

Inter-propositional relations: An investigation of authentic Māori texts

Hēmi Whaanga

Post-doctoral Fellow

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (School of Māori and Pacific Development)

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato)

Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

[hemi@waikato.ac.nz]

Abstract

I report here on a part of a research project involving the investigation of a range of authentic Māori texts in terms of two types of meaning relation – those that operate *within* propositions (referred to here as ‘*intra*-propositional relations’), and those that link propositions or groups of propositions (referred to here as ‘*inter*-propositional relations’). In focus here is the second of these types, that is, *inter*-propositional relations, and in particular, the ways in which they are signalled in *te reo Māori*. The implications of the findings for the teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* are also discussed.

Introduction

Forty years ago, the study of meaning relations was confined to a few linguists, most of whom were working within the context of a particular functionally-based theory of language (tagmemic theory). Now, it would be almost impossible for any linguist of any persuasion, or, indeed, anyone whose discipline impacts in any way on information processing (natural or artificial), to avoid engaging in one way or another with issues associated with meaning relations. Even so, this research has had little impact on the analysis of *te reo Māori* and the teaching and learning of the language. Houia (2001a, p. 1) makes the following observation:

I have noticed that second language learners tend to confine themselves to common ways of expressing certain types of meaning relationship between parts of a text. Thus, for example, reasons tend to be expressed by *notemea*, conditions by *mehemea* and purposes by *hei*.

This is a particularly significant observation in view of the fact that research on second language learning now emphasises the importance of linking form and function (see, for example, Celce-Murcia, Dornyei, & Thurrell, 1997) and includes discourse creation and comprehension as an important aspect of communicative competence (see, for example, Bachman & Palmer, 1996; McNamara, 1996). In spite of this, there are very few accounts of meaning relations that make specific reference to *te reo Māori* and even fewer that attempt to determine how these relations are signalled in *te reo Māori*.

In attempting recently, in collaboration with two colleagues,¹ to design a curriculum document for teachers and learners of *te reo Māori* in New Zealand schools (for the *New Zealand Ministry of Education*), I found that it was necessary to provide examples and explanations to support the achievement objectives (which were expressed in terms of meanings rather than forms).² In the case of relations and relational meanings, the descriptions, explanations and examples available in published literature appeared to be patchy at best. Furthermore, an examination of existing textbooks designed for learners of *te reo Māori* indicated that the range of possible relational encodings included was very narrow.³ In fact, a recent

comparative study of a sample of textbooks available for the teaching of English and of *te reo Māori* revealed that the latter appeared to be largely uninfluenced by research in the area of discourse analysis (including research relating to meaning relations) (Fester & Whaanga, 2007).

Meaning relations (*inter-propositional relations*)

Inter-propositional relations are meaning relations that link two or more propositions. A proposition in linguistic terms (see, for example, Fillmore, 1968, p. 23), is essentially an abstraction made up of a semantic predicator (an action, state or process) and one or more arguments that relate to it. The same proposition can be expressed linguistically (often as a clause with tense etc. added) in different ways in the same language or in different languages. Thus, in *The boy saw the girl / I kite te tama i te kōtiro/ Le garçon voit la fille* ‘boy’, ‘tama’, and ‘garçon’ might be said to be *Experiencers* in the case of English, Māori and French respectively, entering into a relationship of *Experiencer-Process* with the encoded predicators (‘saw’, ‘i kite’ and ‘voir’).

As Longacre (1996, p. 309) observes: “It seems that the purpose of the surface structure clause is to encode predications. We can say therefore that the primary encoding of notional predication is the clause. However, a notional predication need not necessarily encode as a surface structure clause; it may be nominalized into a phrase or even a word structure”. Thus, *inter-propositional relations* often link two clauses together (see example 1 below) although they may, under certain circumstances (i.e. where a single clause involves two propositions) operate within a single clause (see example (2) below):

1. He left early because he felt tired.
(result) (reason)

2. His intervention caused her defeat.
(reason) (result)
(i.e., He intervened and therefore she was defeated.)

A brief comparative analysis of *inter-propositional relational models*

There is, as yet, no overall agreement among researchers about the way in which *inter-propositional relations* should be categorised. Longacre (1972) includes in his relational model ten ‘deep structure relations’ together with a number of varieties of each. This approach is extended in his most recent account (Longacre, 1996), where there are twelve ‘deep structure relations’ together with a number of varieties of each. These are:

Conjoining: *Coupling; Contrast; Comparison.*

Alternation: *Alternation with only two possible alternatives; Alternation with more than two alternatives.*

Temporal: *Overlap; Succession.*

Implication: Conditionality: *Hypotheticality; With Universal Quantifier of a Term (in the Antecedent); Contingency; Proportions (correlative statements).*

Implication: Causation: *Efficient Cause; Final Cause; Circumstance.*

Implication: Contrafactuality: *Contrafactuality.*

Implication: Warning: *Warning.*

Paraphrase: *Equivalence Paraphrase; Negated Antonym Paraphrase and similar structures; Generic-Specific Paraphrase; Amplification Paraphrase; Specific-Generic Paraphrase; Contraction Paraphrase; Summary Paraphrase.*

Illustration: *Simile; Exemplification.*

Deixis: *Introduction; Identification.*

Attribution: *Speech Attribution; Awareness Attribution.*

Frustration: *Frustrated Coupling; Frustrated Succession; Frustrated Overlap; Frustrated Hypothesis; Frustrated Contingency; Frustrated Efficient Cause; Frustrated Final Cause; Frustrated Attribution; Frustrated Modality.*

Beekman and Callow (1974) include two main categories of relation – addition and association – the associative category including five sub-categories: support by clarification (using a proposition with distinct information); support by clarification (using a proposition with similar information); support by argument; support by orientation; support involving the whole of one proposition and part of another. This categorisation leads to some duplication of relations, the final list being made up as follows:

Addition relations: *Chronological Sequence; Simultaneity; Alternation; Conversational Exchange; Matched Support.*

Associative/ supporting relations: *Manner; Comparison; Contrast; Equivalence; Generic-Specific; Amplification-Contraction/ Summary; Reason-Result; Means-Result; Means-Purpose; Condition-Consequence; Concession-Contraexpectation; Grounds-Conclusion; Time; Location; Circumstance; Identification; Comment; Content.*

Hollenbach (1975) posits five relational category types: *Temporal, Causal, Logical, Equivalence* and *N-ary*.⁴ All of the relations belonging to the *Causal* category are presented as involving fact or observation; all the relations belonging to the *Logical* category are presented as involving some form of inference, deduction or contingency. Thus, for example, the relation referred to by Hollenbach as *Grounds-Implication* (belonging to the logical category) involves a causal member (*Grounds*) which provides a basis for the effect member (*Implication*) whose content is deduced rather than observed. The relations are as follows:

Causal relations: *Means-Purpose; Means-Result; Reason-Result; Cause-Effect; Stimulus-Response.*

Logical relations: *Grounds-Implication; Condition-Consequence; Contrary-to-fact Condition-Contrary-to-fact Consequence; Concession-Contraexpectation.*

Equivalence relations: *Greater-Lesser; Comparison; Generic-Specific; Restatement; Positive-Negative; Contrast.*

N-ARY relations: *Coordination; Inclusive Alternation; Exclusive Alternation.*

Crombie (1985a, 1985b, 1987) categorises relations into three cognitive process types: associative, logico-deductive and tempero-contigual. The relations are:

Associative relations: *Simple Contrast; Comparative Similarity; Statement-Affirmation; Statement-Denial; Denial-Correction; Concession-*

Contraexpectation; Supplementary Alternation; Contrastive Alternation; Paraphrase; Amplification;
Logico-deductive relations: *Condition-Consequence; Means-Purpose; Reason-Result; Grounds-Conclusion;*
Temporo-contigual relations: *Chronological Sequence; Temporal Overlap; Bonding.*

Proposed model

The model I propose is based on a four-way distinction in terms of relational types: *temporal, additive, associative* and *causal* (see Whaanga, 2006, *Chapter 3* for a full discussion). This four-way distinction was derived from tracking the inventories proposed by a number of linguists and comparing and contrasting them with a view to determining whether some of the proposals that had been made could have been accommodated in different ways. The four-way classification in terms of relational types was formulated from the tripartite cognitive process categorical distinction proposed by Crombie (1985a, 1985b, 1987) plus the addition of one further category – *Additive*. The addition of the *Additive* category is based on the fact that there is a need to acknowledge the existence of relationships that do not involve time, cause and effect or the matching of propositions in terms of comparison, contrast or choice.

Membership of the **Temporal** relational category seems to be unproblematic in that analysis of all of the models reveals two fundamental ways of linking propositions in time. I shall refer to these two relations as *Temporal Sequence* and *Temporal Overlap*.

The **Causal** relational category is slightly more problematic. Although, there appear to be good reasons for including relations based on those labelled ‘logical’ by Hollenbach (referred to here as *Grounds-Conclusion*, *Condition-Consequence* and *Concession-Contraexpectation*), there is, an issue relating to whether *Means-Purpose* and *Means-Result* are varieties of *Reason-Result* or separate relations. On balance, I believe that they should be treated as separate relations. Both *Reason-Result* and *Means-Result* present the *effect* proposition as an actual outcome, whereas *Means-Purpose* presents the effect proposition as an *intended* (rather than actual) *outcome*. The focus in the first two (*Reason-Result* and *Means-Result*) is, therefore, achievement; the focus in the third (*Means-Purpose*) is intention. This appears to indicate a clear relational distinction between the first two and the third in terms of propositional membership. The distinction between *Reason-Result* and *Means-Result* is not so clear-cut, although the causal member of the relation focuses on *why* a particular outcome is/was/will be achieved in the case of *Reason-Result*, whereas the causal member of the relation focuses on *how* a particular outcome is/was/will be achieved in the case of *Means-Result*. I believe, therefore, that the difference between the propositional members is sufficient to justify the establishment of different relations in each case. For similar reasons, I also decided to treat *Grounds-Conclusion* as a relation in its own right.

The **Associative** relational category includes all relations involving comparison in terms of similarity or difference. This includes the relation referred to as *Paraphrase*, a relation involving the matching of two propositions in terms of propositional content. The relation I refer to as *Alternation* is also included in this category because the propositions over which choice operates are treated as being similar or different in terms of content in relation to the context in which they occur. The *General-*

Particular relation is also assigned to this category because one part of the relation involves a generic predicator (e.g., *say*; *tell*), the other a content specification (particulars) relating to that generic semantic predicator. This category (*Associative*) also includes further relations involving compatible or contrasted propositional content.

The *Additive relational* category includes only one relation. Different labels are used in different models to refer to this relation. Since a label such as *Conjoining* (Hollenbach, 1975) is suggestive of an essentially grammatical relationship rather than a semantico-pragmatic one, I prefer the term *Bonding*. This relation does not involve time, cause and effect or the matching of propositions in terms of comparison, contrast or choice.

