Appendix Six

Supplementary data from interviews

This Appendix provides supplementary quotes from the interview participants to support the arguments made in chapter seven relating to desired behaviours for non-Māori New Zealanders in relation to the Māori language. The quotes are organised by the themes and sub-themes of chapter seven.

Impact of non-Māori on Māori language use

'Logical' state of affairs

Oh it's just because there are more non-Māori in New Zealand than Māori people so it's just more voices (F-U-20/25-PrNZ)

Role of non-Māori in relation to the Māori language

Discourse of choice

If they want to yeah...but that's the question (that's the big question) (*J laughs*) if they want to yeah (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

I think ownership of any cultural thing needs to be owned by the people that hold that thing dear to them [...] it's a self-ownership thing, if it's important to you (M-U-40/45-PrI)

Distinction in roles between Māori and non-Māori

Distinction based on cultural difference

European New Zealanders I would say on the whole have less concern about...about keeping that language going because it's not their background but there's a cultural you know for Māori there is a cultural reason to (M-U-30/35-PrI)

I would say that definitely yeah there is a divergence and that Māori would have a...more of an active role in what they can do for their own language, compared to non-Māori, like it wouldn't be...it would be more of an...impinge on non-Māori to to keep fostering the Māori language rather than on Māori (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

Lack of distinction

I have been making an effort to begin all my business emails with you know a Māori greeting and that sort of thing [...] so how's that different

from you know a Māori person who's proud of their culture using the same [...] I don't know you know is it any different? (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Pronunciation of Māori words

'Correctness'

I just think it's the right place name [...] Whangarei is a good example [...] I just think it's not called Whangarei it's called Whangarei you know and it's just wrong if you don't [...] it's just like giving something the wrong name (M-U-30/35-PrI)

I think It's quite rude but...(what do you mean, what's rude?) not pronouncing things correctly...but...(M-U-40/45-PrI)

'Naturalness' of Anglicised pronunciations

I grew up in a Māori place name, like I grew up in Takapuna and it's supposed to be pronounced *Takapuna* or something weird but um...it just sounds weird to my ear just because [...] it's not natural to me [...] even how I say Māori I say Māori like a European would say Māori rather than *Māori* (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

Lack of ability

I don't really know enough about the language to pronounce it, I'd probably tongue tie myself often and make it even worse if I tried to say it correctly (M-U-40/45-PrI)

We just pronounce it as we pronounce it because of our Burmese accent [...] it might not sound right even if we try our level best (M-S-45/50-PrI)

Lack of confidence

I do kind of suspect that [...] I might just get it wrong pronunciation-wise, you know there are some words where you go er have I actually even got that right (F-S-35/40-PbM)

I think I'd tend to try to pronounce Māori words as correctly as I can, there are some I just don't get right, I know that, so it's not that I don't try, I just don't get them right so my attempts...I think oh I don't think that was quite right (F-U-30/35-PbG)

Longstanding 'Māori' pronunciation

I've been raised in a way [...] where I've been taught to believe that it's important that you do attempt to speak or pronounce Māori correctly (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Change to 'Māori' pronunciation

We live in *Totara* Ave in Silverstream and we always used to say it Totara Ave probably until I went to high school [...] I did change I mostly say *Totara* Ave now (F-U-25/30-PrI)

Momentary lapses

There's a few really hard ones like *Taupo*, which if I'm saying my sentence really quickly I'll tend to go Taupo (Is that probably because you grew up with it pronounced that way?) Yeah definitely so the Kiwiisms...generally come through (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Variation for intelligibility

I do my best to pronounce it properly, but then if for some reason I can kind of gauge that they're not probably going to understand what I mean unless I say it in a kind of colloquial way I guess [I change] (F-S-25/30-PbG)

I do try to say it but having said that I was in *Tauranga* two days ago um and... on the taxi to the airport to go to *Tauranga* the guy said where are you going and I said Tauranga [...] just because otherwise he will...you know I have pronounced things correctly and people just haven't understood the place that you're talking about (M-S-25/30-PbM)

