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Mā Muri Ko Mua:
An introduction to the issues associated with the translation of the
Pene Haare manuscript

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
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by
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Abstract

Keywords: translation; translation theory; translation practice; Ngakuru Pene Haare; Te Rarawa; manuscript; Māori-English translation; ethically grounded translation.

In September 2007, a copy of a typewritten transcript of a manuscript dated 1923 and written by Ngakuru Pene Hare was given to a member of staff of the University of Waikato by Stephen Burke and Bella Wade, descendants of the author, who requested that the University provide a scholarly treatment and translation into English of the text. Also provided later were copies of letters written by the author and a copy of the original handwritten manuscript. The original manuscript, written in the Te Rarawa ki Hokianga dialect of te reo Māori of the author's time, consists of 239 leaves and contains accounts of at least 62 Ngāpuhi battles, most of which took place between 1820 and 1840.

The research reported here seeks to identify issues and problems that must be addressed if a competent and ethically-grounded translation is to be produced. Among the issues and problems identified are a number of critical ones. These include the paucity of information that is publicly available about the author, the context in which he lived and worked and the events about which he wrote. Also identified as being problematic are aspects of the text itself. Thus, for example, many of the conventions associated with contemporary writing in Māori (such as paragraphing and the signalling of word and sentence boundaries) are applied only sporadically. Some of the words and expressions used are archaic and/or esoteric, and symbolism that is deeply culturally-embedded characterises much of the text. Also of significance is the impact of writing on conventions associated with the oral transmission of information. The author's intention in producing the text is also identified as being of fundamental importance in relation to the process and product of translation, as are issues associated with the putative readership of that translation. Of paramount importance is the sacred and sensitive nature of the text itself and much of its content.

In addressing these issues, a wide range of sources are drawn upon. These include the text itself and the transcription of the text, letters and other material written by, or

directly influenced by the author, photographs that reveal important information about him, and a wide range of sources of information and opinion (written and oral) about the author and/ or the times and places in which he lived and the events about which he wrote. Also drawn upon is literature in the areas of linguistics and discourse analysis and the theory and practice of translation, including literature written by the growing number of Māori scholars who have focused on issues associated with translation involving Māori and English.

Among the recommendations made are that the translation, a gloss translation that includes explanatory notes, be undertaken, with tikanga Māori as guiding principles, under the mentorship of knowledgeable elders and in consultation with those to whom the manuscript belongs.

He Mihi (Acknowledgements)

He mihi ki a Te Wao

Ngā maunga e tu nei
Ngā awa e rere nei
Ngā tai e whati nei
Ka mihi ki te whenua
Ka tangi ki te tangata
I te ao, i te po
Ka mahue iho o koutou kupu
I te ao nei, hei mihinga mā tātou
Māturuturu tonu ngā roimata
Hei kawē atu te aroha
Ki te iwi nui i te Pō
 E ngā mate
 Kua mahue iho nei i a koutou
 Ki te Ao-tūroa
 Waiho ake te ao kikokiko
 Kia whitingia e te rā

E ngā mana
E ngā reo
E ngā tapu
Kāhore he kōrero i a au nei
Ko ngā kōrero kua riro
I ngā pō rewarewa
Ki Mōtītī, ki Mōtātā
Ki Pupuwahie, ki Wahiekore
Engari ka tū tonu ngā rākau-tūpatapata
Ki te Hau-a-uru
Ka whai kii mai ai
Tākū, tākē, taketake

Ka hāruru te Moana-tāpokopoko-a-Tāwhaki. Tōna hari ka puta he kōrero hei maumahara ake i ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna. Arā, ka oti te tuhi atu tētahi pepa e pā ana ki ērā o ngā mahi o namata. Te maha hoki o ngā tau kua pāhure, ka noho te mahi a tēnei kaumatua rangatira, a Ngākuru Pene Haare, i ngā ringaringa o tana whānau e pupuri ana.

Nā, i tēnei wā, ka whai whakaaro ngā mōrehu o te whānau ki te whakapuare mai te pukapuka nei, kia kitea ai te whānau i āna kōrero.

Ka nui te mihi atu ki te whānau i tō rātou whakaaetanga kia mahia atu i tēnei mahi, kia whakatauwiiwitia i āna kōrero.

He mahi tino uaua, tino taimaha. Ka nui ngā kupu kōrero horekau te tangata i kōrerotia i ēnei rā, kua ngaro. Horekau i maha ngā tāngata i āta mōhio i te reo o tērā wā. Ka whakapau kaha ngā kaimahi kia puta pono, puta tika mai ai te mahi nei.

Nō reira, e te whānau, ka nui te mihi atu ki a koutou, mō ō koutou whakaaro rangatira kia mahia ai i tēnei mahi.

Ki ngā kaiāwhina, kaitautoko hoki, ngā mihi ki a koutou katoa. E kore e taea te whakahuahua ingoa kei mahue ētahi ki waho. Arohanui ki a koutou katoa.

Me pēnei pea whakakapi ai ēnei kōrero:

Ehara te toka i Akiha he toka whitinga rā
Engari ko te toka i Māpuna

Hēoti.

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All photographs, extracts from the Pene Haare manuscript and its transcription, and Pene Haare's correspondence, are reproduced with the kind permission of Stephen Burke and Danny Penney.



Figure 1: Ngakuru Pene Haare, date unknown

Chapter 1

Introduction, research aims, questions and methodology

1.1 Background to the research

In September 2007, the typewritten transcript of a handwritten manuscript entitled *Nga Pakanga o Ngapuhi*, and dated 1923, was submitted to Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (School of Māori and Pacific Development of the University of Waikato). Members of the whānau¹ (family) of the author, Ngakuru Pene Haare of the Te Rarawa tribe, wishing to access the information in their tūpuna's (ancestor's) manuscript and not having the proficiency in te reo Māori (the Māori language) to do so, requested that a scholarly treatment and translation into English of the manuscript be undertaken. Being of Te Rarawa descent and having just completed a postgraduate diploma in interpretation and translation, I was offered the project as a potential area for a Masters thesis. At the time, it seemed an amazing gift that a research opportunity involving an historical document from my own iwi had 'fallen into my lap'. A meeting was scheduled, at which time the expectations of all parties - the whānau, myself and my initial supervisor - were expressed and affirmed. I felt that an honour and a responsibility had been bestowed upon me that day, a responsibility to the Penney whānau, and to my iwi, but also to the author, Ngakuru Pene Haare. It was appropriate that I obtain approval from my kaumātua (elders). As the manuscript 'belongs' to Te Rarawa, I approached Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa (the Te Rarawa tribal authority) and was given their approval and support for the project.

During the summer of 2007, a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga research internship provided an opportunity to examine the transcript. While this initial examination was valuable, the limited scope of the exercise did not allow for an in-depth exploration of the issues and problems that would be associated with translation of the manuscript itself, something that would need to be addressed fully in order to prepare the way for the production of an ethically-grounded and competent

¹ Stephen Burke, his aunt Bella Wade, and her daughter Linda Wade.

translation. It is this exploration that is at the heart of the research project reported here.

1.2 The manuscript and accompanying material

The Pene Haare manuscript itself (*MS 89/116*), a copy of which was given to me by Stephen Burke, is written in te reo Māori and dated 11 Maehe (March) 1923. The author's name is recorded as *Nga Kuru Pene Hare Te Wao*, and the place of writing as *Ngatuna*². The manuscript, consisting of 239 leaves, contains accounts of at least 62 Ngāpuhi battles which are recorded³ as having taken place between the years 1820 and 1840. The manuscript, which includes indices and in-text and marginal notes, is handwritten in what is presumably the Te Rarawa ki Hokianga dialect of te reo Māori of the author's time and contains many terms and references which are unfamiliar to me. The handwriting appears neat and, for the most part, legible. There is little evidence of many now familiar writing conventions (such as the use of full stops and capital letters to signal the end of one sentence and the beginning of the next and the signalling of long vowels by the use of macrons or double letters). The manuscript first came into the public domain in 1987, when it was presented to the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library by Fred Penney, a grandson of the author. Although many Māori families have recorded genealogies, waiata, and tribal histories in manuscript form, many of these manuscripts, whether by accident or through a lack of understanding of their value, have been lost or destroyed (Biggs, 1964, p. 26). This, together with the fact that there is a paucity of information on early Ngāpuhi history (Smith, 1898, p. 1) adds to the intrinsic value of this taonga (treasure).

Also given to me by Stephen Burke were copies of the minutes of a sitting of the Native Land Court in 1904 and some letters written by Ngakuru Pene Haare. Four of the letters are from Pene Haare to Hare Hongi (an interpreter and writer); one is from Pene Haare to Sir Apirana Ngata (a prominent scholar and statesman). The first four (to Hare Hongi) are dated 17 December, 1919; 20 October, 1930; 14 November, 1930; and 26 November, 1930. The last (to Apirana Ngata) is dated 20

² Pene Haare was from the Mitimiti district of the Hokianga. While I can find no reference to Ngatuna on a map of the area, there is a Ngatuna Stream located between Mitimiti and the mouth of the Whangapē Harbour. Ngatuna is likely therefore to be located in that vicinity.

³ In the Auckland War Memorial Museum library catalogue.

August, 1943. These letters, the originals of which are held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, have proved to be an invaluable source of information about Pene Haare himself and his manuscript.

1.3 Research questions, research approach, research methods

Underpinning this research project are three research questions:

What issues and problems must be addressed in translating the Pene Haare manuscript from Māori into to English? How should these issues and problems, once fully identified, be addressed? To what extent is it possible to resolve them?

These research questions are intentionally broad in scope, reflecting my belief, a belief commonly expressed by discourse theorists (see, for example, Derrida (1978 [1967])), that discourse, particularly discourse that is centrally concerned with the past and with representations and re-presentations of the past, is necessarily contingent and open-ended, any search for closure being both fruitless and misguided. It follows from this that the issues and problems identified here will always be subject to revision and extension, as will attempts to address and resolve them. It does not follow from this, however, that the position I adopt is a relativist one: in the ongoing struggle to ‘fix’ meanings, some positions necessarily emerge as being more clearly evidence-based and having greater explanatory adequacy than others (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987, pp. 79-105). The precise manner in which the research questions above are addressed is therefore of fundamental importance.

The overall approach to this research project, in a way that is typical of much research that is essentially historical in nature, involves a combination of exploratory research (whose function is to structure and identify problems) and constructive research (whose function is to attempt to address these problems) (see, for example, Tosh (2006)). In approaching the first research question, I begin with a critical review of selected literature on the theory and practice of translation. This includes literature written by the growing number of Māori scholars who have focused on issues associated with translation involving Māori

and English and, in particular, the translation of source texts about whose authors and their circumstances little is known. Many of these texts are deeply culturally-embedded, include reference to past events that are not widely known or understood, and are written in language that is sometimes unfamiliar and often figurative and symbolic (*Chapter 2*). In approaching the second and third research questions, I explore the issues and problems that emerged from the critical literature review in the light of (a) a close reading of photocopies of the original handwritten manuscript and of the typed transcript, (b) surviving letters written by the author, (c) other writings by, or directly influenced by, the author, (c) photographs of the author that reveal important information about him (such as his commitment to the Catholic faith), and (d) a wide range of sources of information and opinion (largely written, but occasionally oral) about the author and/ or the times and places in which he lived and the events about which he wrote, providing extracts from the manuscript, with associated translations into English, in order to exemplify the nature of the problems identified and the approaches adopted in seeking to respond to them (*Chapter 3*). In the course of this exploration, I make a number of tentative inferences about Pene Haare that are based on what is known about the life and activities of a man of similar beliefs and stature (Himiona Kamira), upon whom the author had considerable influence⁴. I also rely heavily upon the wishes of the author in relation to his manuscript (as manifest in some of his own writings), the nature of the request made to me by descendants of the author, the spiritual guidance of my tūpuna, and the ethical guidelines of Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato and those recommended within the context of Kaupapa Māori research.

1.4 The use of Māori words and the presentation of extracts from the Pene Haare manuscript in this thesis

Associated with the first occurrence of each Māori word used in this thesis is a translation (in parenthesis) of that word into English. These translations should be regarded as approximations only.

⁴ See Tate (2007a).

In presenting extracts from the Pene Haare manuscript in this thesis, I have either (with appropriate permissions) included a copy of the original or have typed out the original text in a way that preserves, to the extent possible in a typewritten representation, the characteristics of the original, including spelling, punctuation and word divisions.

The names of tūpuna (ancestors), including that of Ngakuru Pene Haare, are reproduced as they appear in whakapapa and other historic texts rather than in the form (often including one or more macrons) that is more common in contemporary documents written in Māori

1.5 A final note

In a paper entitled ‘Mātauranga Māori - A National Resource’, Charles Mohi (1993, ¶1) observes that the fragments and portions of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) that still exist today maintain a link to the traditional knowledge system and provide us with opportunities to explore the relevance of that traditional knowledge to life and culture today. I believe that the Pene Haare manuscript constitutes one such fragment, an original document from a primary source. The fact that this manuscript has now been made available for research and translation provides an excellent opportunity to add to our store of knowledge and understanding in a range of different areas. Study of the manuscript will add to our knowledge and understanding of the battles it discusses/records. Problems identified as having implications for the translation of the manuscript will add to our knowledge and understanding of issues relating to the theory and practice of translation involving indigenous languages, and Māori in particular. Attempts to learn more about the manuscript’s author will involve piecing together evidence from a variety of sources in a way that might also reveal more about the period in which he lived.

It is my hope that this study will make a worthwhile contribution to the expansion of the existing pool of knowledge, and that it may provide guidance and inspiration for similar kinds of research around the fragments of tribal histories that may yet come to light.

Chapter 2

A critical review of selected readings on the theory and practice of translation

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, selected literature on translation is critically reviewed, beginning with attempts to define ‘translation’ and to specify the role of the translator (2.2). The elusive concept of a unified theory of translation is then discussed (2.3), followed by various approaches to translation (2.4). There follow sections dealing with genres and text-types (2.5), sacred and sensitive texts (2.6), context, including historical and cultural context (2.7), the translation of imagery, symbolism and metaphor (2.8), ethical considerations (2.9), and the question of ‘literacy’ (2.10). The chapter ends with some concluding remarks (2.11).

2.2 Attempts to define ‘translation’ and to specify the role of the translator

Translation has been broadly defined as: “an activity that aims at conveying the meaning or meanings of a given linguistic discourse from one language to another” (Zaky, 2000, ¶1); and “the transfer of the meaning of a text . . . from one language to another for a new readership” (Newmark, 1996, p. 5). Such definitions are inadequate in a number of important respects, the most significant of which is that they are predicated on a simplistic interpretation of the concept of ‘meaning’, one that assumes that meanings are linguistically encoded (rather than a result of the interaction between text and context) and available to be transferred from one language to another. In fact, as Newmark⁵ (1996, p. 5) observes, ‘meaning’ is a complex and multi-faceted concept:

[Meaning] can be synonymised only by ‘sense’ or ‘significance’ or ‘purport’. As soon as it is defined (‘the purpose intended by a written or

⁵ Although there are problems associated with this extract in terms of, for example, the perception of ‘nonsense’, the general idea that is conveyed is an important one.

spoken statement'), it splits up into qualifications and reservations: whose purpose? Is the meaning the full content or the (illocutionary) message to the reader? Are we talking about denotative meaning ('He found his way' . . . to the bathroom) or connotative meaning ('He grasped the nettle' . . . he tackled the difficulty courageously), or both ('He was in a mess'). Or illocutionary or pragmatic meaning? ('Game and match')? Or sound as meaning ('The murmuring of innumerable bees')? Or is the meaning nonsense ('Miles of pram in the wind and Pam in the gorse track'-Bentjeman).

In a way that is reminiscent of the definitions provided by Zaky (2000) and Newmark (1996) above, Houbert (1998, ¶1) defines translation as "conveying the meaning expressed by the original writer", adding that it is essentially "a process whereby a message expressed in a specific source language is linguistically transformed in order to be understood by readers of the target language".⁶ This suggests not only that authorial intentions are directly embedded in texts but also that it is possible to embed these same intentions in texts written in different languages, languages that necessarily involve different cultural presuppositions. The reality is, however, that even in the case of the most direct transactional communication, such a view of translation is unacceptable. As Roa (2004, p. 44) observes, the Māori terms for translation (*whakamāori*, for translation into Māori and *whakapākehā* for translation into English) have implicit within them the concept of creativity: *whaka-* meaning 'to cause to become'. Thus, translation is always a creative process, the role of the translator (*kaiwhakamāori/ kaiwhakapākehā*) being essentially a creative one. Thus, for Roa (2003, p. 5):

[Translation is] a complex process whose purpose is to attempt to cross linguistic, cultural and, often, historical boundaries in such a way as to open up . . . meanings and significances of texts written in one language to

⁶ It is important to observe here that although a given text will contain many clues as to the writer's intentions, such as, for example, words like 'because' that signal the presence of a relationship involving reason, it is now widely accepted that meaning does not fully inhere in texts, but rather in the interaction between text, context and reader. Thus, although two readers will share the same *text* (that which is written or spoken), they will not necessarily share the same *discourse* (that is, the text plus all the propositions that are added to it in order to make sense of it) (Whaanga, 2006, p. 86).

audiences who are not well positioned to fully appreciate the original and therefore require some form of representation of that original text in another language.

The emphasis in the extract from Roa quoted above is on meanings and significances. In the work of Thriveni (2002), which focuses on literary translation, the emphasis is on culture. For Thriveni (p. 5), translation is “a complicated and vital task”, one of the main goals of which is to initiate the target reader into the sensibilities of the source language culture. It is, however, important to emphasize here the fact that translation is always an approximation: it can never be a substitute for the source language and culture. Thus, Roa (2003, p. 16) notes that Apirana Ngata’s rationale for translating Māori waiata into English was to provide a foundation for the ongoing study of Māori literary and artistic works. As Palmer maintains in the foreword to Ngata’s *Ngā Mōteatea*, a translation can never be an adequate substitute for the original (Māori) text (Ngata, 2004/ 1959, p. xiii). It follows, therefore, that, as Newmark (1988a, p. 21) maintains, there are, in the area of translation, “no cast iron rules . . . no absolutes”.

Although discussion of translation inevitably involves “the fascination of the interlingual and . . . its fertile complexity” (Steiner, 1998 [1975], p. viii), translation was, until relatively recently, often trivialized as a “second rate literary activity”, one that seeks in vain to reproduce or recreate the greatness of an original work (Bassnett, 1997, p. 11). The reality, however, is that translation is “a vast and complex area which encompasses the study of language, culture, science, the arts, law, religion and spirituality, and, indeed, almost every area of human life and endeavour” (Roa, 2003, p. 4). Although translation is an ancient *practice*, dating back to at least 3000 BC, it is a relatively new *profession*, the understanding of which is “tentative, often controversial and fluctuating”, the subject of constant debate (Newmark, 1988a, p. xii; 1988b, p. 3).

Depending on various factors, including the nature of the source text, translation may perform a wide range of different functions. It may, for example, involve

little more than communication of a ‘simple’⁷ message (Newmark, 1988a, p. 5) or it may have a more complex function, which may be “as much to transmit knowledge and to create understanding between groups and nations, as to transmit culture” (p. 10). James (2002, ¶6) notes that since language and culture are inseparable and since translation is an activity which necessarily involves two languages and two cultural traditions, cultural complexity in the process of translation is inevitable. It involves, in the words of Bassnett (1997, p. 11), an attempt to “cross boundaries and enter into new territory”. As Hatim and Munday (2004) observe, the translator has a mediating role, mediating between different languages and cultures or even different varieties of the same language.

Snell-Hornby (1988, pp. 4-5) observes that although translation seems to be a topic that anyone and everyone professes to know about, one that many a lay person with recourse to a handful of foreign languages thinks they can master, “most professional translators know their *métier* to be . . . a skill demanding utmost proficiency, specialized knowledge and the sensitivity of an artist”, something that is best left to experts. Hatim and Mason (1997, p. 2) note that the translator is “a special category of communicator . . . whose act of communication is conditioned by another, previous act and whose reception of that act is intensive”. Thus “translators interact closely with their source text, whether for immediate response (as in the case of a simultaneous interpreter) or in a more reflective way (as in the translation of creative literature)”.

Depending on the nature of the text and the ‘brief’ of the job, which will take into account the purpose of the translation, the likely readership and so on (Hatim & Mason, 1997, p. 11), the translator’s task may range in scope from high creativity to virtually secretarial transference, from the highly specialized to the pedestrian (Chaudhuri, 1999, p. 55). Clearly, there *are* contexts in which the primary aim of the translator is to convey simple, transactional messages in a way that is as close as possible to the original. Even in such contexts, however, the creative aspect of translation must be acknowledged. As Bassnett (1997) observes, there will inevitably be differences between translations: if several people of similar

⁷ Something that is, from a linguists’ perspective, seldom straightforward.

linguistic ability were asked to translate the same passage, a range of diverse versions would result. This is because, as Chaudhuri (1999, p. 55) observes, no two translators stand in quite the same relation to the source text, or effect the same equation between source language and target language, source culture and target culture. Thus, Bush (1996, p. 11) argues that attention should be focused on the nature and quality of that transformation that is at the very heart of the translation process.

The more complex and the more deeply culturally-embedded a source text is, the more relevant the concept of translator creativity becomes. As James (2002) observes, in the case of texts that may be categorized as ‘culture bound’, the task of the translator is a particularly complex one.

Bassnett (1997, pp. 1–2) highlights the impossibility of exact reproduction across linguistic and cultural boundaries, and therefore sees the task of the translator as primarily one of mediation “between . . . two different moments in time and space”, the aim being “to produce a text that exists in a relationship with both”. It therefore follows that the degree to which a translator’s cross-cultural mediation is deemed successful will depend on the translator’s understanding of the culture/s with which s/he is working (Karamanian, 2001, ¶8). A translator must be familiar with both the source-language and target-language cultures before attempting to build a bridge between them (Thriveni, 2002, ¶14).

The task of translating begins with a thorough reading of the source text (Houbert, 1998; Steiner, 1998). Different types of source text will require different types of knowledge and understanding. Thus, for example, Beekman and Callow (1974, p. 34) argue that for biblical translators, exegesis, involving the critical exploration or interpretation of the source text “according to hermeneutical principles”, is fundamental. Similarly, Newmark (1988a, p. 11) views *analysis* of the source text as the first stage of a translation. His recommendation is that a general reading be undertaken, followed by a close reading. The general reading enables the translator to get the ‘gist’ of the text. The close reading allows him or her to analyse it from “a translator’s point of view”, one which he distinguishes from that of a linguist or a literary critic. In this close reading, Newmark (p. 11)

observes, the translator will be aiming to determine the intention of the text and the way it is written (including text-type or category, register and emotional tone), and to identify any recurring issues or problems.

Although identifying the intention of the source text, that is, the purpose for which it was written, is, according to Newmark (1988a), essential to an understanding of the text, and a key factor influencing the decisions that a translator will make concerning his or her translation approach or method, the notion that intention is directly recoverable is one that underestimates the complexity of communication. As Gutt (1991, p. 131) observes, semantic representations cannot be equated with ‘the meaning’ of an utterance. Rather, “the semantic representation of an utterance forms an assumption schema . . . a source of hypotheses about the communicator’s intention - that is, they provide communicative clues”. Thus Hatim and Mason (1997, p. 14) argue that:

In any attempt to examine the communicative nature of the translating task, a number of assumptions will have to be made about texts, their users and the context in which they occur. Such assumptions will take the form of hypothetical statements which we as researchers make in the light of our current understanding of how communication works.

As Hatim and Mason (1997, p. 14) note, although it may be desirable to proceed by observation based on solid empirical evidence, the reality is that texts are by nature an imperfect record of communicative events. It follows that researchers and translators alike must content themselves with a more ‘heuristic’ approach, one in which textually related activities are carried out within a set of loosely defined parameters. Ultimately, the practitioner must rely on his or her own conceptual understandings of communicative interaction and experiences with texts. Thus Newmark (1988a) notes that the translator’s intention or purpose is necessarily of equal significance in the analysis of a text as is that of the author. Indeed, as Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) observe, translation at its most elemental level is no less than the rewriting of an original text, all rewritings inevitably reflecting the ideology and poetics of the translator. In this sense, “translation is one of the most obvious forms of manipulation that we have” (p. 26), one that

may be undertaken in the service of power, and may be utilized either for a positive or negative effect.

2.3 The elusive concept of a unified theory of translation

According to Newmark (1996, p. 14), a range of dichotomies were at the very core of much debate about translation up until the 1970s. Should translation be free or literal, creative or servile, domesticating or foreignising?

Since the earliest translated texts were religious or authoritative in nature, approaches to translation tended to favour a literal approach. In the mid 1960s, however, the bible translator Eugene Nida (1964) was instrumental in shifting the focus of translation from the primacy of the source text to the *function* of the target text. He highlighted the importance of assessing both the educational level and requirements of the putative readership. In this context, Nida proposed a concept of ‘dynamic equivalence’, the message of the original text being translated in such a way that the target readers’ responses would essentially replicate those of the original readers (Nida, 1964). Although this concept of replication is a simplistic one from a theoretical/ cognitive point of view, it is nevertheless useful from a practical point of view in that it serves to shift the emphasis from ‘formal equivalence’ (an unachievable goal - see section 2.4) to the more functionally oriented concept of ‘dynamic equivalence’.

From the 1980s onwards, a plethora of new approaches to translation, drawn from such related fields as linguistics, literary study, psychology, history, anthropology, and philosophy, have contributed to the development of the field of translation into a dynamic ‘interdiscipline’, one which focuses on textual function and inter-cultural dynamics (see, for example, Hatim & Munday, 2004; Snell-Hornby, 1988; Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990).

There is much controversy about translation theory. Indeed, for Newmark (1988a, p. 9), there is no such thing, translation being “neither a theory nor a science”. Hatim and Munday (2004, p. 129) agree, arguing that most of the ‘theories’ produced to date pertaining to translation and translating are in reality little more than speculation:

A good share of them, in fact, are not actually theories at all in any scholarly sense of the term, but an array of axioms, postulates and hypotheses that are so formulated as to be both too inclusive (covering also non-translatory acts and non-translations) and too exclusive (shutting out some translatory acts and some works generally recognized as translations).

For Hatim & Mason, (1997, p. xiii), although “the diversity of the translation world” is reflected in the extraordinary number of dichotomies he or she may encounter, there is nonetheless “a core of common concern” at the heart of all this diversity. Any theory of translation that purports to relate to translation as a whole (as opposed to different aspects of translation) would need to accommodate this common core. According to Snell-Hornby (1988), what is most needed in the field of translation theory is a re-orientation in thinking towards a more integrated approach, one that considers translation in its entirety. In claiming that “[all] the theorists, whether linguists or literary scholars, formulate theories for their own area of translation only” (p. 26), she no doubt over-states her case. Nevertheless, she does raise an issue of considerable importance.

There are, of course, theories that pertain to aspects of translation. Thus, for example, it has been argued that a fundamental aspect of translation must be the understanding of relationships between text segments, since different languages, and different varieties of the same language, signpost these in different ways (Beekman & Callow, 1974, p. 267ff.).

If translation theory is to accommodate all of the different dimensions involved in translation, it must necessarily be both highly formalized and highly complex (Hatim & Munday, 2004). It is therefore not surprising that no unified theory of translation has yet emerged.

2.4 Approaches to translation

Various ‘approaches’ to translation have been proposed. These include ‘literalism’ versus ‘humanism’ (Hermans, 1997), ‘transference’ versus ‘componential

analysis' (Newmark, 1988a) and 'formal equivalence' versus 'dynamic equivalence' (Nida, 1964). All of these dichotomies can be seen to relate to one another.

'Literalism' is defined by Hermans (1997, p. 14) as "a form of literal or word for word translation . . . [which] more than any other form of interlingual processing, embodies the dream of translatability as an exact matching of component parts without loss, excess or deviation", and Humanism as "a tradition which brings rhetorical standards as well as grammatical considerations into play" (p. 15).

'Transference' is defined by Newmark as an approach that preserves 'local colour', such as cultural names and concepts. In this sense, it can be said to favour the source text. However, whilst this approach may result in a text that is more meaningful to readers who have some familiarity with the source language culture, it may 'block' comprehension in the case of a more general readership (Newmark, 1988a, p. 96). On the other hand, 'componential analysis', advocated by Newmark (p. 96) as "the most accurate translation procedure", involves a search for components that are common to both the source culture (SC) and target culture (TC) and the addition of further components to assist with comprehension in the target language. Thus, for example, for 'maison secondaire' in French, a translator into English might begin with 'house' (a concept common to both French and English cultures) and then add 'distinguishing components' such as 'holiday' and 'for the wealthy', ending up with 'holiday house for the wealthy'. Such an approach would favour the target text. It is clear, however, that it can result in a translated text that is both clumsy and potentially misleading (in that it is impossible in many cases to capture connotations linguistically).