Table 1: Classification of inter-propositional relations

Relational Types	Further categorisation of relational type	Relational varieties	Definitions	Examples in English
Temporal	Temporal	<i>Temporal Sequence</i>	Involves chronologically sequenced event propositions.	<i>He tidied up and then left the building site.</i>
		<i>Temporal Overlap</i>	Involves temporarily overlapping event propositions.	<i>As he was measuring the site, he slipped on the wet grass.</i>
Additive	Bonding	<i>Bonding</i> (including <i>Rhetorical Coupling</i>)	Involves non-comparative, non-contrastive, non-elective, non-causative propositional addition.	<i>He was wearing a rain cape and carrying a torch.</i>
Associative	Matching Compatibility	<i>Paraphrase</i>	Involves equivalence of propositional content.	<i>He began combat; he started to fight.</i>
		<i>Statement-Affirmation</i>	Involves affirmation of the truth or validity of the content of a proposition.	<i>He said that the explosion caused the collapse and I agree.</i>
		<i>Simple Comparison</i>	Involves comparison in respect of similarity.	<i>The leaders were afraid and so were their followers.</i>
		<i>Exemplification</i>	Involves an example of a general statement.	<i>Economic superiority does not guarantee victory. The defeat of the USA in the Vietnam war is just one example.</i>
	Matching Contrast	<i>Simple Contrast</i>	Involves comparison in respect of difference.	<i>One structure was weak; the other was strong.</i>
		<i>Statement-Denial</i>	Involves denial of the truth or validity of a proposition.	<i>He said that the explosion caused the collapse but I disagree.</i>
		<i>Denial-Correction</i>	Involves the correction of some aspect of propositional content.	<i>It wasn't the heat that caused the cracks; it was the constant pressure of water.</i>
		<i>Exception</i>	Involves a general statement and an exception.	<i>All of the buildings leak except the one built by my company.</i>

Table 1(cont.): Classification of *inter*-propositional relations

Relational Types	Further categorisation of relational type	Relational varieties	Definitions	Examples in English
Associative	Alternation	<i>Supplementary Alternation</i>	Involves a choice among non-contrasting alternatives.	<i>Nobody ordered the bricks or bought the roofing felt.</i>
		<i>Contrastive Alternation</i>	Involves a choice between/among contrasting alternatives.	<i>It will either survive the storm or it won't.</i>
Causal	Causality	<i>Reason-Result</i>	Involves the reason for a particular outcome.	<i>She built a new fence because the old one was damaged.</i>
		<i>Grounds-Conclusion</i>	Involves an outcome based on inference rather than observation.	<i>He was in charge of the project so he must have been the one who made the final decision.</i>
		<i>Means-Result</i>	Involves the means of achieving a particular outcome.	<i>By nailing the letter box to the fence, she was able to make it more secure.</i>
		<i>Means-Purpose</i>	Involves an action and its intended outcome.	<i>He added concrete to the mix in order to make it stronger.</i>
	Conditionality	<i>Realisable Condition</i>	Involves an outcome that is contingent on a realisable condition.	<i>If he leaves now, he'll get there in time for the meeting.</i>
		<i>Unrealisable Condition</i>	Involves an outcome that is contingent on an unrealisable condition.	<i>If it had been built differently, it wouldn't have collapsed.</i>
	Concession	<i>Concession-Contraexpectation</i>	Involves an actual effect which is contingent on the blockage or denial of a usually anticipated effect.	<i>Although both the design and the building were excellent, the client complained.</i>

Data selection

In a recent analysis of written texts in Māori in terms of genre and text-type, Houia-Roberts (2004b) analysed a corpus made up of twelve full texts, six written by Sir Apirana Ngata in the first half of the twentieth century, six written by Tīmoti Kāretu at the end of the twentieth century. In examining written Māori from the perspective of rhetorical organisation, she analysed all twelve texts in relation to overall discourse structuring. In examining written Māori from the perspective of genre, she analysed eighteen text segments (again drawn from the writings of Sir Apirana Ngata and Tīmoti Kāretu) in terms of *inter*-propositional relations. In doing so, she made direct reference to the relational models provided by Crombie (1985a & b, 1987). Although she identified *inter*-propositional relations in these texts, she did not include any analysis or discussion of relational signalling.

In selecting a corpus for analysis, I decided to use six of the full texts selected for analysis by Houia-Roberts. This decision was motivated by a number of considerations. First, I felt that it was necessary to analyse texts that were written by highly competent native speakers in order to minimise the possibility, particularly in

the case of contemporary texts, of being misled by the presence of errors. The two writers whose works were analysed by Houia-Roberts were both highly proficient users of the language, accustomed to writing for a wide audience.⁵ Furthermore, these texts have been translated by Houia-Roberts (herself a highly educated native speaker of Māori). Her translations are “intentionally designed to be as close as possible to the originals” (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, p. 135). The fact that these texts have been translated makes the research more readily accessible to readers who are not themselves highly proficient in *te reo Māori*. In addition, it provides me, as someone for whom Māori is a second language, with an important source of native speaker intuition in relation to meaning and interpretation.

Houia (2001a) conducted a study of semantico-pragmatic relations (*inter-propositional relations*) in Māori.⁶ That study was based on the model outlined by Crombie (1985a). In that study, he examined the encodings of a number of ‘inter-propositional semantic relations’, drawing on a written corpus of texts.⁷ He did not, however, analyse these texts as a whole. Rather, he abstracted examples of each of the following relations: *Reason-Result*; *Means-Purpose*; *Condition-Consequence*; *Denial-Correction*; *Concession-Contraexpectation*; *Simple Comparison*; *Chronological Sequence* (referred to here as *Temporal Sequence*); *Temporal Overlap*; *Supplementary Alternation*; *Amplification* (referred to here as *General-Particular*); and *Bonding* (including *Rhetorical Coupling*). He introduced that corpus-based study (pp. 64-118) by a discussion in which he made use of his own intuitions as a native speaker of Māori (from Ngāti Porou) to provide examples of the whole range of relationships outlined in the relational model he used. In addition to the corpus of six texts referred to above, I re-examined the work of Houia, adding examples from his corpus and examples he provide himself.

In discussing the encoding and signalling of *inter-propositional* semantic relationships, Houia (2001a) considers the concept of ‘cohesion’ to be central, noting that “although the relationships between propositions expressed in texts may be inferred by readers and listeners from content and context, these relationships may also be encoded in languages in ways that signal the relational meanings involved”. That is, aspects of the encoding of *inter-propositional* relations may act as “indicators of the type of relationship involved” (p. 19). These indicators may be “syntactic or lexical or they may involve both syntax and lexis”, they may be “unambiguous (as in the case of certain types of subordination)” or they may, “as in the case of the contrastive co-ordinator ‘engari’ signal the presence of a certain general type of relationship (e.g., a relationship of contrast) rather than the specific relationship of that type that is involved”. These signallers “may operate at clausal or sentential level (as in the case of subordinators), or they may operate at a higher level (as in the case of certain adjuncts such as ‘otirā’ which may, for example, link the content of an entire paragraph to the content of the preceding text” (p. 19).

The analysis

Having conducted my analysis of the six texts (see *Appendix 1*), I re-examined, in the light of the relational model above, the examples provided by Houia (2001a), my primary aim in doing so, being to check the corpus-based data against data emerging from the re-examination of this work, extending and refining the results of the corpus-based study wherever possible.

In the tables that follow, examples drawn from the corpus of Ngata and Kāretu are indicated by a single reference (in which N.G. = Apirana Ngata; T.K. = Tīmoti Kāretu). Examples drawn from Houia's (2001a) corpus are indicated by a single reference (A.P. = Apirana Ngata; R.K. = Reweti Kōhere). Examples based on native speaker intuition and provided by himself are indicated by a single reference (W.H. = Waldo Houia).

Table 2: Temporal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Temporal Sequence	Subordinating conjunction	<i>nā wai (nā wai)</i>	<i>Nā wai, nā wai, ka whiriwhiri tēnā me tēnā o ngā uha i tāna i pai ai, ā, he nui tonu ngā toa ka ngere.</i> (T.K.) (After some time , each female decides which male she prefers and many of the males are passed over.)
		<i>kātahi ka</i>	<i>Kotahi marama te uha e awahi ana i ōna hua, kātahi ka pao mai ngā pīpī.</i> (T.K.) (The female sits on her eggs for a month and then the chicks hatch.)
		<i>tae noa atu</i>	<i>Māku e mātaki te pēpi tae noa atu ki te mutunga o ō mahi.</i> (W.H.) (I'll watch the baby till you finish your work.)
		<i>kia . . . rawa</i>	<i>Ka tiaki au i a Hēmi kia mutu rawa i a koe ō mahi.</i> (W.H.) (I'll mind James until you've finished your work.)
		<i>nō muri</i>	<i>Nō muri i tana kaitanga i te ika, ka inu ia i te wai.</i> (W.H.) (After he had eaten the fish, he drank the water.)
		<i>i mua i</i>	<i>I mua i tō haerenga, whāngaia te kuri.</i> (W.H.) (Before you leave, feed the dog.)
		<i>ana</i>	<i>Wehe ana ia, ka pānuitia e au te niupepa.</i> (W.H.) (Once he leaves, I'll read the newspaper.)
		<i>i runga tonu</i>	<i>Hou atu ki te rūma i runga tonu i tāu e taea ai.</i> (W.H.) (Go into the room as soon as possible.)
Sentence conjunct		<i>ā</i>	<i>Kāti ka tonoa ki te kāwanatanga kia rāhuiā ō tātau whenua i roto i te rārangi i raro nei. Ā, ka tonoa kia whakakorea ngā hoko.</i> (A.N.) (In conclusion, it was forwarded to the government that our lands listed below be reserved. And then it was also requested that sales be forbidden.)
		<i>i taua wā</i>	<i>Ka aituā te motokā. I taua wā tonu ka umere a Hine.</i> (W.H.) (The car crashed whereupon Hine screamed.)
Time reference + substitution		<i>hei muri i tēnā</i>	<i>hei muri i tēnā ka whakatakoto mārō ai i te kupu e hiahia ana koutou kia tahuri nui ki ngā mahi whenua, ki ngā mahi ā ringa; e tonono ana koutou kia āwhinatia tēnei whakaaro ō koutou e te Kāwanatanga, e te iwi Pākehā, e te iwi Māori;</i> (N.G.) (following that , be resolute with the messages you convey with the main focus being on the working of the land, the labouring for your aim is that the Government support your ideas;)
Preposition + noun + locative + particle		<i>i paku muri mai</i>	<i>Ka ngaro atu tēnei waewae mātotoru i Te Ika a Māui, ā, i paku muri mai ka pērā anō i Te Waipounamu.</i> (T.K.) (This thick-legged creature was soon lost to the Wellington region and shortly after to the South Island.)
Preposition + locative + particle		<i>i muri tonu</i>	<i>I ngā tau o ngā 1890, i muri tonu i te taenga mai o ngā toriura ki Aotearoa, ka matemate haere ngā kākāpō.</i> (T.K.) (During the 1890's, shortly after the introduction of the stoat to New Zealand, the kakapo rapidly died out.)
Adverb		<i>anō</i>	<i>Nā wai, nā wai, ka āhua pai ake. Engari i ngā tau o ngā 1930 me ngā 1940, ka paheke anō.</i> (T.K.) (A slight improvement followed. But between 1930-40, there was another rapid decline.)

