges, including that illustrated above). The Māori word insertion rate for Narrative exchanges more than doubled (9.2:1), as did the rate for Performance (2.5:1).

**Māori words inserted by pakeke**

In both phases Rangi’s mother’s rates of Māori word insertions during interactions were highest for Narrative exchanges, followed by Display then Performance. During Phase One the rates were: Narrative 9.9:1, Display 9.8:1 and Performance 1.1:1. The rates for Narrative and Performance rose during Phase Two bookreadings and dropped for Display exchanges (Narrative 13.3:1, Display 6.2:1, Performance 6.2:1).
WHĀNAU NGAHAU

Both Whānau Ngahau parents were attending a full-time Te Ataarangi course at the time that they took part in this study. Both considered themselves to be not very fluent. The father had attended various te reo Māori night classes over a period of two years.

Both parents tried to speak as much Māori as they could to their new entrant (Api) and to their kōhanga reo child in their home. They estimated that Api used Māori about half of the time. Besides kura, home and Te Ātaarangi classes, another Māori language setting for the new entrant was a grandmother’s home.

Parents reported that prior to the study they hardly ever read to or with their new-entrant child. Both parents read at home on most nights, usually in Māori as part of their homework for Te Ātaarangi. This generally happened after the younger children were in bed. Parents read English language magazines once or twice a week, occasionally the father read English language novels. Their high school children read mainly English school texts most nights on of the school week.

Whānau Ngahau audio-taped a total of twelve bookreadings, six during Phase One and another six during Phase Two. Phase One participants of readings 1, 2 and 3 were Api
and his father, reading 2 also included his younger pre-school brother. The participants of reading 4, 5 and 6 were Api and his mother, readings 5 and 6 also included his younger sibling.

Phase Two readings all involved Api and his father, with his younger brother also participating in Readings 7, 9, 11 and 12.

**Inserted words**

During Phase One, nearly all words inserted by Api and his parents were Māori. The few English insertions consisted of proper nouns e.g. "Barney" and "Mum"; or questions about word meanings, for example;

*Api   He aihikirim? What's that?*

*Pāpā   Ice-cream.*

There was an increase in insertions by Api, and his father from Phase 1 to Phase 2. There was also an increase in English insertions by Api, while his father's word insertions were predominantly Māori. Most of Api's English word insertions involved the substitution of an English word into a Māori utterance e.g. "Ko tāna tongue, kei konei". (Here is his tongue.) *Kei roto i te dirt.* (It's in the dirt.) In every reading there were one to three instances of insertions consisting of a predominantly English utterance. These occurred during Narrative exchanges, for example;

*Pāpā   Aaa, titiro! Kei te aha inaiane? (Ah, look! What is [he] doing now?)*

*Api   Kei te haere tiki i te aporo. But somebody, um, gotta let him...him and get the aporo for him!* (Going to get the apple.)

*Pāpā   (reading text) Bzzzzz!*

*Api   Sting you?*

*Pāpā   Ae, ae.*

*Api   Does it sting you and then you die?*

*Pāpā   Kao, kāore i mate. (No, [you] don't die.)*

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Exchanges

Instances of all categories of exchanges defined for this study occurred during Phase One, although in the case of Performance exchanges, there was only one. The number of Performance exchanges rose from 1 to 4 during Phase Two bookreadings. The greatest increase was in the numbers of Narrative exchanges.
In Phase One, Api’s rates of Māori word insertions per exchange were Display 4.9:1; Narrative 2.8:1; and Performance 3:1. During Phase Two the rate of Māori words inserted per Narrative exchange more than trebled to 10.5:1, the rate for Display increased to 7.8:1, while the Performance rate dropped to 0.1:1.

Māori words inserted by pakeke
For Phase One bookreadings, parental rates of Māori word insertions during exchanges were 11.3:1 for Display, 7:1 for Performance, and 4.5:1 for Narrative. The greatest increase across phases was in the rate of Māori word insertions for Narrative exchanges (16.8:1). The highest rate was for Display exchanges (17.1:1), while the Performance rate remained the same, 7 words per exchange.