Nida's concept of 'formal equivalence' involves the translator in attempting to match elements of the source text with those of the translated text, for example, poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, concept to concept (Nida, 2000, p. 129). Within the context of this approach, Nida advocates 'gloss translation', a process whereby the form and content of the source text are reproduced as faithfully as possible (p. 129). 'Dynamic equivalence' is not concerned to match the target language 'message' with the source language 'message' but to achieve a match

between the way in which the original receptors are/were likely to respond to the 'message' and the way in which the receptors of the translated text are likely to respond. Thus, the aim is to achieve natural expression in the target text and to "relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his [sic] culture . . . [rather than] insist that he [sic] understands the patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message" (p. 129).

As James (2002, ¶36-37) observes, these dichotomies (formal equivalence versus transference and dynamic equivalence versus componential analysis) are located at the extreme ends of a scale and are therefore unlikely to be wholly appropriate in any particular instance. She recommends what she refers to as a 'communicative translation' approach, one in which the translator attempts to ensure that the target text is fully comprehensible to the intended audience while preserving as much as possible of the content and mode of expression of the original text. The reality is, however, that the extent to which the mode of expression of the original can be approximated in the translation depends to a considerable extent on the nature of the languages involved, and, in particular, the cultural and linguistic 'gap' between them (2002, ¶1).

In the context of biblical translation, Beekman and Callow (1974, pp. 21-25) outline four possible approaches: *Highly Literal*, *Modified Literal*, *Idiomatic* and *Unduly Free*. They consider only two of these to be 'acceptable'. The 'highly literal' approach is deemed to be unacceptable because it is likely to result in a target text that is unnatural, ambiguous and potentially misleading (p.20). The 'unduly free' approach is also deemed unacceptable since, in focusing solely on the message and making no attempt to reproduce the linguistic form of the original, it fails to communicate what the original communicated. Both the 'modified literal' and 'idiomatic' approaches are considered by Beekman and Callow to be acceptable, the latter being the preferred approach where a translated text is intended for general use. Beekman and Callow (p. 33) contend that whatever approach is adopted, there must be 'dynamic fidelity', that is, the linguistic form should be natural and the message should be meaningful, or clearly and readily understood by the readership. Thus, the translator must follow, according to Beekman and Callow (1974), two guiding principles: fidelity to the

meaning of the original and fidelity to the dynamics of the original. In connection with this, they note (p. 44) that:

Both are hard to attain; but unless they are attained, the message of the word of God will be distorted or obscure, and the recipients of the RL [receptor language] version will not be given the opportunity to understand clearly what it is God is saying to them. When this happens, the translator defeats his [sic] own purpose.

For Beekman and Callow (1974, p. 32), the translator's goal should be a translation that is "so rich in vocabulary, so idiomatic in phrase, so correct in construction, so smooth in flow of thought, so clear in meaning, and so elegant in style, that it does not appear to be a translation at all, and yet, at the same time faithfully transmits the message of the original". Bearing in mind what has already been said about meaning and culture, such a goal is, at best, utopian.

We have seen that approaches to translation often involve either polar opposites or utopian 'accommodations'. In response to this, Roa (2003, pp. 7 & 16) has proposed an approach in which careful consideration is paid to the purpose/s of the translation. Thus:

If the function of the translation is to communicate as much as possible of the original text, in order to make the reader as aware as possible of the history and culture reflected in that text, *it may be unwise to depart too far, or indeed at all, from the signification . . .* [for] the precise form in which a function is communicated may have embedded within it important cultural information [emphasis added].

Accordingly, Roa (2003, p. 16) recommends, with particular reference to the translation into English of Māori mōteatea (laments), a 'gloss' approach in which the aim is to make the target text as comprehensible as possible to the target readership whilst ensuring that it is also as faithful as possible to the original. In such a case, where culturally specific references that are retained in the translation may prove incomprehensible to the target readership, Roa proposes that the

necessary background information be provided as footnotes accompanying the translation. In this way, cultural, historical and linguistic information is provided without unnecessarily encumbering the translated text.

2.5 Approaches to genre and text-type

Those involved in translation have generally confined themselves to discussion of genre and text-type in a way that relates specifically to work on genre that has been conducted within the context of rhetorical studies. There are, however, other approaches, approaches that have considerably more potential for useful application within the context of the theory and practice of translation. In the first sub-section below (2.5.1), the emphasis is on those rhetorically-centred accounts that appear, to date, to have been of particular interest to those involved in translation. In the second sub-section below (2.5.2), other approaches to genre and text-type are discussed.

2.5.1 Rhetorically-centred approaches to genre and text-type

Nieminen (n.d., ¶3) defines ‘text type’ as the primary function/s of a text, ‘genre’ (or ‘text form’) as the conventional realizations of a text within a ‘category’, and ‘register’ as the variety of language used in, and regulated by, a given situation. She observes that, whilst initially a translator may regard issues of text type, genre and register as less significant than lexical and semantic considerations, they are in fact of enormous importance to a translation (¶3):

Mistranslating a word or having an ungrammatical element in the translation does not necessarily ruin the whole translation or alter its effect on the reader, but a failure to recognize either register, text type or genre and their implications for translation affects the whole text.

There are, however, considerable differences in terms of the ways in which ‘genre’ and ‘text-type’ have been defined and classified in the literature.

Buhler (1965) argued that there were three main functions of language (each relating to a different overall purpose): *expressive*, *informative*, and *operative*. According to Newmark (1988a, pp. 39-42), *expressive texts* included serious

imaginative literature, authoritative statements, autobiographies, essays and personal correspondence, *informative* texts included textbooks, technical reports, newspaper articles, scientific papers, theses, and the minutes or agenda of meetings, and *vocative*⁸ texts included notices, instructions, publicity, propaganda, persuasive writing, and any text where the reader is called upon to act, think or feel in a particular way.

On the basis of Bühler's three functions, Katharina Reiss (1971) developed a typology of text-types and, associated with each, a set of criteria for translation. She also noted that some texts (which she referred to as 'compound texts') were of mixed type and were therefore subject to the application of translation criteria associated with more than one functional category. It has been argued, however, that such "classical modes of classification . . . are mere academic constructs which paralyze the finer differentiation required in all aspects of translation studies" and that the criteria proposed by Reiss are rigid "prescriptive generalizations [which] can be extremely misleading" (Snell-Hornby, 1988, p. 36 & p. 31).

Following Nida (1964), Newmark (1988a, p. 13) initially identified four main text types (which he referred to as 'text styles'): *narrative*, *description*, *discussion* and *dialogue*. He defined each of them as follows:

Narrative style - involving a dynamic sequence of events in which the emphasis is on the verbs;

Description - a static style, with emphasis on linking verbs, adjectives and adjectival nouns;

Discussion - involving the treatment of ideas, with emphasis on abstract nouns, verbs of thought, mental activity, logical argument and connectives; and

Dialogue – involving emphasis on colloquialisms and phaticisms.

⁸ Newmark (1988a) refers to Bühler's 'operative' function as 'vocative'.

Later, Newmark (1996, p. 6) proposed a different classificatory framework, a tripartite one in which texts, were classified as *non-literary* (involving reality, facts and objects), *literary* (concerned with the world of the imagination and centred on human beings), and *poetic* (which make use of all the formal resources of language and “where the tone of the human voice is the essence of meaning”). He then sub-divided non-literary texts into four categories: *cultural texts*, *information texts*, *social texts* and *legal and official texts* (pp. 8-12).

Whilst Hatim and Mason (1997) agree that attempts to classify text into genres and text-types can be useful, they observe that most authentic texts are multi-functional, constantly shifting between types: “Given this inevitable hybridization, no categories, no matter how rigorously worked-out, can be expected to be definitive” (p. 129). They view attempts over the preceding 40 years to set up a typology of texts, such as ‘journalistic’ or ‘scientific’ texts and ‘literary’ or ‘didactic’ texts, to have had serious shortcomings, and to have therefore been unhelpful. In connection with this, it is relevant to note that Nieminen (n.d., ¶23) has observed that “if we define genres too strictly, we may either exclude truly indigenous voices altogether as bad texts, or, when translating, tone down personal styles and make all texts sound similar”. Indeed, Even-Zohar (1990, pp. 192-197) has argued that in some situations a culture and its literature may develop through translation, new features from a source culture being introduced into the target culture through translated texts.

Whilst the views of Hatim and Mason (1997), Nieminen (n.d.) and Even-Zohar (1990) may, at first sight, be persuasive as they relate to the classification types proposed by Buhler, Newmark, Reiss and Nida referred to above, they make little sense when applied to the types of classificatory frameworks for genre and text-type that have been proposed by linguists over the past few decades. In the case of genre, these categories are generally firmly based on cross-linguistic cognitive categories (and therefore generally applicable); in the case of text-types, they are based on social categories, are subject to socio-cultural variation and, therefore, are not intended for application within different cultural contexts. In connection with this, it is relevant to note that although Roa (2003, p. 11) has observed that general categories, such as those proposed by Newmark (1988a), are of little use

in the translation of waiata (which, she observes, have literary, non-literary and poetic qualities, as well as cultural, social and informative aspects), she has herself made use of general categories of genre (such as those outlined below) in her research on mōteatea, and has proposed a range of text-type categories specific to mōteatea (Roa, 2009). Her objection is, therefore, not to categorisation as such, but to the approach to categorisation adopted by those writers whose work is referred to above.

2.5.2 Other approaches to genre and text-type

There is, within the field of linguistics, and, more specifically, within the context of the teaching of writing, a considerable literature on genre and text-type. However, there is some disagreement in the literature in relation to the use of terminology. As Houia-Roberts (2003, pp. 66-67) observes:

The concept of ‘genre’ has been studied in many different ways and within the context of a wide range of academic disciplines. It is a concept that can be traced back at least as far as the work of Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). In most early studies, the term ‘genre’ was used with reference to classifications of texts into categories such as speeches, poems or biographies, categories that were generally defined in terms of socio-cultural factors and/or linguistic/structural ones. More recently, however, the term ‘genre’ has often been restricted to classifications that could be said to be based largely on overall discourse function (e.g. *narration, exposition*), with the term ‘text-type’ being reserved for classifications that could be said to be based largely on overall socio-cultural function (e.g. *novel, poem*).

In line with the way in which the terms ‘genre’ and ‘text-type’ are used by Houia-Roberts, I propose to use the term ‘genre’ in a way that relates to cognitive processes (e.g. *arguing* and *explaining*), and the term ‘text-type’ in a way that relates to social constructs (e.g. *information reports*) (Houia-Roberts, 2003, p. 66). Research on genres explores texts which are mono-generic (exhibiting a single genre such as *instruction* or *argument*) and multi-generic (exhibiting more than one genre). Multi-generic texts are often referred to as ‘blended texts’ (see, for

example, Crombie & Johnson, 2009). Thus, for example, a text belonging to a particular *text-type*, such as a *personal letter*, might combine a range of *genres* such as *explanation* and *argument*.

2.5.2.1 A focus on text-type

Research on what is referred to here as *text-type* (often, however, referred to in the literature as ‘genre’) has taken place within the context of a number of different academic areas. In the first half of the twentieth century, influenced by structuralist approaches to language and culture, much of the research in this area focused on folklore and on the search for rules and regularities.

In the area of folk tales, a particularly influential early twentieth century study is that of Olrik (1921) who explored the opening and closing sections of tales, the number and type of characters, and episodic repetition, including the placement and frequency of particular event-types (e.g. life-threatening events). Another very significant researcher in this area was the Russian Formalist, Propp (1928), whose interest was in discovering what he referred to as the ‘grammar’ of folk tales. Propp argued that meaning was derived not from individual textual components, but from the interaction of textual components. He identified 31 ‘action developing events’ (which he called ‘functions’), arguing that although any individual folktale might contain any number of these, when they did occur, they occurred in the same order. As Houia-Roberts (2003, p. 69) observes, “gradually, work on folklore began to incorporate factors such as function and belief as well as overall content structure”, something that reflected the work of linguists of the Prague school who were interested in the relationship between form, function and context. This was the beginning of a trend, particularly evident in the work of Croce (1968), towards a focus on predispositions or tendencies rather than rules. Increasingly, the focus moved to the relevance of ideology (e.g. Kress, 1990; van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995) and reader-response (Jauss, 1982 [1974]; Iser, 1978), and, in the work of Lotman (1977), which echoes that of Derrida (1978 [1967]), to an emphasis on the concept of ‘intertextuality’, in which the notion that a text is read as an object in its own right is abandoned in favour of one that acknowledges the way in which texts are read in relation to our expectations and our experience of other texts.

A particularly interesting area of research on text-types is the work of Longacre (1968) who explored text-types in relation to a number of Philippine languages. In addition to 'dialogue', Longacre identified six basic 'discourse genres': *narrative* (recounting some sort of story); *procedural* (prescribing the steps of an activity or activity complex); *hortatory* (attempting to influence or change conduct); *dramatic* (dramatic re-enactment by a single speaker of a dialogue involving several participants); *activity* (relating an activity or group of activities); and *epistolary* (letter writing). Each of these was defined in terms of function, chronological orientation, tense/aspect, and the presence or absence of explicit temporal and/or spatial settings. It is argued that 'discourse genres' have certain *obligatory elements* (which may also have *obligatory positions*), and certain *optional elements*. Thus, for example, in the *epistolary* text-type, *salutation* (formulaic opening) and *finis* (formulaic closure) are said to be obligatory. Also said to be obligatory is a mid-section. However, that mid-section can be made up of some or all of the following (each of which may occur more than once): *report*, *enquiry*, *petition* and *counsel*. Following this mid-section and preceding *finis*, there may be a closure section, including *farewell remarks*, *instruction* and/ or *summary*.

With reference to the work of Longacre, it is important to note that the text-types identified are specific to texts in the Philippine languages examined. Thus, Longacre is careful to note that text-types, being socially constructed, will differ from language to language and culture to culture. It is therefore important that those involved in translation should not assume that text-type categories can be transposed from a source text to a target text. The situation is, however, rather different in the case of genre.

2.5.2.2 A focus on genre

Unlike text-type, which, as defined here, is social in orientation, genre, as defined here, is cognitive in orientation, different genres (e.g. *explanation*, *argument*) being predicated on the salience of different cognitive processes (e.g. *associative*, *logico-deductive* and *temporal sequence*) and the *textual relationships* (discourse relations, such as *Simple Contrast* and *Reason-Result*) associated with these processes. For example, in the *recount* genre, the salient cognitive process is

temporal and the salient discourse relations are *Chronological Sequence* and *Temporal Overlap*; in the *instruction* genre, the interaction of temporal and causative cognitive processes is salient and the salient discourse relations are Reason-Result, Means-Purpose and Temporal Sequence (Crombie and Johnson, 2009). Understanding the relationship between genres, cognitive processes and discourse relations clarifies the issues involved in writing both mono-generic texts (in which a single genre predominates) and multi-generic texts.

A number of different genres have been identified. Thus, for example, drawing upon, amongst others, the research of Martin (1995), Martin and Rothery (1986), Christie (1989; 1990), Painter (1985), and Kress (1982; 1985), Derewianka (1994) identifies five main genres – *narrative* (including recount), *instruction*, *explanation*, *exposition/ argument*, and *description/ clarification*.⁹ She describes each of these in terms of function, textual orientation and characteristic language use. Thus, for example, the focus/function of recount is the unfolding of events in time, and recount texts, which characteristically involve the discourse relations of *Chronological Sequence* and *Temporal Overlap*, are likely to involve cohesive devices (such as ‘next’, ‘then’ and ‘secondly’ in English) that are associated with these relations. As noted by Houia-Roberts (2003 & 2004), although texts in Māori may be, in terms of text-types, categorized differently from texts in English, and although blended texts in Māori may characteristically combine genres in different ways from texts in English, it remains the case that each genre (e.g. recount) will be characterized by a preponderance of a particular type of cognitive process (e.g. *temporal sequence*) or combination of cognitive process types and by discourse relations associated with these cognitive process types (e.g. *Temporal Sequence* and *Temporal Overlap*). Of course, the specific ways in which these relationships are realized linguistically varies from language to language (see Whaanga (2006) for a discussion of relational signalling in Māori), and there will be differences from language to language in terms of preferred sequencing and combinations of relational types (see Houia-Roberts (2003) for a discussion of texts exhibiting the genres of *argument*, *explanation* and *description* in Māori).

⁹ She refers to the last of these as ‘report’.

2.6 Sacred and sensitive texts

Benjamin (2000, p. 17) asserts that in the process of translation the original text inevitably undergoes change, and Bassnett (1997, p. 2) notes that “exact reproduction across linguistic boundaries is never possible”. In view of this, the issue of whether and, if so, how to translate ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ texts is one that has had a major impact on debate about translation.

In a collection of essays provocatively entitled *Holy Untranslatable!*, Long (2005, p. 1) observes that “the holy resists translation, since the space it needs in the target language is already occupied; available vocabulary is already culturally loaded with indigenous referents”. Referring to a deconstructionist analysis of the Biblical tale of the Tower of Babel by Derrida (1985), she concludes that “Babel . . . obliges us to confront a multiplicity of interpretations, to address languages and holy texts other than our own if we are to see a complete world picture” (p. 3). In doing so, translators are obliged to engage with the issue of ‘change’ in a way that inevitably increases the anxiety of those for whom the source text has particular significance.

Abdul-Raof (2005, p. 162) maintains that the Qur’an is untranslatable, since “it is a linguistic miracle with transcendental meanings that cannot be captured fully by human faculty”. He therefore concludes that translation of the Qur’an is “a betrayal, an inferior copy of a prioritized original”. For Green (2005), however, this sort of argument is flawed. Green (pp. 141-142) observes that the written traditions of many of the world’s religions originated in oral tradition. He notes, for example, that although there is an emphasis in Muslim culture on maintaining the epistemological purity of the original idiom of communication (speech), the passing on of messages, in whatever form, involves new acts of communication. Indeed, he goes further, asserting that the Sufi saints of Awrangabad were themselves, in their roles as repositories of the ancient teachings of their religion, ‘translations’ in that they were “the embodiments of Islam translated into its many and multifarious linguistic and cultural environments” (p. 143). He notes, in particular, that the written records of the sayings of the Sufi saints of Awrangabad (regarded as accurate records of their sayings) have already undergone a process of ‘translation’ (from oral to written form). In this context, Green argues that

although much is lost in the process of translation from oral to written form (e.g. intonation, stress, pause and timing), much may also be gained (e.g. organization, scene setting, etc.) (p. 148). A similar case could be made with reference to translation from one language to another. For those who believe that a particular text has something important to offer to those who are not familiar with the language and/or culture of the source text, translation has something valuable to offer. However, the issue of how best to conduct the translation process remains, particularly in the case of the translation of sacred and sensitive texts, since some ‘dislocation’ is inevitably involved where there is separation from “its original setting and from all the accompanying referents and associations of memory and cultural context” (Long, 2005, p. 3). As Long (p. 13) observes, what she refers to as ‘holy texts’ are necessarily “multifaceted . . . [functioning] as literature, history, poetry, genealogy or philosophy, as well as revelation”. It is therefore crucial, she believes, for the translator to have an understanding of the function and the status of a text of this type, to be familiar with the source and target cultures and to pay close attention to the function of the translation and the needs of the target audience (p. 14).

Different cultures adopt different approaches to what they conceive of as ‘sacred’ or ‘sensitive’ texts. Within the context of this thesis, it is particularly important to consider the relevance of the concept of ‘tapu’.

According to Marsden (1992, p. 119), the Māori concept of ‘tapu’ is similar to Jewish concepts that can be translated as ‘sacred’ and ‘holy’, but without the ethical connotations of ‘moral righteousness’ that the New Testament attributes to notions of sacred and holy, which, according to Matiu and Mutu (2003, p. 158), early missionaries in Aotearoa/New Zealand misunderstood to be an aspect of tapu.

Marsden (1992, p. 119) notes that it is an “untouchable quality that is the main element in the concept of tapu”. Thus, for example, “[when] a person, place or thing is dedicated to a deity and by that act it is set aside or reserved for the sole use of the deity”, that person or object is “removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred”, becoming “untouchable, no longer to be put

to common use”. This process is a reciprocal one. In return for service to the deity, a tapu person may expect to be protected from malevolent forces and to be given the power to manipulate his or her environment in order to meet the demands of his or her daily life (p. 119). As Matiu and Mutu (2003, p. 159) observe, the laws of tapu have a profound influence on the regulation of Māori society, particularly as any disregard for tapu may lead to sickness or even death (see also Manihera, 1992).

Mead (2003, pp. 35-93) discusses tapu in terms of its various manifestations, including personal tapu (e.g. the tapu of the body, the tapu of blood and the tapu of death), the tapu of places and things (e.g. traditional sites of significance), and the tapu of the learning process (p. 68). From a traditional Māori perspective, knowledge was viewed as tapu. Higher learning was available only to a select few (who were singled out by their hapū or kin groups as having particular attributes that marked them as ideal students). These students were segregated into schools and were ceremonially dedicated to a particular deity. Learning and the act of teaching were not ordinary or common pursuits, and there were rituals to observe: “The importance of the act of learning was emphasised by surrounding the event with rituals. Religion was not separated from education. Learning was elevated high above the ordinary pursuits of a community” (p. 307). The whare wānanga (school of higher learning) was considered a ‘whare tapu’ (a sacred house). All those who participated in the teaching and learning of traditional knowledge were protected by the tapu of the school, the tapu of knowledge and of learning itself, with all the associated tikanga (customs/ procedures). In other words, they came under the protection of the gods (Mead, 2003, p. 310).

In Aotearoa, as in many other traditional Polynesian societies, Māori knowledge has been transmitted orally from generation to generation. However, with the arrival of European settlers and, in particular, missionaries, print literacy was introduced, primarily as a means of ‘civilising’ Māori and providing them with ‘enlightenment’ through ‘the word of God’. Literacy was eagerly adopted by Māori and, in time, many began to record their traditional lore in written form. Thus Biggs (1964, p. 3) observes that:

It was and is usual for Maori families to keep manuscript books in which are recorded genealogies, the texts of songs known to members of the family, and local traditions. Many such books have been destroyed accidentally or through ignorance of their true value, or because they were regarded as tapu, and perhaps malevolent.

Although the tapu of Māori traditional knowledge was not considered to be diminished by its representation in written form¹⁰, there were stringent tikanga or guidelines for ensuring the preservation of the tapu nature of these writings (Haami, 2004, p. 24). Only certain people and certain families, were considered to have right of access to certain kinds of knowledge, and only they were entitled to pass this knowledge on (Pewhairangi, 1992, p. 11). Thus, Sissons (2001) records that Wiremu Wī Hongi, a Te Uri-o-Hua kaumatua (elder), kept a handwritten manuscript of his elders' teachings in his bedroom "away from food, in order to preserve its tapu and mana". He adds that because this bedroom opened onto a kitchen-dining area, the manuscript had to be passed through the bedroom window by Wī Hongi whenever it was borrowed (Sissons, Wī Hongi & Hohepa, 2001, Preface). Manihera (1992, p. 9) notes the importance of this preservation of tapu, observing that once knowledge becomes profane, or 'noa', it has "lost its life". However, Mutu (Matiu & Mutu, 2003, p. 16) recounts how her uncle, McCully Matiu, made an exception, setting aside the widely held notion that because of the tapu associated with 'haka-papa'¹¹ (genealogies) they should not be published. He did this for the express purpose of ensuring that descendants of their hapū, Te Whānau Moana, would know their genealogical history, know "who they are". Matiu's intention was that the whakapapa provided would be a catalyst, that it would encourage each whānau to initiate its own genealogical research, thus taking an active rather than passive role in the process of learning.

The issues associated with the translation of sacred or sensitive texts in general and, in particular, the significance of 'tapu' in Māori society are such as to raise a number of significant issues in relation to the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript. These issues are discussed in more detail in *Chapter 3*.

¹⁰ See for example Biggs (1964); Haami (2004) and Sissons, Wī Hongi & Hohepa (2001).

¹¹ 'Haka-papa' is a dialectal (Ngāti Kahu) variant of 'whakapapa'.

2.7 Translation and context, including historical and cultural context

Translators cannot simply be concerned with “the referential or dictionary meaning of a word”; they must also give careful consideration to the way in which words acquire meanings in a given context (Zaky, 2000, ¶6). Newmark (1996, p. 5) refers to context as one of the ‘bugbears’ of translation. It is, in fact, central to the translation process. As Snell-Hornby (1988, ¶6) notes, translators are involved not with “an isolated specimen of language” but with “an integral part of the world”. Thus, a text is “a complex, multi-dimensional structure consisting of more than the mere sum of its parts, a gestalt . . . the analysis of [whose] parts cannot provide an understanding of the whole” (Snell-Hornby, 1988, p. 69).

A critical aspect of context is historical context. Thus Steiner notes that translators must master the temporal and local settings of source texts (Steiner, 1998, p. 26). The reality is, however, that it is impossible to wholly ‘master’ temporal and local settings. The past cannot be discovered or recreated. Like the present, it is a social construct. Every historical discourse is therefore necessarily subjective, contingent, value-laden, rhetorical and political. Within the context of discourse theory, discourses and the identities produced through them are conceived of as inherently political entities that involve the exercise of power. Thus what may appear to be ‘historical truths’ are ‘myths’ that converge on a number of ‘nodal points’ which, if they are successful in gaining widespread acceptance, are transformed into collective social ‘imaginaries’ which converge to form ‘horizons’ (such as, for example, what has frequently been referred to as ‘the Enlightenment’). Discourse theorists are not relativists. They do not believe that all positions have equal status. They do, however, replace the concept of ‘historical truth’ by one of ‘fixation’, noting that in the ongoing political struggle to ‘fix’ meanings, some positions emerge as having greater explanatory adequacy than others (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987, pp. 79-105). It is only, I believe, in accepting that meaning is constructed through discourse, that discourse is essentially rhetorical, and that there can, therefore, be no ultimately authoritative rendering of ‘messages’ (Derrida, 1978 [1967]) that translators can approach the task of translation in a way that fully acknowledges that their best efforts will be approximations. It is, for me, important to bear this in mind in approaching the task of attempting to situate the Pene Haare manuscript historically. Not only does

it come to us from the past, but it comes to us as a representation of events that were in the past when the manuscript was written, events that will themselves have been transformed in the processes of telling and retelling and that, in being translated into English, will inevitably be transformed again in the further process of retelling, a process made even more complex by the different concept of 'pastness' that imbues 'pre-literate'¹² or primary oral societies.

Citing instances of oral testimonies given in judicial proceedings in Nigeria and Ghana, Ong (1982) contends that memory retains only what is relevant. He notes that "in an oral economy of thought, matters from the past without any sort of present relevance commonly dropped into oblivion (p. 98). In connection with this, he observes that genealogies are not 'lists', but rather 'a memory of songs sung' (p. 99). Thus he contends that when anthropologists re-present information in linear or tabular forms, such as lists, they actually distort and deform the mental world in which the information exists. In the process of exploring the technologising of the word that is involved in the transition from orality to literacy, Ong observes that the idea of 'chronological order' was not a feature of traditional oral societies. Of 'pre-literate' cultures, he notes (p. 98):

[The] past is not felt as an itemized terrain, peppered with verifiable and disputed 'facts' or bits of information. It is the realm of the ancestors, a resonant source for renewing awareness of present existence. . . . Orality knows no lists or charts or figures.

As Thornton (1999, pp. 58 - 59) indicates, although oral narrative is characterised by the fact that the sequence of events may be rendered non-chronologically, it does not follow, and must not be assumed that they are random or confused. Furthermore, as Metge (1976, p. 70) notes, in the context of the Māori notion of time, the past is 'ngā rā o mua' (the days in front) whereas the future is 'kei muri' (behind). Thus, as Mead (1984, p. 64) maintains:

¹² For a discussion of the use of the term 'pre-literate', see section 2.10.

[Logically], the known world is past . . . what has happened to us is history and it is this that defines our present situation . . . it is the future that we cannot see and hence it lies behind us, not in front as the Europeans would have it.

Binney (1995, p. 2) notes that in Māori oral tradition, stories are “told and retold” for a purpose, so as to maintain their relevance. She maintains that while there may be differing accounts from “competing understandings” of historical events, the human truth they contain can be recognised “even if the stories themselves may be ‘historically untrue’” (p. 4). Tau and Anderson (2008, p. 17) argue that differing accounts, particularly those from outside a particular kin group, may be regarded as “irrelevant, because historical accuracy is secondary to maintaining tribal prestige”.

Megill, Shepard & Honenberg (2007, p. 89) note Barthes’s contention that oral narrative is characterized by a ‘telescoping’ of logic and temporality, and Steer (2004, ¶21) argues that this telescoping is a feature of historical narrative that may be used as “a coping strategy for a narrative which does not present from a static background . . . but proceeds forward from the beginning of historical time”.