Table 2 (cont.): Temporal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Temporal Sequence	Verb	oti	<i>Kia oti ēnei mā koutou e āpiti mai ērā atu tino take mārama, ā, hei muri ka whakatakoto ai ki te aroaro o te kāwanatanga.</i> (A.N.) (When these are finished , you may add other clear statements, and following that, you may present it before government.)
		mutu	<i>Ka mutu ngā karanga ka haere ngā kupu whakahoki.</i> (A.N.) (When the calls of welcome were over , the speeches of reply followed)
Temporal Overlap	Co-ordinating conjunction	me	<i>... kia piripono tonu, ki te mana o te kuini me ōna ture, me te Kāwanatanga o Niu Tīreni mō āiane, ā, ake tonu atu.</i> (A.N.) (Let us continue to embrace the authority of the Queen and her laws, including the Government of N.Z. from now on, and forever more.)
		ā	<i>Kāti me tonu e tātau kia aua whenua kia whakaurua mai ngā whenua karauna i reira ki roto i te rāhui, ā kia whakamutua te mahi a te Pākehā e ngaki nei i ngā ngahere i reira.</i> (A.N.) (Now we must request that those lands and the lands of the crown be reserved, and that those Europeans who are felling the forests there be stopped.)
	Subordinating conjunction	kei . . . ana	<i>Māku e tapahi ngā peka kei maoa ana ngā kai.</i> (W.H.) (I'll cut the wood while the dinner is cooking.)
	TAM + TAM	e . . . ana . . . ka	<i>E ahu ana āna kōrero mō runga i āna mahi i te Pāremata ka aruarutia . . .</i> (A.N.) (He was talking about his performance in parliament when he was interrupted . . .)
	Preposition + TAM	i . . . ka	<i>I a ia ka whakatata atu ki te rua o te poutokomanawa, ka karanga atu a Hinepare ki a Tuwhakawhiurangi, i kō tata atu e tū mai ana . . .</i> (Houia, 2001a, p. 109); (R.K. p. 23, L.18). (As he was getting close to the hole of the heartpole, Hinepare called Tuwhakawhiurangi who was standing close by to her . . .)
	Phrasal co-ordinating conjunction + TAM	i te . . . ka	<i>I te tima ka rere ka mate tētahi o ngā heramana, ka rukea atu ki te moana.</i> (Houia, 2001a, p. 106); (R.K. p. 125, L.6). (When the steamer was at sea, one of the sailors died and he was cast into the sea.)

Table 3: Additive relation

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Bonding	Co-ordinating conjunction	me	<i>Ko Hauturu, ko Codfish me Maud ngā moutere i whiriwhiritia.</i> (T.K.) (Hauturu, Codfish and Maud Islands were selected.)
		ā	<i>Kāti me tonu e tātau kia aua whenua kia whakaurua mai ngā whenua karauna i reira ki roto i te rāhui, ā kia whakamutua te mahi a te Pākehā e ngaki nei i ngā ngahere i reira.</i> (A.N.) (Now we must request that those lands and the lands of the crown be reserved, and that those Europeans who are felling the forests there be stopped.)

Table 3 (cont.): Additive relation

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Bonding	Subordinating conjunction	<i>waihoki</i>	<i>He manu nguengue, engari he kaha tonu tōna kakara, ā, i te mea ko te mata tonu o Papatūānuku tana kāinga, he māmā noa iho ki te kurī te whaiwhai haere i tōna kakara, waihoki, kāore he taurunga ake mō te kākāpō. Arā anō ētahi o ōna tino hoariri, ko te ngeru, me te toriura. (T.K.)</i> (The kaka is placid, it exudes a strong smell and because this bird lives on Papatuanuku (Mother Earth), it becomes easy prey for dogs. Indeed , there is nowhere else that the kākāpō can turn. Its other enemies include cats and stoats.)
	Structural repetition with replacement	<i>i...ai...i... .ai</i>	<i>... ngā whakararururutanga a ngā ture maha a te Pāremata, i hēmanawa ai te iwi Māori, i kore ai e taea e ngā mea e hiahia ana te whakapai ō rātou whenua. (N.G.)</i> (... the difficulties caused by the many parliamentary laws which resulted in the frustration of the Māori people, and resulted in those who wished to improve their land being unable to do so;)
	Structural repetition with replacement	<i>ko...ko</i>	<i>ko te whakaupoko tonu tēnei mō tētahi pitihana nui ki te Pāremata a tēnei tau ko ngā whakamārama e taea ai te karo tēnei kupu te 'māngere' ki raro i te iwi Māori. (N.G.)</i> (This collection of new explanations could constitute an important part of a petition this year, and could be useful in the removal of the use of this word 'lazy' in reference to the Māori people.)
	Sentence conjunct	<i>otirā</i>	<i>I hunaia i reira mai i te tini o te tangata ko ngā korero mō Io. Otirā nā te Pākehā i hopu haere ngā kōrero a ngā kaumātua, ka pā te kaupapa o Io, ka whakatūria ko ia te Atua tino tapu o te iwi Māori i onamata. (N.G.)</i> (The teachings of Io were concealed there from the majority of people. Indeed , it was the Pakeha who acquired the stories of the Māori elders that related to the teachings of Io, the most sacred of gods to the Māori of old.)
	Sentence adjunct	<i>i tua atu</i>	<i>Ko tētahi take nui e aroha nei au ki te hunga pakeke nei kua kore te ao Māori o ēnei rā nei i mōhio me pēhea te kōrero ki te pakeke, me pēhea rānei te manaaki i te pakeke. I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaoko noa ai. (T.K.)</i> (The main reason I feel sympathy for the kaumatua is that, the Māori world of today no longer knows how to speak to them or how to show them respect. Furthermore , the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all.)
	Adverb	<i>hoki</i>	<i>Ka ngaro koe i ngā marae o te Werengitana Hōtēra, e tū ai koe i roto i ō iwi maha, hautū ai, ka ngaro ana hoki koe i roto o te whare wānanga. (R.K.)</i> (You are now lost in the premises of the Wellington Hotel where you stood within your many tribes speaking eloquently, and you are also lost within the University.)
	Verb + directional particle + adverb	<i>tae atu hoki</i>	<i>Kua eke tātou ki te reanga pakeke kāore nei e mōhio ki te reo, ki ngā tikanga tae atu hoki ki ngā kōrero. (T.K.)</i> (We have reached the stage when some elders have no knowledge of the language, the customs, or even the stories.)

Table 4: Associative relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
<i>Paraphrase</i>			There are no examples of <i>Paraphrase</i> in the corpus.
<i>Statement-Affirmation</i>	Co-ordinating conjunction + verb	<i>ā . . . whakaae</i>	<i>I kī ia rā kē a Mere te noho i runga waireka, ā, e whakaae ana au.</i> (W.H.) (He said that Mary should have stuck to soft drinks and I agree.)
<i>Simple Comparison</i>	Verbal substitution plus adverb		<i>I pērā anō hoki te Māori onamata, i tōna hangainga ki ōna putake, i tōna tipunga mai rānei i a neherā.</i> (N.G.) (Ancient Māori had a similar belief about their creation, their origins, their development in ancient times.)
	Verbal substitution plus manner particle	<i>pērā tonu</i>	<i>He kaha tonu ōna ngutu, ā, he pewa te āhua, pērā tonu i te katoa o ngā momo kākā.</i> (T.K.) (It has a strong hooked beak like other parrots.)
	Co-ordinating conjunction + nominal/ verbal/ adverbial/ adjectival substitute + (adverb)	<i>ā . . . pēnei anō</i>	<i>I te mataku ahau ā i te pērā anō a Tame.</i> (W.H.) (I was afraid and so was Tom.)
	Verbal substitution plus adverb	<i>pērā anō hoki</i>	<i>I pērā anō hoki te Māori onamata, i tōna hangainga ki ōna putake, i tōna tipunga mai rānei i a neherā.</i> (N.G.) (Ancient Māori had a similar belief about their creation, their origins, their development in ancient times.)
	Verbal substitution plus manner particle	<i>pērā tonu</i>	<i>He kaha tonu ōna ngutu, ā, he pewa te āhua, pērā tonu i te katoa o ngā momo kākā.</i> (T.K.) (It has a strong hooked beak like other parrots.)
	Co-ordinating conjunction + nominal/ verbal/ adverbial/ adjectival substitute + (adverb)	<i>ā . . . pēnei anō</i>	<i>I te mataku ahau ā i te pērā anō a Tame.</i> (W.H.) (I was afraid and so was Tom.)
	Nominal/ verbal/ adverbial/ adjectival substitute and/ or ellipsis	<i>pēnei anō</i>	<i>“Tū noa ana ngā tūranga i Kaitu ka ngaro a Ririhape nui a tau.” Pēnei anō hoki me koe ka ngaro nei.</i> (R.K.) (When the confrontation occurs at Kaitu, then Ririhape disappears. This is like you who have departed).
<i>Exemplification</i>	Nominal substitute	<i>pēnei</i>	<i>Hei āwhina i ngā kākāpō, ka tahuri Te Papa Atawhai ki te hora kai papai mā rātou, pēnei i te hua rākau, i te natinati me ngā ‘pōhā patahua’ . . .</i> (T.K.) (In order to help the kakapo, the Department of Conservation began the distribution of their favourite foods such as fruits, nuts and muesli bars . . .)
		<i>pēnei . . . pēnā</i>	<i>. . . ka whakarongo ki te hunga matatau me tā rātou kī mai, ‘me pēnei kē, me pērā kē’ rānei engari kua e amowheke, e hūneinei noa!</i> (T.K.) (. . . listen to those who are fluent and their suggestions ‘It is said like this , or it is said like that ’, but don’t become fretful, don’t become angry.)
	Preposition	<i>inā koa</i>	<i>I whakapau moni te katoa. Inā koa a Kararaina i hoko mai i te tekau mā rima kaka.</i> (W.H.) (Everyone spent up large. Kararaina, for example , bought fifteen dresses.)
<i>Simple Contrast</i>	Verb	<i>rite</i>	<i>Mai i te marama o Hakihea ki te marama o Poutū-te-rangi, rangona ai ō rātou reo karanga i ngā uha, engari he rerekē te āhua o te tangi, me kī he momo nguru, ko te hāona kaipuke tōna rite.</i> (T.K.) (From December through to March, their calls to the females are heard, a different sort of call, like a groan.)
	Negator + verbal substitute	<i>kāore . . . pērā</i>	<i>He manu haere takitahi te kākāpō, kāore e haere takitini pērā i te nuinga o ngā momo kākā.</i> (T.K.) (The kakapo is a lone bird, it does not move in groups like most other types of kaka.)