I am probably fairly good at it but I'm just aware that I will possibly have to go back and go oh actually I meant you know Waiau or I'll be looking out for kind of cues from people that they don't get it (F-S-35/40-PbM)

I still struggle with it now with certain people...I had a conversation with a workmate a couple of months ago and they asked me where I was going for the holidays and I said 'oh I'm going to *Mataura*' and he said 'where's that?' and I said 'oh it's just north of Invercargill' and he said 'oh is that what we would call Mataura?' (both laugh) which I thought was you know really quite telling (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Making an effort around Māori

Probably with family I still pronounce it the Anglicised way but [...] probably if I'm speaking to Māori people I'll try to pronounce it [in a Māori way] (F-S-25/30-PrI)

I must admit sometimes when I'm talking to someone who is Māori I probably try even harder to get it right (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Negative reactions of non-Māori

I've come across some people that avidly hate *Taranaki* being referred to as that and they just get really angry and so I think well am I actually helping anything by letting them get angry about it so I will in that case revert to Mt Egmont and I suppose that just goes along with my personality of being more of a peacemaker (F-S-30/35-PbM)

It would depend on who I was with because some people are quite...not anti but...it's not their thing at all like you know they're very *New Zealander*...not you know...they don't get the culture side of things. [...] they're just not interested they're just like 'oh whatever' you know, even when you try to pronounce something correctly (F-U-25/30-PrI)

You kind of need the support of others around you [...] I do kind of suspect that I'll get a hard time sometimes (F-S-35/40-PbM)

Modeling behaviour

I think I try to do it to make other people aware that they're saying things wrong, it's a sort of a respect thing (F-U-25/30-PrI)

Being corrected by others

I get corrected by my boyfriend if I mispronounce things (F-S-25/30-PrI)

Pronouncing Māori words at work

If I'm in a work situation then I do my best to pronounce it properly (F-S-25/30-PbG)

I'm probably aware of it in maybe a situation...like if I was in a work situation if I was interviewing someone that was...I would probably make the effort to pronounce things correctly or would apologise if I hadn't [...] but in everyday life I probably wouldn't make the effort (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Using Māori words and phrases

Knowledge and use of Māori words and phrases

I suppose [...] I would use Māori *words* occasionally but not very often [...] the one that springs to mind was kind of kai (M-S-25/30-PbG)

Oh you know puku or oh [...] kai, whānau (F-U-30/35-Prl)

It'll be greetings you know and it's pretty basic stuff it's kind of stuff like kai or I don't know all the kind of usual small words that people know and throw out there and use in a kind of preference for using other words, so it might be whānau or it might be I don't know...there's a whole kind of range of them really (F-S-35/40-PbM)

Whānau like family is being used often now [...and] I mean kai for food maybe I use, and kia ora might be used now and then but not often [...] whānau and what else ka pai and all that sort of stuff (M-S-40/45-PrI)

'Natural' use of Māori words during interview

He doesn't consider himself Māori but he's very aware of his whakapapa and the like (M-S-25/30-PbG)

He got this idea, probably because they learnt how to say at amarie or something in primary school (M-S-30/35-PrI)

A word that I guite often use is tautoko support (M-S-25/30-PbM)

'Natural' use of Māori words for those who had learnt Māori

I did it in school so part of it did become habit just especially the greetings and things like that (F-U-25/30-PrI)

For some reason whenever I think of 'cold'...there's certain things you always think of the Māori for, I don't know whether it's because [I] specifically learnt those phrases when I did to reo [...] it's using all your resources, it's using what you feel is appropriate at the time (F-U-30/35-PbG)

Use of Māori words among Māori

I'm in a lot of situations which involve consultation with Māori communities and the like and in that context I would for example use kia ora because of the different context it's not kind of everyday speech it's speech to a

particular audience in a particular context [...] it just seems sort of right in some sort of situations (M-S-25/30-PbG)