All of this is of fundamental importance in relation to any consideration of the Pene Haare manuscript. Pene Haare was situated somewhere between two very different concepts of pastness. The information referred to in his manuscript (relating to past conflicts) will have been recounted to him orally, shaped therefore by a view of the past that was essentially non-chronological. Most of his education took place in the context of the *whare wānanga*. However, he learned to write and produced a written manuscript. Did this, along with changes that were taking place as a result of cultural contact (see, for example, Walker (1990)) lead to a changing perception of pastness? Whatever the answer to that question might be, it is inevitable, in view of the context in which the information recounted in the manuscript was communicated before it was written, that it will be imbued by a very different concept of the past than the one with which contemporary readers are likely to be most familiar.

To complicate the issue further, S. Percy Smith noted in 1898 (p. 1) the dearth of information regarding Ngāpuhi early history. In considering why much less has been written about the Hokianga region than Northland Bay of Islands, Lee (1996) refers to the differences in the character and development of the two areas as contributing factors. The Bay of Islands was a hub of commercial activity, centring on the port, the whaling industry and trade between Māori and Pākehā. At one point in the 1830s, at least a quarter of the Europeans in New Zealand lived in the Bay of Islands. It was also the initial site of the Anglican mission movement in New Zealand. Hokianga, however, was still very much under the political influence of the Hokianga chiefs at this time, with resident Europeans being in the minority. It is largely for this reason, according to Lee, that the recording of early Hokianga histories was “rather more dispersed and fragmentary” (p. 9). He adds, however, that the histories of the Hokianga may yet make better reading than those of the Bay of Islands “if only because its very early oral records have been better preserved” (p. 10). Within this context, and bearing in mind the fact that Matiu & Mutu, (2003, p. 13) lament the lack of “our own history and traditions from within our own worldview and descriptive frameworks”, the importance of the Pene Haare manuscript cannot be overestimated. In considering why Pene Haare may have written this manuscript, it may be relevant to bear in mind that Sissons et al (2001, p. 80) note that a major aim of a manuscript written by Wī Hongi in 1935 (which consists of excerpts from his grandfather’s wānanga book or ‘book of learning’) was to “explicate genealogical and geographical relationships between Ngā Puhi hapū” and, in doing so, to confirm the status of Ngāpuhi as tāngata whenua, or people of the land. It is also relevant to note that manuscripts of a similar nature to that written by Pene Haare form an integral part of the political history of the Ngāpuhi tribes of the inland Bay of Islands written by Sissons, Wī Hongi and Hohepa (2001).

2.8 The translation of imagery, symbolism and metaphor

The literature on translation includes many references to the major difficulty associated with the translation of metaphor. As noted by Steiner (1998, p. 253): “Nothing fully expressive . . . which the Muses have touched can be carried over into another tongue without losing its savour and harmony”. According to Newmark (1988b, p. 96), metaphor is central to “all problems of translation

theory, semantics and linguistics". He distinguishes five different types of metaphor, ranging from one-word metaphors through complex metaphors of two or more words or idioms to "nearly all proverbs . . . complete poems . . . and perhaps allegories" (p. 85). Snell-Hornby (1988, pp. 56) sees "metaphor [as] text" and as "a complex of three dimensions" - object, image and sense. She contends that the difficulty involved in translating metaphors stems from their "language-specific idiosyncrasies" (p. 63), the fact that different cultures conceptualize and create symbols in varying ways. She concludes that whether a metaphor is 'translatable', how difficult it is to translate, how it can be translated and whether it should be translated at all cannot be decided by a set of abstract rules, but must depend on the *structure* and *function* of the particular metaphor within the text concerned (pp. 62-63). Steiner (1998, p. 252) argues that meaning can never be regarded as completely separate from expressive form since even the most apparently arbitrary or neutral terms are "embedded in linguistic particularity . . . an intricate mold of cultural-historical habit", and are therefore never absolutely transparent. Beekman and Callow (1974, pp. 137-141) consider the 'implicit' aspect of metaphor to be the main reason why it is so often misunderstood in translation. In the context of Bible translation, they observe that the translator of metaphor must employ both sensitivity and flexibility - sensitivity to the reactions of, and the difficulties faced by, the target audience and flexibility in relation to his/her approach to translation. Options open to the translator include: retaining the metaphorical term (where the transfer of the image is comprehensible to the target readership); translating the metaphor as a simile, thus making implicit elements more explicit; or combining elements of metaphor, simile and non-figurative language in the translation (pp. 143-150). Where there is resistance on the part of the receptor readership to figurative language, however, Beekman and Callow advocate a non-figurative (or literal) translation of metaphor, in order that the 'correct' meaning is conveyed, for to do otherwise would result in a failure of exegetical accuracy (p. 143).

It is a feature of some recently published books on Māori written histories with English translations that the *process* employed in those translations has not been

indicated or elaborated¹³. To a considerable extent, the translator working between te reo Māori and English is reliant on the observations made by earlier scholars (such as Grey (1857), Biggs (1952), Ngata (1959) and Mead (1969)) with regard to the translation of whakataukī (proverbs), pepeha (sayings) and kupu whakarite (metaphor). Mead (1969, p. 381) observes that, in translating the compact language of poetry, the translator often needs to provide a long explanation. In order to do so, however, s/he must have “a good grasp on the contextual landscape of the source text”. This view is shared by Biggs (1952, p. 177), who advocates the use of translator notes to explain unknown terms, and, in cases where a ‘true equivalent’ cannot be found in English, leaving the Māori term untranslated. Ngata, (1959, p. xxi) also regards the use of explanatory notes in a translation as “most helpful, especially where the sense of the composer is doubtful, or where more than one meaning can be given to the passage or expression”. Roa (2003, p. 16) notes that, in line with his aim that the translation of mōteatea be as faithful as possible to the source text, Ngata also advocates the retention in the translation of imagery and symbols that are deemed to have particular historical or cultural significance, with explanatory notes provided where necessary.

Kawharu’s (2008) collection of pepeha (sayings) from Taitokerau, with translations¹⁴ and related narratives which she has drawn from many oral and written sources, illustrates just how inextricably bound the meanings of those sayings are to the stories of the events from which they arise.

2.9 Ethical considerations

Smith (1999, p. 2) notes that there is ongoing debate about the validity and ethics of research that involves indigenous communities. In this context, she observes that certain critical questions may legitimately be posed by those communities, such as:

Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? and
Who will benefit from it?

¹³ For example, Kawharu (2008); Tau & Anderson (2008); Haami (2004).

¹⁴ Jane McRae was the primary translator involved with *Tāhuhu Kōrero* (Kawharu, 2008).

For the translator working in the context of an indigenous language and culture, and wishing to so ethically, the same or similar questions should be asked:

Why translate? Whose interests will be served? and Who will benefit from the translation?

In the context of translation, an additional question must be asked: Will the translation process result in a significant loss in relation to the integrity of the source text?

In this context, it is important to note that there is considerable distrust of research conducted ‘through imperial eyes’, research that assumes that Western knowledge and ideas, based, it is often argued, on ‘rational thought’, is superior to research conducted by indigenous peoples in ways that they consider to be appropriate. Thus indigenous communities have a deep cynicism about “the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized” (Smith, 1999, pp. 1-2).

Smith (1992, pp. 8-9) proposes four models by which non-indigenous researchers may undertake culturally appropriate research. These are intended also to provide useful guidelines for the indigenous researcher:

1. the ‘tiaki’ or mentoring model, where authoritative Māori people guide and sponsor the research;
2. the ‘whāngai’ or adoption model, where the researcher is incorporated into the daily life of Māori people and sustains a life-long relationship, beyond the realms of research;
3. the ‘power sharing’ model, where the researcher seeks the assistance of the community to meaningfully support the development of a research enterprise; and
4. the ‘empowering outcomes’ model, which addresses the sorts of questions that Māori people want to know, and which has beneficial outcomes.

The significance of these models is that they go beyond merely urging a culturally sensitive and empathetic approach. They are designed to ensure that the research undertaken has positive outcomes for Māori.

According to Smith (1999, p. 191), Kaupapa Māori approaches to research are based on the assumption that research involving Māori people, whether individuals or communities, should set out to make a positive difference for those who are being researched. A Kaupapa Māori perspective, which, as Smith (pp. 184-185) observes, is not necessarily applicable only to research but may be applied across a range of projects and enterprises, prioritises certain sets of ideas and issues, such as Māori cultural practices and methods and Māori conceptions of knowledge. Thus, following cultural 'ground rules', such as respect, community consultation and the sharing of processes and knowledge, is considered essential.

Kathy Irwin (1994, pp. 24-27) insists that Kaupapa Māori research must be 'culturally safe', involve the 'mentorship' of elders, be culturally relevant and appropriate (as well as rigorous), be undertaken by a Māori researcher (that is, someone who is not only of Māori descent, but who also understands, and is sensitive to Māori customs and protocols), and draw upon a paradigm that stems from a Māori worldview. Relating Kaupapa Māori to the concept of Māori self-determination, Smith (1992, pp. 2-3) argues that the essence of Kaupapa Maori research is that it is related to being Māori, connected to Māori philosophy and principles, validates the legitimacy of Māori and the importance of Māori language and culture, and is concerned with the struggle of Māori people for autonomy over their own cultural well-being.

At the heart of the issue of ethically-grounded research is the principle that those who 'own' the knowledge being researched should guide the process and should benefit from it. In line with this principle, concepts of consultation and 'mentorship' are considered to be central. Both Irwin (1994) and Bishop (1994)

argue for a *whānau*¹⁵ concept in the conduct of research. Thus, they advocate a ‘whanau of supervisors’ (Irwin, 1994, p. 29) or a ‘research whanau of interest’ (Bishop, 1994, p. 184). As Smith (1999, p. 15) notes, similar cultural protocols guide the process of ethically-grounded research amongst the indigenous peoples of Canada, North America, Hawai’i and Australia, where researchers speak of “the many aunties, uncles and elders whose views must be sought prior to conducting any interviews in a community . . . [and] the many levels of entry which must be negotiated when [they] seek information”.

Roa (2003, pp. 3, 17), in undertaking the translation of a series of *mōteatea* for Ngāti Hauā, sought from the outset a culturally appropriate translation process that would meet the criteria of Kaupapa Māori research set out above. She agreed to undertake the translation with the guidance and supervision of a panel of Ngāti Hauā *kaumātua* (elders). Thus consultation and cooperation formed the core of the approach she adopted. Since Ngāti Hauā ‘owned’ the *mōteatea*, the *kaumātua* panel took the lead role in the consultations and thus also ‘owned’ the translation process. In this context, Māori customary values or *tikanga* (such as ‘*kanohi ki te kanohi*’, ‘*kanohi kitea*’ and ‘*manaaki i te tangata*’¹⁶) were integral.

In approaching the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript, I am conscious of the importance of all of these considerations. The processes involved in that translation will therefore be discussed in detail in *Chapter 3*.

2.10 The question of ‘literacy’

Ong (1982, p. 6-7) contends not only that language is inevitably an oral phenomenon, but that the basic orality of language is permanent. It follows that writing is viewed as “a kind of complement to [speech] . . . rather than a transformer of [it]” (Saussure, 1959, pp. 23-24). Since spoken utterances involve two people in a context, “spoken words are always modifications of a total situation which is more than verbal” (Ong, 1982, p. 101). With reference to

¹⁵ Irwin (1994, p. 29) defines *whanau* in this context as being characterised by *aroha* (respect, compassion), cooperation and collective responsibility.

¹⁶ ‘*Kanohi ki te kanohi*’ (face-to-face, direct communication); ‘*kanohi kitea*’ (‘the seen face’, or being seen to be present); and ‘*manaaki i te tangata*’ (having a respectful and caring manner toward people).

Māori, Haami (2004, p. 15) notes the potency, power and validity of ‘kōrero tuku iho’, the spoken words of revered ancestors handed down from generation to generation¹⁷. These utterances served as both ‘symbols of thought’ and as a reliable source of information and knowledge which was essential to survival. Thus Orbell (1983, p. 6) notes that “language was always experienced as a part of lived reality, and therefore possessed great weight and finality”.

Haami (2004) refers to Māori as being ‘pre-literate’ before European contact; Goody (1977) prefers the term ‘non-literate’. However, Jenkins (1991, p. 7) argues that, prior to their encounter with print, Māori society was ‘highly literate’, having, in addition to oral traditions, its own forms of ‘written’ traditions, such as paintings, rock drawings, carvings, stone markers, rafter and weaving patterns, and tā moko (tattoo). She observes that Māori were able to ‘read’ the stories encoded in the walls of their sacred houses, or their sacred tokotoko whakapapa (lineage sticks), or the stone markers that delimited certain sanctioned areas. Garlick (1998, p. 51) notes that verbal formulae that assist the memory and the retelling of traditions (such as rhythm, rhyme, metaphor, song and musical accompaniment) are a feature of all oral cultures, and Jenkins (1991, p. 7) contends that such verbal formulae, along with gesture, action and dance, should be, and have been defined as aspects of literacy (see, for example, Goody and Watt, 1968, Havelock, 1986). Despite the fact that many indigenous peoples had their own groups of ‘literati’ or scholars (Goody, 1977, p. 31), they have often been regarded as being ‘illiterate’. Because “Western societies privileged only one form of literacy: the printed word” (Jenkins, 1991, p. 9), Māori were regarded as being ‘illiterate’ or ‘non-literate’ by missionaries and other colonisers in the initial period of European colonisation. Indeed, Jenkins (1991, p.10) contends that print literacy was a deliberate and significant tool of colonisation in early nineteenth century Aotearoa, a form of “cultural transformation and domination that brought about the destruction of traditional Māori society” (p. 11).

The missionaries were concerned with ‘civilising’ the ‘natives’ by bringing them to God, assimilating them into the customs of British language and culture, and, as

¹⁷ This contributes to the widely held perception that Māori is primarily an oral culture notwithstanding the rapid spread of literacy following European colonisation.

Biggs (1964, pp. 24-25) maintains, ‘reducing’ the Māori language to writing. From the establishment of the first mission schools in 1816, print literacy became the mechanism through which Māori gained access to the word of God (Haami, 2004, p. 18). As evidenced by the writings of Te Rangikaheke¹⁸, many graduates of the various mission and village schools had by the late 1840s acquired a real competency in reading and writing and had begun to record traditional knowledge and lore in writing, in some cases ‘encouraged’ by Pākehā administrators with a vested interest in seeing the oral traditions in print (Biggs, 1964, p. 25; Jenkins, 1991, p. 17). McRae (1997, p. 1) proposes that one motivation for the publication of Māori oral traditions by Pākehā in the 19th century was to preserve the traditional knowledge of a people and culture that was deemed to be in decline, if not in the throes of death. There may also have been a genuine appreciation of the artistry of the compositions, some of which were compared to Greek and Roman oral literature. McRae (2002, p. 43) notes that from about 1842, examples of Māori literacy began to appear in the public domain in the form of letters published in the Māori newspapers of the time. Many of the conventions of Māori oratory, such as proverbial sayings, poetry and waiata, were retained in these letters, which make them an extraordinary representation of “old texts in strikingly new settings, literary genres embellished with oral conventions”. This view is at odds with Garlick’s (1998, p. 11) contention that the translation of oral communication into a written form “yields a different language which obeys new rules . . . bringing concerns about the change in these traditions”. However, as Ong (1982, pp. 95-96) observes, writing inevitably has “different contours from those of orally sustained thought”.

The fact that, in some cases, Māori gained reading and writing competency (in Māori, and later in both Māori and English) in as little as 3 months, has been attributed to their prodigious memories, honed from decades of memorisation and recitation (Haami, 2004, p. 10). Thus “anything that could be read was committed to memory”, particularly Bible passages (McRae, 2002, p. 19). Haami (2004, p. 10) notes that even Māori living in the remotest parts of Aotearoa who had never seen a missionary often learned to read and write from someone who had been

¹⁸ An esteemed chief of Ngāti Rangiwewehi in the Rotorua district who lived from 1820-1893 and wrote prolifically during the years 1849 -1853.

taught by missionaries. Sometimes specific people were sent from a village to seek instruction in writing and return to the hapū to teach it, with the result that Māori rapidly acquired the skills needed to teach reading and writing (Parr, 1963, p. 219).

Moon (1997, p. 18) observes that this early period of contact did not in itself produce a literate society “but rather a hierarchy of literacy that came to resemble the hierarchy of wealth and status in the colony”. He contends that, of all of the components of colonisation in Aotearoa, the introduction of literacy has had one of the most profound impacts on Māori (p. 4). Even so, the full extent of this impact has been largely overlooked, due in part to “value-judgments about the role of literacy and . . . the absence of the delineation between the *value* of literacy, that is, its use, and the *merits* of literacy - a notion firmly rooted in a Eurocentric outlook [emphasis added]” (1997, p. 4). Furthermore, as Moon notes, the very definition of ‘literacy’ can be problematic (p. 3):

Who should define literacy? For what purpose/s is it defined? And who benefits from these definitions?

Thus literacy may be viewed as “a political fact as well as a cultural and social one” (Moon, 1997, p. 3). In considering five established models of literacy which he believes may, in combination, be applicable to an analysis of Māori literacy in the nineteenth century, Moon (pp. 3-4) ultimately concludes that “the determinant of which of these models takes priority rests with those who have the power to define it”.

With reference to the manuscripts of Te Rangikaheke, Orbell (1968, p. 32) contends that “something of the beliefs and attitudes” of an author are to be gleaned from his/her writing”. She describes Te Rangikaheke’s manuscripts as having “a literary sophistication not to be found in the writings of more strictly traditional recorders of Maori material” (p. 8). At a time when “Maori thought was being greatly influenced by new knowledge, and by the pressure of the rapidly increasing Pakeha population” (p. 8), she argues that Te Rangikaheke’s writings display “a unique blend of the new and the old (p. 8). Garlick (1998, p.

19) agrees, noting that Te Rangikaheke's writings "demonstrated an intellectual and open-minded attitude to Western thought and an equal sense of the merit and importance of Māori traditions". Te Rangikaheke was converted to Christianity in Rotorua by Thomas Chapman and learned to read and write in his late twenties, some time before 1844 (Thornton, 1999, p. 32). It is therefore likely that he was taught to write by Christian clergy. He also worked in close association with Governor George Grey during the years when his writing was most prolific. It seems likely, therefore, that his written style was, notwithstanding a natural affinity for print literacy, strongly influenced by Western models. It also seems likely that this was the reason why it was regarded by Orbell and others as exhibiting greater 'sophistication' than the writing of other 'more strictly traditional recorders' who were less influenced by Western writing conventions (including punctuation) which they may, in fact, have considered to be unimportant.

Garlick (1998, pp. 23-24) contends that in the transition from oral to written form Māori writings were often taken out of context and arranged according to Pākehā conceptions of their meaning. The result was inevitably a "linear and analytical" representation (p. 52), a distortion of those texts, "because the conventions which govern such cross-cultural translations [could] not contextualise them". McRae (1997, p. 2) concurs, observing that "editing for the reader shifts the emphasis from the ear to the eye". Thus the reader requires "an explicitness that is uncharacteristic of the oral texts, which were typically oblique and elliptical".

On being given access to a historical record of his ancestors' writings that spanned 120 years, Haami (2004, p. 9) notes how "literate and meticulous" the writers of this material were, observing the reverence that 'the old people' had had for books and the information contained within them. He adds that these manuscripts are "priceless, not only for family records, but for tribal claims and historical purposes" (p. 10). As noted in section 2.6 above, many were, however, inadvertently destroyed, or buried with their owner because they were regarded as tapu.

Margaret Mutu observes that her uncle, McCully Matiu (whose teachings and traditional knowledge she recorded in *Te Whānau Moana*), believed in the central importance of language, and particularly of dialect, as “the only true way of reflecting the state of thinking and values of the society to which it belongs” (Matiu & Mutu, 2003, p. 15). However, Matiu was mindful of the fact that many of the descendants of Te Whānau Moana had little or no proficiency in te reo Māori. Thus, whilst he would have much preferred the book to be written entirely in Māori, he allowed sections of the Māori narrative to be translated into English in order that the purpose (which was to make accessible to all descendants of the hapū their tribal traditions) should be fulfilled. Even so, the Māori text observes certain conventions in order that the unique dialect of Te Whānau Moana, as spoken, should be recorded and preserved as a learning resource for future generations. Thus, for example, ‘whakapapa’ and ‘whakatupuranga’ are rendered as ‘hakupapa’ and ‘hakatupuranga’.¹⁹

McRae (1997, p. 3) notes that, following the introduction of literacy and Western orthography to Aotearoa in the early part of the nineteenth century, the intrusive and, in some cases, appropriative actions of Pākehā editors resulted in the consolidation and homogenization of Māori tribal distinctiveness and irrevocably altered the content of Māori narratives. Thus, “as the alphabet obscured dialect, so print masked tribal identity in the oral traditions”, and “tribal control over traditional knowledge was relinquished”. For McRae (1997, pp. 4-5), “print cannot equal the warmth and intimacy of the human voice or the association of words on the breath which come from and link to the gods and ancestral world”. Even so, she observes that there is a real danger that oral literature which is not preserved in print “may disappear in the gap between orality and literacy” (p. 5).

2.11 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, it has been argued that the field of translation is enormously complex, and that the role of the translator is essentially a creative one. It has also been argued that ‘meaning’ does not inhere in texts, but in the relationship between text, context and reader. Thus, function, context, culture and purpose are

¹⁹ Also, for example, ‘ēnei’ is transcribed, ‘wēnei’, ‘tāua’, ‘māua’, and ‘rāua’ as ‘tao’, ‘mao’ and ‘rao’.

inevitably of particular importance in relation to the task of translating (2.2). In the absence of a unified theory of translation, an integrated approach to this controversial, diverse and speculative ‘interdiscipline’ is required (2.3), one that gives careful consideration to the reasons for the translation, the purposes it is intended to serve (2.4), the genre and text-type of the source text (2.5), its sensitivity and/or sacredness, and the needs of potential readers of the translated text and their existing level of cultural understanding (2.6). Since both past and present are politically constructed, and since notions of historical ‘truth’ and ‘accuracy’ are necessarily culturally and functionally relative (2.7), it is particularly important that translators should establish and/or adhere to appropriate ethical guidelines, including, in this case, the observance of tikanga Māori, community consultation, mentorship, and knowledge sharing (2.9), fully acknowledging the significance of culturally embedded symbolism, figurative and metaphorical terms (2.8), and the relevance and importance of contexts in which dual traditions (oracy and print literacy) have impacted on a source text (2.10).

In the next chapter, the issues highlighted here will guide and inform discussion of the author, Ngakuru Pene Haare, his times, and his manuscript.

Chapter 3:

Exploring, contextualising and addressing issues associated with the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript

3.1 Introduction

On the basis of the critical review of selected literature reported in the previous chapter, a range of issues and potential problems associated with translation in general, and the translation of texts of various kinds from Māori into English in particular, were identified. These can be summarised as follows:

- the fact that meaning does not inhere in texts, but in the relationship between text, context and reader and, therefore, the need to take fully into account the context in which the manuscript was written and that in which the translation is likely to be received (including the relevance and importance of the interaction of dual traditions (oracy and print literacy) at the time when the source text was composed);
- the reasons why a translation is being undertaken and the purpose or purposes the target text is intended to serve in relation to its putative readership;
- the cognitive genre (or combination of cognitive genres) that typifies the source text and its social construction as a text-type;
- the sensitivity and/or sacredness of the source text;
- the fact that notions of historical truth and accuracy are necessarily culturally and functionally relative;
- the significance of culturally embedded symbolism and the use of figurative and metaphorical language in the source text and the complex issues involved in attempting to render these appropriately in the target text or in some form of target text glossing;

- the need to ground the process of translation in relation to ethically sound procedures and to ensure that there is appropriate mentorship.

In this chapter, these issues and problems are further explored and an attempt is made to address them as fully as possible within the context of the time and resources available for the completion of a Masters thesis. The chapter begins with exploration of the author and his context (3.2). This is followed by an examination of the manuscript (3.3) including the original document and its transcription (3.3.1), a description and classification of the manuscript's contents (3.3.2), and the discussion of issues relating to culture and cultural contact (3.3.3) and orality and literacy (3.3.4). Next is discussion of issues relating specifically to the translation of the manuscript (3.4), including some that are associated with authorial purpose (3.4.1) and translator's purpose (3.4.2), the nature of the translation (3.4.3), including metaphorical and figurative language (3.4.3.1) and the question of a gloss translation (3.4.3.2), and typographical conventions (3.4.4). The chapter ends with some concluding remarks (3.5).

3.2 The author and his context

Ngakuru Pene Haare, who lived from 1858 to 1950, was born at Taikarawa, a settlement near Mitimiti in the Northern Hokianga. He spent much of his life at Mitimiti (Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, January 2008) but also resided at other locations around the Northland region²⁰. He was of the Te Hokoheha²¹ hapū of the Te Rarawa tribe. For many generations (between 15 and 18), Te Rarawa have occupied the region of the west coast of the North Island, an area that stretches from the northern side of the Hokianga harbour to the western side of Mangamuka, north through Pamapurua, Kaitaia to Maimaru, west to Te Oneroa a Tohe (Ninety Mile Beach) then south to Whangapē and back to Hokianga (Matthews, 1998, p. 2).

²⁰ One of his letters (Letter to the editor, *Te Pipiwharauroa*, February 1904) gives his residence as Kaihu (in the Kaipara district); his three letters to Hare Hongi in the year 1930 give his residence as Awanui North (presumably just north of Kaitaia).

²¹ According to the minutes of the Land Court sitting, Wairoa Block (1904), there were formerly two hapū names associated with the people of Te Hokoheha. They were 'Te Uritoto' and 'Ngaati Waikare' (p. 29). Pene Haare states: "The name of the hapuu of my ancestors staying at Pariroa was Te Uritoto" (p. 7).

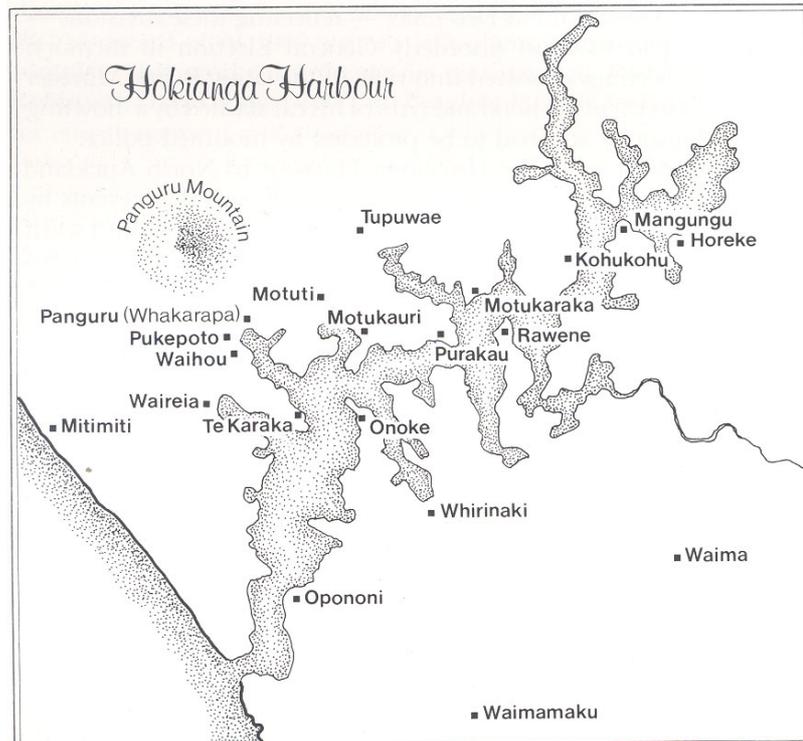


Figure 3.1: Map of the Hokianga harbour (King, 1983, p. 12)

The Hokianga region has great significance to the Tai Tokerau tribes, as reflected in the whakataukī (proverbial saying), ‘Hokianga whakapau karakia’²² (Hokianga that exhausts ritual incantations), and also in its distinction as ‘Te Kōhanga o te Taitokerau’ (the birthplace of the Northern tribes) (King, 1983, p. 18). The name ‘Hokianga’ derives from ‘Te Hokianga Nui a Kupe’ (the returning place of Kupe), a reference to a whakataukī uttered by Kupe²³ before he departed from Aotearoa to return to Hawaiki: ‘Hei kōnei rā, e Te Puna o te Ao Marama. Ka hoki nei tēnei, e kore e hoki anga nui mai’ (Farewell, Spring of the World of Light. This one is going home and will not return again) (Matthews, 1998, p. 4).