WHĀNAU PITAMA

In Whānau Pitama the mother described her levels of Māori as very low, and found that she understood Māori conversation more than she spoke in Māori, often feeling whakamā or unsure about responding in Māori. The father thought he was becoming reasonably fluent, reflected in his being asked to sit on the taumata at his local marae. He had attended a Te Ātaarangi course full-time for two years, partly motivated by his embarrassment at not being able to speak Māori when his oldest child had begun attending kōhanga reo. Both worked in contexts in which Māori language use was a regular feature.

Māori was used in the home for particular whānau activities such as daily karakia, though it was estimated that less than half of family conversations involved Māori language. Both parents were in a top-level kapa haka, and this provided a context for Māori language learning and use for themselves and their children, who regularly attended kapa haka practices. The children’s grandparents provided another context for Māori language.

The daily lives of this whānau were busy, both parents were in paid employment outside of the home, their older children were involved in out-of-school sports, and kapa haka often demanded a lot of time in evenings and weekends. The mother said she did some personal reading during the week. The father said that while he did not read very often for enjoyment, he was enrolled part-time in a degree course and read course-related texts. Parents said they sometimes read to their children before bed, averaging out to about once a week. An older brother was listened to reading, or read with, from books sent home with him by his classroom kaiako three or four times a week.
During both phases of the study, the period for recording bookreading with the new entrant child (Moana) was delayed in this whānau, as a consequence of parents’ kapa haka commitments. During the first phase, their group was preparing for a national competition, and during the second phase they were on tour overseas. In total eight readings were recorded, four during Phase One and four during Phase Two. All the readings in Phase One involved Moana and her father, reading 3 also included her younger sister who was attending kōhanga reo. Reading 5 involved Moana and her mother, readings 6, 7 and 8 involved Moana and her father.

**Inserted words**

Across the phases Whānau Pitama showed a gradual ascending trend, with some variability, although an initial drop after ‘training’. However this was followed by a consistent increase in Māori word insertions. There was a corresponding initial drop than a rise in the number of insertions made by Moana. The book read for Reading 3 was at least twice as long as the next longest book (approximately 500 words), which may account for the noticeably greater amount of word insertions by the father. The first reading during Phase One had the highest rate of English inserted words. Except for *“Do you want to say?”* the father’s English insertions during this reading were all in the form of the praise *“good girl”* during Performance exchanges, relatively few English words were inserted during readings.

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**Figure 33. Word insertions during Whānau P bookreadings**

![Graph showing word insertions during bookreadings.](image-url)
All of Moana’s insertions of English words (except in two Other, non-book related exchanges), involved the use of an English word in a Māori utterance.

(Display exchange, father asking what are the things on a dog that make it scratch)

\[ P \quad He \ aha \ nga\ mea,\ nga\ mea\ e\ ngokingoki\ ana? \ (What\ are\ the\ things,\ things\ crawling?) \]

\[ Moana \quad E\ ngōki\ ana? \ (Crawling?) \]

\[ P \quad Ae...\ Nga\ kutu? \ (Lice) \]

\[ Moana \quad Nga\ kutu?\ Nga\ fleas! \ (Lice?\ Fleas!) \]

\[ P \quad Ae. \ (Yes) \]

(Display exchange)

\[ P \quad He\ aha\ tēnā? \ (What\ is\ that?) \]

\[ Moana \quad He...\ muu,\ he...cow. \]

\[ P \quad He\ kau\ tēnā. \]

\[ Moana \quad He\ kau. \]

Exchanges

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**Figure 34.** Exchanges during Whānau P bookreadings

![Graph showing the number of exchanges across different phases of reading](image)

Figure 34 shows the exchanges that occurred during Whānau Pitama bookreadings. There was an initial drop followed by an upward trend in the number of exchanges per bookreading across the phases. There was a corresponding change in the patterns of exchanges as well. While exchanges from all categories occurred, the majority during the
first phase were Performance exchanges. There was a substantial drop in Performance exchanges during Phase two readings, along with small increases in the numbers of Display and Narrative exchanges. There was a slight increasing trend in the number of Narrative exchanges across both phases.