I coach a sports team and a lot of them are Māori boys and Polynesian boys in there and they'll you know rattle off a phrase or something like that and you might sort of respond (M-U-40/45-PrI)

Using Māori words overseas

You probably sometimes use it when away overseas interestingly enough...I don't know whether it's at home no but probably more inclined when you're travelling (chuck in a bit of a kia ora every now and then) yeah exactly (M-U-40/45-PrI)

Ironic use of Māori words

Only if I'm being smart I think (like in what kind of ways?) just like 'kia ora bro' and that sort of thing (*laughs*) [...] But I would every day use a Māori word (every day? really?) Yeah (OK, but it's usually in that kind of ironic sense) In that kind of context yeah (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

Māori words as unnatural

Starting an email with kia ora or whatever that kind of seems to me I wouldn't normally say that when I was saying hello to someone so why am I putting it in this particular context [...] and I suppose it's [...] that chicken and egg situation I guess where I feel wary about starting to do that because of [...] the fact that it's not natural (M-S-25/30-PbG)

Tokenism of using Māori words

Part of that I suppose is a sense that if I did I would be being a bit tokenistic (M-S-25/30-PbG)

I do get really irritated at times by the media when [...] they'll use words and they'll use them wrongly and I [...] feel like they're putting identity New Zealand identity with it [...] It's like 'we're all Kiwi and it's all fabulous' but they haven't even got the word right (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Self-consciousness about using Māori words

I think there are a lot of non-Māoris that feel self-conscious trying to speak [Māori...] it's like well I'm not Māori I shouldn't be...walking around you know trying to speak the language (F-U-30/35-PrNZ)

Expected ease with practice

I suppose [...] if I did use Māori phrases or words more often then it would become part far more part of my natural way of talking, as it is though I don't on a general basis and so it's difficult to kind of start (M-S-25/30-PbG)

Using Māori words among friends

In some environments with friends most of whom don't know any te reo like I'm quite happy doing it because I don't care and they're just my friends and stuff (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Encouraging workplace environments

We talk about hui, we have huis we don't have meetings, I mean [name of workplace] in particular I think does have quite a strong focus on...so we've got little name tags on things that are in Māori I think they were originally put up for Māori Language Week but no one ever sort of took them down so pretty much anywhere you go [...] in the kitchen there's little signs with...so I think that's kind of a subliminal way people can...(F-S-25/30-PbG)

Learning / speaking Māori to a fluent level

Lack of relevance among uninterested participants

I just don't have a need...to live my life I don't need to learn it [...] I live in this you know white middle class world that is just completely removed from any time when I would need to use it (M-U-30/35-PrI)

Preference for learning other languages

Learning languages would be interesting by itself but whether or not I'd learn Māori over any other language is a bit different [...] If I was going to France I'd learn French because it's the only the only language spoken there [...] and a little bit because I think the French language or Spanish or Italian those languages are held in higher regard than the Māori language especially for non-Māori New Zealanders, it seems like a beautiful thing to learn whereas I suppose Māori language doesn't seem or it might do it doesn't seem to have that edge (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

I think there would be much more value in learning a European language...French, German...or maybe Japanese, Chinese...they would

be the languages that would have some sort of significance in terms of...you know internationally (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Desire to learn Māori among supporters

I would love to be fluent. Especially in the law profession I would love to be able to understand if I had a client who wanted to present their case in their sort of normal language I'd just love to be fluent (F-S-25/30-PrI)

It would be great to learn the language and say that you know wow I'm fluent in it and it's something totally different to anywhere else in the world (M-S-40/45-PrI)

Prioritisation

To be perfectly honest I've always wanted to do it but it's never been a priority. I know it's up to me to do it, if I really mean it then I'd do it or if I really prioritise it I'd do it (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Influence of overseas experience