The Northland region of New Zealand was one of the earliest areas to include European residents: there were probably several hundred around the Hokianga in the 1930s, predominantly runaway sailors, whalers, convicts and sawyers who

²² This refers to an epic battle of ritual incantations at Hokianga between Nukutawhiti, captain of the Ngātokimatawhaorua waka, and Ruanui, captain of the Mamari waka, which ultimately led to Nukutawhiti and his people settling the southern Hokianga and further inland, while Ruanui and his people settled the northwest side of the harbor.

²³ There are many variations in the tribal histories recorded about Kupe, a principle ancestor of the Northland tribes. In the Northland traditions he was a great chief and navigator of Polynesian origin who is credited with the discovery of Aotearoa.

married local women and were assimilated into the Māori communities (King, 1983, p. 22). King observes that, rather than Europeanising the district, as was the case in parts of the neighbouring Bay of Islands, “they became to all intents and purposes, Māori” (p. 22). Thus early Māori-Pākehā relations in the Hokianga are described as having been generally harmonious. Indeed, in a letter to the newspaper *New Zealander* in 1864, Maning, an early Pākehā inhabitant of the area and later a judge of the Native Land Court, described as ‘peculiar’²⁴ the unique inter-racial character of the Hokianga communities, where “every” Pākehā settler was married to a woman of Māori descent (Lee, 1996, p. 181).

Geographically, Hokianga is rugged. A semi-circle of densely bush-clad peaks, interspersed with narrow valleys, frames the deep, narrow harbour (or ‘river’ as it is commonly known), creating a dramatic sense of “brooding grandeur” (Lee, 1996, p. 11). The locations and living habits of the Hokianga inhabitants were very much dictated by the geographical features of the harbour, with most of the villages built on the finger-like extensions of land that reach into its mud, mangroves and tidal waters. Handed down from generation to generation, and common to both Ngāpuhi on the southern shore and Te Rarawa ki Hokianga on the northern shore, are many traditions and legends attached to the harbour. The heavily forested hills surrounding the harbour, home to great stands of kauri²⁵, traditionally provided Māori with timber, firewood and kai (food). From about the 1820s, kauri spars²⁶ and dressed flax were traded with the crews of visiting Pākehā ships in return for utensils, tools and weapons. Pākehā demand for natural resources and Māori enthusiasm for European commodities brought about great changes to the traditional Māori way of life in Hokianga. Rum, prostitution and venereal and other contagious diseases were introduced via the trading ships, affecting the health and wellbeing of local Māori and resulting in a sharp decline in the Māori population (King, 1983, pp. 19-22). The kauri trade boom lasted for 20 years before its decline. Despite the great demand for Hokianga timber, the

²⁴ Allowing for the period and context in which Maning was writing, ‘peculiar’ is likely to have meant ‘distinctive’, rather than ‘strange’.

²⁵ A tree, native to Aotearoa, which was prolific in the Hokianga area in the early nineteenth century. Kauri can grow to more than 50 metres tall, with a girth of up to 16 metres. The young trees were used for ships masts and the mature wood was milled for boat building, carving and housing. Kauri gum was another important extractive industry.

²⁶ A wooden pole, such as a mast or boom, used to support sails and rigging on ships.

land on which the timber grew was regarded by would-be Pākehā farmers as virtually worthless. Thus, in 1846, when Auckland had supplanted the North as the commercial centre of New Zealand, around half of Hokianga's Pākehā population sold their plots of land to the Government and headed off to Auckland. With the decline of the timber industry, the local communities suffered from the effects of an economic depression (Lee, 1996, pp. 152-153).

The period between 1820 and 1840 was a time of intense inter-tribal warfare²⁷ in the North: by the end of the 1840s, the Hokianga communities were in a state of disarray and apprehension, lacking many of the resources that had been available to them earlier and fearing that fighting might erupt again at any time. However, as Belich (1996, p. 164) notes, a massive upsurge in Māori conversion to Christianity and the peacemaking efforts of missionaries contributed to the demise of the so-called 'Musket Wars' (about which Pene Haare writes in his manuscript).

Beginning with the Church Missionary Society, Christian missions were established in the region from 1815, with Wesleyans entering the field in the 1820s and Roman Catholics in 1838. Over time, Southern Hokianga, a Ngāpuhi domain, became a stronghold of the Wesleyan faith although the vast majority of Māori in the Northern Hokianga converted to Catholicism (King, 1983, p. 22). This latter conversion was no doubt due in part to disillusionment with the activities of a Wesleyan minister, Reverend William White, who was accused of engaging in land acquisition and timber trading for his personal financial gain, as well as becoming involved with numerous married women of the community (Lee, 1996, pp. 82-83). In 1838, Bishop Pompallier set up a Catholic mission at Papakawau, moving it across to Pūrākau on the Northern shore in 1939. King (1983, pp. 28-29) notes that the Catholic Church abandoned its mission in the Hokianga between the years 1873 and 1880. During this time, the Catholic faith was kept alive in the community through the efforts of Heremia Te Wake²⁸, a chief from Whakarapa (Panguru) who was a 'katekita' (catechist), described as

²⁷ Commonly referred to as the 'Musket Wars' - a term discussed by Ballara (2003).

²⁸ The father of Whina Cooper (1895-1994), a woman who was one of the most visible and controversial Māori leaders of her time. For further reading, see King, 1983.

being “intelligent, highly literate in Māori and versed in Catholic doctrine” (King, 1983, p. 30). In the North, from about the 1880s, the role of the katekita eventually supplanted that of the traditional tohunga (expert, priest, shaman)²⁹ (p. 33).

After an initial period of economic expansion and prosperity enjoyed by both Māori and Pākehā, the period from the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 to the 1860s and beyond was marked by the continual alienation of Māori land through land sales and government legislation, a massive influx of Pākehā settlers, and, as Māori became aware of the implications of losing their mana whenua (jurisdiction over land), an emerging sense of Māori nationalism (Walker, 1990, pp. 105-113).

The so-called ‘Land Wars’ took place in Waikato, and further south in Taranaki, Bay of Plenty, Urewera and the East Coast between 1865 and 1870. The tribes of these areas consistently thwarted the assaults of the colonising government’s troops, only to have their land confiscated. This had an enormous impact on the Northern tribes’ morale, leading to a deepening sense of despondency and disillusionment. They felt resentful towards, and distrustful of a Government which, despite the assurances of the Treaty, did not acknowledge the mana (authority) of Māori chiefs, excluding them from the machinery of state and allowing them only token representation in Parliament. The Government had certainly done nothing to improve the lot of Māori in the remote Hokianga (Lee, 1996, p. 197). Government revenue was typically directed to the development of Pākehā settlements, with some of the most populous tribal districts (such as Hokianga, Kaipara, Taupō and the East Cape) being neglected (Walker, 1990, p. 112). The establishment of the township of Rawene as a municipal centre complete with its own resident magistrate³⁰ did little to allay the civil unrest that was a feature of life in Hokianga at this time (Lee, 1996, pp. 184-189).

²⁹ This definition of ‘tohunga’ is inadequate without the glosses provided by *Te Papakupu o Taitokerau*, see URL: <http://www.edesignz.co.nz/dictionary/dictionary-index.htm>

³⁰ James Reddy Clendon, who had previously been Police Magistrate at the Bay of Islands.

This was the milieu into which Ngakuru Pene Haare was born, one in which the events of the first half of the nineteenth century, facilitated by the Pākehā agencies of conversion - capitalism, Christianity, law and land alienation - had resulted in a radical transformation of culture and society in Aotearoa (Henare, 2003, p. 15; Simon & Smith, 2001, Foreword). The year of Pene Haare's birth, 1858, was a significant and portentous one. In that year, Māori, in a bid for tribal unification and self-determination, installed the inaugural Māori king, Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. Also in that year, the Pākehā population, at 59,000, surpassed for the first time that of Māori, at 56,000 (Walker, 1990, p. 113).

Northern Hokianga communities were insulated by distance, and by the fact that there were no roads (before 1930) and no telephone services (before 1914). The modes of transport were boat and horseback (King, 1983, p. 11). A government surveyor wrote of the area in 1851 that the 'native villages' were very thinly scattered and at a very considerable distance from each other, and that very few had more than 100 inhabitants (Lee, 1996, p. 172). Even to this day, "[apart from Kaitaia], most Te Rarawa communities are rural, small, isolated from each other and serviced by poor roads" (Matthews, 1998, p. 11). Geographically, Mitimiti is the most remote of all the Hokianga settlements.

Ngakuru Pene Haare was born at Taikarawa³¹, near Mitimiti, on the stretch of coast lying between the Hokianga and Whangapē harbours. In *Ngā Mōteatea*, in the explanatory notes for 'He tangi mo Te Houhou', Pene Haare provides a whakapapa which charts his descent line from Tuwhenuaroa through Mawete, to his mother Erana (Ngata, 2004 [1959], p. 168), (see Figure 3.2 below):

³¹ The character of the people who lived at Taikarawa has been summarised in the definition 'manu moana' (a person who survives by living off the bounty of the sea) (Taitokerau Sustainable Development Research Group, 2006).

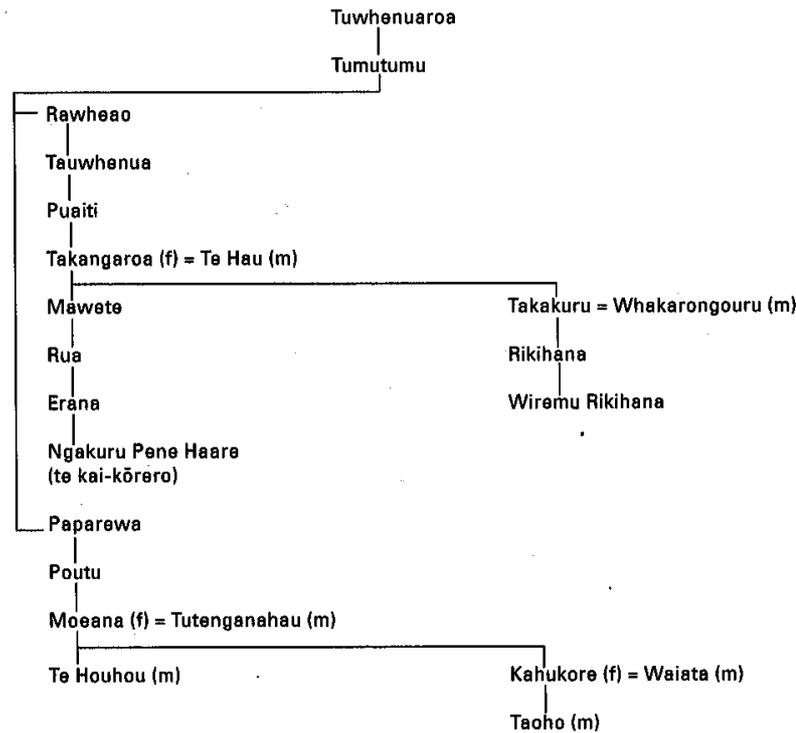


Figure 3.2: Whakapapa provided by Ngakuru Pene Haare (Ngata, 2004, p. 168)

Very little is currently known by the Penney whānau about Pene Haare’s father, other than that his name was Pene (Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, March 2008).

In correspondence to writer-translator Hare Hongi³² (also known as Henry Matthew Stowell), between 1919 and 1930, Pene Haare writes about aspects of his early life and learning, stating that in 1863, five years after his birth, he began to be instructed by his parents, his grandparents and Rikihana Whakarongouru (refer to Figure 3.2 above) by means of ‘te kauwhau’ (the recitation [of oral history and genealogy]), a process that continued until he was 15 years of age (Pene Haare, 14 November 1930, p. 3). At age 15, he expressed a desire to be schooled in Pākehā learning, but his tūpuna would not give their consent:

Ka mea ratou e kore e tika. Kia kotahiano kura. maku ko te kura i nga korero o roto inga whare wananga oku Tupuna. Ki te kura ahau i te kura

³² Hongi (1859-1944) was born at Waimate in Northland. His father, J.S. Stowell, was a Pākehā engineer and his mother, Huhana, was the daughter of the Ngāpuhi chieftain, Maumau (National Register of Archives and Manuscript, 2000).

Pakeha. e kore e mau iau nga korero wahanga (Pene Haare, 14 November, 1930, p. 3).

(They said it would not be appropriate. There should be only one form of schooling for me and that was the teachings of my ancestors' traditional schools of learning. If I were to attend the Pākehā school, I would never retain the oral tradition.)³³

He had, however, been taught to write by his teachers: “Ko taku tereti, he rito korari, ka tuhituhia te, A.E.I.O.U” (1930, p. 3) (My slate was a flax leaf, [and I] wrote the A, E, I, O, U.) Pene Haare's education in the whare wānanga would have ended around 1873.

In response to the large-scale land confiscations and a number of acts and ordinances in the 1860s (such as the Native Land Act of 1862³⁴), which had a negative impact on Māori land ownership, the Kotahitanga movement³⁵ was gaining momentum. Simultaneously, in the face of widespread disenchantment with Pākehā religions, the Māori prophet movement³⁶ rose to prominence. Inter-tribal assemblies were held throughout the country as Māori tribes joined forces, determined to take control of their own destiny. The Taitokerau tribes gathered together at Orakei in 1875. Discussions there centred on calls for the dissolution of the Native Land Court, and for the government to honour the Treaty of Waitangi, with particular regard to ‘fisheries and taonga’, the natural resources which, under ‘Ko te Tuarua’ (Article Two), rightfully belonged to Māori. That same year, the Ngāpuhi tribes established Te Tiriti o Waitangi marae, the intention being to reinforce the significance of the Treaty and its principles, including their right to ‘tino rangatiratanga’ (self-determination) (Walker, 1990, pp. 149-155). On three separate occasions, a deputation of chiefs (the first from te Taitokerau, the others led by the second Māori King, Tāwhiao) journeyed to

³³ Unless otherwise stated, the translation to English of Māori texts in this thesis are provisional translations by Jillian Tipene.

³⁴ An Act which replaced customary communal ownership of Māori land with individual title, with disastrous results for Māori.

³⁵ This movement grew out of an increasing awareness that Māori tribes needed to be united in their efforts to resist the forces of colonisation, and assert their ‘tino rangatiratanga’ ([right to] self-determination) (See Walker, 1990).

³⁶ The Māori Prophet movement saw the emergence of a series of Māori religious ‘cults’, many of them pacifist in nature, whose spiritual leaders took on the role of political leaders of their people in a time when anti-Pākehā sentiment was high (see for example Walker 1990; Binney, 1995).

England to present their grievances to Queen Victoria. Ultimately, these initiatives did not bear fruit, but they did lead to the establishment in 1892 of the first Māori Parliament, and later, of Te Kauhanganui, the Māori House of Assembly, by Tāwhiao of Waikato. These two entities were briefly merged but before long deeply ingrained historic rivalries between the Northern and Waikato tribes fractured the alliance. Despite this, both Te Kotahitanga and Te Kauhanganui continued to meet independently into the early twentieth century (Walker, 1990, pp. 160-171).

In the isolated Hokianga at this time, despite the fact that European influence was strong (with many Māori inhabiting European-style houses, using European utensils, wearing European clothes and attending Catholic church), the communities of the region were still intensely Māori in character, and te reo Māori was still the first language (King, 1983, p. 38). Saw-milling was the major industry of the region, although the available timber was by now at quite a distance from the harbour, and had to be hauled by bullock (Lee, 1996, p. 205). Flax-fibre and kauri gum were additional resources that continued to be exploited until the supply was virtually exhausted. Gum-digging also provided an important source of income for Hokianga Māori. However, the industry became very competitive upon the arrival of Dalmatian immigrants in the 1890s, with their single-minded and cooperative work ethic. Despite the fact that the terrain was largely unsuitable, the Government made concerted efforts to establish a farming industry and for a time, from the mid 1870s, Hokianga enjoyed a period of prosperity, with both roading and settlement expanding. However, a series of disastrous fires at the Kohukohu mill (in 1882, 1900 and the 1920s) took a toll on the timber industry, ultimately reducing Kohukohu from what had been a substantial, prosperous township to little more than a roadside village (p. 216). During this period, dairying and gum-digging kept the Hokianga afloat economically.

Ngakuru Pene Haare is referred to variously as a Ngāpuhi scholar (Ngāpuhi Iwi Whakapapa Research, n.d.), a respected tupuna of Te Rarawa (Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, n.d.), an historian, a chief of great learning (Tate, 2007a), an authority on Taitokerau history and traditions and a contributor to Apirana Ngata's *Ngā*

Mōteatea (Taitokerau Sustainable Development Research Group, 2006). He is credited with dictating the text of, and providing explanatory information for two waiata in *Ngā Mōteatea- Part One*³⁷ and three waiata in *Part Two*³⁸ (Ngata, 2004 [1959]; 2005 [1972]). In the Māori magazine *Te Ao Hou*, Ngata wrote of him:

When I visited Panguru, Hokianga last November³⁹, I met Ngakuru Pene Haare, who is an authority on the traditions and Maori lore of the North. I asked him whether he knew who made the Burial Chests found at Waimamaku. He told me that in Hapakuku Moetara's⁴⁰ view these were not the work of Ngapuhi proper, but of an older people, the Ngati Awa. This confirmed my own impression (Ngata, 1958, p. 31).

He is identified as having sat on numerous papatupu (land block) committees in relation to Native Land Court hearings of the early 20th century (Taitokerau Sustainable Development Research Group, 2006), and various other local committees in his district. The following is an interesting example:

The resolution of the 1947 meeting was to sell Kahakaharoa to the Crown, however Himiona Kamira proposed that the land in question be gifted to the Crown. The owners resolved to gift Kahakaharoa to the Crown without consideration, although Ngakuru Pene Haare dissented (Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, 2004, p. 177).

Clearly, Pene Haare was highly regarded in his lifetime as a repository of traditional knowledge and Taitokerau history. Very little is recorded, however, of his activities during the years between his graduation from the *whare wānanga* and the time of his first correspondence with Hare Hongi in 1919. Sometime between 1878 and 1904, he married Maraea Boyce and they had 7 children

³⁷ No. 38, 'He waiata aroha mo Ripiroaiti' (Ngā Puhi), written by Te Rangi Pouri, and No. 39, 'He tangi mo Te Houhou' (Rarawa) written by Te Ngo.

³⁸ No. 127, 'He waiata tangi mo Te Tihi', written by Te Matapo; No. 132, 'He waiata whaiāipo', written by Pakiri; and No. 133, 'He waiata tangi mo Koi-tikitiki raua ko Te Hara', all Ngā Puhi waiata.

³⁹ This visit is likely to have taken place in or around 1932, when Ngata, then Minister of Native Affairs, was involved in the Hokianga Land Development Scheme, overseen by Whina Cooper.

⁴⁰ Hapakuku Moetara (Te Roroa), from Waimamaku, Hokianga, was the son of Rangatira Moetara, a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi. Like his father, he was an assessor in the resident magistrate's court.

(Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, October 2008). His involvement with papatupu and other committees indicates that he was committed to and active in his community. Other involvement would almost certainly have included mahinga kai (food cultivation/production) and the protection, augmentation and allocation of local resources, as well as ongoing marae, church and Native Land Court commitments. Let us take Heremia Te Wake, another authoritative figure from the Hokianga, as an example: he was, in addition to being chief of the Ngāti Manawa hapū, a pillar of the Catholic Church and the man sought out by Pākehā leaders when they wanted the co-operation of the Hokianga tribes. He was “simultaneously a repository of Maori lore, a farmer, a catechist, a representative of the law, chairman of the local school committee, and mail contractor (by launch) for the northern Hokianga communities” (King, 1983, p. 21). We know that in 1924 Pene Haare was involved in another committee⁴¹ formed to help regulate the gathering of, and staunch the depletion of toheroa beds at Mitimiti as well as to prevent the establishment of a toheroa canning facility there (Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, 2004, p. 196). It seems that he had an ongoing involvement in the affairs of Mitimiti, even though, as his correspondence indicates, there were periods of time when he lived at other places, such as Kaihu (Pene Haare, 1904) and Te Awanui North (Pene Haare, November 1930). The Mitimiti school was established in 1890. It is likely that he would have sat on the school committee at some point, or have been otherwise involved in the school.

In the minutes of a sitting of the Native Land Court for the Wairoa Block (March, 1904), Ngakuru Pene Haare gave evidence and also cross-examined other claimants with regard to the mana whenua (land rights, trusteeship) of the block. His authority, his intelligence, his astuteness, and the depth of his knowledge are evident in his repeated challenges to the authenticity of the information given. Asked in one instance by my tūpuna koroua (great-grandfather), Riapo Puhipi, if he upheld the authority of the council of elders “these days” (p. 17), he responded in the affirmative⁴².

⁴¹ Along with Himiona Kamira, Henare Matini, Moa Tahana, Mana Hotere, Winata Hone and Eruera Rikihana.

⁴² No doubt the Government’s consistent efforts to assimilate and marginalise Māori had taken its toll on the traditional hierarchies of Māori society. Thus, even though such a council of elders may

In February of that same year, a letter from Ngakuru Pene Haare to the editor of the Māori language newspaper, *Te Pipiwharuroa*, was published. In that letter, he challenges several claims concerning the Anglican Church that had been made by the editor in a previous issue. For example, he disputed the editor's claim that the Church of England predated 'te Hahi o Roma' (the Roman Catholic Church), noting that the first bishop was a Roman Catholic bishop. With every counter-claim, he quotes relevant Biblical passages (Pene Haare, 1904, p. 6) and his arguments demonstrate an intimate knowledge of ecclesiastical history and the Scriptures and the same keen intelligence and wit that are evident in the Native Land Court transcripts. There seems little doubt that Pene Haare, like the majority of Māori in the Northern Hokianga region, was a staunch Catholic. Even though he makes no mention of Catholicism in his account of being schooled as a child by his parents and tūpuna in Taikarawa, he would have come into contact with the Catholic mission of his time. Wiremu Rikihana⁴³ (1851-1933), the son of one of Pene Haare's kaiako (teachers), Rikihana Whakarongouru (and grandson of the Te Rarawa chief Whakarongouru⁴⁴), was a contemporary of Pene Haare and a prominent Māori Catholic. His wife and children were baptized in 1882. It seems likely that Pene Haare too would have been baptized in this period, after the re-establishment of the Catholic mission at Hokianga in 1880. In King's (1983) biography of Whina Cooper, he notes that the Hokianga-based Mill Hill⁴⁵ priests were able to make the arduous trek from Pūrākau to Whakarapa (Panguru) only once every three months to conduct the mass (p. 52). Travel to Mitimiti was even more arduous and visits were therefore likely to have been more infrequent. Mass Sunday was the cause of great excitement in these remote communities: the services began early in the day with Morning Prayers, followed by preparation for

have been installed and functioning within a community, the authority of that council will not necessarily have had the support and acknowledgement of the whole community.

⁴³ Wiremu Rikihana grew up mostly at Waireia but also at Taikarawa, his mother Harata's birthplace. He assumed the mantle of his father, Rikihana Whakarongouru, a prominent leader (and Pene Haare's kaiako, or teacher). He was a signatory to the deed of sale for Rawene when it was sold to the Crown in 1875 and a principle speaker for claimants in the Native Land Court. From 1923 to 1930, he was a member of the Legislative Council (Tate, 2007b). Pene Haare's whakapapa (Figure 3.2. above) shows that Wiremu Rikihana's grandmother was Takakuru (the sister of Pene Haare's great-grandfather, Mawete), who married Whakarongouru.

⁴⁴ Whakarongouru was a younger brother of the Te Rarawa chiefs Te Huhu and Papahia who are mentioned in some of the battles recorded by Pene Haare.

⁴⁵ The so-called Mill Hill priests were members of St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society, founded at Mill Hill in London in 1866 by Father Herbert Vaughn.

Holy Communion, Holy Mass with a sermon, and Thanksgiving. Then, in the evening, there were the Rosary, the Sermon, Benediction and Night Prayers (p. 54).

It is said of Himiona Kamira⁴⁶, another historian, writer and exponent of tribal lore from Mitimiti upon whom Pene Haare was an important influence, that “despite the depth and richness of his traditional training, Kamira was strongly committed to Catholicism”⁴⁷ (Tate, 2007a, ¶13). Thus it can be seen that, as with Heremia Te Wake, elements of these two disparate worlds, the traditional Māori world and world of the ‘Whakapono’ (the Catholic faith), co-existed quite harmoniously.

The depth of Pene Haare’s commitment to the Whakapono is reflected in a photograph (held by a member of the Penney whānau⁴⁸) of him in the company of a group of prospective katekita, all from various settlements throughout the Hokianga. Among the 14 men pictured are Father Logan, Ngakuru Pene Haare and Takou (Himiona Kamira). The group is preparing to depart for a stint of catechist training in Auckland. In this photograph Pene Haare appears to be in his 70s (Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, December 2008). It is possible that his involvement with the group was that of an elder and adviser, rather than a trainee. Other evidence of his faith are a photograph depicting Pene Haare late in his life, wearing a necklace of rosary beads (see Figure 3.3, below), and a report about him having visited The Shrine of Mary at Pukekaraka in Ōtaki when he was a younger man, perhaps in his 40s (Sommers, 2008):

Miracles have been reported. A man named Ngakuru Pene Hare of Pangaru (sic) of North Auckland was suffering from a terminal disease, and was cured. He went to Otaki and prayed the Rosary with flower petals

⁴⁶ Te Rarawa historian and genealogist Himiona Kamira (1880-1953), also known as Takou, was a prolific writer who meticulously recorded, rearranged and explained in a series of notebooks, the knowledge he had received from his father, Kamira. He was an important contributor to a series of Northland hui wānanga run by Te Rōpū Wānanga, a group of about 18 elders who got together to debate and record genealogies and canoe voyages. Some of his writings were subsequently published in the *Journals of the Polynesian Society* (Tate, 2007a).

⁴⁷ Kamira, also a catechist, may well have been instrumental in ensuring that the Catholic faith was kept going at Mitimiti in the long spells between the priest’s visits, as Te Wake had done at Waihou/Panguru during the Catholic mission’s abandonment of Hokianga

⁴⁸ A copy of this photograph is held by Stephen Burke.

because he did not have a Rosary. He is still alive and in good health forty years later.

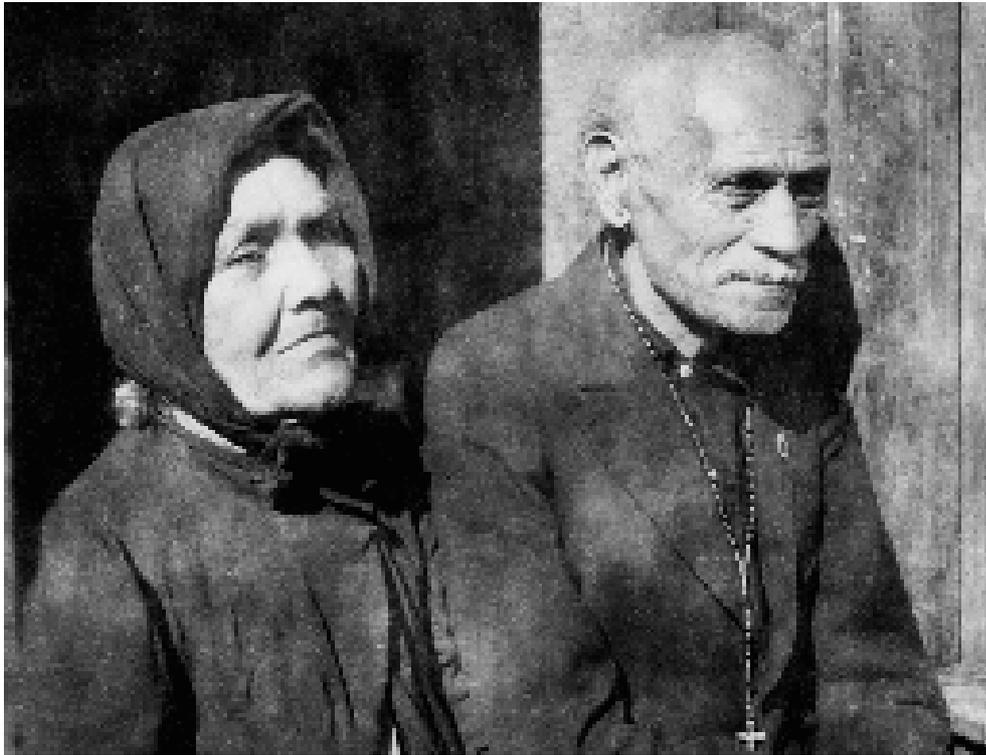


Figure 3.3: Ngakuru Pene Haare (with rosary) and his wife Maraea (n.d.)