Table 4 (cont.): Associative relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Simple Contrast	Verb	<i>rite</i>	<i>Mai i te marama o Hakihea ki te marama o Poutū-terangi, rangona ai ō rātou reo karanga i ngā uha, engari he rerekē te āhua o te tangi, me kī he momo nguru, ko te hāona kaipuke tōna rite.</i> (T.K.) (From December through to March, their calls to the females are heard, a different sort of call, like a groan.)
	Negator + verbal substitute	<i>kāore . . . pērā</i>	<i>He manu haere takitahi te kākāpō, kāore e haere takitini pērā i te nuinga o ngā momo kākā.</i> (T.K.) (The kakapo is a lone bird, it does not move in groups like most other types of kaka.)
	Repetition and replacement (with substitution and/ or ellipsis)	<i>he X ia; he Y ia</i> <i>piri ngahuru . . . taha raumati</i>	<i>He Ngāpuhi ia; he Ngāi Tahu ia.</i> (W.H.) (He was Ngāpuhi; she was Ngāi Tahu.) <i>Ko te whakataukī pea hāngai ana ki te toa i tēnei wā, ko tēnei, 'Hoa piri ngahuru, taha kē raumati'. Arā, i noho tata mai i te wā i pai ki a ia, engari kia uaua nei, kei hea rā e ngaro ana?</i> (T.K.) (The expression best applied to the dominant males at this time is 'A constant companion in the autumn , absent in the summer ')
Statement-Denial	Idiomatic denial	<i>engari mō tēnā</i>	<i>Ka matatau ake te mea i whakatikaina rā? Engari mō tēnā, ka noho tonu ko kūare tōna hoa haere he kore i areare mai nō taringa ka tahi . . .</i> (T.K.) (Will the person who was corrected become more competent? Of course not , ignorance will continue to be his companion because the ears did not pay attention in the first instance . . .)
Denial-Correction	Negator plus a co-ordinating conjunction	<i>kāore . . . engari</i>	<i>Ko te tāne i hangaia i te tuatahi, nō muri ko te wahine, i runga i ngā kupu a te Atua, kāore e tika kia noho mokemoke te tāne engari kia whakawhiwhia he hoa hei atawhai i a ia.</i> (N.G.) (The male species was created first and then the female for according to the word of God man should not be alone, but he should have a companion to nurture him.)
	Co-ordinating conjunction plus a negator	<i>engari . . . tē</i>	<i>I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaoko noa ai.</i> (T.K.) (Furthermore, the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all.)
	Negator plus co-ordinating conjunction	<i>kāhore . . . heoi anō</i>	<i>. . . kāhore e kōrero, kāhore e katakata, heoi anō ka whakapoururu tonu.</i> (A.N.) (He did not speak, he did not laugh, but continued to be gloomy.)
	Quasi-coordinator	<i>i te</i>	<i>. . . kia rāhuitia ō rātou toenga whenua i te hoko kāwanatanga i ētahi atu hoko rānei.</i> (W.H.) (. . . that their remaining lands be reserved (correction) rather than be purchased by government, or by any other forms of purchase (denial))
	Repetition/ replacement (with negator in one member)	<i>ehara + repetition and replacement</i>	<i>Ehara ia i te māhita; he mīnita pāremata ia.</i> (W.H.) (He isn't a teacher; he's a politician.)
Exception	Preposition (complex)	<i>i tua mai</i>	<i>Ko te katoa i tua mai i a Hine i wehe moata.</i> (W.H.) (Everyone except Hine left early.)
	Subordinating conjunction	<i>hāunga</i>	<i>Mā ia iwi, hapū rānei, e whakarite ngā rāhui mō tōna takiwā, me uru mai ki roto ngā whenua e rīhi ana hāunga ngā hea kua hokoa.</i> (A.N.) (Each tribe, or clan, can decide the reserves for their own interests including lands being leased out, disregarding [except for] the shares that have been sold.)

Table 4 (cont.): Associative relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
General-Particular	Verb of speech or thought plus content specification	tonoa . . . + content specification	<i>Kua tonoa taku hoa ētita, a Reweti Kohere e ōna hoa Pākehā kia whakapiri i tētahi o ngā ingoa o tōna tipuna ki tōna ingoa, arā i a 'Mokena'.</i> (N.G.) (My associate editor, Reweti Kohere, has been asked by his Pakeha friends to add the name of one of his grandfathers, to his name, (the name of one of his grandfathers) that is, 'Mokena').
		whakapono . . . + content specification	<i>I tutuki ta te nuinga o ngā iwi ki tēnei whakapono he mea hanga te tangata tētahi mana nui, tētahi mana kaha, whakaharahara, ka kiia e rātou he Atua.</i> (N.G.) (Many believe that man was created by a great power, by some powerful authority, with an extraordinary power that they claim to be a God.)
		kiia . . . + content specification	<i>I tutuki tā te nuinga o ngā iwi ki tēnei whakapono he mea hanga te tangata tētahi mana nui, tētahi mana kaha, whakaharahara, ka kiā e rātou he Atua.</i> (N.G.) (Many believe that man was created by a great power, by some powerful authority, with an extraordinary power that they claim to be a God.)
		mōhio + content specification	<i>I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaoko noa ai.</i> (T.K.) (Furthermore, the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all.)
General noun followed by content specification	General noun followed by content specification	hunga + content specification	<i>Kua puta kē i a au te kōrero ki tētahi atu pepa i a au e tamariki ana ki ngā marae o Tūhōe ki Waikaremoana me Ruatāhuna ko ngā kaumātua te hunga whakatauirā mai i te tika, i te pono; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i te tikanga; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga tautōhito; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga kī tahi; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te iwi; āe, ko rātou ngā puna o te kī.</i> (T.K.) (I have already written in another paper that in my youth, on the marae of Tuhoe, Waikaremoana and Ruatahuna, the elders were a group who modeled what was right and effective, they retained the customs, they were a skilful group, they spoke with one voice, they retained tribal knowledge, it is true that they were the fountains of knowledge.)
Co-ordinating conjunction	Co-ordinating conjunction	heoi anō	<i>Ko te whakataukī pea hāngai ana ki te toa i tēnei wā, ko tēnei, 'Hoa piri ngahuru, taha kē raumati'. Arā, i noho tata mai i te wā i pai ki a ia, engari kia uaua nei, kei hea rā e ngaro ana?</i> <i>Heoi anō, me huri pea tēnei kōrero kia hāngai ake ki ngā kaupeka whakaputa uri o te kākā, arā 'Hoa piri raumati, taha kē takurua'. Ka āhua 6-8 tau te kākāpō e tipu haere ana, ā, ki te waiho kia mate hirinaki, tērā pea ka eke ki te 30 tau, te 40 tau rānei te pakeke.</i> (T.K.) (The expression best applied to the dominant males at this time is 'A constant companion in the autumn, absent in the summer' which suggests that the male stays close by at his convenience but is not available in times of trouble. (However, this discussion should return to reproduction of the kaka and the expression 'A constant companion in the summer, absent in the winter'. The kakapo continues to grow for about 6-8 years and if it does survive to old age, it could live for 30-40 years.)

Table 4 (cont.): Associative relations

<i>Relation</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Signal</i>	<i>Selected examples</i>
General-Particular	Noun (question) + interrogative form	<i>pātai . . . he aha kē ia</i>	<i>I te āhua tonu o ēnei rā nei kua rere te pātai he aha kē ia oti tēnei mea te kaumātua, ā, ko te take i rere ai tērā pātai nā te mea kua kitea i roto i ētahi iwi kua kore kē tēnei momo tangata e kōrerotia ake nei e au. (T.K.)</i> (With things the way they are these days, the question as to what defines a kaumatua (Māori elder) is being asked, and the reason for the question is that it has been seen that within some tribes there are no kaumatua left.)
	Structural repetition with replacement	<i>e rua ōna āhua . . . ko ngā kōrero . . . ko ngā kōrero</i>	<i>Ko ngā kōrero mō ngā whakatakatoranga me ngā tikanga a te Māori, e rua ōna āhua: Ko ngā kōrero i ahu mai waho o te whare wānanga, ko ngā kōrero hoki i takea mai i roto tonu i aua whare. (N.G.)</i> (These beliefs and the customs of the Māori came from two sources . There was [i.e., the sources were] the knowledge that came from outside the Whare Wananga (Māori Schools of Learning) and the knowledge that originated from inside the Whare Wananga.)
Supplementary Alternation	Co-ordinating conjunction	<i>rānei</i>	<i>Engari kua ā rātou tikanga me ngā whakahaere, e takahi i ngā tikanga o ngā ture o te Koroni, o ngā kaute kaunihera rānei. (A.N.)</i> (However, do not let their rules and conduct undermine the laws of the colony or of the council accounts either.) <i>E kaumātua noa ana nā te mea kua eke ki te karangatanga ahungarua nā te aha kē ia rānei? (T.K.)</i> (Is one a kaumātua because one has reached another generation, or are there some other criteria?)
Contrastive Alternation	Co-ordinating conjunction	<i>rānei . . . rānei</i>	<i>E noho rānei e wehe atu rānei. (W.H.)</i> (Either stay or leave.) <i>He pai rānei he kino rānei. (W.H.)</i> (It's either good or bad.)

Table 5: Causal relations

<i>Relation</i>	<i>Classification</i>	<i>Signal</i>	<i>Selected examples</i>
Reason-Result	Subordinating conjunction	<i>nā te mea</i>	<i>E kaumātua noa ana nā te mea kua eke ki te karangatanga ahungarua nā te aha kē ia rānei? (inverted) (T.K.)</i> (Is one a kaumātua because one has reached another generation, or are there some other criteria?)
		<i>i te mea</i>	<i>I te mea ka whānau a Raupare, ka mahara a Taraia ākuanei ka tupu hei wahine ka riro te mana o Heretaunga i te tangata kē. (R.K.)</i> (Because Raupare was born a girl (reason), Taraia thought that when she attained womanhood, the autonomy of Heretaunga would be inherited by an outsider (result)). <i>He manu nguengue, engari he kaha tonu tōna kakara, ā, i te mea ko te mata tonu o Papatūānuku tana kāinga, he māmā noa iho ki te kurī te whaiwhai haere i tōna kakara, waihoki, kāore he tahuringa ake mō te kākāpō. (T.K.)</i> (The kaka is placid, it exudes a strong smell and because this bird lives on Papatuanuku (Mother Earth), it becomes easy prey for dogs.)
		<i>nō te mea</i>	<i>E takahi ana i te tekiona 15 nō te mea torutoru o aua tangata i hokohoko e whiwhi ana i te whenua i kō atu. (A.N.)</i> (Section 15 is unacceptable (result/ conclusion) because very few of those people who have sold, possess any lands beyond these (reason/ justification)).