I ended up going to Sweden and learning Swedish and coming back and feeling a bit embarrassed so it was sort of embarrassment I think [...] and I mean I think I feel more complete as a Kiwi (*laughs*) because at least like I know there's lots that I don't know, I know that, but at least I'm not being blind about it in the way I probably was before I sort of attempted to (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Benefits of speaking Māori

When I have been in situations with Māori and I can understand stuff and say something appropriate it's really well received (F-S-30/35-PbM)

I get a lot out of it [...] I get great personal satisfaction from being able to say stuff you know like when I contact [a Māori work contact] I want to be able to introduce myself on the phone in Māori quickly and *then* go into English and say look let's meet up but it's just it's nice for me to be able to...so I have to write it down and plan it but [...] it just feels good to be able to do that (F-S-30/35-PbG)

It was definitely great assistance in the policy environment and I think socially it's always useful to have it as well (M-U-35/40-PbG)

Encouraging children to learn Māori

If I ever had children I would probably be quite keen to send them along to kohanga reo and get them to be bilingual because I think that would be in their interests in the longer term (F-S-30/35-PbG)

I would like my children to learn it [...] I just think it's a brilliant skill (F-S-25/30-PrI)

Lack of opportunity to use Māori

I talk to my cat (*J laughs*) (what do you say to your cat?) it's usually I'm telling him off get out of there hurry up (that's funny) it is kind of funny...but it's the only way I really practice anything [...] I sometimes say things to my parents but they don't get it at all so (*laughs*) you know (F-U-25/30-PrI)

Priority policy focus on Māori learning Māori

I think it's probably a pretty sensible starting point I guess that there's a part of me that says it would be ideal at some sort of utopian point in the future to have a bilingual Aotearoa but it's not going to happen so....it would be foolish to try and sort of enact policies that that make an assumption that that's an end point so I think probably in practical terms focusing on fluency or competency for Māori and some sort of basic awareness and use for non-Māori is probably pretty sensible (M-S-30/35-PrI)

I can understand that desire to get your own house sorted first and [...] I don't think we've probably got unlimited resources to devote to this and I just think that's the harsh reality and so I think it *is* appropriate to focus it on Māori but I'd like to see that there are opportunities for people like when you're a kid saying I want to learn that there is that opportunity to do that (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Notion that Māori is for Māori only

I think it's just really short sighted and you know there's lots of shades of grey out there, Pākehā with Māori husbands or children or [...] friends you know so are you saying when you're watching the rugby only the Māori are allowed to speak...and all the Pākehā just speak English it's just a bit silly and [...] it's very short sighted (F-S-30/35-PbM)

I can understand that perspective I guess...that it's about kind of wanting to own something that belongs to Māori and the whole thing of ownership and colonisation but to me that seems counterproductive [...] if you're

saying really only Māori should learn Māori essentially or that should be the main concern and you know other people shouldn't *really* you're treating it as a kind of artefact, you're treating it as something which should be sectioned off and specialised only to these people and [...] to me that's kind of the opposite of a living language (M-S-25/30-PbG)

I'd say that there are probably a few non-Māori New Zealanders that would say that we shouldn't and that's it and there's probably some Māori that say you know these bloody honkies don't speak out language right, they should keep out of it [...] but I wouldn't like to see it being an exclusive Māori domain (M-U-40/45-PrI)

Responding to the use of Māori language by others

Positive responses

Your ears prick up [...] if I hear somebody on the bus or when my friends use words or like yesterday at a staff meeting a work mate spoke to me in Māori at the staff meeting and it was *really* nice like I kind of liked the fact that she did it to me [...] she must have got that I had some reo and it was really nice (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Negative responses

It really doesn't bother me, as long as they don't go *on and on and on and on and on [...*] now that's really rude from me and I should be ashamed of saying it but I get bored with it [...] you know if you go to a civic event or something like that there's going to be that cultural thing and that's cool but it's just when they sit there and they go on for twenty thirty minutes in a place where they know that it's going to be mixed in regards to people that understand it and can't...I just switch right off because it just goes on too long (M-U-40/45-PrI)