The early 1900-1920s saw no abatement of the Pākehā government's alienation of Māori land or its efforts to erode Māori culture and identity, although this was perhaps experienced to a lesser extent in the rural outpost of the Hokianga. Conversely, in this same period the Māori population was on the increase and alongside this physical regeneration a cultural revival was also taking place. The emergence of the first Māori university graduates, Maui Pomare and Apirana Ngata, both of whom went on to prominent if controversial political careers, paved the way for an emerging 'bi-culturalism' - termed 'Anglophilia' by Walker (1990, p. 181). This phase was encapsulated in legislation such as the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) and in Māori leaders' compliance with the abolition of the Māori language in schools and their environs⁴⁹. Walker (p. 186) describes the contact between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa up until the 1930s as 'superficial'. Up to this point, 90 percent of Māori were still living in rural communities, away

⁴⁹ Including Ngata, although his endorsement was later retracted (Walker, 1990, p. 193)

from the main centres of Pākehā population. Thus, Pākehā were not generally aware of the cultural renaissance taking place at this time amidst the ongoing struggle by Māori for cultural integrity and identity within the dominant Pākehā culture.

Rawene became the Hokianga's administrative centre in 1915 and, in the same year, Catholic churches were built at Rawene and Mitimiti. Then, in 1918, Māori communities of the Hokianga were shattered by the devastating effects of a world-wide influenza epidemic. Local chief Heremia Te Wake⁵⁰ was one of the many casualties of that epidemic.

At this time, the first road in the district was constructed between Whakarapa (Panguru) and Te Karaka, enabling easier collection and delivery of cream and better access for materials and new technology (King, 1983, pp. 94-95). In 1929, a land development scheme was instigated by the then Minister of Native Affairs, Apirana Ngata. Under that scheme, Māori farmers could borrow money from public funds to develop their farms. This was to be a co-operative venture and for a time, under the astute direction of Whina Cooper, the farmers of Northern Hokianga made a great success of the scheme. However, the global Great Depression (1928-1935) took its toll on the land developments of the Hokianga and elsewhere, with prices for farm products falling (King, 1983, pp. 112-113).

In terms of chronology, Pene Haare would have been 65 years of age in 1923, when his manuscript is dated, 67 years of age in 1925, when the waiata he contributed to Ngata's mōteatea revival project were published in the Māori newspaper *Te Toa Takitini*, and 72 years of age when he wrote to Hare Hongi (in 1930) about a notice for an upcoming event advertised in *Te Toa Takitini*, inviting ngā tohunga kōrero (skilled orators) to attend a hui in Auckland where the origin of the name 'Aotearoa' was to be debated. That debate was to be judged by a committee led by Apirana Ngata, and Pene Haare informs Hongi that he will be attending as the speaker⁵¹ for Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri, Ngāti Whātua

⁵⁰ Heremia Te Wake (1838- 1918), the father of Whina Cooper, was a chief of the Ngāti Manawa hapū of Te Kai Tutae. For more on Te Wake, see King (1983).

⁵¹ Pene Haare was held in very high regard by Ngata, as a repository of the oral tradition of Taitokerau, and as one who understood the importance of recording the "precious heritage of our ancestors" while those who were the guardians of such knowledge were still alive, and able to

(October 20, 1930). Of the same event in a subsequent letter, he says of his contemporaries:

ko aku hoa kua Pau katoa aratou nei korero. te tuku ki roto i te toa Takitini. e ono aku hoa kua Pau aratou whakama rama. mo te ingoa nei mo Aotearoa. Ko au ana ke e toe ana. e kore hoki ahau e Pai ki te tuhi Tuhi. ki te Toa. Takitini. Me korero a waha tonu te tahi ki te tahi (Pene Haare, November 14, 1930, p. 7).

(My friends have exhausted all their ideas, sending them into Te Toa Takitini. Six of them have run out of explanations for the name Aotearoa. I'm the only one who hasn't. I will never endorse this idea of writing in to the *Toa Takitini*. Debates should only ever be face to face.)

Pene Haare was, without doubt, an 'authority' who enjoyed a certain status within his domain, that is, the Hokianga and wider Ngāpuhi region. A Penney family member recalls hearing the recollections of an elder about a big car that would pull up to the home of the Te Whiu family at Waihou (Panguru), from which 'the priests', including Ngakuru Pene Haare and Himiona Kamira, would emerge. They would enter the house and the children would be shooed outside so that the priests could converse freely⁵².

Pene Haare appears to have corresponded with Hare Hongi over several years (at least from 1919-1930 and possibly longer), during the time that Hongi was in Wellington working as an interpreter for the Native Department (Gibbons, 2007)⁵³. A letter dated December 1919 constitutes a formal introduction and appears to be the initial contact between them. In the first of a series of letters written in 1930 (dated October 20), however, Pene Haare launches straight into discussion of his 'pukapuka' (manuscript), observing that he has heard that Hongi is an 'initapeta' (interpreter/ translator). In subsequent letters, while readily offering his opinion and expertise on all manner of sayings and tribal histories

explain the nuances of the idioms (Ngata, 2004, p. xxii). It is likely that Ngata would have invited him to speak at this event.

⁵² Steven Burke, personal communication, July 2008.

⁵³ According to Hongi/Stowell's DNZB entry, he was employed by the Native Department in Wellington from 1908 until his resignation in 1921, after which time, "increasingly in the 1920s and 1930s [he] became a picturesque character around Wellington" (Gibbons, 2007).

relevant to Hongi's translation work, the subject invariably returns to the manuscript and his desire for Hongi to translate it. While it seems likely that Pene Haare would have written the manuscript over the span of several years, no reference is made to it at all in the letter of 1919. This suggests that the date of the manuscript, 1923, may well have been the date he began work on it. It is also probable that Pene Haare and Hongi never actually met. In the 1919 letter, Pene Haare says: "Tena-Pea ahau e tae atu ki Poneke a te Hotoke, Maehe, Aperira ranei. Ka tutaki koe kiau" (December 17, 1919). (Perhaps I will be in Wellington this Winter, March or April, and you can meet me). However, there is no mention of their having met in subsequent letters.

From his correspondence with Hongi, we can see that Pene Haare had a very strong sense of himself as belonging to 'te ao kōhatu' (the traditional Māori world), and of the significance of his being the recipient of the tribal knowledge he acquired from his tūpuna, something that gave him a sense of purpose and responsibility: "He Maori tuturu ahau. e kore au e mohio kite reo Pakeha He mea. Rahui Taku Tinana nao Taua Tupuna. Ki te Turanga. Taputapuata" (November 14, 1930, p. 4). (I am authentically Māori. I have never known English. My physical body has been restricted by our elders to the esoteric realm [as a repository of ancient knowledge]). He also observed:

Horekau ahau i kura ki roto i te Kura Pakeha noreira kotahi ano oku mohio tanga He maori Motuhake. Ko Toku reo He reo maori motu Hake. Kite. hoki ahau ki te korero itereo oku tupuna o roto i te toru mano tau, Horekau He tangata hei whakamarama ia ku korero. i runga. i te motu nei maku Tonu e tohutohu, ka mohio Te Katoa ki te Tikanga o te kupu (November 14, 1930, p. 4).

(I was never ever taught in a Pākehā school, therefore, I only know about one thing and that is exclusively Māori. My language is exclusively Māori. If I were to revert to the speech of my ancestors of the last three thousand years, there is no one in this country who could interpret what I say. I alone shall explain so that everyone understands the meaning of the words.)

Although he was very confident in his knowledge of Ngāpuhi history and lore, when asked by Hongi to interpret a karakia from outside of his exclusive domain, Pene Haare declined to do so, stating that Ngata had also asked him on several occasions to translate or interpret Māori waiata from the southern districts, but that he had declined on the grounds that his field of knowledge and expertise was Ngāpuhi (Pene Haare, 14 November 1930, pp. 7-8). In another letter (26 November, 1930, p. 1) he states that he is happy to have received Hongi's support for his intention to stand as a parliamentary candidate for Taitokerau. Yet he also expresses his 'whakamā' (embarrassment) that he has little competence in English:

Mei kura ahau kite reo Pakeha. kua riro ahau ite waha a te Parata⁵⁴, kua kore e mau ki nga ohaki a o taua wheinga . . . erangi koa e Hare ko te whakama i te kuare ki te reo Pakeha (November 26, 1930, p. 3).

(If I had been schooled in English, I would have been consumed by the Great Whirlpool, and not have retained the bequests of our old people . . . on the other hand, Hare, I am embarrassed at my ignorance of English).

Although acutely aware of his role and responsibility as a repository of the oral tradition of his tūpuna, and secure in his status as an authority within his domain, Pene Haare also desired to inhabit a meaningful role within the realm of 'te ao hurihuri' (the ever-changing world):

E hoa e hare, mei Pena toku mohio ia koe ki te Taha Pakeha. Kua Tika te tu oku waewae kua Pena te tika i tau tu. ki mua inga tangata nunui o te motu no reira Hore Kau noa iho He Painga o te moko Pawaha⁵⁵, o te kahohora⁵⁶ e Piri atu nei irunga i to hoa (November 26, 1930, p. 4).

(My friend, Hare, if I knew what you do of Pakeha ways, I would stand confidently, as you do, before the whole country. My authority, my status, is of no benefit to me [in the modern world].)

⁵⁴ Te Waha a te Parata- a reference to the Great Whirlpool that nearly swallowed Te Arawa waka on its voyage from Hawaiiki (Ballara, 2007a).

⁵⁵ Moko pawaha' is a reference to the lines of facial tattoo that run from the outer corners of the nose to the chin (a symbol of aristocracy or status).

⁵⁶ I have been unable to uncover any meaning for, or reference to the word 'kahohora'.

We have seen that Pene Haare was insulated initially from any contact with Pākehā. His tūpuna kept him apart within the realm of the ancestors and therefore he was, in this respect, the product of a traditional Māori society. This aspect of his formative years had a defining effect on his life. His immediate world did not experience the same degree of colonisation that other more populous, more penetrated areas did, and for this reason he was able to maintain his status and function as ‘manu kōrero’, someone who upheld the authority of the spoken word, who thrived on the parry and thrust of oratory, who relished and sought out any opportunity to share his knowledge or debate the issues of his day in a public forum. Undoubtedly, his lifetime spanned two disparate worlds - ‘te ao kōhau’ (the traditional world) and ‘te ao hou’ (the new or modern world)- from the time when traditional institutions such as the whare wānanga were integral and essential to Māori society, through their decline and into a period of time when Māori were utilising a range of means, including print and publishing technology, to assert the significance of their world view. In 1930, he wrote to Hongi: “Ko ahau te tangata Pupuri inga taonga tapu anga Tupuna (November 26, p. 5). (I am the one whose role it is to preserve the sacred treasures of the ancestors.) Even so, he must have realised at that time that even in his beloved Hokianga, te reo Māori was unlikely to continue to be the primary language of Māori communities. Therefore, in order for his knowledge to have any lasting value, it needed to be preserved in a form that would be accessible to future generations. Moreover, he needed a translator of considerable fluency in both Māori and English, one who would work closely with him to ensure that the true and proper sense of the words was conveyed in the translation. From the 1920s, Ngata, in line with his efforts to revive Māori arts and culture, had been encouraging Māori repositories from various regions to record their tribal histories and have them published in translated form. Hence, the appearance of publications such as *Ngā Mōteatea* (1924/1928-29), the reprinting of George Grey’s *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* (1928), Jack Mitchell’s *Takitimu* (1944) and John Grace’s *Tuwharetoa* (1959). We know that Pene Haare and Ngata had occasion to meet in 1924 (Ngata, 2004, p. 129), when Pene Haare recorded a waiata⁵⁷ in Wellington for *Ngā Mōteatea*. Ngata would almost certainly have strongly encouraged Pene Haare then to record what

⁵⁷ He tangi mo Te Huhu (A Lament for Te Huhu).

he knew of the tribal histories of Taitokerau. He may have done so again when he visited Hokianga as a Minister of Native Affairs in the 1930s.



Figure 3.4: Ngakuru Pene Haare in Wellington, circa 1920

In Pene Haare’s letter to Ngata dated August 20, 1943, when he would have been 85 years of age, Pene Haare outlines his intention to begin writing a series of manuscripts in which he would record the history of Aotearoa, the stories of the Ngāpuhi waka, and the ancient Ngāpuhi karakia (1943, p. 2). In the same letter, he expresses his regret that he has left it so late to begin this project: “he Pouri noku ki enei taonga kei roto ia hau. Kua tino Kaumatua ahau . . . tureiti tenei whakaaro mei tuhia e au ite 20 tau kua huri ki muri kua oti Pai” (1943, p. 2). (I feel such sadness for this knowledge inside of me. I am very old. . . it’s too late now. If I had written it 20 years ago it would have been completed). He also clearly states who these accounts are intended for: “Ko te reo mote PukaPuka he maori. he

Pakeha. Kia mohio ai nga iwi Erua” (ibid.) (The language for the book will be Māori and English, so that both peoples will understand).

3.3 The manuscript

Pene Haare’s manuscript is what is referred to in Māori terms as a ‘taonga’ (treasure). Private family manuscripts such as this make up the largest single body of writing in Māori. Since they often contain such things as whakapapa (genealogies), hīmene (hymns), waiata (songs), maramataka (calendars), kōrero tūpuna (tribal narratives), whakataukī (proverbial sayings) and reta (letters), they constitute an important and invaluable source of traditional oral literature. They have therefore generally been closely guarded and kept away from those, including whānau members, who were deemed unsuitable to have access to them (Haami, 2004, p. 23).

The Pene Haare manuscript was almost certainly written over several years (see 3.2 above). Since there is no reference to it in his 1919 letter to Hare Hongi, it is likely that the year recorded on the manuscript itself, 1923, was the year when he began work on it. He would at that time have been 65 years of age, at a stage of life when he may have had a little more time to devote to such a task than was the case earlier in his life. The manuscript records a series of battles, accounts of inter-tribal warfare pertaining to the Taitokerau tribes. As Ballara (2003, p. 11-13) notes, warfare was endemic in traditional Māori society. An integral part of the Māori political system, warfare was a learned, culturally determined response to offences and crimes, and a method of solving disputes among descent groups⁵⁸.

Pene Haare’s informants, the sources of the information he recorded, would have been the elders who nurtured and instructed him ‘ki te kauwhau’ (by means of oral recitation), in the whare wānanga at Taikarawa: his mātua and his tūpuna, including Rikihana Whakarongouru⁵⁹, and also possibly Rewi Paparangi. In the minutes of the Land Court sitting for Wairoa (1904), Pene Haare speaks of having

⁵⁸ ‘Descent groups’ is another term for what may also be referred to as kin groups, sub-tribes or clans (hapū).

⁵⁹ According to the whakapapa (Figure 3. 2) in section 3.2 above, Rikihana Whakarongouru would have been of the same generation as Pene Haare’s maternal grandfather, Rua. His father, Whakarongouru, was the younger brother of the Te Rarawa chiefs Papahia and Te Huhu, both of whom are referred to in battles recounted in the manuscript.

lived as a child with Rewi Paparangi (1904, p. 11), referring to himself as Paparangi's mokopuna (grandchild). His statement that Rewi Paparangi "named me Rewi" (1904, p. 19) suggests that the nature of their relationship may have been that of mentor and student.

Pene Haare was a graduate of the *whare wānanga*, the traditional school of esoteric and higher learning, where knowledge, learning and the *tikanga* associated with that learning were regarded as 'tapu'⁶⁰ (Mead, 2003, pp. 306-310 & 320). There is also tapu associated with warfare - the tapu of blood and death (p. 49), and the consecration and dedication of warriors to the god of war before battle (Marsden, 2003, p. 13). Marsden (p. 57) states that it was "a basic tenet of Māoridom that the inner corpus of sacred knowledge was not to be shared with *tutuā* [commoners]", that it was the domain of *tohunga* and specially selected and initiated students. Furthermore, as Haami (2004) notes, the institution of tapu also applied to sacred knowledge that had been committed to paper. In fact, "a special relationship governed by notions of separation, restriction and prohibition was created between the writer, the person written about and the guardian of the document" (2004, p. 24). The tapu of these documents meant that they had to be protected from contamination by contact with such things as food. Another possible source of contamination related to their being viewed by people who were considered undesirable or unworthy (2004, p. 24).

It is evident in his manuscript that Pene Haare was selective about the knowledge he revealed. For example, the names of sacred *karakia* are recorded, but the actual words of these *karakia* are withheld; although excerpts from *whakapapa* are provided to illustrate or clarify the relationships of individuals named in a particular account, they are not extensive.

We know from his correspondence with both Hongi and Ngata that Pene Haare actively sought to have his manuscript translated into English. In one letter to Hongi, Pene Haare states: "Takuhia hia mehemea i Patata mai tou Kainga ki toku kua mea ahau mau e whaka Pakeha nga koreo o Taku Pukapuka" (October 20, 1930, p. 2). (My intention, if we lived closer to each other, was to suggest that

⁶⁰ Sacred, a sense of being 'untouchable' (Marsden, 2003, p. 5). Refer to section 2.6 above, for a fuller discussion of the concept of 'tapu'.

you translate the text of my manuscript). He also indicated in the same letter that he did not believe that he had the skills necessary to undertake the task of translation himself:

Koia Taku tino hia-hia ki nga Initapeta Tino mohio ki te reo rangatira o te Pakeha me ana kupu Tino nunui. Kia hei ai te wha ka e ke mai iaua kupu nunui ki runga ki nga kupu Maori Tino nui ona Tikanga” (October 20, 1930, p. 3).

(That is why I really need interpreters who are very proficient in English, with its vast vocabulary, so that they are able to transpose those many words . . . upon the complex Māori words.)

As indicated in 3.2, it is likely that Ngata not only encouraged Pene Haare to record what he knew of the Tai Tokerau tribal histories, but also to do so in a way that would be most likely to ensure their survival and this, in turn, may have contributed to his decision to seek a translator. Pene Haare was selective about whom he approached with regard to the translation of his manuscript. Hongi, a noted interpreter and historian of Ngāpuhi descent who had been schooled in both the Pākehā system and the whare wānanga, seemed an ideal candidate. However, Hongi’s work for the Native Land Court kept him predominantly in Wellington during the period of their correspondence (from 1919-1930).

In a 1943 letter to Ngata, Pene Haare despairs of finding a Māori ‘initapeta’ (interpreter/ translator) sufficiently proficient in English to translate his manuscript. He makes reference to the fact that although ‘Paikea’ (probably Paraire Karaka Paikea⁶¹) had agreed to do the translation, this had never eventuated: “Tino nui taku Pouri i te matenga o Paikea. I oti pai ia ia mana e whaka Pakeha ta ku Pukapuka. A te tahi wa e watea ai ia” (August 20, p. 3). (I am very saddened at Paikea’s passing. It was all arranged that, when his schedule allowed, he would translate my manuscript). With the sudden and unexpected

⁶¹ Paraire Karaka Paikea (1894-1943) was a Rātana leader, politician and interpreter. Of Te Uri o Hau and Ngāti Whātua descent, he would also have been an ideal translator for the Pene Haare manuscript. He died prematurely, at the peak of his political career, aged 49 years (Ballara, 2007b).

death of Paikea, Pene Haare broached the idea of Ngata or one of his associates undertaking the task:

Hoi ano te mea e Pouri ana ahau ko te kore tangata e kitea e a hau hei whaka maori hei whaka pakeha hoki Tino Pakeke the whaka Pakeha inga kupu nunui o roto i tereo maori. manga tangata Tino mohio ki te reo Pakeha, Pena ia koe na, i a Paikea hoki. ana metahi atu o koutou (August 20, p. 3).

(The thing that is discouraging me is that I have not been able to find anyone to translate. Many of the Māori words are extremely difficult to translate into English. It would require someone very proficient, such as you, or Paikea, or another of your colleagues.)

This was a significant turn of events: Pene Haare, unable to find a competent translator within Te Taitokerau, was now actively seeking someone from outside the area. The significance here relates to the fact that this contravened the notions of ‘mana hapū history’ and ‘mana iwi history’, described by Henare (2003, p. 23) as being aspects of a history that are “local and relative to hapū and iwi mana and specific to the group whose history it is”. It also contravened the concept of ‘tribal relativism’, according to which “tribal accounts [could] be accessed and understood only by members of the kinship group”.

3.3.1 The document: the original and its transcription

As classified by the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, the Pene Haare manuscript (*MS 89/116*) is entitled *Na Nga Kuru Pene Hare Te Wao*, the author being recorded as ‘Hare, Pene (Ben Harris)’. The original manuscript, consisting of one hard-cover volume written in Māori and dated 1923, was submitted to the Museum in 1987 by Mr. Fred Penney, a grandson of the author (Stephen Burke, personal communication, January, 2008). According to museum records⁶², the manuscript came to the library via the ethnology department through retired ethnologist Dave Simmons. It was subsequently uplifted in November 1992 by Fred Penney’s son, Danny, who left a photocopy in the library collection with

⁶² G. Warren (Librarian Maori), personal correspondence, 1 February, 2008.

certain restrictions on access to its contents⁶³. At some point, presumably between these dates, a typewritten transcript was produced by the museum.

According to the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library website⁶⁴, while the term ‘manuscript’ has come to be used for any unpublished document, whether handwritten or typewritten, it was originally defined as any book or other document *written by hand*. The document that was initially presented to me for translation by the Penney whānau was a typewritten transcript, in Māori, of the original Māori language manuscript, which is a handwritten document. This transcript, consisting of 68 A4 pages, is entitled *Nga Pakanga o Ngāpuhi* (The Ngāpuhi Wars). The Museum’s manuscript librarian informed me⁶⁵ that although the transcription has generally been attributed to Jane McRae⁶⁶, labeling on the manuscript’s box gives the transcriber as one Clive Barlow⁶⁷. There is, however, no definitive evidence for either. The transcript is compressed and, other than page breaks, has no layout as such.

An inevitable consequence of the process of transcribing is the obliteration of distinguishing elements in the author’s handwriting⁶⁸, along with some of what Gutt (1991, pp. 127-159) refers to as ‘communicative clues’ within the text, clues which can be of considerable assistance to a translator in deciding which particular meaning (sense) of any given word is closest to that intended by the author. I had, furthermore, some concern about the accuracy of the transcription. Some examples that triggered doubt were: an apparent lack of coherence in some of the whakapapa charts; the use of the word ‘tawhiti’, when a more contextually appropriate word choice would have been ‘tawhito’ (later confirmed by the

⁶³ “This item at Mr. Penney’s instructions cannot be photocopied but is available for viewing and transcribing. His permission is also required to reproduce or publish material from this collection” (G. Warren, personal correspondence, 1 February, 2008).

⁶⁴ Retrieved September 2008, from URL: <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/387/manuscripts>

⁶⁵ M. Collett, personal correspondence, 17 October, 2008.

⁶⁶ Jane McRae is an academic and writer who lectures on Māori oral literature in the Māori Studies Department at the University of Auckland.

⁶⁷ This may actually have been Dr. Cleve Barlow, a senior lecturer in Māori Studies at Auckland University and the author of ‘Tikanga Whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture’ (1990).

⁶⁸ Haami (2004, p. 24) notes the significance of moko and other symbols that were used by Māori chiefs who had yet to acquire literacy to validate documents in the early days of European contact. Similarly, words that were written by hand, the hand-writing of an individual, must surely have been imbued to a greater extent with the mana (authority) and wairua (spirit) of that person than any typewritten transcript could ever be.

original text to be correct); and the use of the word ‘uto’ in the context of ‘utu’⁶⁹. Invariably, the Source Text (ST) will be subject to the interpretation of the transcriber. Haami (2004, p. 125) stresses the importance, for the purposes of translating, of being able to *see* the original rather than just a transcript. My preference in this case was to work where possible from the original handwritten document. To this end I requested, and obtained, a photocopy from the family.

The original manuscript consists of 239 pages. The top-most margin of the face page (see Figure 3.5 below) is inscribed: ‘Na Ngakuru Pene Hare Te Wao tenei pukapuka. DRS.’ The initials ‘DRS’ indicate that this is Dave Simmons’s annotation. Immediately below that, in neat and legible handwriting that comes to be familiar as that of the author, is written ‘Ngatuna Maehe [March] 11 1923’, presumably the place and date that the writing commenced, followed by the words ‘Ko Te reo Tawhito me tona whakamaori Tanga. ki te reo o naia nei’ (The ancient dialect and its translation to that of the present day), and the title of the first battle account.

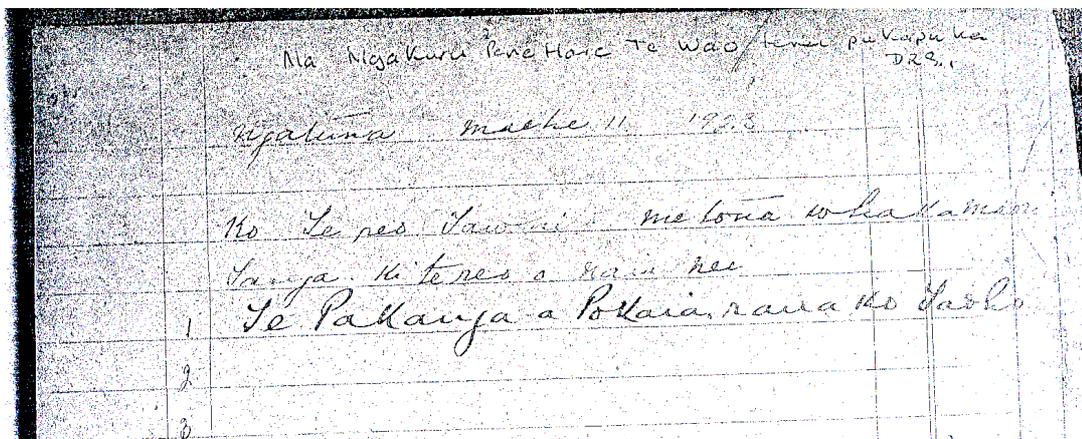


Figure 3.5: Extract from face page of the manuscript

This appears to be the intended title of the manuscript, rather than that attributed to it and derived from Dave Simmons’ inscription. Pene Haare’s use of the word ‘whakamaoritanga’ (translation/interpretation) implies that the oral histories imparted to him by his tūpuna in the whare wānanga at Taikarawa have undergone some degree of what Houbert (1998, ¶1) refers to as ‘linguistic

⁶⁹ Both words could be translated as ‘revenge’. However, it could not be said with certainty whether the use of ‘uto’ was a deliberate use of a Taitokerau dialectical term or an error in transcription.

transformation⁷⁰ - from archaic, esoteric Māori to modern Māori (circa 1923), perhaps to render them more accessible to his intended audience, perhaps so that only certain aspects of the esoteric language were revealed, the more tapu elements being preserved. In this sense, the manuscript may itself be seen as a ‘translation’. Nowhere on the face page of the original, however, are the words which make up the attributed title of the transcription, ‘Nga Pakanga o Ngapuhi’, in evidence.

As seen in Figure 3.6 below, the face page of the typewritten transcription has been inscribed, in what appears to be the same handwriting as that of ‘DRS’, ‘Ko te reo *tawhiti* [sic] me tona whakamaoritanga ki te reo o naia nei⁷¹ (emphasis added). The last letter of ‘tawhiti’ (distant) is in parentheses and the letter [o] has been inserted above it. This suggests to me that someone other than ‘DRS’, perhaps the transcriber, has questioned the use of the letter ‘i’. The word ‘tawhito’ (old or ancient), discernable on the face page of the original and even in the photocopy, certainly makes more sense within the context of the sentence, and would therefore be the appropriate choice.

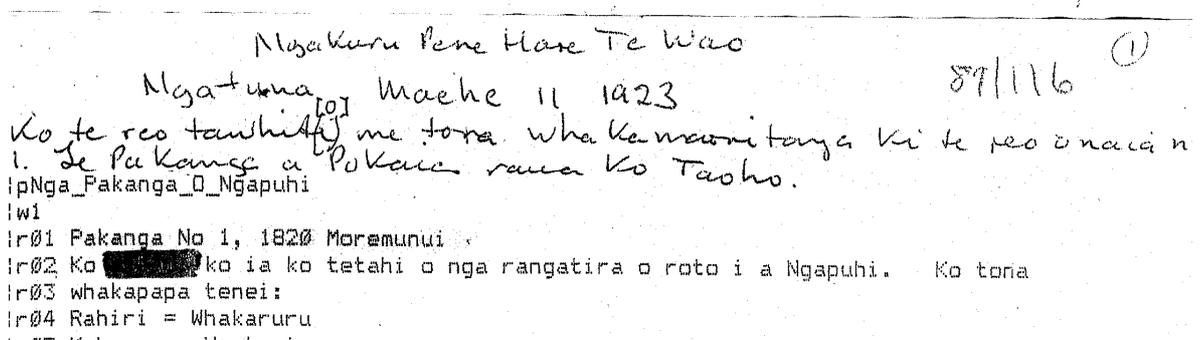


Figure 3.6: Extract from face page of the transcription

A comparison of page 1 of the original manuscript (Figure 3.7) and page 1 of its transcription (Figure 3.8) highlights the compression of the text in transcription⁷²:

⁷⁰ See section 2.2.