**Māori words inserted by Moana**

Figure 35 below shows the number of words inserted by Moana during bookreading exchanges. Overall, there was an increase in the number of Māori words inserted per reading by Moana in Phase Two, compared with Phase One. In Phase One her rates of Māori word insertions during book-related exchanges were Narrative 4.7:1; Display 3.4:1; and Performance 0.1:1. In Phase Two while more Māori words in total were inserted during Display exchanges, Narrative exchanges resulted in Moana using more Māori words per exchange. Māori word insertion rates rose to 12.3:1 for Narrative exchanges 7.4:1 for Display and 0.4:1 for Performance.

![Figure 35. Moana's Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau P bookreadings](image)

**Māori insertion words by pakeke**

The rates of parental Māori word insertions during Phase One bookreadings were: Narrative exchanges 14.75:1; Display exchanges 8.67:1; and Performance exchanges 3.37:1. While Performance exchanges made up the majority of exchanges during Phase One, Display and Narrative exchanges resulted in higher levels of Māori language use by Moana’s parents, above that in the text. In Phase 2 Moana’s most of Moana’s parents' Māori language insertions occurred during Display exchanges, for which the highest rate
of words per exchange were also achieved (13.44:1). The rate for Narrative exchanges fell (11:1) as did the rate for Performance exchanges (2.89:1).

**Figure 36. Pakeke Māori word insertions during exchanges in Whānau P bookreadings**

**PATTERNS OF EXCHANGES**

In this chapter the processes of bookreading and their significance for generating 'real life' Māori language use in 'real life' whānau home settings have been of primary interest. In Study Two the focus has been on how the effectiveness of reading with young children for engendering interaction using te reo Māori can be increased, in particular through the provision of reading materials and information. In all but Whānau Pitama there was an increase from the first to the second phase in the level of exchanges occurring during bookreadings between parents and children. For Whānau Pitama there was a variable but upward trend.

Changes in the patterns of exchanges also occurred across all whānau. This was most noticeable in Whānau Pitama bookreadings where there was a move away from a predominantly Performance exchange style to one that included a larger proportion of Display and Narrative exchanges. This shift translated into an increase in Māori word insertions in Display and Narrative exchanges by the new entrant child Moana and by the parent.
The proportion of Narrative exchanges increased across phases in Whānau Kimiora, Mita and Ngahau bookreadings. As well as increasing Narrative exchanges, Whānau Kimiora introduced Display and Performances exchanges into their interaction repertoire around bookreading. Whānau Hikuroa also showed an increase in the proportion of Performance and Display exchanges and Whānau Ngahau in Display. The shifts in exchange styles corresponded with an increase in the proportion of Māori word insertions being made during exchanges. That is there was a general increase in the amount of exchanges taking place between parents and children, the amount of Māori words being used during the interactions and the kinds of exchanges occurring.

Vocabulary-related influences

Shared bookreading has been shown to have an impact on the vocabulary development of language learning children, including those learning a second language (e.g. Elley, 1991; McNaughton, 1995). Vocabulary development can be reflected in a number of ways including increases in comprehension and in increases in production. There was an increase in the total number of Māori words inserted by children across the phases.

A focus in this thesis has been on the potential of bookreading practices to enhance Māori second language learning for adults. Adult second language learners’ vocabulary production during shared bookreading arguably influences as well as reflects language development and growth. In Study Two there was an increase across phases in the total number of Māori word insertions made by parents. A probe was taken of two parents’ first insertion of a vocabulary item during bookreadings across the phases, shown in Tables 1 and 2 below. One parent described her fluency as between “very low to not very fluent” while the other identified herself as having a ‘basic to intermediate’ level of fluency. These two parents respectively made the lowest and highest numbers of Māori word insertions during Phase One.

There was a large change in the number of words inserted for the first time by the mother in Whānau Kimiora between Phase One and Phase Two. The range was from 0 to 16 across Phase One, an average rate of 3 words per reading and 12 to 40 across Phase Two, an average rate of 22 words per reading. The difference for the mother of Whānau Mita
was less noticeable, a range of 3 to 72 and average rate of 16.8 per reading during Phase One, and a range of 7 to 49, an average rate of 18.2 per reading for Phase Two.