What I *don't* like is when I'm [...] at one of those more formal events or occasions where I just for half an hour of an hour will just have absolutely no idea what's going on and I understand that it's a Māori ceremony and that's their formal way of doing it but I mean obviously it's frustrating when you don't know what's going on and you really would like to and you just feel a bit...ignorant really for not understanding [...] you can't do the whole thing in Māori and then the whole thing in English and often that's what they do do and it's like we're not going to be here all *day* you know (F-U-20/25-PbG)

Frustration with pōwhiri

It just drives me nuts, I'm like a work in work person [...] I hate...it frustrates the hell out of me [...] we did some decorating here and we just wanted to have a bit of a drink and you have to have some official thing with an opening and a welcome or something ohhhh! We just want to have a drink and we've got two hours for this thing and you've got to wait for people and wait for all the official stuff and the blessing and sort of stuff which...I'm not at all religious so that impacts too, it's just like it doesn't mean anything to me in any language, it just drives me... it just frustrates me, especially if you know you had three hours for this thing and you end up going 40 minutes late and you think well if we hadn't had all that [...] stuff at the beginning we could have got out of here on time, I wouldn't have missed my train, all that sort of stuff (F-U-30/35-PbG)

More general monolingual views

It's not just the Māori thing...I find it rude or offensive if people use their own languages from other countries here like Asians and that and they're speaking it right in front of you I feel it's rude [...] cos I feel like they could be talking about you [...] especially if you're in an enclosed place like if you're on a train or something like that and they're sitting right next to you and they're like blah blah blah and...yeah I think that's kind of rude (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

I mean the theory is...not a lot of people speak [Māori]...you know for people to go into venues or anything like that and start speaking Māori is just the same as if someone went in and started speaking Chinese [...] a lot of people wouldn't understand it and a lot of people would probably get offended by people speaking foreign languages when they should be speaking the common language (M-EO-40/45-PrNZ)

Oh it doesn't *worry* me, but I think it's like with any particular language if there's a common language then [...] it's polite to speak the common language...and it's only from an etiquette point of view and it's not that I have any strong feelings to whichever those languages are, it's just that I think that's just...good manners (F-U-30/35-PrI)

I think my response and a lot of people's responses because they [...] can't understand it and because they're in an environment where they think the other people *could* speak English I think people find that a little bit threatening [...] when you think about it, it can't possibly be...it seems stupid to think that but that's kind of a first reaction is what could they be talking about? (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

Discomfort among supporters

Sometimes on occasion I have been uncomfortable at functions where there's um...not so much mihi because [...] you can understand and there's kind of a format for them, but when conversations take place and I obviously don't know the detail of it and I think oh I'd obviously be a much better participant...and you just...it would be going too far to say these people are holding something over you but just the fact that you don't know what's being said you can't participate and you don't know whether it's a positive thing or a negative (M-S-25/30-PbM)

Expressing a positive response

To me the only thing there is being relatively casual about it, I mean I don't go out there and say 'oh that's fantastic, you used a Māori word', you know it's just to...yep that's cool and I guess essentially not making a big deal out of it in some ways (M-S-25/30-PbG)

Use of Māori language by public organisations

Effectiveness

I'm not sure how much of an impact it has (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Tokenism

Sometimes I find if people are making speeches [...] if they understand the message like they've been coached on this is what you're saying by using these words then that's all good but if they're just sort of reading something off cue cards that somebody else has written then I think ohhhhh...(F-S-25/30-PrI)

Most of it's pretty tokenism I'd have to say like here at [name of organisation] we have all the logo and name in Māori and that sort of thing but it's sort of pretty meaningless to most of the country and it's just sort of...tokenistic (M-EO-25/30-PbG)

'Political correctness'

I think it's probably more of a waste of time than anything...it's political correctness to me gone a little bit wrong, and now they start doing it in Samoan and now they start doing it in Chinese and where does it end? (M-EO-40/45-PrNZ)