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Reason-Result	Subordinating conjunction	nā reira	<i>Ka whai kete kai, nā reira ka tae mai ki ngā rohe o Ngāti Porou kōrero ai i ngā mahi a te pāremata i Pōneke.</i> (A.N.) (I possess a basket of knowledge, hence I come to the area of Ngāti Porou to discuss what the parliament has achieved in Wellington.)
		nō reira	<i>He mōhio ia he pai ake te tau humi hei whakapakeke uri, nō reira ka tatari kia matomato rā anō te tupu o te kai, ā, hei reira tahuri ai ki te whakaipoipo.</i> (T.K.) (It considers the seasons when there is an abundance of food, so important for the rearing of the chicks. The kākāpō, therefore , waits until the food sources are plentiful and that is the time that its attention turns to mating.)
		inā	<i>Inā kua pāhi ia i te whakamātau, ka āhei ia ki te taraiwa.</i> (W.H.) (Now that he's passed the test, he can drive.)
	Noun	take	<i>I te āhua tonu o ēnei rā nei kua rere te pātai he aha kē ia oti tēnei mea te kaumatua, ā, ko te take i rere ai tērā pātai . . .</i> (T.K.) (With things the way they are these days, the question as to what defines a kaumatua (Māori elder) is being asked, and the reason for the question . . .)
	Complex prepositions	i runga	<i>I pā he mate ki a Ngāti Porou i tēnei tau ka taha atu nei i runga i ngā hoko whenua a te kāwanatanga.</i> (A.N.) (Ngāti Porou was placed in an adverse situation last year because of government land sales.)
		mō runga	<i>Ka whakaputa ia i tōna pāmamae mō runga i ngā mahi āhuareka a Ngāti Porou e rangirangi ana ā rātou waiata i ngā rangatira o waho.</i> (A.N.) (He expressed his resentment [result], as a consequence of the entertainment in which Ngāti Porou songs denigrated the chiefs from outside the area [reason]).
		nā runga	<i>Nā runga i tēnei mea a te hoko ka tae mai au ki konei.</i> (A.N.) (Because of the matter pertaining to sales, I have come here.)
	Prepositions	mō	<i>Ko te tino take o te kino a Ngāpuhi ki a Ngāti Porou mō te patunga me te kainga a Ngāti Porou i te tuahine o Te Morenga.</i> (W.H.) (The real reason for Ngāpuhi's anger with Ngāti Porou was the cannibalising of Te Morenga's sister by Ngāti Porou.)
		nā	<i>Nā te whakapono i hiki te wahine kia tū rangatira.</i> (R.K.) ([because of] It was faith that raised women to establish themselves as leaders.)
i		<i>I nui te kata i ō kōrero.</i> (R.K.) (I was greatly amused because of your words.)	
Causative prefix	whaka-	<i>me whakamārama ngā āraitanga, ngā whakarururutanga a ngā ture maha a te Pāremata, i hēmanawa ai te iwi Māori, i kore ai e taea e ngā mea e hiahia ana te whakapai ō rātou whenua;</i> (N.G.) (explain the obstacles, the difficulties caused by the many parliamentary laws which resulted in the frustration of the Māori people, and resulted in those who wished to improve their land being unable to do so)	

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Reason-Result	He-fronting	he . . . nō	<i>Engari mō tēnā, ka noho tonu ko kūare tōna hoa haere he kore i areare mai nō taringa ka tahi . . .</i> (T.K.) (That is not likely, ignorance will continue to be his companion, because the ears did not pay attention in the first instance . . .)
Grounds-Conclusion	Subordinating conjunction	i te mea	<i>I te mea kua eke nui ki runga i te iwi Māori tēnei kupu taunu, 'he māngere te Māori' ko te mahi tuatahi tonu mō tō koutou rōpū, me ērā atu rōpū e whakatūria ana i roto i te rohe pōti o te Tairāwhiti ā muri ake nei i runga i te kaupapa pēnei i tā koutou, he karo i tēnei kupu taunu.</i> (N.G.) (Because this insulting phrase 'Māori are lazy' is very frequently used in reference to Māori, the very first thing that needs to be done by your group, in fact by all similar groups likely to be established in the future within the electoral boundaries of Te Tairāwhiti, is to refute it.)
		nā reira	<i>Ko te tino mate o te āhua o tērā kau, nā reira ka kī au koirā pea te mea i kī rā a Mere i te mate pupuhi.</i> (W.H.) (That cow looks so ill so/therefore I conclude that she must be the one that Mary said had flu.)
	Sentence conjunct	kāti	<i>E mea ana rātou hei tohu whakamaharatanga tēnei māna ki tōna tipuna. Kāti kei pōhēhē ōna hoa he tangata kē a Reweti Kohere, me Reweti Mōkena Kohere.</i> (N.G.) (They are suggesting that this be a symbol of remembrance to his grandparent. So then , his friends should not mistakenly believe that Reweti Kohere is a different person than Reweti Mokena Kohere.)
		nō reira	<i>E ai ki ō tātou koroua, kuia 'he huri tēnei mea te mate', nō reira āta whakaarotia ake te kōrero nei.</i> (T.K.) (According to our elders, 'Death moves around', so therefore , this really needs to be considered.)
		nā reira	<i>Ko te tino mate o te āhua o tērā kau, nā reira ka kī au koirā pea te mea i kī rā a Mere i te mate pupuhi.</i> (W.H.) (That cow looks so ill so/therefore I conclude that she must be the one that Mary said had flu.)
	Preposition	hei	<i>Moumou te whenua mō te Māori o nāianei hei hoatu kē mō ētahi hei rīhi.</i> (R.K.) (There is no gain for Maori of today in possessing land (result/ conclusion) because they will only lease it out to others (reason))
Means-Result	Subordinating conjunction	me te aha	<i>engari nā ā rātou kurī kē i whakamataku te kākāpō, me te aha, puta ohore mai ana i tōna rua, ā, koirā te kitenga tuatahitanga o te Pākehā i tēnei manu.</i> (T.K.) (but it was their dog that startled the kakapo and caused it to emerge from its nest and that was the first sighting by Pakeha of this bird.)
	Preposition	mā	<i>I whakapuare ia i te tatau mā te whakatakawiri.</i> (W.H.) (He opened the door by twisting the catch.)

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples	
Means-Purpose	Subordinating conjunction	<i>kia</i>	<i>Utaina atu aku kōrero ki runga i ō parirau, kia kite mai ōku hoa o te motu.</i> (R.K.) (Carry my words on your wings so that my friends of the land can see them.)	
	Correlative co-ordinating conjunction	<i>kia . . . ai</i>	<i>Tangohia he kape o Te Toa Takitini o Hānuere mā koutou, kia kite ai koutou i ngā kōrero a te Poari whakahaere i ngā take tawhito a ngā iwi Māori o ngā moutere katoa.</i> (A.N.) (Obtain an edition of the Te Toa Takitini for yourselves [means] in order that you may see the reports of the controlling Board administering long-standing issues of all Maori people everywhere [purpose]).	
	Subjunctive TAM marker	<i>kia</i>	<i>hei muri i tēnā ka whakatakoto mārō ai i te kupu e hiahia ana koutou kia tahuri nui ki ngā mahi whenua, ki ngā mahi ā ringa; e tonu ana koutou kia āwhinatia tēnei whakaaro ō koutou e te Kāwanatanga, e te iwi Pākehā, e te iwi Māori;</i> (N.G.) (following that, be resolute with the messages you convey with the main focus being on the working of the land, the labouring for your aim is that the Government support your ideas;)	
	Preposition		<i>kei</i>	<i>. . . kei te ruku tonu a Te Ao, kia whiwhi koura ia kei hoki tahanga tana kete.</i> (R.K.) (Te Ao was still diving, so that she may find some crayfish (so as) to avoid returning with an empty kit.)
			<i>hei</i>	<i>ko ngā kaupapa e takoto i a koutou he mea tika kia tukua ki ngā nūpepa Pākehā o te Koroni kia whakarongo tauhou mai te iwi Pākehā ki tēnei taha hoki o ngā kōrero whenua Māori, kia manaakitia e ngā nūpepa, ā, kia riro ko rātou tonu hei āwhina i ō koutou whakaaro whakatipu hou;</i> (N.G.) (the ideas you put forward should in fact be circulated to Pakeha newspapers throughout the colony so that Pakeha will hear a fresh perspective about Māori land, so that the ideas will be supported by the newspapers and so that they will in actual fact be the ones to support your new suggestions.)
	Determiner	<i>hei</i>	<i>e mea ana rātou hei tohu whakamaharatanga tēnei māna ki tōna tipuna.</i> (N.G.) (They are suggesting that this be a symbol of remembrance to his grandparent.)	
Realisable Condition	Subordinating conjunction	<i>ki te</i>	<i>Ka āhua 6-8 tau te kākāpō e tipu haere ana, ā, ki te waiho kia mate hirinaki, tērā pea ka eke ki te 30 tau, te 40 tau rānei te pakeke.</i> (T.K.) (The kakapo continues to grow for about 6-8 years and if it does survive to old age, it could live for 30-40 years.) <i>Ki te pīrangī koe koinei hei reo mōu, tēnā kia tika mai i a koe . . .</i> (T.K.) (If you wish to have this as your language, make sure it is correct . . .)	

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Realisable Condition	Subordinating conjunction	mēnā	<i>Mēnā kua ahungarua te tangata engari e tino kūare ana ki ngā tikanga me ngā kōrero a te iwi, ka kaumātua tonu?</i> (T.K.) (If one has reached old age but has no knowledge about the customs, tribal stories, is one still regarded as a kaumatua?) <i>Ko te kī a ēnei kupu, mēnā kāre te pakanga o te Poa, e kore e kitea te hōhonutanga o te āhua o te Ingarihi.</i> (A.N.) (These words are saying, if it were not for the outbreak of the Boer War (condition), we would not have seen the depth of quality of the English (consequence)).
		mehemea	<i>Mehemea i whakahaerea i raro i te Ture Hoko Whakawhiwhi Whenua 1893, e takahi ana aua hoko i taua ture.</i> (A.N.) (If it was administered under the provisions of the Ture Hoko Whakawhiwhi Whenua of 1893 then those sales were contrary to that legislation.)
		inā	<i>Inā ka tae moata mai koe ka āhei koe ki te hianga.</i> (W.H.) (Provided (that) you get in early, you can play.)
		mā	<i>Mā tō wehe ināianei tonu, e kore koe e tae ki te kāinga.</i> (W.H.) (Unless you leave now, you won't get home.)
Unrealisable Condition	Subordinating conjunction	me mea	<i>Kua mahia e au me mea i whai taima.</i> (W.H.) (I'd have done it if there had been time.) (unrealisable condition).
		kei	<i>Kāore ngā tungāne i whakaae . . . kei kitea mai hoki e te tāne.</i> (R.K.) (The brothers would not consent . . . lest she be seen by her husband.)
Concession- Contraexpectation	Subordinating conjunction	ahakoa	<i>Ahakoa rā he maha ngā hāhi nā rātou i mau mai tēnei whakapono, he reo kotahi tonu tā rātou, he ririki nei ngā rerekētanga . . .</i> (N.G.) (Although there were many denominations, their messages were similar with a few slight variations . . .) <i>Kāti, ko tāku noa iho ki a tātou he kī atu kia tino manaakitia te hunga pakeke ahakoa pēhea te mōhio, te kore rānei i mōhio, ki ngā āhutatanga o te ao Māori.</i> (T.K.) (That aside, my message is that the elderly should be really supported whether or not they know the ways of the Māori world.)
		engari	<i>Ko āna kōrero kino, i roto i iētahi reta tuku mai, engari kāore pea i kitea e te ētita.</i> (N.G.) (This offensive language appeared in a letter sent to the paper, but was evidently not seen by the editor.)