⁷¹ ‘The *distant* [sic] dialect and its translation to that of the present day’ (rather than ‘The *ancient* dialect and its translation to that of the present day’).

⁷² At 16 pages, the first battle account from the original manuscript, ‘Te Pakanga o Pokaia raua ko Taoho’, is one of the longest. In the typewritten transcription the same account takes up 5 pages.

Pakanga no 1820. moremanui

ko Pokaia noia Lenu ko te takianga
rangatira o roto ia nga Pahi hotu
whakapapa teni.

Rahiri = whakaruru
Kaharau = Hou taranga

Taurapako

Mahia

Ngahue

Te Wairua

auha

whakarua

Te Hotete

Houji hika Kaiyara

waishua

Pokaia 1

Te Wana

Te Wairua 2

Pokaia 2 whareyeri

Te Kona

Tuhirangi Peia Hone Hekenui

Hone nga Pua Kere

Hone Hekenui M.P. Raina = Puriri

Titone 2

ko Te Tamaiti Teni a Pokaia 1

ko Te Wana na Taohu Teni

Tamaiti i a Taohu Kariri ia

Taohu ki Kaipara ki roto itona

ia ia ngati whakua no te wa

e nohoana ia taohu i roto itona

iwi i ngati whakua ka

patua tana tamaiti e atawhai

a Te Wana e tana iwi e

Figure 3.7: Page 1 of the manuscript text

Ngakuru Pene Haere Te Wao

87/116 ①

Ngatuna Mahe 11 1923

Ko te reo tauhiti me tona whakamaitanga ki te peo nana
 1. Te Pakanga a Pokaia raua ko Taoho.

IpNga_Pakanga_0_Ngapuhi

Iw1

Ir01 Pakanga No 1, 1820 Moremunui

Ir02 Ko Pokaia ko ia ko tetahi o nga rangatira o roto i a Ngapuhi. Ko tona

Ir03 whakapapa tenei:

Ir04 Rahiri = Whakaruru

Ir05 Kaharau = Houtaringa

Ir06 Taurapoho

Ir07 Mahia

Ir08 Ngahue

Ir09 Te Wairua

Ir10 Auha Whakaaria

Ir11 Te Hotete Waiohua

Ir12 Hongi Hika Kaingaroa Pokaia 1

Ir13 Te Wairua 2 Te Wana

Ir14 Pokaia 2 Wharengeru

Ir15 Te Kona

Ir16 Tuhirangi Peia Hone Hekenui

Ir17 Hone Napua Kere

Ir18 Hone Heke MP Raina = Puriri

Ir19 Titore 2

Ir20 Ko te tamaiti tenei a Pokaia ko Te Wana, na Taoho tenei tamaiti i atawhai.

Ir21 Ka riro i a Taoho ki Kaipara ki roto i tona iwi i a Ngati Whatua. No te wa e

Ir22 noho ana a Taoho i roto i tona iwi i Ngati Whatua, ka patua taua tamaiti e

Ir23 atawhaia ra a Te Wana e taua iwi, e

Iw2

Ir01 Ngati Whatua. Ka rongoa a Pokaia, te matua o Te Wana, kua mate tana tamaiti

Ir02 i Ngati Whatua. Ka kite a Pokaia i a Taoho, ka mea atu a Pokaia ki a Taoho,

Ir03 "A hea ano koe whakaaro ai ki te whakaara pakanga hei rapu utu mo ta taua

Ir04 tamaiti?" Ka mea atu a Taoho ki a Pokaia, "Taihoa kia kotahi tau." Ka

Ir05 mea atu Pokaia, "E pai ana." Pau noa te tau kihai a Taoho i whakaara i

Ir06 tetahi ope taua hei rapu i te mate o ta raua tamaiti. Ko Pokaia he hopohopo

Ir07 pea no Taoho ki tona iwi. Katahi a Pokaia ka riri ki a Taoho, katahi a

Ir08 Pokaia ka huihui i ona iwi i roto i te rohe o Taiamai, ara i Ngapuhi ki te

Ir09 Tai Tokerau katoa. Ka poto te ope a Pokaia, ka whakaaro a Pokaia kei a

Ir10 Taoho, kei a Ngati Whatua te karakia tapu nei a Pinepineiterangi i

Ir11 hereherea ai nga taniwha katoa o te motu nei e Pokopoko. Ka whakaaro a

Ir12 Pokaia me haere ia ki te tiki i tetahi karakia tapu i roto i te whare

Ir13 wananga o Ngati Waiora, o Nuku. E mohio ana a Pokaia ko te karakia tapu

Ir14 kei roto i tera whare wananga, ko Takahia i te rangi.

Iw3

Ir01 Ko te karakia tapu tera kei runga atu i nga karakia tapu katoa, ko Pinepine

Ir02 iterangi. No roto tenei karakia tapu i tetahi o nga whare wananga o Io

Ir03 i a Te Rarauatea. Ko Takahiaiterangi no roto tenei karakia tapu i tetahi

Ir04 o nga whare wananga o Iomatukore, i a Titoremahutu. Ko tenei whare

Ir05 wananga o Io kei roto i te aniwaniwa e tu ana. E rua ano tangata kua tomo

Ir06 ki roto i tenei whare, ko Tawhaki, ko Kupe. Ko nga karakia tapu i roto i

Ir07 tenei whare:

Ir08 Ko Takahiaiterangi

Ir09 Ko Maninikura

Ir10 Ko Kikirangi

Ir11 Ko Tohinuiarangi

Ir12 Ko Te Komarurangi

Ir13 Ko Te Rorewhakapiko

Ir14 Na Kupe enei karakia i tiki atu i reira, ka riro mai i roto i ona whaka

Ir15 paparanga.

Figure 3.8: Page 1 of the transcription

As a consequence of this compression, the whakapapa loses its coherence. Whereas Pene Haere’s handwritten version indicates clearly the descent lines of the tūpuna named in the whakapapa and how they are linked, the left-margin justification of the transcription renders the whakapapa in tidy columns with no indication of how these people are related.

Figure 3.9 also provides an example of an instance where a word which appears in the original to be ‘nuke’ (crooked, humped) has been transcribed as ‘ruke’ (to throw down, throw away, pour forth, or discharge). In the context of the text segment, however, ‘nuke’ makes sense and would be the appropriate choice. This example highlights again the importance, for the translator, of working from the original text wherever possible.

Figures 3.11 and 3.12 below indicate the difficulty, without reference to the transcription, that the reader/translator has in identifying where one account ends and another begins. The body of text in the manuscript appears in some instances as though it were one continuous narrative. This view is supported by other extracts highlighting the titles of some of the battle accounts (Figures 3.14 and 3.15, provided in section 3.3.4 below), where the titles appear to have been written into the margins as annotations, at some point after the text was initially written:

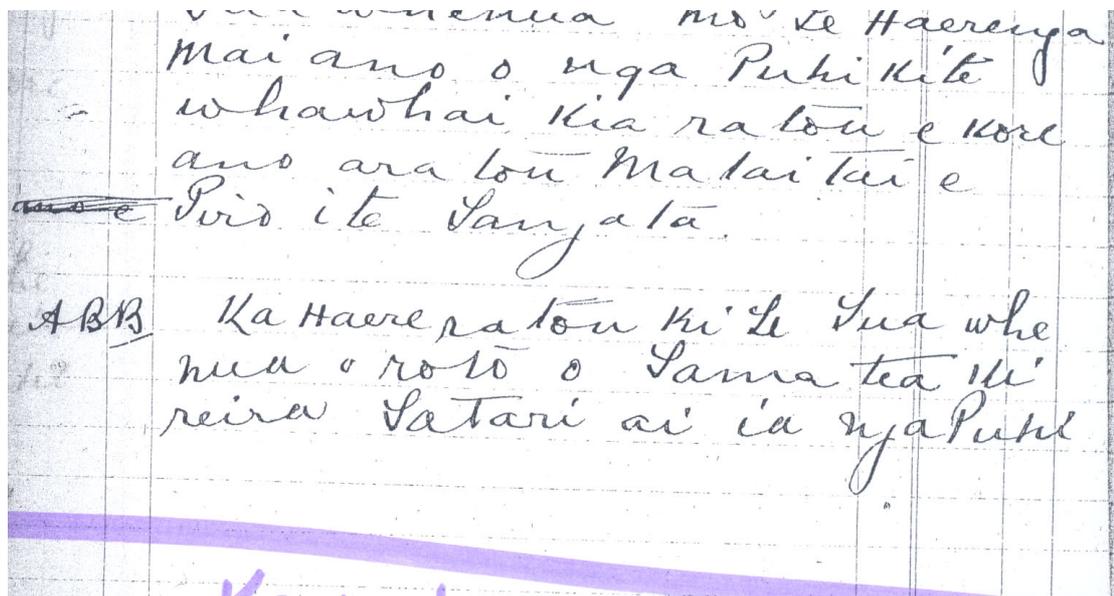


Figure 3.11: The end of Pakanga No 1 (p. 16)

7
 Ko te whare umu ko te rangatira tes
 onya Puhū ki Hai ia itae mai kite
 Paunga a Saho raua ko Pokaia,
 Karouyo atu a te whare umu ngi
 kopero a ngati whatua whaka
 atu mo nga kopero a Saho kar
 yo atu ano hoki a nga Puhū
 Lona. Kihai itae ki te Hinganga ite
 Parekura ki mo pemunui me
 mea ano hoki iora mai iroto
 i Sana Parekura. Kua Haha
 a nga Paka. Si whatua ito
 ki te tua whenua kai Piro ano
 pipiro ia ratou. itenei Saima
 kua hoki mai a Houji Hika
 njarapi me nga mahia te Pu to
 kua Soria ta e Houji hika tonai
 ki te Puro ite Puro. Ki te Puro
 kua mo hio te iwi o Houji hika
 kua Hoatu e tahi o ana Pu. Ka
 e tahi onga ranga toa o tahi
 atu owa Hapu. Ka Poto ngaha
 ka toa ki San Marere. Ki Saima
 ka Hui hui mo te Haere atea
 nga ake ite atara ite Po. Ka mo
 mea te Lohunga o nga Pu
 a kaiteke moe ho kaiteke
 O Haria maiana Lenci
 Hari Hari e ngatua o te
 E ki mai nei wātua o te Po ko mang
 whai au ka mate ka hore mo te
 Piti tangā hau ka mate kahore mo
 kite au ite tai o te uru kua kitea
 ite tai o te awa. e ka kutia

* Kahoe nga Puhū ite tai ne whiti. Te uoa ki kua
 nga whai ka Hoe o to iora awa. Mutu uoa mai
 Tera awa ka hia hui nga wa ka
 kamoe ngafaliti tauu

Figure 3.12: The first page of the second battle account (p. 17)

Figure 3.12 above also illustrates the difficulty that confronts the translator when photocopying of the original renders the text illegible, whether through variance in print quality or errors in the alignment of the text. In this case, the text on the lower right half of the page is obscured. In such instances, the transcription becomes invaluable. This same extract provides a further example of the author’s

use of margins to add notations and additional text. In this particular case, it is a section to be inserted into the body of the text at the point indicated with the marking 'xx'. The author has also distinguished, in the margin, the location of a 'hari' within the text.

In comparison to Figures 3.11 and 3.12 above, Figure 3.13 below provides an extract from the transcription of the point at which the first battle account ends and the second begins:

lr01 Ka tohutohu a Hongi ki tona kopu, ka mea ko te kainga pai tera mo aua whakarau.
lr02 I te hokinga mai o Hongi Hika i Ingarangi, tini ana nga pu i riro mai i a ia,
lr03 he pu torori te ingoa. Kotahi pu nui he pu ariki, he mea hua nana te ingoa
lr04 o taua pu ariki ko Teke. Tanumia ki te onepu, tona ingoa mo te tanumanga
lr05 o te araro o taua kotiro ki te onepu e Ngati Whatua ko Toretunua, he mea tunu
lr06 te aroaro na Ngati Whatua ki te mouna, ka rura, koia Toretunua matua o Parore
lr07 Te Awha.
lr08 Ko te waiata mo tenei parekura, kei te waiata 125 "Aweawe kau au ki te kapa
lr09 rangatira..."
lr10 No te hinganga o Ngapuhi i te parekura i a Ngati Whatua ki Moremunui, katahi
lr11 nga morehu o Ngapuhi ka titiro ki te tangata e takoto ana. Ka kitea te kohu
lr12 e tu ana i runga i te tangata me te rore aniwaniwa e tua ana i runga i te
lr13 parekura nei, kua mohio a Ngapuhi ko taua parekura na Takahiaiterangi. I riro
lr14 ke te reo nei i a Taoho, kihai i riro mai i a Pokaia ina hoki ratou ka mate i
lr15 a Takahiaiterangi. Kahore i riro mai i a raua ngatahi erangi i tomuri tona
lr16 reo, e mua ata haere, e muri whatiwhati wae.
lr17 I muri i tenei parekura ka pangia a Taoho e te mate
lr16
lr01 Ka tino tata a Taoho ki te mate, ka karangatia e ia tona iwi a Ngati Whatua
lr02 me o ratou toa kia huihui mai ki mua i a ia. Ka tae mai tona iwi ki mua i a
lr03 ia. Ka Korero a Taoho ki ona iwi, "I muri i au kua a Ngapuhi e aruarua
lr04 e koutou he utu tangata. He mahuri taniwha, ko Ngapuhi taniwharau,
lr05 he tukoki wakanui, he tuturu wharanui, e kore e ngaro. Tena ano ka tere
lr06 mai, ka whakatika mai nga toa o Ngati Whatua, ka whakatauki mai, "E kore e
lr07 tika kia tukua mai Ngapuhi ki roto ki te huha o te wahine kei piro ano
lr08 Ripiro, ka kino ano a ratou toheroa, kutai me era atu kai o te moana."
lr09 Ka mate a Taoho, katahi a Ngati Whatua ka haere ki te tuawhenua mo te
lr10 haerenga mai ano o Ngapuhi ki te whawhai ki a ratou, e kore ano a ratou
lr11 mataitai e piro i te tangata.
lr12 Ka haere ratou ki te tuawhenua o roto o Tamatea ki reira tatarai ai i a
lr13 Ngapuhi.
lr14
lr15 Te Ikaranganui, no 1825
lr16
lr17 Ko Te Whareumu ko te rangatira tenei o Ngapuhi kihai ia i tae mai ki te pakanga
lr18 a Taoho raua ko Pokaia. Ka rongo atu a Te Whareumu i nga korero a Ngati
lr19 Whatua whakautu mo nga korero a Taoho. Ka rongo atu ano hoki a Ngapuhi nui
lr20 tonu. Kihai i tae ki te hinganga i te parekura ki Moremunui me nga mea ano
lr21 hoki i ora mai i roto i taua parekura. Kua haere a Ngati Whatua ki te tua
lr22 whenua kei piro ano Ripiro i a ratou. I tenei taima kua hoki mai a Hongi
lr23 Hika i Ingarangi me nga mahi a te pu torori. Kua tioratia e Hongi Hika
lr24 tona iwi ki te puru i te pu torori, ki te pupuhi. Kua tino mohio te iwi o

Figure 3.13: The delineation in the transcription between the first and second battle accounts (p. 5)

The endings and beginnings of each battle are generally more clearly defined in the transcription than in the original. Even so, where these points occur is not always clearly signalled in the original. Thus the transcriber's role inevitably involves the aspect of creativity discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.2). From approximately midway through the transcription, however, the assignment of titles to battle accounts does not correspond to those provided in the original. Thus it can be seen that, while there are benefits to be derived from having access to the

transcription of an original document (in terms of, for example, cross referencing), the transcription cannot necessarily be relied on. However, having access to both the original and the transcription (and being able to check one against the other) would be essential if I was to be in a position to provide a useful translation⁷³.

3.3.2 The content of the manuscript

The Museum library records⁷⁴ describe the Pene Haare manuscript as containing “accounts of the battles (circa 1820-1840) of Ngapuhi, including Moremonui⁷⁵, Maunginangina, Hukatere and Te Houtaiewa⁷⁶ [sic]” In fact, 63 battles are recorded. In three instances in the earlier accounts contained in the original manuscript, the text of a battle is not clearly defined, appearing as part of a continuous narrative with no apparent title and no obvious conclusion. For the most part however each account is numbered and has a title (e.g. ‘B.N.⁷⁷. 3 No 182 Taurakohia ki roto o Waikato ki a Kingi Potatau’, and ‘B.N. 4 Pariotonga Ngati Whatua’). Within the narrative accounts of the battles, excerpts of whakapapa (genealogies), whakataukī (proverbial sayings), pepeha (sayings), karakia (incantations), waiata (laments) and hari (songs or dances) are included. The order in which the battles are recorded does not appear to be strictly chronological.

In terms of its classification, the manuscript belongs primarily to the narrative or recount genre, with some sections being in the clarification genre. The recount genre is characterized by Derewianka (1994) as being typified by the semantic relations of *Chronological Sequence* and *Temporal Overlap*, and these relations, particularly the former, do occur frequently within the text segments relating to the battles. Although the presence of these relations is by no means always specifically signalled, where a signal of temporal sequence does occur, it is most

⁷³ To be undertaken ethically, with the mentorship of knowledgeable elders, as discussed later in this chapter and recommended in *Chapter 4*.

⁷⁴ G. Warren (Librarian Maori), personal correspondence, 14 October 2008.

⁷⁵ Referred to in Pene Haare’s manuscript as ‘Moremunui’. This battle was also known by the name ‘Te Kai a te Karoro’ (The Seagulls’ Feast).

⁷⁶ Probably a reference to Te Houtaewa, a legendary chief of Te Aupouri who was a fearless warrior, renowned for goading the enemy then evading them by running at great speed in a zig-zag pattern. The battle referred to here is likely to be an account of a battle between Te Houtaewa and Hongi Hika (see Cloher, 2002, p. 44-47).

⁷⁷ “B.N.” is presumably an abbreviation of ‘Battle Number’.

often the verbal marker *ka*⁷⁸, as may be seen in the following extract from pages 17 and 18 of the manuscript:

Ka poto nga hapu ka toa ki Tau marere, ki Taiamai. ***Ka*** Hui hui mo Te Haere a te aonga ake i te ata ka hoe Ngapuhi i te tai rawhiti tae noa ki tua nga whai ***ka*** hoe i roto i tera awa Mutu noa mai tera awa ***ka*** mahue nga waka ***ka*** moe Ngapuhi i reira i te po. ***ka*** moemoea Te Tohunga o nga Puhi a Kaiteke moe iho Kaiteke E haria maiana Tenei Hari hari e ngatua o te po . . .

Ka meatu Te tohunga nei a Kaiteke ki a nga Puhi, He Parekura tenei mo ngati wha tua. ***Ka*** Haere te ope a nga Puhi ***ka*** Poka atu ireira kia Puta atu ki nga Kuinga mai o nga awa o Kai Para e ahu mai ana ki te marangai. Kei reira Hoki Tana Hoa riri a nga ti whatua e Tatari mai ana i a Nga Puhi. ***Katae*** atu te ope a nga Puhi whawhai tonu atu a nga Puhi ki nga Ti whatua. ***Ka*** Kokiri mai nga toa o ngati whatua, e Puhia atu ana e nga Puhi. Hei aha ki Te iwi toa kia ngati whatua. ***Ka*** whakamuhu mai iroto ite mura o te Pu a nga Puhi. ***Ka*** whati a nga Puhi i ngati whatua. Tae mai nga Puhi ki Te tahiawa ko waiko moko. Katahi nga Puhi ka mate ki reira ara ***ka*** hinga te tangata ki roto i taua awa e kore rawa e araake te tangata i te Pehanga ano e ratou, i te mea e whati ana. ***Karangona*** te reo o Turi Katuku e karanga ana e hongu e ka mahue Tai a mai e (emphasis added).

The sequence signal *kātahi . . . ka . . .* (then) also occurs regularly throughout the text of the manuscript, with *nō te/i te . . .* (when) and *i muri i . . .* (after) making an occasional appearance, along with *tae atu*, *hei te ata*, *pau noa*, *kua tino mutu*, *kihai i roa* and other minor variants of these.

The Auckland Museum Library has classified the battles recorded by Pene Haere as having taken place circa 1820 - 1840, yet at least three of the battles ('No. 8 Rangiputa i a Te Ripo', 'B.N. 32 Ohari ki Otaua na Tarutaru ki a Ngati Whatua', and 'B. Parekura N. 17 Ko Panitehe ki a Kaharau'), would have taken place well

⁷⁸ Used to denote the commencement of a new action or condition (Williams, 1957, p. 81). Houia (2001, pp. 106 & 117) observes that *ka* may also, in some instances, signal chronological sequence. Thus, *ka* may be referred to, in such instances, as a 'chronological sequence marker'.

before then. The first of these, ‘Rangiputa i a Te Ripo’, recounts the events from which the name ‘Te Rarawa Kai Whare’⁷⁹ originated, in which immediate descendants of the Te Rarawa paramount chief Tarutaru were involved; the second involves Tarutaru himself. In Matthews’ (1998, p. 2) estimation, these events took place some 15-18 generations before the point at which Pene Haare was writing. In *Ngā Mōteatea* (Ngata, 2004 [1953], pp. 12-13), in the footnotes for ‘He Tangi mo Te Huhu’ (A Lament for Te Huhu), Tarutaru is referred to as “he rangatira toa no Te Rarawa i ngā rā o namata” (a warrior chief of Te Rarawa in ancient days (Ngata, 2004 [1959], p. 13)). By working through my own whānau whakapapa, I estimate that it is possible that those particular battles could have taken place around 1780 and 1760 respectively, or possibly earlier. The third battle mentioned relates events involving Kaharau, the son of Ngāpuhi’s eponymous ancestor, Rahiri. According to a whakapapa included in Matiu and Mutu (2003, p. 54), Kaharau’s era preceded Tarutaru by 6 generations. Likewise, the battle of Moremunui, recorded by Pene Haare as ‘Te Pakanga a Pokaia raua ko Taoho’ and designated as having taken place ‘no 1820’ (in 1820), is estimated by other authors to have taken place about 1807, based partly on the fact that it was reportedly the first instance of Māori warfare involving muskets (Smith, 1910; Keene, 1975; Ballara, 2003). Thus, the description ‘c. 1820-1840’ in the Auckland Museum library records⁸⁰ is at odds with the timing of certain of the battles recorded. While Pene Haare, in recording orally transmitted histories, would not have been preoccupied initially with the chronological ‘accuracy’ of his accounts, he seems to have made some attempts, at a later date, to add chronological elements (for example, in the titles).

In Pene Haare’s correspondence to Hongi, he describes the contents of his manuscript:

Ko te Pukapuka hohonu tenei ona korero me tona reo tapu, ko te reo rangatira tenei ongaPuhi. Tona Tawhiti ki muri kei te 4 mano tau ki muri. e kore tenei reo e taea te whakama-rama e te tahi initapeta Tino mohio o

⁷⁹ Te rarawa kai whare’ – ‘Te Rarawa, consumer of houses of the dead’ (Kawharu, 2008, p 176).

⁸⁰ G. Warren (Librarian Maori), personal correspondence, 14 October 2008.

runga o te motu nei, maku ano e tohutohu te Tikanga o te nei Kupu o tenei Kupu (October 20, 1930, p. 2).

(This manuscript contains knowledge of great depth. Its content and its sacred dialect, this is the Ngāpuhi idiom, which originated 4 thousand years ago. Not even the most skilled interpreter in the land could begin to decipher it. I myself shall instruct the meaning of each and every word.)

Included in the above extract is a reference to the Ngāpuhi vernacular having originated ‘4 mano tau ki muri’, a literal translation of which would be ‘4 thousand years before’. It is likely, however, that ‘4 mano tau’ is not intended to be taken literally, but is rather a figurative expression meaning ‘a very, very long period of time’. With regard to the ‘sacred dialect’ referred to, it is interesting to note that Royal (2003, p. ix) recounts in the introduction to Māori Marsden’s book *The Woven Universe* an occasion where he accompanied Rev. Marsden to a hui with a Ngāti Maniapoto elder. Royal, a competent speaker of te reo Māori, is beside himself with excitement, anticipating an opportunity to enrich his level of Māori language proficiency in the presence of these two tohunga (experts). However, the vernacular employed by the two elders as they converse, which he presumes to be an ancient dialect of te reo Māori used by tohunga in the whare wānanga, proved to be completely incomprehensible to him. The dialect that Pene Haare refers to in his letter is likely to have been similar to that to which Royal refers.

In the same letter, Pene Haare goes on to make the following comments, which appear, in the context in which they are written, to relate to the content of the manuscript:

Kei Tenei Pukapuka nga korero katoa o nga Waka katoa o nga Puhi Te tuanga me te tonga ki te wai. me te hoenga mai i Hawaiki nga karakia Tapu nga Pakanga. me ra tu mahi iroto inga Rohe o nga Puhi” (October 20, 1930, pp. 2-3).

(In this book are all the accounts of all the Ngāpuhi waka, the naming and the hauling to the water and the journey here from Hawaiki, the sacred

incantations, the battles, and other significant events from the Ngāpuhi region.)

This description may indicate that the manuscript authored by Pene Haare, which consists solely of accounts of certain Ngāpuhi battles, was intended to be but one instalment of what was intended to be a more extensive work⁸¹. Alternatively, Pene Haare may have been referring here to another work, of a type similar perhaps to the one that Wiremu Wī Hongi⁸² had in his possession, a manuscript written by his elders and given into his guardianship (kaitiakitanga) (Sissons et al, 2001, p. 63). Is it possible that Pene Haare was in possession of a manuscript written by one of his kaiako (teachers) or tūpuna (elders) in the ancient, esoteric dialect of the Ngāpuhi tohunga, which he was in the process of interpreting for a modern audience?⁸³

An index on page 372 lists the last battle account as ‘N. 61 Te Houtaewa ki Pukerahi ki a Whakaririka’. However, battles ‘N. 62’⁸⁴ and what would be ‘N. 63’⁸⁵ are also written up. Following on from these are a few more pages of indexes and notes, some of which are reminders to the author to go back and ‘whakatikatika’ (correct, refine) certain of the accounts. Another index (pp. 371-374) lists the battles by title from 1-61. However, the numbering sequence continues on to 136. In addition, an index on page 224 lists the titles of battles from 63 through 84. Since ‘N. 63’ was the last account recorded in the manuscript, it seems that Pene Haare intended to record many more battles. When he wrote to Hongi in 1930, “Kua kau-matuatia kua Tai maha te ringa kite Tuhi tuhi’ (Pene Haare, 14 November, 1930, p. 9) (I am old and my hand gets tired from writing), he may indeed have been struggling to complete the task that he had set for himself. Other indexes show the author’s attempts to assign dates to the battles listed. These are likely to have been estimates based on his extensive knowledge of whakapapa.

⁸¹ Reference is made in Kawharu (2008) to a set of papers authored by Pene Haare, *MS Papers 71* (n.d.), about which neither I nor, I believe, the Penney whānau were formerly aware.

⁸² Referred to in section 3.2.

⁸³ At least one person among his kaiako and tūpuna was literate, since at least one of them taught Pene Haare to write.

⁸⁴ Entitled ‘Ko Mataraua Pa i a Te Tihi na Hongi Hika’.

⁸⁵ Entitled ‘Ko Hihiaua tenei Parekura’.

3.3.3 Issues relating to culture and cultural contact

An extremely significant cultural issue so far as this manuscript is concerned is the fact that it is a document written by someone for whom the oral traditional was both alive and “a memory of memories” (Thomas, 1989, p. 13). Pene Haare attained the knowledge that he recorded in his manuscript from his elders. It would have been transmitted to him in the traditional manner of oral recitation, with the attendant rituals and dedications, and retained in his prodigious memory. Those who communicated the information to him were possibly old enough to have experienced some of the events recounted in these battles.