I think it's just money spent to make a point (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Government Māori language use and access to public services

Yeah I do think it's a good thing [...] For those people that choose to use Māori as their main language there should be that option for them and I think the Government *have* to provide that (F-U-30/35-PrNZ)

I know a lot of websites now like IRD and stuff have a lot of options for reading things in Māori so I guess it's good to have the option but then are there more Māori in the country than there are other nationalities [...] like if I was Samoan and I looked at the website it'd be like where's the Samoan and it's like you know how many people do you try and please? (F-U-25/30-PrI)

Practical costs of Māori language use

From a work perspective I know that one of the things that's being worked towards is things like websites being available in two languages but in all honesty the expense in doing that is exorbitant and makes it prohibitive for us to do it (F-S-25/30-PbG)

There was a time about ten years ago [...] when they started accepting Māori language on cheques [...] you're thinking what a waste of time [...] no one's really going to understand it so they had to have translation charts and all that [...] and the whole thing to me was just ridiculous (M-EO-40/45-PrNZ)

Retaining the status quo

In Wales Welsh is their national language so every sign is in English and Welsh but here I don't [...] think that it is necessary *yet* to have every sign in both languages, we're not kind of at that stage I don't think, [there'd have to be] a higher degree of consensus from more people that it should be elevated to that status of the second official language which I mean I know it...is...(F-U-20/25-PbG)

Use of public money for Māori language regeneration initiatives

Not too much money

I guess as long as they're not spending lots and lots you know (F-U-25/30-PrI)

Effectiveness

I agree with spending but then to some extent you would have to have an assessment of whether or not that money was appropriately spent and did it meet the objectives (M-U-35/40-PbG)

I know how much money goes into administration and there's always someone getting fat at the top and it's like is it getting down to where it should be? (F-U-30/35-PbG)

Waste of money

I think there's plenty of opportunities, if people want to learn it they'll go out and learn it, they don't need pushing by the Government that sort of thing (F-EO-30/35-PrNZ)

I think it should be more of a personal choice type of thing and doing it that way rather than government funding (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

Taking an interest in Māori language and culture

Taking an interest

I would say I maintain an interest, but it's a kind of passive interest, it's not an active interest. I mean I don't actively seek out stuff but you know I'm kind of interested in the issues when they come up (M-S-25/30-PbG)

I do, perhaps I don't think more of an interest than I have in other things in my life, I mean I'm just sort of generally interested in a variety of things and I don't think I seek it out any more than I do other stuff (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Yeah I do...not every day but definitely I have an interest in it (M-S-40/45-PrI)

Taking up opportunities

There's a local kapa haka competition for primary school kids and I've gone to that at the weekends (F-S-30/35-PbM)

Lack of contact / relevance

I've never grown up with it, I've never had to use it, I've never been in a position where I've had to necessarily understand someone speaking it, I have never had any Māori friends [...] so no it holds really no interest (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

Discussing Māori issues with others

Māori issues on the news

You know now and again there might be a couple of news items which create a bit of conversation (M-EO-40/45-PrNZ)

Only when my partner and I are arguing about what's on the news (both laugh) (F-S-25/30-PrI)

To engage or not to engage

I don't like to talk about things I don't know enough about [...] I don't want to rub anyone up the wrong way by expressing an opinion that could be...you know although it's an *opinion* if I didn't have all the facts I could get it completely wrong (F-U-25/30-PrI)

Sometimes it's not worth getting into an argument about it when someone's already got kind of a set opinion but sometimes I do yeah...yeah I do (F-S-25/30-PbG)

Engaging with others to influence their views

I find my grandparents are quite oh [...] racist isn't quite the right word but very narrow-minded when it comes to New Zealand being multilingual and multicultural so I get quite...frustrated with them and I guess I'm trying to broaden *their* horizons (F-S-25/30-PrI)