Table 5 (cont.): Causal relations

Relation	Classification	Signal	Selected examples
Concession- Contraexpectation	Subordinating conjunction	<i>otirā</i>	<i>I āhua pakaru i reira te āhua o te whakaaro o te tangata. Otirā nō te hui ki Mataahu i te tau 1892, ka whakakotahitia anō te whakaaro o te tangata. (A.N.)</i> (Although the opinions at this point became somewhat divided, however it was not till the meeting of 1892 that they were once again united.) <i>Ko tētahi atu āhukatanga ōna, ko tana rere-kore. Otirā, he āwhina tonu kei ōna parirau poto i a ia e oma ana, e piki ana rānei i tētahi mea. (T.K.)</i> (Another feature is that it is flightless, but its short wings are useful when it is running or when it is climbing trees.)
	Co-ordinating conjunction	<i>engari</i>	<i>I taku tau tuatahi kāore he mahi i oti. Engari i tēnei tau. (A.N.)</i> (During my first year no work was completed. However , this year [it has been completed]). <i>Ko tēnei pātai me waiho anō mā ngā iwi tonu e whakautu, e whakatau engari he pātai e kaha ana te pātaitia e te rangatahi. (T.K.)</i> The question should be left for the Māori people to answer, to examine, but it is a question frequently asked by the younger generation.
	Phrasal coordinator	<i>ahakoa ōku ake whakaaro</i>	<i>Ahakoa ōku ake whakaaro, me noho ia ki te kāinga. (W.H.)</i> (For all it matters to me , he can stay at home.)

Discussion

Two of the most interesting things that emerge from the analysis of the corpus in *inter-propositional* relational terms are:

- (1) The fact that certain items that indicate the presence of relations that are multi-functional, that is, they occur in the context of more than one relationship;
- (2) The fact that the signalling of relationships involves so many aspects of grammar and lexis.

In relation to (1) above it is interesting to note that certain items (such as, for example, *engari*) tend to be indicative of a *type* of relationship (e.g., a contrastive relationship) rather than a *specific* relationship. Thus, for example, both *engari* and *ahakoa* may occur in the context of *Concession-Contraexpectation*. However, whereas *ahakoa* appears to operate as a specific signal of concession, *engari* operates more generally as a ‘signpost’, an indication of the general type of relationship involved.

In relation to (2) above, it is interesting to note that the *reason* member of a *Reason-Result* relation may be signalled by a subordinating conjunction (e.g., *nā te mea* ‘because’), a noun (e.g., *take* ‘reason’), a complex preposition (e.g., *i runga* ‘because’) or a causative prefix (e.g., *whaka-*).

I believe that the present study has something of value to offer to teachers and learners of Māori as well as to linguists who are interested in providing semantically-centred descriptions of the language.⁸ In particular, information about the signalling of *inter-propositional* relations in the early part of the twentieth century could assist teachers of Māori in their efforts to extend the capacity of their learners to comprehend and

produce texts that are more linguistically diverse. This sort of information also, I believe, has implications for the production of dictionaries, for the theory and practice of English-Māori and Māori-English translation and interpreting (see, for example, Beekman and Callow (1974)) and, perhaps in the longer term, for computer-based analyses of Māori language corpora. It may also be of interest to linguists working on the semantically-based analysis of other indigenous languages.

Conclusion

There is much that remains to be done in the area of *inter*-propositional relational encoding and signalling in *te reo Māori*. In particular, a comprehensive study based on a large corpus drawn from different historical periods and different geographical areas and including both written and spoken discourses would be likely to yield more reliable and more comprehensive results than the study reported here.

Endnotes

1. An n-ary relation is one that may have more than two parts.
2. Winifred Crombie and Ngaere Houia-Roberts
3. Such as, for example, *give and respond to information and opinions, giving reasons*
4. This study of textbook resources was carried out as part of the work done in preparation for the design of the curriculum to which reference has been made.
5. Sir Apirana Ngata (Ngāti Porou) was a prominent Māori scholar and statesman. The texts selected for analysis here are all included in *Apirana Turupa Ngata* (1996), edited by Wiremu and Te Ohore Kaa. Timoti Kāretu (Tūhoe and Ngāti Kahungunu) is a former professor of Māori language at the University of Waikato and a former Commissioner of *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (The Māori Language Commission). The works selected for analysis here were published in *He Muka*, a quarterly journal in Māori.
6. A number of works dealing with discourse relations in written Māori have become available in the last few years: Crombie and Houia (2001), Fester and Whaanga (2007), Greensill (2007), Houia (2001a, 2001b, 2002), Houia-Roberts (2003, 2004a, 2004b), and Whaanga (2006).
7. The corpus was drawn from Kaa and Kaa (1994, 1996).
8. It will, of course, be necessary to produce a more pedagogically-oriented account if the work is to be of any *direct* value to teachers and learners of Māori.

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Appendix: Texts and translations by Houia-Roberts (2004b)

Text 1: *Te nūpepa o Te Aute: nā Apirana Ngata – The Te Aute Newspaper: Apirana Ngata (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, p. 211)*

Kua tonoa taku hoa ētita, a Reweti Kohere e ōna hoa Pākehā kia whakapiri i tētahi o ngā ingoa o tōna tipuna ki tōna ingoa, arā i a 'Mokena'. E hiahia ana rātou kia pēnei te roanga o tōna ingoa Reweti T. Mōkena Kohere. E mea ana rātou hei tohu whakamaharatanga tēnei māna ki tōna tipuna. Kāti kei pōhēhē ōna hoa he tangata kē a Reweti Kohere, me Reweti Mōkena Kohere.

He nui tō mātou pouri i tō mātou kitenga i ētahi kupu kāore e tika kia perehitia i roto i tētahi o ā tātou pepa Māori. Ko āna kōrero kino, i roto i tētahi reta tuku mai, engari kāore pea i kitea e te ētita.

E hoa mā, e kōrerotia ana ō tātou pepa e te wāhine, e te tamariki, kāti kāore e tika ngā kōrero weriweri kia perehitia. He mea tēnei e taea te hāmene e te Kāwanatanga, ā, e mau ai te tangata ki te whareherehere.

Kia tūpato. Nō ngā kaitā te tino hē ki te perehi tonu i ērā kōrero tino kino atu.

My associate editor, Reweti Kohere, has been asked by his Pakeha friends to add the name of one of his grandfathers, that is, 'Mokena', to his name. They want his full name to be Reweti T. Mokena Kohere. They are suggesting that this be a symbol of remembrance to his grandparent. So then, his friends should not mistakenly believe that Reweti Kohere is a different person than Reweti Mokena Kohere.

We were very disappointed when we saw a type of language, that should not be printed, appeared in one of our Māori papers. This offensive language appeared in a letter sent to the paper, but was evidently not seen by the editor.

Friends, our papers are being read by women and by children, so it is not right that offensive language, such as this, should be printed. This is something that could incur a Government summons and could result in the imprisonment of those concerned.

Be cautious. The fault lies with the printers who continue to print this distasteful language.

Text 2: *Me karo tēnei taunu 'He māngere te Māori': nā Apirana Ngata – Counter the insult 'Māori are lazy': Apirana Ngata (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 213-214)*

I te mea kua eke nui ki runga i te iwi Māori tēnei kupu taunu, 'he māngere te Māori' ko te mahi tuatahi tonu mō tō koutou rōpū, me ērā atu rōpū e whakatūria ana i roto i te rohe pōti o te Tairāwhiti ā muri ake nei i runga i te kaupapa pēnei i tā koutou, he karo i tēnei kupu taunu.

Ko ētahi huarahi e taea ai te karo ki taku whakaaro koia ēnei:

- (a) me whakamārama e koutou te āhua o te Māori i mua atu i ngā wā hoko whenua, he iwi ahuhenua, me ngā mahi i taea e te Māori i ērā rā, ngā mahi wīti, whakatupu poaka, hoko kaupuke me ērā atu mahi;*
- (b) me whakamārama ngā huarahi taka ai te Māori ki te hē i runga i ngā mahi hoko whenua, i ngā rīhi whenua, ka waiho ko ngā hua o ēnā mahi hei oranga mō te tangata Māori, ka whakamanawa ki tēnā oranga, he oranga ngāwari hoki, ka ngoikore ki ngā mahi tinana;*
- (c) me whakamārama ngā āraitanga, ngā whakararururutanga a ngā ture maha a te Pāremata, i hēmanawa ai te iwi Māori, i kore ai e taea e ngā mea e hiahia ana te whakapai ō rātou whenua;*
- (d) me whakawhāiti ngā māramatanga katoa e takoto nei o ngā mahi ahuhenua o tō koutou rohe:
 - (i) te tīmatanga me te whakahaerenga, ā, tae mai ki tēnei wā o ngā mahi o Ngāti Porou, te kaute o ngā hipi, me ērā atu kararehe a te Māori i tēnei wā, te wāriu o ngā whakapainga kei runga i aua whenua, ngā eka kua pai;*
 - (ii) ngā mahi a te uaua o te Māori ki ngā whenua e nōhia mai nei e ngā Pākehā.**
- (e) hei muri i tēnā ka whakatakoto mārō ai i te kupu e hiahia ana koutou kia tahuri nui ki ngā mahi whenua, ki ngā mahi ā ringa; e tono ana koutou kia āwhinatia tēnei whakaaro ō koutou e te Kāwanatanga, e te iwi Pākehā, e te iwi Māori;*
- (f) ko ngā kaupapa e takoto i a koutou he mea tika kia tukua ki ngā nūpepa Pākehā o te Koroni kia whakarongo tauhou mai te iwi Pākehā ki tēnei taha hoki o ngā kōrero whenua Māori, kia manaakitia e ngā nūpepa, ā, kia riro ko rātou tonu hei āwhina i ō koutou whakaaro whakatipu hou;*

(g) *ko te whakaupoko tonu tēnei mō tētahi pīhahana nui ki te Pāremata ā tēnei tau ko ngā whakamārama e taea ai te karo tēnei kupu te 'māngere' ki raro i te iwi Māori.*

Because this insulting phrase 'Māori are lazy' is very frequently used in reference to Māori, the very first thing that needs to be done by your group, in fact by all similar groups likely to be established in the future within the electoral boundaries of Te Tairāwhiti, is to refute it.

In my opinion, some courses of action which could be used to counter these claims could be to:

- (a) explain the way the Māori people were prior to the time of land sales: they were an industrious people, and the work they were able to do during those times was wheat growing, rearing pigs, buying ships among other things;
- (b) explain the ways in which the Māori people have fallen on troubled times because of land sales, land leases, and people were left to exist on the financial gains, and soon they became accustomed to this way of life, and because it was an easy life, the people lost the motivation to work;
- (c) explain the obstacles, the difficulties caused by the many parliamentary laws which resulted in the frustration of the Māori people, and resulted in those who wished to improve their land being unable to do so;
- (d) collate all this information about the work being carried out in your areas:
 - (i) the beginnings, the administration and also include the work of sheep rearing in Ngati Porou, the numbers of sheep and other animals being reared by Māori people at this time, the values of improvements on those lands, the total acreage which has been improved.
 - (ii) the vigorous work that Māori people are carrying out on the land owned by Pakeha.
- (e) following that, be resolute with the messages you convey with the main focus being on the working of the land, the labouring for your aim is that the Government support your ideas;
- (f) the ideas you put forward should in fact be circulated to Pakeha newspapers throughout the colony so that Pakeha will hear a fresh perspective about Māori land, so that the ideas will be supported by the newspapers and so that they will in actual fact be the ones to support your new suggestions.
- (g) this collection of new explanations could constitute an important part of a petition this year, and could be useful in the removal of the use of this word 'lazy' in reference to the Māori people.