Biggs (1964, p. 43) observes that, in contrast to the gods and heroes of mythology, tribal traditions are concerned with mortals, are local to the tribe concerned and are genealogically located within thirty generations of the present day. Many of these traditional records, “told in terms of great men and great battles”, have been maintained in the face of both inter-tribal and inter-racial warfare and numerous colonising influences. Biggs does not speak directly of the influence of Christianity on the recording of such tribal traditions. However, based on what we know about the powerful presence and influence of the Catholic church in the northern Hokianga region, and the degree to which the Māori communities there embraced the Whakapono (Catholicism), the question of whether Pākehā religion influenced the nature and transmission of tribal traditions is a valid one. As noted earlier of Himiona Kamira,⁸⁶ although steeped in traditional lore, he was “strongly committed” to his Catholic faith (Tate, 2007a). Likewise, as noted in section 3.2, Pene Haare was a devout Catholic: despite a terminal prognosis, he had recovered his health after praying the rosary at The Shrine of Mary at Pukekaraka in Ōtaki (Sommers, 2008); even if not an officially designated katekita (catechist), he was certainly involved in the training and development of local katekita and active in his church (Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, December 2008); and he took the editor of *Te Toa Takitini* to task over claims as to the supremacy of the Anglican church over the Catholic (Pene Haare, 1904, p. 6). How his having embraced the teachings of the Catholic church affected his traditional knowledge and the way he chose to transmit that knowledge is a matter for speculation. Some

⁸⁶ (See section 3.2).

indication of this type of influence may however be contained in his 1943 letter to Ngata where Pene Haare states:

. . . e rima nga Puka Puka⁸⁷ ka tuhia e ahau e rangi e kore ahau e tuhi tuhi inga wahi kino i roto i taku Puka Puka inga mahi ao tatou tupuna Ko nga wahi pai anake ka tuhia e au (August 20, 1943, p. 2).

(Five books will be written. But I am not going to write the bad parts in my book about our ancestors' endeavours, only the good parts.)

We can only speculate about what Pene Haare might have regarded as 'nga wahi kino'⁸⁸. In my reading of Pene Haare's manuscript I can find no mitigation of, for example, the recounting of such acts as kairarawa⁸⁹ (the consuming of human flesh and/or organs to extract the mana of the defeated enemy), the killing of women and children, and other activities which might be perceived, from a Catholic perspective, as 'bad' or 'wicked'. Jenkins' study (1991, pp. 93-100) of the acquisition of literacy by Māori in the early nineteenth century, and the use of literacy as a colonising tool, examines the effect of the use of phrases with moral overtones in the teaching of writing by missionaries (e.g. 'Pai rawa te korero o te Atua' (The word of God is excellent)). She concludes that, in the context of missionary teaching, the meanings of Māori words were redefined according to English cultural and moral sensibilities, and a Biblical sense of 'good' and 'bad'. She observes that "[inherent] with these changes of meanings are the cultural transformations that are overlaid via the imposition of the new meanings of the dominating cultural group, which insists that their meanings [and their worldview] take prominence" (p. 100).

King (1983, p. 33) has noted that, in the Northern districts in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the role and function of the katekita eventually came to supplant that of the traditional tohunga. Haami (2004, p. 24) relates instances where conversion to Christianity resulted in the loss of the tribal traditions (e.g.

⁸⁷ Although not the case here, in a 19th century context 'pukapuka' (now generally translated as 'book' or 'manuscript') may also be understood to mean 'letter'.

⁸⁸ The word 'kino' may also be translated, depending on the context, as 'evil', 'wicked', 'corrupt' or 'immoral'.

⁸⁹ "Kairarawa denoted the consumption of the life-force and the psychic and spiritual forces of the enemy which replenished one's own powers" (Marsden, 2003, p.13).

elders who, upon conversion, renounced their traditional knowledge; and members of Rua Kenana's⁹⁰ Christian-Judaic community at Maungapōhatu whose whakapapa books were destroyed once they entered the fold). On the other hand, Pene Haare exhibited many qualities that are consistent with his acknowledged status as a repository of the oral tradition. He was adamant that his authority and expertise did not extend beyond the bounds of Ngāpuhi⁹¹ and was reluctant to ever presume to exert that authority over another tribal area, even when invited to do so⁹². This combination of humility and self-assuredness was the mark of a man who understood his role and function within his community and had nothing to prove. A family member recalls hearing of an episode where Pene Haare was seen to summon birds and lizards from the bush, and fish to the banks of the river (Stephen Burke, personal communication, January 2009). The ease with which he managed such feats was attributed to his deep spiritual connection to the land to which he belonged, his tūrangawaewae ('place to stand') in the northern Hokianga.

Did Pene Haare's deep devotion to the Whakapono impact on his commitment to his role and purpose in life as a guardian and disseminator of tribal history and traditions? To some extent, this must have been the case. The knowledge recorded in his manuscript had its genesis in the ancient Ngāpuhi oral tradition and in a form of te reo Māori associated particularly with the whare wānanga. It was, however, recorded by him in writing and largely in a version of te reo Māori that was widespread in his region at the time he wrote. Furthermore, although access to that knowledge would have been restricted to a few select individuals in Pene Haare's youth, the very act of writing it down made it more widely accessible. Furthermore, Pene Haare's desire to have it translated into English, the mother tongue of the colonisers, indicated a wish that it should be disseminated more

⁹⁰ Rua Tapunui Kenana (1869-1937) of Tuhoe was a Māori Prophetic leader, faith healer and land rights activist. For more on Kenana, refer to Binney, Chaplin and Wallace (1979).

⁹¹ The term 'Nga Puhi' (Ngapuhi/Ngāpuhi), as well as referring to the tribe, often refers to a collective of tribes of the Taitokerau region (McCully & Matiu, 2003, p. 172). These tribes are referred to in the Ngāpuhi proverb: *E whā ngā pātū o taku whare, ko Te Aupōuri, ko Te Rarawa, ko Ngāti Kahu, ko Ngāti Whātua, ko Ngāpuhi te tuanui* (There are four walls of my house, Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, and Ngāti Whātua, and the ridgepole is Ngāpuhi) (Kawharu, 2008, p. 158).

⁹² Pene Haare was invited by both Hongi and Ngata to translate waiata and karakia "o te pito ki runga" (from the southern regions), but he declined on the grounds that his knowledge and expertise were specific to Ngāpuhi (Pene Haare, 14 November, 1930, pp. 7-8).

widely still. Times were indeed changing. However, as Haami (2004, p. 25) observes, Māori were survivors, and “far from ignoring the new concepts and technologies that were presented to them [they] seized and adapted foreign tools and philosophies to meet their own needs”⁹³.

Haami (2004, p. 24) observes that, according to Māori beliefs, the passing on of knowledge depletes the giver’s mauri (life-force) and could even be a cause of premature death. This may be one reason why Pene Haare deferred the writing of his manuscript for so long. Another reason may have been a tension between desire that the knowledge contained in the manuscript should be preserved and reluctance to commit sacred knowledge to writing. Smith (1898, p. 1) notes that “we know less about the history and traditions of Ngapuhi and other Northern tribes, than those of any others”. This dearth of information, to which reference has also been made by Cloher (2002) and McCully and Mutu (2003), may be due, in part at least, to the fact that the Taitokerau tribes had a particularly strong adherence to the oral retention of their histories in the first instance. McCully and Mutu (p. 14) note that “the will of our ancestors to record these things in Māori and from their own point of view” was one reason why they “grasped literacy with great enthusiasm in the early nineteenth century”. However, the acknowledgement of the need to preserve traditional knowledge in writing represented an acceptance of cultural threat, an acceptance that must have been extremely difficult for some to come to terms with.

3.3.4 Issues relating to orality and literacy

The traditional Māori world, in which the validation and mana (authority)⁹⁴ of oral expression had been all-powerful, was forever changed by the introduction of the written word. However, literacy became in many ways an adjunct to the oral tradition, opening up “new forms of communication and new trains of thought”

⁹³ Furthermore, since every act of transmission is in itself a translation or interpretation and is, necessarily, subjective, these tribal histories could not possibly have survived intact, in their original form. Moreover, variation and differences in interpretation are acknowledged as an integral feature of the oral tradition. As Sissons (2001, p. 7) observes, however, “a tribal history that calls forth disagreement and debate is a living history with mana”, and it is this aspect that is, ultimately, most important.

⁹⁴ It is important here to note the inadequacy of any one word (whether it be ‘power’, ‘control’ ‘prestige’, ‘authority’ or ‘right’) to convey the full depth of meaning of the term ‘mana’ in any given context.

(Haami, 2004, p. 15). From the mid-nineteenth century, Māori were using a profusion of Māori language newspapers, personal correspondence, hui minutes and proclamations to “inform each other about themselves” (p. 23). They also recognised that writing and publishing was a means of preserving (if in substantially altered form) oral traditions (p. 23).

Jenkins (1991, p. 20) writes of being stirred to nostalgia as she viewed for the first time manuscripts written by Māori in the mid-nineteenth century. Not understanding the full extent of the transition that they would have undergone in the process of acquiring literacy, she regarded those early examples of Māori writing as not very proficient. Later in her research however, as indicated in 3.2, she came to recognise the work of Te Rangikaheke, a highly regarded Māori scholar of the time, as exhibiting real competency, attained in a relatively brief period of time (p. 17). Haami (2004, p. 24) contends that while some early Māori writings exhibit little understanding of English orthographic conventions, such as the use of the comma and the apostrophe, others demonstrate a high degree of creativity, making use of punctuation in a way intended to replicate aspects of oral delivery and/or of formulae associated with the oral tradition.

Unlike Te Rangikaheke, who acquired his literacy from European missionaries, Pene Haare was apparently taught to write by literate Māori: his elders (Pene Haare, 14 November, 1930, p. 3). As far as we know, he only ever wrote in Māori. However, letters belonging to the English alphabet do appear in his manuscript. Whilst the Māori term ‘pakanga’ (battle or war) appears in some titles, the majority of the battle accounts have the letters ‘B.N.’ in their titles (see Figures 3.14 and 3.15 below), presumably an abbreviation of the words ‘Battle Number’⁹⁵. In other cases, there is a combination of Māori and English terms⁹⁶. Also seen occasionally in the margins are the letters ‘AB’, ‘ABB’ and ‘ABB2’ (see Figure 3.15 below: also Figures 3.10 and 3.11 above), marking an apparently significant section of text, or marking notes that the author has made in the margin:

⁹⁵ For a body of text that is written entirely in Māori, this use of English orthography is incongruous (for example, ‘B.N. 3 No 1823, Taurakohia ki roto o Waikato ki a Kingi Potatau’ and ‘B.N. 40 Pariotonga Ngati Whatua’).

⁹⁶ For example ‘B. Pakanga N. 7. ki Te Tumuu’.

21

~~B N 3~~ no. 1823

Taura ko hia ki'roto o
 waikato kia kingi Potatae
 ko Le Lake tenei Parekura. Kote
 Tahi rangatira o nga Puhi ko
 Hoperu i Haere tenei rangatira ki
 Hauraki kia ngati Maru ki Le

Figure 3.14: B N 3 - title (p. 21)

ABB 2:

ko Le Korero whaka mutunga a
 Poroa kia Pomare. i Te Koronga
 o Pomare e whakarangona ki
 Tana Korero kia Kana i e Tohe
 ki Le Haere ki'roto o waikato
 ki Le Sakahi i tarana Manungaro
 ko Potatae. Taku kupu tenei kia
 kol Haere kia kile Kolia Potatae
 ite ko ha tu kipi paka, e whakatae
 kitia nei (i ko waikato Horopouhau
 Hei tua hoki Hei'roto i te takahi
 Manungarongo- kamutu ngakupu
 a Poroa. kia Pomare. Ka Hoki ma
 Le opea Poroa. a Hongi hika hoki
 me tana ope. ka tae mai ki wai
 hese. ka meatu a Hongi kia Poroa
 me Huirana ki'roto o Hauraki
 ki ngati Maru. ki Te Putake o te
 Hara ka whakatae atu a Poroa
 ka meatu a Hongi kia Poroa
 kote Puta tahi nei whawhai
 Tanga mataua kote Pa o te Toa
 nei o Kaea. ^{ngal tamatua} ko Manungarongo
 ka Haere i ope a Hongi hika

manungarongo
 i e Kaea.

B.N 4

Figure 3.15: B N 4 - title (p. 33)

Judging from the handwriting, all of these instances of English orthography appear to have been applied by the author, albeit after the fact (see section 3.3.1 above). Given that Pene Haere almost certainly wrote his manuscript in the period from 1923 to 1930s (see 3.2), this movement between languages/orthographic conventions almost certainly represents a natural extension of the process of transliteration that had begun as early as 1840 (Haami, 2004, p. 125).

As well as including dates in some of the battle titles, Pene Haere also attempted at some point to assign dates to the battle accounts listed in his indexes (see Figures 3.16 and 3.17 below):

371	1	Mo remurui kia Po-kara. Na Taoho	1820
	2	Teikarangaui ki ngati whatua	1825
	3	Taura Kohia ki Wai-kato	1823
	4	Ko Manu hira hira kia Kaea	1823
	5	Te Totara ki ngati manu	1823
	6	Mokoiā kia Te araua	1824
	7	Te Sumuā kia Pa-pe	1823
	8	Rangī Pūta ia Leripo	Pakurakura Te Tūngutu/Manihi?
	9	Padunga itepohio Kairakohu	He uri na Taratari.
	10	Whiria kia Hūke umu	
	11	Te Hūmōke kia Hūhū	
	12	Mataraua kia Te tēhi	
	13	Makara Patupatu Wahine	

Figure 3.16: Index from the manuscript with chronology (p. 371)

		1823 Manu hira hira manuhira hira	
387	X	1823 Maungiangina Kia Kaea	
	X	1823 Taura Kohia ki Wai-kato	
	X	1823 Te Sumuā ia Pa-pe	
	X	1824 Mokoiā ki Te araua	
	XX	1825 Teikarangaui ki ngati whatua	
	X	Motū Kauri ki ngā Pūta ki Koro Koro	
		1827 Te whare umu ki Loterian	
	X	1828 Te unahi ia Hengi	
	X	1829 Te Hara pūti ki Pahe ki Motū	
	X	1837.0 Teiheruā kia Pū Hanguā	
	X	1842.0 Ruru ki Tāpa ia Pa-pe	
	X	1845 Hone Hone	
	X	1846 Hōngi hika ki Waihou	
	XX	1850 Mo remurui	
	X	1850 Te Karakaria ki ngati Kahie	
	X	1853 Te ngāpū ki ngati Kahie	
	X	1852 Te Kauri Paia ki ngā Pūhi māru Kōro	
	X	1852.0 O Hariri kiō Taura ki ngati whatua	
	X	1825 Makara na ngati whatua	
	X	1825 Te rangi Kātūri ki ngati whatua	
	X	1821 Te Kato Ka ia Te Kari māhi Kāka	
	X	Muri Motū ia Te Matalama ki ngati	
	X	Mokai Kai Kahurōnaki ia Tāka hi	
	X	Maunga whiri ia Panui	

Figure 3.17: Index from the manuscript with chronology 2 (p. 387)

King’s (1983, p. 30) description of Heremia Te Wake (“intelligent, highly literate in Māori and versed in Catholic doctrine”) could have been applied equally

appropriately to Pene Haare. Analysts of the written works of Te Rangikaheke remark on his great competence, acquired with the assistance of Christian missionaries and nurtured in his close association with Governor George Grey. Notwithstanding the fact that Pene Haare's literacy had been acquired predominantly in a Māori environment, his writing appears to be every bit as accomplished as that of Te Rangikaheke. His proficiency is evident at each of its various stages of development, from his letter to the editor of 1904⁹⁷ through his personal correspondence with Hongi (1919 to 1930) and Ngata (1943) to his manuscript (1923 to some time in the 1930s). Figures 3.18 – 3.20 below provide some examples:

KI TE ETITA o TE PIPIWHARAUROA.

ME whaka atu, ahau kia koe. Ko nga kai whakaako onga iwi Maori. Ki Te Maturanga. He Pakeha anake mo Ha- to Petera. Mo to korero Hore kau i roto i te karaipiture, Tona whaka Turanga; hei apo ko. Mo Te Hahi. Me To kupu anohoki e kore oku kanohi e kite o Tira e Te Etita. Kua kite oku kanohi. Ko. He hu kerite i whiriwhiri ia Hato Petera. Hei upoko. Mo Tona Hahi i Hoatu hoki kia ia Ngaki, o te rangatiratanga o te rangi. Matui 16. 18 19. Ko te upoko o te Hahi i Haere ki Roma. Ka Hore He Take kia whaka aturia tenei E He- hukerito. i Tono Hoki ia i nga Potoro kia kau whau ki te ao katoa kati ngariwhi o Ha- to Petera i noho katoa ki Roma. Hoi e mea ana koe E ki ana te whaka roherohenga. E kore e Tika kia Tohea nga mea ka Hore nei i Te karaipiture. Me Titiro koe ki te kupu A Hehu kerito i te 2 teharo niko. 2up 15ra. Na Eaku Teina Etu koutou kia mau kinga whakaakoranga i whaka akona ai koutou. E Te Kupu ranei e ta matou Pukapuka ranei. Hato Hoane 21. 25. Na tera atu ano tini onga mea i mea ai A Hekukerito. Mei tuhi- tuhia katoa Tia e nei mea. E mea ana a hau e kore e whai Ta Kotoranga. Ki Te ao nei. A konga Pihopa o Roma Hei whaka Haere i nga Tikanga o te Hahi moia whenua moia whenua. No te Timatanga mai ano o te Hahi. '2 Mo Hatamaria.

Figure 3.18: Extract from Letter to the Editor (Te Pipiwharaurora, 1904, p.6)

⁹⁷ Although type-set for publication in *Te Pipiwharaurora*, the grammatical characteristics of the handwriting have been retained.

the manuscript (shown in Figure 3.7 above), provides an example of the author's creative use and adaptation of English orthographic and grammatic conventions:

Na Taoho **Tenei Tamaiti** i a **Tawhai** Kariro ia Taoho ki Kaipara ki roto itona iwi ia **ngati whatua** no te wa e noho ana a **taoho** iroto itona iwi i **ngati wha** tua ka patua tana **Tamaiti** e atawhai ia a Te Wana e tona iwi . . . (emphasis added).

No full stops or commas are used in this segment at all, and the use of capitalisation is inconsistent. Certain words which are not apparently proper nouns or names are capitalised, while names such as 'taoho' and 'ngati whatua' in some instances are not. Words are sometimes split, as with 'a Tawhai' ('ātawhai' - to show kindness to, or to foster) and sometimes joined together, as in 'Kariro' ('ka riro' - took).

An extract from page 17 (Figure 3.12 above) provides further examples, and includes the use of a transliterated term, 'taima' ('i tenei *taima*' - at this *time*) (emphasis added):

Kua **Haere** a nga **Ti** whatua ki **Te** tua whenua kei **Piro** ano ripiro ia ratou. i tenei taima kua **Hoki** mai a Hongi Hika i ngarangi me nga mahia te pu torori Kua **Tirera** tia e Hongi tonaiwi ki **Te Puru** i te **Pu** torori. **Ki Te Pupuhi** . . . (emphasis added).

In these extracts, capitalisation appears to be used in some instances to emphasise certain words - for example 'Piro' (pollute, to make putrid), 'Puru i te Pu torori' (load the musket) – and in others to show the beginning of a new sentence or thought. In still others the signification of the capitalisation is unclear. While no familiar convention is used to indicate long vowels in the text, such as macrons or double vowels⁹⁹, there appears in some instances to be a correlation between the

⁹⁹ The original Māori orthography did not mark vowel length. Although both macrons and double vowels did appear in Māori language newspapers and Māori manuscripts of the nineteenth century, they were sporadic (Wikipedia/ Māori Language/ Orthography. Retrieved December 5 2008 from URL: <http://www.wikipedia.org>). The standardised use of the macron is a relatively

word breaks and the pronunciation of those words (e.g. ‘i ngarangi’ (England) pronounced ‘*E*engarangi’; ‘nga Ti whatua’, pronounced Nga*a*ti Wha*a*tua, and ‘a Tawhai’, pronounced *a*atawhai) It appears likely that the breaks in these cases signal a long vowel on the sound preceding the break. This pattern is evident in several of the extracts included here, but is not universally the case.

In general, the handwritten text of the original appears to conform to patterns of oral delivery. This would seem to account for the joining together of words in many instances: they are written phonetically, as they would be spoken. Full stops are used sporadically, and not necessarily at the end of a sentence. In page 17 (Figure 3.12), nine full stops are included in the text. In four instances, they appear to signal the end of a sentence; in four more, they appear to signal a pause; and in one instance the function is unclear.

The notion that orthographic conventions used in these early manuscript texts conformed more to the conventions of oral formulae (McRae, 2002, p. 43) and that they were not random but had their own significances (Haami, 2004, p. 24) is borne out by these examples.

There are at least three instances in the source text where it appears that the author has been unable to recall a particular name and a blank space has been left, perhaps for completion at a later time. Thus, “Ko taua tangata ko - ” and “Ko te ingoa o taua wahine ko - ” (pp. 57-58). Pene Haare was of advancing years when he began to record this information. Was it possible, because he no longer had frequent occasion to use his skills of retention and recitation, that he was beginning to lose that faculty? This would surely have been a factor in his decision to record the knowledge in his keeping, to ensure that it would not be lost.

recent development (from 2000), one which has largely replaced the use of double vowels popularized in the 1960s by Professor Bruce Biggs (Wikipedia, n.d).

3.4. The translation

3.4.1 Authorial purpose

Some Māori elders recorded their traditional knowledge only when it was in danger of being lost, when they feared the oral tradition could not be sustained (Garlick, 1998, p. 23). For others, these precious manuscripts were intended only as a family or tribal resource (McRae, 1997, p. 4). Still others, such as Te Rangikaheke, believed that by transcribing the oral traditions - “the Maori spells, the recitations of genealogies, and all the other traditions from the ancient beginnings” - they were ensuring that traditional values were retained “for the generations of the future” (Thornton, 1989, p. 86). While some, in the interests of transmitting understanding of Māori language and culture, provided their knowledge as material for books, they were selective about what they allowed to be published, and for good reason. The largely Pākehā-controlled processes of publishing and editing of the late 1800s to early 1900s saw the manipulation and distortion of Māori narratives, and the obliteration of idiom, dialect and other tribal identity markers, consolidating them into homogenized, pan-tribal ‘Māori’ renderings (McRae, 1997, pp. 3-5).

As noted by Haami (2004, p. 20), the function of literacy in the Māori world of the nineteenth century changed from a ‘ritual’ significance in the 1830s, to a more practical and utilitarian significance after the mid-1840s. When he made the decision in the 1920s to commit his knowledge to paper, Pene Haare’s motivation was likely to have been a combination of both these functions. In addition, he may have been motivated, as was Reuben Riki (a Ringatū elder) according to Binney (1995, p. 6), by a desire for his knowledge to have a *purpose* for his next of kin. Pene Haare, at 65 years of age, was no doubt mindful of his mortality. Possibly there was no willing repository among his children to whom he could cede the guardianship of these tribal traditions. Certainly, in the light of the fact that Māori had by this time been divested of the vast majority of their land, the need to ensure that tribal histories and genealogies - and, thereby, mana whenua – were recorded and maintained, was of some urgency. One of the accounts in the manuscript, an account of the battle from which the Te Rarawa tribe acquired

their name¹⁰⁰, sees Pene Haare depart from the norm. He concludes the account with a kauwhau (lecture), giving his own thoughts on who has the right, the mana, to lay claim to the name, ‘Te Rarawa’:

He nui no te raruraru ongaui onga iwi ihaere nei ki Te Rapu utu mo te ripo no kona ka whaka ara ano a ngati kahu i tona ingoa Hapu (Pene Haare, 1924, p. 53).

(Many disputes and grievances have sprung up among the descendants of those kin groups who went to seek revenge for Te Ripo. It is because of this that Ngāti Kahu has resurrected its clan name.¹⁰¹)

He gives several reasons, all argued convincingly, why the descendants of all who fought in this battle have a claim to the name - just as though he were engaged in *whaikōrero* (formal oratory) on the *marae ātea* (courtyard)¹⁰², or giving evidence in the Native Land Court. His purpose here appears to have been to set the record straight. He concludes his account with a *whakapapa*, showing all the *rangatira* (chiefs) whose descendants took part in that war with Ngāti Whātua (and who therefore, in his view, have a legitimate right to the tribal name ‘Te Rarawa’), including his own *tūpuna*, Ngarowiwi. As noted by Biggs (1964, p. 44), the reciting of the appropriate genealogies was important in the narration of traditions, since, by linking himself to the characters in the account, the narrator demonstrated the right to tell the story and also documented its authenticity.

The instance referred to above appears to be an isolated case in the manuscript, where the author/narrator adopts a first-person voice. However, it shows us that Pene Haare had motivations other than simply the preservation of tribal histories when recording his manuscript. Himiona Kamira (referred to in section 3.2 above), also kept manuscripts in which he meticulously recorded his vast knowledge of histories, *whakapapa* and tribal lore, as well as the minutiae of life

¹⁰⁰ No. 8 Rangiputa i a Te Ripo’.

¹⁰¹ In 1919, Ngāti Kahu was elevated from the status of *hapū* (kin group or sub-tribe) and registered as a major tribe in its own right (Cloher, 2002, p. 94).

¹⁰² Formerly, the *marae ātea* was “designated as the open area of land directly in front of the sacred carved house. It was here that the priestly experts conducted their sacred rituals” (Barlow, 1991, p. 73).

in his community. As noted by Tate (2007a, ¶9), Kamira intended those manuscripts to be of interest and of benefit “not just for Hokianga, but for the whole of Northland”. Pene Haare, however, by specifying that he intended his manuscript to be translated for both a Pākehā and a Māori audience (Pene Haare, 1943, p. 2) evidently had a much broader audience in mind.

Pene Haare’s primary role in life was that of a repository, a guardian and disseminator of tribal lore. He had been singled out as a child and selected to undertake the training that would fit him to fulfill this function (Pene Haare, 14 November, 1930, p. 4). All the information we have about him confirms his status and authority. However, as the traditional oral methods of knowledge transmission were eroded by the widespread embracing of literacy, and as the domains where oral traditions were habitually recited, debated, and therefore sustained, disappeared, Pene Haare chose to record aspects of that knowledge in written form. It is my belief that his manuscript constitutes a commitment to fulfill what was essentially his primary function and purpose, but in a form that was relevant and appropriate to the times in which he lived.

3.4.2 Translator’s purpose

When this research project was presented to me as a possibility, I approached my uncle, a respected Te Rarawa kaumatua, and informed him that an opportunity had arisen for me to translate the Pene Haare manuscript. His initial response was ‘He aha te take?’ (For what purpose?). My uncle’s reaction¹⁰³ brought to mind my post-graduate training as a translator, where it was impressed upon me that, ethically, a translator must think carefully about his/her purpose. The initial questions to be asked, particularly for a Māori translator, must be ‘Why translate?’ (or, ‘What is the purpose?’) and ‘What is my motivation?’ (or, ‘What’s in it for me?’). Anthony Pym’s (2003, p. 3) theory of cross-cultural communication states that in order for an act of communication to be deemed successful, “the mutual benefits from the communication must be greater in value than the translation cost involved”. A major benefit of the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript would

¹⁰³ He later explained that his remark was prompted by his concern that manuscripts of this nature be regarded as taonga, and that their immense value to Māori be understood to lie, not in their material value, but rather in their function as a tangible link to our tūpuna and their modes of thought and expression.

be rendering its contents accessible to the descendents of the author, the Penney whānau, who are the current, and rightful, kaitiaki (guardians) of the document. Their ability to access the manuscript's contents has been hindered by the fact that it is written in a language in which they are not fully fluent. This taonga, their tupuna's manuscript, is the author's legacy to them, and therefore its being translated into English is, from their point of view, crucial to their being able to both access and understand that legacy. A second major benefit of the translation would be the fulfilment of the author's wishes. We have seen evidence of the considerable efforts he made to identify and engage a suitable translator, whilst ensuring that his responsibility to protect and preserve the knowledge entrusted to him was not compromised (see section 3.3).

Smith (1999, p. 139), in a discussion of the difficulties faced by researchers who are deemed to be 'insiders' - that is, researchers who conduct research within their own communities - states that insider research must be "as ethical and respectful, as reflexive and critical" as that conducted by an 'outsider'¹⁰⁴. Above all, it must be *humble*. While my identification as Māori and my tribal identification as Te Rarawa position me in the general realm of 'insider' with regard to researching the Pene Haare manuscript, I am only too aware that to many of the residents of Mitimiti and the wider Hokianga I am unknown. While my whakapapa undeniably connects me to the Hokianga, it is not my kāinga (home): I do not live there, nor did I grow up there. I am mindful too of my shortcomings as far as the translation of such a document is concerned. My relative youth and inexperience as a translator are all obstacles to be navigated.

So, what have I to gain on a personal level? My interest and involvement in this project are based on a belief that the author, Ngakuru Pene Haare, and the immense contribution to mātauranga Māori that his manuscript constitutes, have been undervalued and overlooked by the historians, ethnologists, archivists and biographers of Aotearoa. For example, in a list of Māori scholars who have recorded the oral traditions in manuscript form, Haami (2004, p. 22) includes Taonui of Hokianga, and Tūhaere of Ngāti Whātua among such luminaries as Te

¹⁰⁴ Smith (1999) acknowledges that there are multiple ways of being both an insider and an outsider in indigenous contexts.