I quite often get into those discussions [...] and I think it's important to do that as well because I mean people might not agree with me but I feel I've thought about it a lot and so I kind of want to share that with people (F-S-30/35-PbG)

Negative aspects of Māori issues

Probably to be honest the only time it comes up is when um... protesters get into the news and things like that more than anything else really I suppose and that tends to be a bit of a negative type of thing (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

Occasionally but it's probably more around the Waitangi claims and things like that...wanting to *own* the seashore or the airwaves or some other crazy thing that comes into mind you know (M-U-40/45-PrI)

It enters into daily conversation like for example at university people have a little bit of angst about the fact that Māori are getting special funding or

special access in a way I mean it's not huge it's usually just a random comment um but it does exist and it's left kind of undealt with as well...mainly my friends who are just like students themselves just kind of have a random spiel about it now and then (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

Other behaviours

Passive acceptance

Probably not directly, but just having a just general openheartedness to it [...] directly I'm not sure there is anything they can or really should do that would benefit (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

I think other than actively getting involved in learning it would be a big step to simply step back and accept that others wanted to learn and that it did have a place in New Zealand...there's obviously some...level of discomfort around that (M-U-35/40-PbG)

Attitudes

I think it's like a lot of things in life, it is based around attitude... and I'm not saying mine is 100 per cent supportive at all because I get equally frustrated but I think it starts off with people caring enough to find out a little bit and to understand and empathise, not necessarily to use but not...denigrate I guess (F-U-30/35-PbG)

Barriers to non-Māori supporting the Māori language

Difficulty of learning languages

In particular for an adult it is just really hard to learn another language (M-S-30/35-PrI)

Perceived lack of usefulness

People have limited time and a lot of people don't want to spend time learning a language that they may or may not use with any fluency [...] or relevancy (M-EO-35/40-PbG)

We're probably just not interested enough, and what's the benefit, or what's the payoff? (F-U-30/35-PrI)

There probably is a way of going into it through going you know it's actually really useful for kids to have two or three languages um and getting into that mindset...languages as a way of education in an

increasingly global world...and then there's the issue of well what use is Māori in that world, which people would all have to get over but... (F-S-35/40-PbM)

People have that stigma about well Japanese is great because um you know you can do learn that and it will get you somewhere and it's great for your CV but then learning Māori what's that going to do for you, it's quite sad really (M-S-40/45-PrI)

You know the standard line of 'oh that language is not of any *use* you know in modern society' [....] 'why should my kids learn Māori because it's not going to be relevant to their day to day life' or whatever, so that's on one end, and then on the other hand there's you know saying 'no, Māori is important, it is important that we learn the language, that it's used on a regular basis' (M-S-25/30-PbG)

Monolingual culture

I think because we are a pretty monolingual culture that there is something about people not thinking [languages are] a priority just in general (F-S-35/40-PbM)

Don't force it on me

I think if people have things forced upon them a lot then that creates a negative atmosphere if they don't have a choice in the matter that does have an effect [...] [if it] gets in the way of their lifestyle that they had before (M-U-20/25-PrNZ)

Attitudes towards Māori, attitudes towards language

There's that whole thing of Māori playing the underdog sometimes but trying to be [...] you know what I mean they kind of play the underdog when there's something to gain but not when there's...but think they're something special do you know what I mean... they don't [...] understand the link between privilege and responsibility (F-U-30/35-PrI)

Attitudes of other non-Māori

There is a lot of tension out there still and there is a sense amongst Pākehā of yeah we'll settle grievances and do some stuff but kind of we want it to go away a little bit, we don't want it to impact on our lives too much and I don't know that governments have really addressed that or done as much as they could to kind of change those views a little bit or to [...] make it seem a little less scary because it's not really for most people once they actually get into it (F-S-35/40-PbM)

Reactions of Māori

Possibly just a...discomfort level or an alienation [...] I wouldn't probably expect to feel welcome (F-U-30/35-PrI)