Table 1: First use of Māori vocabulary inserted by mother across Whānau Kimiora bookreadings (Phase 1)

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Using a word for the first time during a series of bookreadings is not an indication of first time use per se. What the probes above indicate is that reading books in te reo Māori, even children’s books, provide second language learning parents opportunities to use vocabulary that may otherwise be infrequently experienced. While bookreading presents opportunities to engage with relatively unfamiliar vocabulary, it also presents opportunities for repeated use or practice of vocabulary in a context of meaningful use. This was shown to be the case for the two mothers by the amount of vocabulary produced more than once over readings. For example, the ratio for Māori words being used for the
first time to repeated Māori words ranged between 1:2 to 1:7 across Whānau Kimiora and Whānau Mita bookreadings.

As was the case in Study One, Narrative and Display exchanges showed higher rates of Māori language use, for parents and children. Interaction patterns that emphasise display and narrative exchanges may enable Māori language books to work more effectively as a prop for language use, particularly for second language learners.

**Scaffolding**

The increasing number of exchanges and interactions that occurred between parents and their children over the two phases included those that were identifiably tutorial in nature. There were many instances of parents explicitly teaching children, for example providing instruction on aspects related to print, on decoding print, on performing or reading printed text, and giving information to help children make meaning from particular storylines or narrative, in both Māori and English. These tutorial interactions also reflected processes that have come to be identified and discussed using the scaffolding metaphor. The various kinds of tutorial interactions in which parents in both studies supported and guided children’s learning reflected those described across studies of family bookreading practices (e.g. McNaughton, 1995). For instance there was evidence of mutual co-construction of language and literacy-related learning and patterns of joint negotiation of meaning. The bookreading practices of some whānau also showed a marked preference for a particular kind of exchange, display, performance or narrative, resulting in a general interaction style. In this sense the studies provide further evidence that there is just as much variation in family literacy practices within identifiable groups as there is across them.

As expected from a co-constructionist conceptualisation of scaffolding processes, there were identifiable instances where parent and where child took on the role as ‘expert’. Tutorial processes occurred in which children took, or were invited to take, the teaching role. However, it was the nature of the fluidity of the role as ‘learner’ that was particularly interesting. Exchanges occurred that involved children initiating interactions that had explicit tutorial functions, such as the Display exchange reported on page 262.
This exchange illustrates the sensitive and mutual nature of co-construction. The child has expertise in Māori and English as a developing bilingual. In recognition of the relationship between his mother’s expertise as a ‘reader’ contrasted with her growing expertise as a Māori speaker, and language demands engendered by the task of reading in her second language, this child carried out what could be described as comprehension checks. He would often query a word meaning, and then supply one, usually in English, when his mother could, as illustrated in another example,

Mother (M) reading ‘kao pēpi, kei rakua koe!’ (no baby you might get scratched!)

*R* What?
*M* rakua
*R* What’s that?
*M* ummmm, rakuaaaaaa (sounds of pages turning)
*R* Scratch, ........scratch, scratch.
*M* Ae, ae, ae. Scratch.

**Helpseeking**

Explicit help-seeking behaviour on the part of the adult reader was a feature in two of the whānau during Phase 1 and four of the whānau during Phase 2. This nearly always took the form of parents seeking help with specific vocabulary. In many instances children were able to provide direct assistance. For example during a Narrative exchange one of the new entrant children (T) provided his father (P) with the word he was unable to produce or recall at that particular time.

... ...