Text 3: *Te marae o te Māori - Māoritanga: nā Apirana Ngata* – The marae of the Māori people: *Māoritanga: Apirana Ngata* (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 232-235)

Kei roto i ngā whakapuatanga kōrero o ia iwi o tēnei ao, tērā e kitea ā rātou tini mano pūtaka o te tangata. Kimi tonu āna tāngata i tōna putanga mai ki te whai ao. I tutuki tā te nuinga o ngā iwi ki tēnei whakapono he mea hanga te tangata tētahi mana nui, tētahi mana kaha, whakaharahara, ka kīia e rātou he Atua. Kua whakaakona tātou ko te whakapono Karaitiana te whakatakatoranga tuatahi.

Kei roto i te pukapuka tuatahi a Mohi o Kēnehi e mau ana, i hangaia mai te tangata i te puehu, ā, nā te Atua i whakahā i ngā ponga o tōna ihu ka whiwhi i te wairua, ka kīia tēnei ko te Orokohanga. Ko te tāne i hangaia i te tuatahi, nō muri ko te wahine, i runga i ngā kupu a te Atua, kāore e tika kia noho mokemoke te tāne engari kia whakawhiwhia he hoa hei atawhai i a ia.

Tērā atu ngā kaupapa kōrero a ētahi atu iwi, engari ko te whakapono tēnei i mauria mai e te Pākehā ki waenganui i ngā Māori o Aotearoa nei, āpiti atu ki ngā moutere a te Moana Nui a Kiwa.

Ahakoia rā he maha ngā hāhi nā rātou i mau mai tēnei whakapono, he reo kotahi tonu tā rātou, he ririki nei ngā rerekētanga, ko te mea i tāia ko te Paipera, ka whakamāoritia ki ngā reo katoa o ngā iwi Māori.

I pērā anō hoki te Māori onamata, i tōna hangainga ki ōna putake, i tōna tipunga mai rānei i a neherā. Ko ngā kōrero mō ngā whakatakatoranga me ngā tikanga a te Māori, e rua ōna āhua: Ko ngā kōrero i ahu mai waho o te whare wānanga, ko ngā kōrero hoki i takea mai i roto tonu i aua whare.

Ahakoia ko ngā kōrero rā anō i haere mai anō i ngā whare nei i tukua ēnei kia kohia e te mutu tangata. Ka marea he mea noa, ehara i te tapu. Ko ngā whakaona tapu i taiepatia atu ki roto i ngā Whare Wānanga. I hunia i reira mai i te tini o te tangata ko ngā kōrero mō Io.

Otirā nā te Pākehā i hopu haere ngā kōrero a ngā kaumātua, ka pā te kaupapa o Io, ka whakatūria ko ia te Atua tino tapu o te iwi Māori i onamata. Mā te tino tohunga anake e whakahua i tēnei ingoa i ngā wāhanga noa, i ngā wā e rite ana. Ahakoia rā he kaupapa ngaro, tērā tonu te takoto whānui i roto ngā whare wānanga, i te Taitokerau, i te Tairāwhiti, ā, i ētahi wāhi o te Taihauāuru.

Nā ngā tohunga, nā ngā morehu o ngā pakanga i hoatu ki a rātou e mōhio ana ki ngā taurira whakatipuranga hou kua mōhio ki te tā kōrero pukapuka, nā reira ka heke mai ngā kōrero o Io ki a tātou.

*Ko Io Nui, te Atua o ngā Atua katoa
Ko Io Roa, te tuturu,
Ko Io Matua, te Matua o te Rangi o te Ao,
O ngā tāngata me ā rātou mea katoa,
Ko Io Matua te Kore, kāore he matua,
Ko Io Matua te Taketake, te taunga motuhake,
Ko Io te Wānanga, te tīmatanga o ngā mea katoa,
Ko Io te Toi o ngā Rangi, te Taumata o ngā Rangi,
Ko Io te Matanui, o ngā mea e kitea ana,
Ko Io te Matangaro, o ngā mea kāore e kitea,
Ko Io te Matakakao. Te rā, te mahana, te muri ahi,
Ko Io te Whiwhia, te hanga tangata,
Ko te Matatapu, te mutunga ake o te tapu.*

E kīia ana nāna i hanga i te ao, mai i te kore, kāore i whānau, he matua kore, kāore i mau ki te wahine, he uri kore, engari nāna ka hanga i ngā mea katoa tae noa ki te tangata.

Throughout the world, different peoples have different interpretations on the origin of man. Man is still seeking knowledge of his creation. Many believe that man was created by a great power, by some powerful authority, with an extraordinary power that they claim to be a God. We have been taught that Christianity is the superior teaching.

It has been written in the first book of Moses and of Genesis that Man was created from dust and it was God who breathed life through his nostrils and instilled within him a spirit and this was the Orokohanga, the creation. The male species was created first and then the female for according to the word of God man should not be alone, but he should have a companion to nurture him.

There are many other explanations held by other peoples but this is the faith brought by the Pakeha to the Māori people of New Zealand and to the Islands of the Pacific.

Although there were many denominations, their messages were similar with a few slight variations, the Bible was the printed word and this was translated into the languages of all the indigenous peoples.

Ancient Māori had a similar belief about their creation, their origins, their development in ancient times. These beliefs and the customs of the Māori came from two sources. There was the knowledge that came from outside the Whare Wananga (Māori Schools of Learning) and the knowledge that originated from inside the Whare Wananga.

Although the teachings from the various Whare Wananga were similar this was made available to anyone. It became common knowledge and was not regarded as sacred. The sacred teachings were kept secret within the school of learning. The teachings of Io were concealed there from the majority of people.

Indeed, it was the Pakeha who acquired the stories of the Māori elders that related to the teachings of Io, the most sacred of gods to the Māori of old. Only a tohunga (priest) could refer to him and only in the right places and at the right times. Although the teachings were suppressed, it is possible that these were more widely taught in the Whare Wananga in Te Taitokerau (Northern tribes) and Te Taihauauru (Western Tribes).

The tohunga, the survivors of the battles handed on what they knew to the students of the new generation, who by this time had learned to record the written word and that is why the story of Io has been passed on down to us.

Io Nui represents the most important god
Io Roa represents uprightness and permanence
Io Matua represents the father of the heavens, of all people and their existence
Io Matua Kore of no parentage
Io Matua te Taketake, the permanent resting place
Io te Wananga, the beginning of all things
Io te Toi o nga Rangi, the highest level of the heavens
Io te Matanui, those things visible to the naked eye
Io te Matangaro, those things not visible to the naked eye
Io te Matakakao te ra, the warmth, the flames of the fire
Io te Whiwhia, the stature of mankind
Io te Matatapu, the most sacred of all

The belief is that Io created the world from nothing, was not born, had no parentage, had no union with women, was childless, but nevertheless all things, including man, were created by Io.

Text 4: *Te tau o ngā kaumātua: nā Tīmoti Kāretu* – The year of the elderly: Tīmoti Kāretu (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 219-221)

Kua puta te karanga a Te Whakakotahitanga o Ngā Iwi o Te Ao kia kīia te tau e tū mai nei ko Te Tau o te Kaumātua Puta Noa i te Ao. Otirā koirā tāku nā whakamāoritanga i tērā whakaaro. Ko tāku e whakapae ana e kōrero kē ana rātou mō te hunga pēperekōu kua i tā te Māori titiro ki tēnei mea, ki te kaumātua. Kua puta kē i a au te kōrero ki tētahi atu pepa i a au e tamariki ana ki ngā marae o Tūhoe ki Waikaremoana me Ruatāhuna ko ngā kaumātua te hunga whakatauirā mai i te tika, i te pono; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i te tikanga; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga tauōhito; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga kī tahi; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te iwi; āe, ko rātou ngā puna o te kī.

I te āhua tonu o ēnei rā nei kua rere te pātai he aha kē ia oti tēnei mea te kaumātua, ā, ko te take i rere ai tērā pātai nā te mea kua kitea i roto i ētahi iwi kua kore kē tēnei momo tangata e kōrerotia ake nei e au. Kua eke tātou ki te reanga pakeke kāore nei e mōhio ki te reo, ki ngā tikanga tae atu hoki ki ngā kōrero? E kaumātua noa ana nā te mea kua eke ki te karangatanga ahungarua nā te aha kē ia rānei? Kua kaha te whiua o te pātai he aha tēnei mea te kaumātua me aha rawa rānei te tangata e kaumātua ai ki te titiro a te tangata? Mēnā kua ahungarua te tangata engari e tino kūare ana ki ngā tikanga me ngā kōrero a te iwi, ka kaumātua tonu? Ko tēnei pātai me waiho anō mā ngā iwi tonu e whakautu, e whakataui engari he pātai e kaha ana te pātaitia e te rangatahi. Ko au kei te kī ko te momo kaumātua o te wā i a au e taiohi ana kua tino kore haere, me uaua kē rānei ka kitea engari ko te hunga kaumātua, kua noho makorea, pūtoetoe rānei, e tika ana kia kauanuanutia.

Ko tētahi take nui e aroha nei au ki te hunga pakeke nei kua kore te ao Māori o ēnei rā nei i mōhio me pēhea te kōrero ki te pakeke, me pēhea rānei te manaaki ki te pakeke. I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaako noa ai. He āhuatanga tērā kua uru kaha mai ki te ao Māori, ā, nā konei anō nei te ao Māori i āhua kotiti ai he kore i whakapono he mātāuranga anō tō ngā kaumātua.

Kāti, ko tāku noa iho ki a tātou he kī atu kia tino manaakitia te hunga pakeke ahakoa pēhea te mōhio, te kore rānei i mōhio, ki ngā āhuatanga o te ao Māori nā te mea he wā tōna ka noho atu ko koutou, ko tātou ki taua nohonga e whakaparanga nei tātou i roto i te rā nei.

E ai ki ō tātou koroua, kuia 'he huri tēnei mea te mate', nō reira āta whakaarotia ake te kōrero nei.

Me pēnei noa ake pea te whakatau ake 'E te mātātahi kia aro nui mai ki te mātāpuputu; e te mātāpuputu whāngaia mai te mā tātahi e hiakai nei ki ngā taonga kei a koutou'

Tēnā tātou katoa kia tahuri ki te whakanui, ki te whakarangatira i ō tātou kaumātua i roto i tēnei tau kua whakaarotia ake hei tau aro nui atu ki a rātou.

The United Nations has recommended that in this coming year, The Year of the Elderly will be observed worldwide, that at least is my interpretation of the notice. What concerns me is that they are looking at older people in general and not at the Māori interpretation of an elder. I have already written in another paper that in my youth, on the marae of Tūhoe, Waikaremoana and Ruatāhuna, the elders were a group who modeled what was right and effective, they retained the customs, they were a skilful group, they spoke with one voice, they retained tribal knowledge, it is true that they were the fountains of knowledge.

With things the way they are these days, the question as to what defines a kaumātua (Māori elder) is being asked, and the reason for the question is that it has been seen that within some tribes there are no kaumātua left. We have reached the stage when some elders have no knowledge of the language, the customs, or even the stories. Is one a kaumātua because one has reached another generation, or is there some other criteria? The questions that are asked regularly by people concern the criteria for a kaumātua or what must a person do to be recognized as a kaumātua? If one has reached old age but has no knowledge about the customs, tribal stories, is one still regarded as a kaumātua?