Rangikaheke and Mohi Ruatapu¹⁰⁵. Pene Haare, however inadvertently, is not included. Such oversights abound. Outside of Te Taitokerau, he - and his body of writing - remains largely unknown¹⁰⁶. Belich (1996, p. 157) observes that the reason so very little is known about the Māori inter-tribal wars of the early nineteenth century is that Pākehā historians were not privy to that information. Only Māori themselves knew the reasons why they went to war and, as Ballara (2003, p. 13) notes, these reasons “need to be retold by Maori voices that are as nearly contemporary as possible”. Furthermore, she maintains: “If we of this time want to understand, we should listen” (p. 13).

While my first responsibility as a translator, and therefore my primary purpose, is to fulfill the ‘brief’ of the job - to provide the Penney whānau with a translation of their tupuna’s manuscript - I nevertheless have a strong personal interest in contributing in some way to the acknowledgement of Pene Haare’s accomplishment, and to assisting in the realisation of his vision, a manuscript in two languages, both Māori and English: “Kia mohio ai nga iwi Erua” (Pene Haare, 1943, p. 2) (So that both peoples understand). An additional, and important, aim is to seek to ensure that the integrity of the mana of the author, and of the whānau and the hapū to whom this taonga belongs, is respected and protected.

Finally, the request to me to translate this manuscript represents a very real opportunity to increase my understanding of a range of issues associated with translation, and this constitutes one aspect of my motivation.

3.4.3 The nature of the translation

The agreement with the Penney whānau was that I, under the guidance and supervision of a licensed practitioner of the Translation Services department of Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao¹⁰⁷, would undertake a scholarly treatment and translation into English of their tupuna’s manuscript. It was also agreed that some part of this

¹⁰⁵ In the 1870s, Ngāti Porou tohunga Mohi Ruatapu recorded the previously oral myths, legends and songs of his people. The result is regarded as the most important single body of writing on myth produced by any nineteenth-century Maori writer.

¹⁰⁶ References to Pene Haare’s manuscript *MS 89/116* may be found in Cloher (2002) and (2003), and to another of his writings, *MS Papers 71* (n.d. held by Dr. Cleve Barlow), in Kawharu (2008).

¹⁰⁷ The School of Māori and Pacific Development at The University of Waikato.

work would underpin research for my Master's thesis. As indicated in *Chapter 2*, it was imperative that I give careful consideration to both the purpose of the translation and the needs of the target audience, in this case the Penney whānau. Among the factors to be considered were the fact that the manuscript was written in the early twentieth century, that it was written in the Te Rarawa ki Hokianga dialect of te reo Māori, and that the text includes the frequent use of culturally specific and, in some cases, archaic terms and figurative language that are likely to be unfamiliar to the vast majority of potential readers. Given that the target audience is a modern one, and not fully fluent in te reo Māori, it is likely that they will need/want to be provided, in language that is accessible, with a translation that includes, however located, explanation and discussion of aspects of the content of the manuscript that could present a barrier to full understanding. The whānau, some of whom have begun their own tribal and genealogical research projects, have also expressed a particular interest in the historical and genealogical aspects of the text.

3.4.3.1 Metaphorical and figurative language

Tau and Anderson (2008) observe that Māori tend to look to language in order to understand history. Thus, “the allusions, metaphors and symbolism” of those times, and the relationships between the protagonists in a narrative, may be as important as the actual narratives themselves, and so, for example, metaphor may be regarded as being particularly significant in that it provides an indication of what people were thinking at a given point in time (p. 17).

The difficulty of translating the imagery, symbolism and figurative language that characterises much Māori discourse has been encapsulated in Kawharu's (2008) book *Tāhuhu Kōrero: The Sayings of Taitokerau*, a collection of whakataukī (proverbs) and pepeha¹⁰⁸ (sayings). Kawharu (pp. 1-2) notes that the significance of Māori sayings is that they commemorate key moments in history, important places and celebrated ancestors, often using features of the landscape and other natural elements as metaphors for human behavior and thus reinforcing the links

¹⁰⁸ Kawharu defines *pepeha* as “sayings which are specific to a particular event or place”, and distinguishes them from *whakataukī*, which she defines as “general proverbial sayings” (pp. 1 – 2). The situation, however, is not so clear-cut as Kawharu suggests.

between people and their lands and descendants and their forebears. She also notes that Māori proverbs and sayings, “like stories, genealogy and history in general”, have multifarious shades of meaning and have an enduring relevance in the present day as “records of tribal memory” (pp. 1-2).

Grey (1857: iv) contends that, because proverbial sayings contain “so many local or personal allusions”, it is only with sound knowledge of the tribal account (“anecdote or fable”) from which they arise, that they can be fully understood. He notes that proverbs often consist of “a single sentence extracted from such an anecdote or fable, to which, by rapid allusion, it is supposed to refer the mind to the hearer”. A difficulty I am faced with in the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript is the profusion of figurative terms and idioms, as well as *hari*¹⁰⁹, with which I am unfamiliar and for which there is no contextual information provided. These instances will require research and there is no guarantee that the background information will be available, or has ever been recorded. Thus, although the whānau may be keen to receive a draft translation as early as possible, a fully professional translation will require extensive research and consultation, and will therefore take considerably longer to produce than the time available for conducting a Master’s thesis.

3.4.3.2 Gloss translation?

Gloss translation (see section 2.4), is a method of translation whose aim is to create a target text that is as comprehensible as possible to the target audience, whilst ensuring as faithful a rendering of the source text as possible. This approach involves the retention of culturally specific (or ‘culturally-embedded’) terms and references that are likely to prove *incomprehensible* to the target audience, accompanied by explanatory notes (such as those employed by Ngata (1959) in *Ngā Mōteatea*). Biggs (1952, p. 178) advocated the use of translator’s notes to explain unknown terms, while Buck (1952, p. 45) maintained that the translation of Māori texts should be “as literal as possible”, with “some allowance made for the different grammatical styles of the two languages”. A gloss approach

¹⁰⁹ In some instances in the manuscript, these songs appear to have been used to incite warriors to battle; in others, they were prophecies, transmitted to *tohunga* in dreams.

was adopted in Roa's translation of a series of Ngāti Hauā mōteatea¹¹⁰. Since, as Roa (2003) notes, "the precise form in which a function is communicated . . . may have embedded within it important cultural information" (p. 7), a primary aim of her translation was to preserve as much as possible of the original text (p. 10), while revealing as much as in terms of *meaning* to the target audience (p. 16). Thus, the target audience was encouraged to "appreciate . . . the complexity and range of social, cultural, historical and personal reference[s] and the interaction of literal and symbolic meanings" within the text (p. 16). While the Penney whānau may, on the face of it, seem to require more of a 'communicative' translation¹¹¹, the nature of the source text and the need to ensure that the 'important cultural information' that Roa refers to is communicated to the whānau, demands a gloss translation.

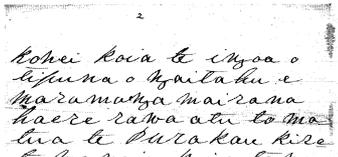
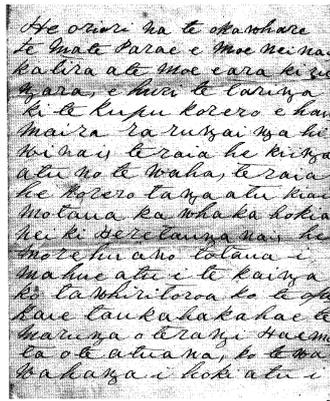
3.4.4 Typographical conventions

Some authors who have been involved in translating historic texts from Māori into English have expressed concerns about their own understanding of the source text due to, for example, non-standardised approaches to word and particle breaks (Binney, 1995, p. 9), or to word divisions or punctuation (Henare, 2003, p. 21). Even so, as Haami (2004, p. 125) observes, the original texts, as taonga, should be widely read and discussed and thus kept alive (p. 13): a translation can never be anything other than an approximation and it must always be open to revision. For this reason, Haami advocates a prototype system of organization/ presentation for the translation of Māori manuscript documents (see Figure 3. 21 below), which he refers to as 'the four-column page convention'.

¹¹⁰ Refer to section 2.4.

¹¹¹ Defined by James (2002, ¶ 37) as "attempting to ensure that content and language present in the SL [source language] context is fully acceptable and comprehensible to the TL (target language] readership".

The song ends with a recitation of the whakapapa linking Te Whakamana to the person it was composed for. Explanatory notes follow the song.



Te kape tuhinga (Transcription)	Te whakatikatika (Modern Māori)	Te whakapākehātia (English translation)
<p>He oriori na te okawhare te mate Parae e moe nei nai, katira ate moe e ara ki ru ngara, e huri te taringa ki te kupu korero e hau maira ra runga nga hi wi nai, teraia he kiinga atu no te waha, teraia he korerotangaatu kiaia motaua ka whakahokia nei ki Heretaunga nai, he morehuano totewa i mahue atu i te kāinga kotawhiritoroa ko te ope kaie taukahakaha e marungoterangi Haema taotatana, ko te wa wahanga i hoki atu i Konei koia te ingoa o tipuna o ngaitahu e maramanga mai ra na haere rawa atu to ma tua te Purakau kiro to manaia koi a tana e noho maira na, ihara maiano to tipuna a ka rauria i reira, kaore he Parera i mahue atu i roto o kakara he</p>	<p>He oriori nā Te Oka-whare Te Mate-pārae e moe nei, Kāiri ā te moe e ara ki runga iā. E huri te taringa ki te kupu kōrero e hau mai rā, 5 Rā runga i ngā hiwi na-i. Tērā ia he kiinga atu nō te waha, Tērā ia he kōrerotanga atu ki a ia mō taua, ka whakahokia 10 nei ki Heretaunga nā-i He mōrehu anō tō tāua i māhue atu i te kāinga; Ko Tawhiri-toroa, ko Te Ope-kai e, Tau-kahakaha e, 15 Te Mā-runga-o-te-rangi, Haemata-o-te-atua nā, Ko Te Wāwahanga i hoki atu i konei. Koia te ingoa o tipuna o Ngāi Tahu e. 20 Maramanga mai rā nā, Haere rawa atu tō matua Pū-rākau ki roto Manaia Koia tāna e noho mai rā nā 25 I hara mai anō tō tipuna a Karauria i reira. Kāore he parera i mahue atu i roto o Kākara,</p>	<p>A Lullaby by Te Oka-whare Te Mate-pārae, asleep here, Wake up and arise. Turn your ear To the spoken word waiting Over the hills. Perhaps it is A direct call. Perhaps it is a message About us being sent back To Heretaunga. Our kin Who survived were Tāwhiri-toroa, Te Ope-kai Tau-kahakaha e, Mā-runga-o-te-rangi, Haemata-o-te-atua, Te Wāwahanga returned from this place. Hence your ancestral name Ngāi Tahu! Arise from your sleep, Your kinsman Pū-rākau went as far as Manaia. Indeed that is why He remains there. Your ancestor Karauria came from there. Hardly anyone was left At Kākara,</p>

Figure 3.21: The four-column page convention (Haami, pp. 58-59)

This format enables the reader to view the original document in column 1; the exact transcription of the original text in column 2; a conversion of the original text to modern Māori in column 3; and the English translation in column 4.

I believe that this format would have many benefits in relation to the translation of the Haare manuscript, one of which is that it would provide important information for students and scholars. However, in view of a range of issues associated with dialect, language change and linguistic discontinuity, there are also risks associated with the inclusion of the conversion of the text to ‘modern Māori’.

3.5 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the author and his manuscript have been contextualised using a range of sources (including surviving correspondence involving Pene Haare) The nature of his education, the era and the location in which he lived and his religious beliefs were discussed. It has been established that Pene Haare was highly regarded in the Hokianga/Ngāpuhi region and further afield as a repository of traditional knowledge, and as an authority on that knowledge (3.2). Also discussed were relevant aspects of the period during which the manuscript is likely to have been written, the probable sources of the information contained in the manuscript, the tapu nature of some of that information, and the reasons why the author actively sought to have the manuscript translated (3.3). Issues identified

as being of significance in relation to the translation of the manuscript include: the benefits and drawbacks of using a combination of the original text and its later transcription (3.3.1) and the ways in which Pene Haare's background, education and religious beliefs may have impacted on the content of his manuscript (3.3.2 & 3.3.3). The manuscript was classified as belonging primarily to the 'narrative' or 'recount' genre, and the approach to the sequencing of the events recounted (largely non-chronological in nature) was discussed (3.3.4). Also discussed were: possible reasons why the author decided to commit his knowledge of the oral traditions to writing and to seek to make them available in both Māori and English (3.4.1); the translator's own purpose and motivation, including a personal interest in seeing the author's vision realised (3.4.2); the 'brief' of the job and the needs of the primary target readership (3.4.3); the difficulties facing the translator in relation to aspects of the language (including figurative language) of the source text and the paucity of relevant background reference materials (3.4.3.1). Finally, reasons were provided for a preference for (a) use of a gloss approach to translation, one that involves the provision of translator's notes (3.4.3.2), and (b) a four-column approach to presentation of the translated material alongside other material, including the source text (3.4.4).

Chapter 4:

Conclusions and recommendations

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of the research and research findings (4.2), including each of the research questions that were posed at the outset, how they have been addressed and the extent to which issues relating to these questions have been resolved (4.2.1-4.2.3). Based on the research findings, recommendations are proposed in relation to the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript (4.3). The chapter concludes with a summary of the perceived limitations of the research (4.4) and its contribution (4.5).

4.2 Overview of the research

The overall aim of this research project was to identify some of the critical issues and problems that are associated with the translation from Māori into English of a manuscript written by Te Rarawa elder Ngakuru Pene Haare in 1923, with a view to providing a sound basis upon which to approach such a translation (see *Chapter 1*).

4.2.1 Research question 1

What issues and problems must be addressed in translating this manuscript from Māori into English?

In seeking to identify issues and problems that were likely to be critical to the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript, I conducted a critical review of selected literature on the theory and practice of translation, including literature written by a growing number of Māori scholars who have focused on issues associated with translation involving Māori and English and, in particular, the translation of source texts about whose authors and their circumstances little is known, texts which are often deeply culturally-embedded, include reference to past events that are not widely known or understood, and language that is sometimes unfamiliar and often figurative and symbolic (*Chapter 2*).

The critical literature review revealed some of the major developments that have taken place in the theory and practice of translation, and considered the necessary impact of these developments on the approach taken to the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript. A fundamental consideration was the move away from the perception of translation as an essentially mechanistic exercise involving transfer of meaning from one form of encoding (one language) to another form of encoding (another language) and towards the perception of translation as a complex and creative process one that is dynamic and open-ended, one that is based on the recognition and acceptance of the fact that exact reproduction of a text across lingual and cultural divides is never possible and one that therefore must take full account of a wide range of contextual factors. This indicates the need for a close or 'gloss' translation, in which as much as possible of the original is retained and in which explanatory notes are included. It also indicates the need for appropriate consultation, guidance and mentorship on a range of content-related and ethical issues by 'te hunga mōhio' ('the knowledgeable ones', elders), those to whom the source text belongs and for whom it has particular relevance and significance.

During the course of the literature review, a number of issues emerged as being of particular significance. These included the cultural context of the source text and the extent of its complexity and cultural embedding. Translating a source text such as the Pene Haare manuscript (a manuscript that presents a written record of events that were passed on orally and that are deeply culturally embedded), requires much historical research and detailed consultation with a wide range of authorities on various aspects of the text and its context, including the language in which it is written, the social and cultural context out of which it emerged, and the events to which it refers.

The fact that the Pene Haare manuscript is a written record of oral accounts raised another important issue - the need for an understanding of the ways in which oral and written traditions emerging out of different linguistic and cultural contexts, were impacting on one another at the time when the manuscript was produced. Other important, and related, issues that emerged were the need for understanding of the creative ways in which Māori writers have made use of, and adapted,

European writing conventions when writing in Māori, and the ways in which the act of writing itself can impact on traditional concepts of ‘pastness’ and ‘historical truth’. Also identified as important is the need to fully acknowledge the potential significance of every aspect of a text, including its structure, organisation and presentation. No transcription of the original can ever be an acceptable substitute for it, although a transcription may throw some light on the original text in certain circumstances (such as, for example, instances where parts of the original text are no longer legible).

It was also established that careful attention needs to be paid to the author’s purpose in writing a text, something that must be taken into consideration when decisions are made about the way in which the translation of the text is approached and the form in which the target text is structured and presented. In connection with this, it is important to note that although some clues as to the author’s intention can be recovered from the manuscript itself, it is important to consult all other possible sources of information in this area, such as letters written by the author that include references to the manuscript. Furthermore, since meaning inheres not in the text itself but in the interaction between text, context and reader/s, a translator needs to recover as much information as possible about the author’s intentions in relation to the audience of the source text and, in a case where the author wished the source text to be translated, also to the author’s intentions in relation to the readership of the target text. In addition, translators need to give careful consideration to the likely audience of the target text and, where relevant, the nature of the brief provided by those who requested or commissioned the translation (in this case descendants of the author) since this will have an impact on decisions that are made in relation to, for example, the nature and extent of the information that is provided in textual glosses (information that may be of various kinds, including historical, linguistic and cultural information, and information about the decisions made by the translator in cases where problems relating to the language of the source text and/ or its content were encountered).

The translator’s own purpose in undertaking a translation of this kind was also found to be of fundamental importance as this can have a significant impact on the

extent to which, for example, he or she is willing and able to engage in the wide range of research and consultation activities that are fundamental to the production of a translation that is of genuine value to those communities for whom the text is intended and/or those for whom it has particular significance.

In translating a text of any kind, it was found to be important to explore not only its content but also the ways in which that content is expressed, including, for example, aspects of genre and text-type since these may have a significant impact on decisions that are made in relation to the language, style, structure and presentation of the target text.

Finally, and, perhaps, of most significance in relation to the Pene Haare manuscript, is the fact that it is a manuscript that is both sacred and sensitive, one that contains language that is often esoteric, metaphorical and figurative. In a case such as this, it is particularly important that a translator should follow appropriate procedures, ones that are as consultative as possible and ones that are as fully grounded as possible in understanding of the cultural dynamics of the community out of which the source text emerged and the individuals and communities for whom the target text is primarily intended. This will necessarily have an impact on the overall approach to the process of translation.

4.2.2 Research question 2

How should the issues and problems, once fully identified, be approached?

In approaching the research question outlined above, a wide range of information sources was consulted. These included (a) the original handwritten text and a typed transcript of that text, (b) surviving letters written by the author, (c) other writings by, or directly influenced by, the author, (c) photographs of the author that reveal important information about him (such as his commitment to the Catholic faith), (d) a wide range of sources of information and opinion (largely written but including some oral sources) about the manuscript and author, and times and places in which he lived and the events about which he wrote (*Chapter 3*). I also made tentative inferences based on what is known about the life and activities of a man of similar beliefs and standing in his community (Himiona

Kamira), upon whom the author had considerable influence. In conducting this part of the research project, I took careful account of the wishes of the author in relation to his manuscript (as manifest in some of his own writings) and the nature of the request made to me by descendants of the author. I also relied heavily on the spiritual guidance of my tūpuna, and the ethical guidelines of Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato and those recommended within the context of Kaupapa Māori research.

As noted in *Chapter 2*, the context out of which a source text emerged is an essential component in the construction of meaning. Furthermore, understanding as much as possible about that context is fundamental to understanding something of the author's purpose/s in producing that text. In this case, copies of some of the author's personal correspondence (provided by the Penney whānau) proved to be invaluable as a window on his world, as did a range of historical texts of the period in which he lived. In one case, inferences about the types of activities in which he is likely to have been involved were based on records of the activities of others of a similar standing in his wider community, that is, in the Hokianga region¹¹². Nevertheless, a critical issue that arose in connection with this research question turned out to be the scarcity of information about the author's locale, about the time at which he wrote and the time about which he wrote and, in particular, about the author himself. Much of the literature that is available deals with European accounts of European characters and events, and/ or European perspectives on Māori communities and events. Of course, although this is a problem in itself, it does highlight the importance of the Pene Haare manuscript as an embodiment of "our own history and traditions from within our own worldview and descriptive frameworks" (Matiu & Mutu, 2003, p. 13) and of "the narrating of history in ways which are meaningful to Māori" (Binney, 1995, p. 5). The author's manuscript itself, as well as a transcript of that manuscript were examined in relation to a range of critical features that would inevitably impact on translation. These included: indications of its sacred and/or sensitive nature; examples of the use of esoteric, figurative and metaphorical language; signs of European cultural and religious influence; and adaptation of orthographic and

¹¹² A further source of potentially valuable information which should be explored are the records of Land Court sittings involving Pene Haare.

typographic conventions associated with writing in English. The implications of each of these in relation to the process of translation were discussed.

The author, Ngakuru Pene Haare, was established as a recognized authority on the tribal lore of Te Taitokerau and his manuscript, which includes aspects of that knowledge, was therefore identified as being of immense cultural value, a taonga in its own right, one that not only had an important contribution to make to mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) and to New Zealand history, but also to the preservation of Te Rarawatanga – tribal histories, reo, dialect and philosophy – and therefore, a source of tribal identity and pride. This brings us to the second critical issue to emerge from *Chapter 3*, that of the ethical implications of the translation of such a document. It has already been noted that the transcription and/or translation of an original document involves issues relating to accuracy and interpretation. Also of critical importance are larger ethical questions which arise, such as:

Who owns Māori history? Who should have access to it? and Who should transcribe or translate it?

It was established that the translation of a document such as the Pene Haare manuscript, involving as it does so many culturally embedded and potentially unfamiliar references, should be undertaken only in accordance with the appropriate ethical processes, as outlined in *Chapter 2*. The larger questions regarding the ‘ownership’ of such knowledge, and who stands to benefit from the translation of such knowledge, were identified as being most appropriately addressed by those to whom the manuscript belongs, namely, Ngakuru Pene Haare’s descendants, and his hapū and iwi. For this reason, the approach to translation proposed by Roa (2003) (see *Chapter 2*), one that involves working with a panel of knowledgeable elders who are able to guide and mentor the process (and/ or a research whānau of interest, as proposed by Bishop (1994)) is of fundamental importance.

My purpose or intention as a translator was discussed in relation to my personal motivation, that of attempting to see the author’s desire to have the manuscript

translated fulfilled, and also in terms of my commitment to the observance of the appropriate tikanga (procedures) and matatika (ethics), as outlined above.

The needs of the target audience of the translation were discussed along with the translation ‘brief’. In connection with these, it was noted that the nature and complexity of the manuscript calls for the provision of a gloss translation, where the important cultural information embedded in the text is retained, and translator’s notes are provided to make the translation comprehensible to those who may lack detailed understanding of the cultural context out of which the source text emerged¹¹³. Once again, the consultation, guidance and supervision of a ‘whānau’ of supervisors (Irwin, 1994) is indicated.

4.2.3 Research question 3

To what extent is it possible to resolve them [i.e. the issues and problems identified]?

The whānau of Pene Haare requested a scholarly treatment and translation into English of the Pene Haare manuscript. However, any translation I could hope to provide at this stage would be provisional at best. To provide a translation that is likely to be of real value requires a much fuller understanding of the language of the source text, including dialect, idiom, metaphoric and symbolic use of language, esoteric elements, and historic references, than I could possibly achieve without the assistance of many others with expertise of many different kinds. To deal appropriately and in an ethical way with the sacred aspects of the text would certainly require the mentorship of specialists whose expertise and whakapapa places them in a position to be able to guide, and participate in, the translation process. Above all, what I have learned from the research reported here is just how complex the task requested of me is. It is simply not one that can be conducted within the scope of a Masters research project. Furthermore, as noted by Roa (2003, p. 19) in relation to the translation of mōteatea which were deeply embedded both culturally and historically, there is always the possibility that information and understanding, which throws light on the original texts, will

¹¹³ In line with this approach, Tau and Anderson (2008, p. 18) refer to being guided by “a principle of accessible scholarship” where the text is carefully edited and annotated and supporting accounts and information supplied, in order that the text will be accessible to a wide range of readers.

become available at some point in the future. Thus, any translation whose aim is to “capture the essence of a source text” can never be regarded as definitive. With this in mind, and based on the findings of this research project, the following recommendations are made in relation to the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript, a translation that will, I hope, be one outcome of a further research project in which I hope to be directly or indirectly involved.

4.3 The translation: Recommendations

The first recommendation is that the translation and further scholarly work associated with it be undertaken by a translator of Te Rarawa descent who is familiar with, and sensitive to, the historic, cultural, linguistic and ethical complexities of the task, as well as the status of the manuscript and its author. It should be undertaken in accordance with the ethical guidelines outlined in this thesis (section 2.9) and exemplified in the translation process followed by Roa (2003). Central to this approach are:

- consultation with those to whom the manuscript belongs;
- mentorship by knowledgeable elders;
- observance of tikanga Māori as guiding principles;
- knowledge-sharing ; and
- every attempt to ensure that the translation will have positive outcomes for those to whom the manuscript belongs, and for Māori in general.

Haami’s (2004) prototype of the 4-column page convention for the translation of Māori manuscripts such as that of Pene Haare is recommended as a means of preserving and exhibiting the original text in all its complexity. Haami is also concerned that these kinds of manuscripts be preserved “correctly and within Māori parameters which fully recognize cultural values and the original sources, lest their history and kōrero take on a life independent of the people who created and maintained [them]” (p. 123)”. Thus he recommends creating:

. . . regional or tribal research and archives institutions to secure control over . . . whakapapa, written traditions, land claims research, and census records . . . to help re-establish self-esteem and pride of culture in the tribe,

by increasing their knowledge of tikanga Māori and tribal tradition (Haami, 2004, p. 23).

In this way, Haami concludes, tribal morale is improved, educational levels are lifted and Māori self-image is enhanced (p. 123), all of which are consistent with the aims of a kaupapa Māori approach. Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa are currently exploring options for the establishment of a tribal research centre and archive, possibly as part of the new Te Ahu Civic Centre development in Kaitaia (Aroha Harris, personal correspondence, March 2009). This can only be seen as a positive and proactive step toward the goal of preserving Māori records and, in this particular case, Te Rarawa perspectives on our own stories. It is therefore important that those involved in the translation of the text should ensure that they liaise with those involved in establishing and running the centre to which reference has been made.

4.4 Limitations of the research

Members of Ngakuru Pene Haare's whānau requested a scholarly treatment and translation into English of a manuscript written by their tupuna (ancestor). I have not been able to fulfil that brief within the time constraints that apply in the case of a Master's thesis. Although this will, no doubt, be a disappointment to the whānau, I hope that what I have been able to achieve thus far will ameliorate that disappointment at least to some extent and that I will, within the context of the ethically-grounded framework for a project of this nature that is discussed in this thesis, be involved in bringing the project to fruition in the future.

There are many aspects of the research reported here that could, and should be further developed. Thus, for example, a *comprehensive* analysis of the source text in terms of its presentation, structure, and linguistic and information content, is required as is further research that will throw more light on the writer and his context. Among the work yet to be conducted is research that involves detailed semi-structured interviews with key informants with expertise in a range of areas, including culture, language and history. This is something that proved not to be possible within the time available for the completion of a Masters thesis.

Linda Smith (1999, p. 15) refers to the need for explicitness and reflexivity in relation to research design and the dissemination of research findings. She notes, for example, the importance of reporting research findings “back to the people in culturally appropriate ways, and in language that can be understood”. As an emerging researcher and translator, I know that I am still grappling with issues relating to explicitness and reflexivity and that this inevitably impacts in a negative way my capacity to complete in the most appropriate way the task I have been assigned by the Pene Haare whānau. I hope that the experience, and, I hope, wisdom that I have acquired during the conduct of this research project will impact in a positive way on my future endeavours in this area.

4.5 Research contribution

I believe that this thesis makes a contribution to scholarship by exploring the relationship between literature on translation generally and issues that arise in connection with the translation into English of Māori texts, particularly those of a sacred nature. In doing so, it draws attention to the fact that much of the literature that is available on translation is predicated on concepts and perspectives that have little relevance to indigenous concepts and perspectives, in particular to those of Māori. It also adds to a growing body of literature by Māori that can help to guide and inform those who undertake training in the theory and practice of translation and those who are involved in translating Māori texts, particularly texts that come to us from a past that was rich in figurative and symbolic language and one in which a wide range of culturally significant values and practices were deeply embedded in the lives and activities of Māori.

This thesis also constitutes an original contribution in the sense that it provides information (gleaned from various sources) that contributes to the understanding of a previously obscure, yet important document, one which has considerable significance to the people of Te Rarawa and Te Taitokerau.

Finally, the thesis identifies a range of issues that are of fundamental importance in relation to the translation into English of the Pene Haare manuscript and suggests a way forward in relation to that translation that is firmly rooted in ethically sound procedures.

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