*P* Ae, engari ka ngau te rākau ia. te kiore. Taku whakaaro tana pirangi kia ngau te rākau. (Yes, but he’s biting the tree, the rat. I think he wants to chew the tree)
*T* Me me me (and)
*P* Um ah ko tana whakaaro ka ngau te rākau, ka mahi penei te rākau, boof. Ka, Ka,........ he aha te kupu, mo, ...he aha te kupu mo fall over? Aaaa (he thinks by biting the tree, the tree will do this, boof. It will, it will,....... what’s the word for fall over? Aaaa)
*T* Ka taka pea. (Perhaps it will fall over)
*P* Ae, pea, ae ka taka te rākau, penei, ka tiki [i] te āporo. Engari, engari he iti rawa ia, he iti rawa ia. Kei te māmāe ona/ (Yes, perhaps, yes the tree will fall like this, and he will get the apple. But, but, he’s very little, he’s very little. His [teeth] are sore)
*T* niho (teeth)
*P* Ae. (Yes)
The children did not always provide vocabulary or verbal explanation, but sometimes used text meaning or appeared to use illustrations to help the parent gain meaning. For example during a Narrative exchange,

(Mother (M) has just read... e moe ana i runga i te toka mānia ..... (sleeping on a flat rock))

M He aha te toka mānia? (what is a toka mānia?)
T Kao, o kao, tena.. (possibly referring to illustration?)
M Aaa.

There were instances when the target child or other participants also did not have the relevant information. On these occasions the participants would either move on without resolution, or negotiate a word or meaning, although not always entirely accurate, as illustrated in the literal translation used in the following example. In the following turns that took place during a Narrative exchange between a mother (M) and her new entrant (T), the Māori words given for starfish are those for ‘star’ and ‘fish’, compared with Māori equivalents, such as pekapeka or pātangatanga.

M ...he aha, he aha te kupu mō tēnā? (... what’s, what’s the word for that?)
T He shark.
M Ika whetū? (Star fish?)
T Ooo, ae, ika whetū. (Oh, yes, star fish)

......

On four of the occasions when help could not be satisfactorily provided, or a point of common understanding reached, the mother in one whānau referred to a dictionary as another source of information. This involved either looking up a word in the dictionary, or stating the intention to follow it up later. For example, during an Other exchange in reference to illustration on the cover page between mother (M) and son (R),

M He aha tēnā? (What’s that?)
R Aua (Don’t know)
M Kāhore i mōhio au te kupu Māori mo tēnā, te dragon (I don’t know the Māori word for that, for the dragon)
R Aaa, dragonflier
M Dragonfly
R Dragonflier, looks like one.
While parents who explicitly sought help to get meaning or make meaning in te reo Māori generally restricted this to oral sources, their children, this parent’s actions reflect strategic use of literate skills and expertise both during and after reading with her child, in her use of dictionaries.

For the five whānau, bookreading has been shown to provide a context for parents and children to interact in an activity in which both are able to behave as Māori language speakers to some extent. Both are able to bring their respective language and literacy skills and expertise to the activity as whānau teaching and learning resources.

SUMMARY

This chapter has described aspects of whānau bookreading in homes of ten kura kaupapa Māori new entrants. The first study provided indications of the diverse nature of bookreading practices across such whānau. These diversities were played out in terms of access to Māori language texts, differences in Māori language fluencies, and in exchange patterns that occurred within the context of bookreading activities.

The main aim of Study Two was to examine the influences of three things on whānau bookreading practices. These were the provision of firstly, Māori language books, secondly, information about the significance and the implications of different kinds of interaction during bookreading; and thirdly, feedback on interaction patterns occurring during whānau bookreading. Māori language use and exchanges during whānau bookreading, before and after the provision of reading-related information, were analysed.
Providing books and information set up conditions in which adults and children were able to expand on their Māori language interactions. Parents drew on information and feedback that was provided on the relative significance of reading-related interactions in ways that corresponded in shifts in whānau exchange patterns during bookreadings. There were also shifts of varying magnitudes in both parents' and children's Māori language use. In relation to whānau literacy practices, the shifts are significant on at least two levels. One, they further show how interactions with young children that occur during bookreading can be modified, even when parents do not have high levels of fluency in the book language. Two, they show that strategically modifying interactions can influence the amount of Māori language parents use with their children in the home.

The findings of these studies have significance when located in the broader societal context of Māori language regeneration and cultural continuity. The degree to which intergenerational Māori language use is present in homes is a pivotal indicator of the extent to which Māori language regeneration is being realised. These studies indicate that whānau bookreading practices have the potential to increase the amount of, and contexts for, Māori language use in homes, thus increasing the effectiveness of Māori programmes and initiatives for language regeneration.