The question should be left for the Māori people to answer, to examine, but it is a question frequently asked by the younger generation. The type of kaumātua who were around when I was a teenager, in my opinion, are no longer around, or are difficult to find, but the kaumātua we have now, are the survivors, it is only right that they are respected and are looked on with fondness by the younger generations.

The main reason I feel sympathy for the kaumātua is that, the Māori world of today no longer know how to speak

to them or how to show them respect. Furthermore, the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all. That is a common feature which has entered the Māori world, and this is why the Māori world is not united, there is not the belief that kaumatua do indeed possess a special knowledge.

That aside, my message is that the elderly should be really supported whether or not they know the ways of the Māori world because the time will come when you, when all of us will be part of the group we are discussing today.

According to our elders, 'Death moves around', so therefore, this really needs to be considered.

Perhaps this could be a concluding suggestion, 'Youth, respect your elders; Elders, feed the youth who hunger for the knowledge you possess.'

Thank you all, you who will take part in honouring and respecting our kaumatua during the year which has been designated as the year which will have a special focus for them.

Text 5: *Te Kākāpō* (Strigops habroptilus): *nā Tīmoti Kāretu* – The Kakapo: Tīmoti Kāretu (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 246-249)

Ahakoia huri koe ki hea i te ao nei, kāore e kitea he kākā nui ake i te kākāpō o Aotearoa. He kaha tonu ōna ngutu, ā, he pewa te āhua, pērā tonu i te katoa o ngā momo kākā. Engari ko te kanohi, he āhua rite ki tō te ruru - ko te 'kākā-ruru' tonu tētahi o ōna ingoa ki te reo Pākehā. Waihoki, ko te tikanga o tōna ingoa pūtaiao, arā, o te Strigops habroptilus, ko te 'kanohi-ruru whai hune'. Ko te tae o ngā hune, e rite ana ki te pūkoho, ā, he kōrangorango te āhua. Nā konei i pai ai te noho huna o te kākāpō i te ao, i te pō.

Kāore i mōhio ngā tohunga huaota o te ao Pākehā ki tēnei manu kia eke rawa ki te tau 1852. I taua tau ka tūpono atu ētahi tāngata o te kaupuke Acheron ki tētahi, engari nā ā rātou kurī kē i whakamataku te kākāpō, me te aha, puta ohorerere mai ana i tōna rua, ā, koirā te kitenga tuatahitanga o te Pākehā i tēnei manu. He manu haere takitahi te kākāpō, kāore e haere takitini pērā i te nuinga o ngā momo kākā. Ko tētahi atu āhuatanga ōna, ko tana rere-kore. Otirā, he āwhina tonu kei ōna parirau poto i a ia e oma ana, e piki ana rānei i tētahi mea. Tērā ka eke ki te 2.5 kirokaramu tōna taumaha, ā, he pōturi tana haere, ka mutu, he waewae mātotoru. He manu nguengue, engari he kaha tonu tōna kakara, ā, i te mea ko te mata tonu o Papatūānuku tana kāinga, he māmā noa iho ki te kurī te whaiwhai haere i tōna kakara, waihoki, kāore he taurunga ake mō te kākāpō. Arā anō ētahi o ōna tino hoariri, ko te ngeru, me te toriura.

He kaiota te manu nei. Ko ētahi o āna tino kai, ko ngā kākano, ngā rau, ngā tātā me ngā pakiaka o ētahi tipu. Ka kaikainga ngā mea kākōa, me te ngongo i te pia o roto. Hei tango mai i ngā kākano i ngā pātūtū, ka puritia ngā rau ki ngā waewae, me te whakamahi i ō rātou ngutu hei unu mai i ngā kākano.

Mō te wāhi ki te whakaputa uri, kāore te kākāpō e mahi poka noa. He mōhio ia he pai ake te tau humi hei whakapakeke uri, nō reira ka tātari kia matomato rā anō te tupu o te kai, ā, hei reira tahuri ai ki te whakaipoipo. He mahi rerekē tonu tā ngā toa i tēnei wā. Ka taki whakamenomenu rātou me te whakataetae tahi hei whakawai i ngā uha. Mai i te marama o Hakihea ki te marama o Poutū-te-rangi, rangona ai ō rātou reo karanga i ngā uha, engari he rerekē te āhua o te tangi, me kī he momo nguru, ko te hāona kaupuke tōna rite. Ka roa tonu rātou e pēnei ana, me te mātaki a ngā uha i tā rātou mahi. Nā wai, nā wai, ka whiriwhiri tēnā me tēnā o ngā uha i tāna i pai ai, ā, he nui tonu ngā toa ka ngere. Hanga kōwhanga ai ngā uha i ngā tumu rākau kua wharemoa, i raro rānei i te pātūtū taranui, ā, e toru ngā hua ka whānau mai ki te nuinga. Kotahi marama te uha e awahi ana i ōna hua, kātahi ka pao mai ngā pipī. Ka āhua whitu marama ngā pipī e piri tahi ana ki tō rātou whāereere, ā, he mahi nui tonu te karo i te mate; he maha rātou ka riro hei kai mā te hoariri. Ko te whakataukī pea hāngai ana ki te toa i tēnei wā, ko tēnei, 'Hoa piri ngahuru, taha kē raumati'. Arā, i noho tata mai i te wā i pai ki a ia, engari kia uua nei, kei hea rā e ngaro ana?

Heoi anō, me huri pea tēnei kōrero kia hāngai ake ki ngā kaupeka whakaputa uri o te kākā, arā 'Hoa piri raumati, taha kē takurua'. Ka āhua 6-8 tau te kākāpō e tipu haere ana, ā, ki te waiho kia mate hirinaki, tērā pea ka eke ki te 30 tau, te 40 tau rānei te pakeke.

Ko Aotearoa anake te kāinga tūturu o te kākāpō. I ngā rā o mua, nohoia ai ngā wāhi ngāherehere katoa o te motu e te kākāpō. Kei te mōhioia tēnei i te mea kua kitea ngā whaipara o tēnei manu i ngā ruapara Māori o mua, huri i te motu. Mahia anō ai e ngā Māori o neherā ngā huruhuru o te kākāpō hei hanga kahu.

Nō te taenga mai o Tauīwi ki Aotearoa, he maha tonu ngā kākāpō ka mate i ā rātou kurī, ā, ka kainga anō hoki e te Pākehā. Arā anō ētahi i tukuna atu ki ngā whare taonga o konei me tāwāhi. I te wā i a Kuini Wīkītōria, tukuna atu ai ētahi kākāpō e 80 nei ki tētahi whare taonga kotahi nei i Vienna. I ngā tau o ngā 1890, i muri tonu i te taenga mai o ngā toriura ki Aotearoa, ka matemate haere ngā kākāpō. Nā wai, nā wai, ka āhua pai ake. Engari i ngā tau o ngā 1930 me ngā 1940, ka paheke anō. E whakapaetia ana nā te tere ngaro o ngā ngahere i tīmata anō

ai te paheke o te kākāpō i tēnei wā. Ka ngaro atu tēnei waewae mātotoru i Te Ika a Māui, ā, i paku muri mai ka pērā anō i Te Waipounamu. Ko ngā mōrehu i kitea i Te Waipounamu, arā, i Piopiotahi, ka haria ake ki te Punanga Manu i Mount Bruce, engari ka mate mai ērā i te tahumaero. Kua kore i kitea he kākāpō i Te Ika me Te Waka a Māui i ngā tau o ngā 1990.

Mokori anō i rokohanga atu ētahi āhua kotahi rau nei i Rakiura i te tau 1977. Engari kāore i tino pai tā rātou noho i reira, i te mea e noho tahi ana ki tērā o ngā hoariri, ki te ngeru. I roto i te wā poto kua heke tō rātou nui ki te 61 noa iho. I konei ka whakatauria me hari ēnei tino mōrehu ki tētahi moutere karekau he ngeru, he toriura i reira.

Ko Hauturu, ko Codfish me Maud ngā moutere i whiriwhiritia. Hei āwhina i ngā kākāpō, ka tahuri Te Papa Atawhai ki te hora kai papai mā rātou, pēnei i te hua rākau, i te natinati me ngā 'pōhā patahua', i runga i te tūmanako ka whakaae ngā manu nei kua eke anō te tau humi, ā, ka tahuri ki te whakaputa uri!

I ēnei rā, ko tōna 50 noa iho ngā kākāpō e ora tonu ana i ēnei moutere.

Ko wai kāore e tautoko i te whakaaro me āta tiaki tēnei puipuiaki kei ngaro i tēnei, tōna whenua ake, pērā tonu i te moa, i te hōkioi, me te tōtōrori?

Nowhere else in the world is there a parrot larger than the New Zealand Kakapo.

It has a strong hooked beak like other parrots. But the eyes are more like those of an owl. Another Pakeha name for this parrot is kaka-ruru (parrot-owl). However, its scientific name is *Strigops habroptilus*, 'the downy eyes of the owl'. The down is the colour of the mist, and is mottled in appearance. Because of this, the kaka can stay concealed at night.

Pakeha scientists did not know about this bird until 1852. It was in that year that a group of sailors from the sailing vessel *Acheron* happened on one but it was their dog that startled the kakapo and caused it to emerge from its nest and that was the first sighting by Pakeha of this bird. The kakapo is a lone bird, it does not move in groups like most other types of kaka. Another feature is that it is flightless, but its short wings are useful when it is running or when it is climbing trees. The Kaka can reach a weight of 2.5 kgs, it walks slowly and has thick legs. The kaka is placid, it exudes a strong smell and because this bird lives on Papatuanuku (Mother Earth), it becomes easy prey for dogs. Indeed, there is nowhere else that the kakapo can turn. Its other enemies include cats and stoats.

This bird eats fresh fruit. Other favourite foods include vegetables, seeds, leaves, stalks and roots of some plants. It eats fibrous plants and it sucks at the sap. In order to pull out the seeds and the grasses, the leaves are held by the feet and the beak is used to suck out the seeds.

With respect to mating, the kakapo is quite systematic. It considers the seasons when there is an abundance of food, so important for the rearing of the chicks. The kakapo, therefore, waits until the food sources are plentiful and that is the time that its attention turns to mating. The male behaves quite differently at this time. They have tendency to show off and to compete for the attention of the females. From December through to March, their calls to the females are heard, a different sort of call, like a groan, similar to a ship's horn. This continues for some time while the females watch the performances. After some time, each female decides which male she prefers and many of the males are passed over. The females construct their nests around tree stumps and hollows or perhaps under the tussock grass. Most produce three eggs. The female sits on her eggs for a month and then the chicks hatch. The chicks remain with their mothers for about seven months during which time they will face many dangers; many are lost to predators. The expression best applied to the dominant males at this time is 'A constant companion in the autumn, absent in the summer' which suggests that the male stays close by at his convenience but is not available in times of trouble.

However, this discussion should return to reproduction of the kaka and the expression 'A constant companion in the summer, absent in the winter'. The kakapo continues to grow for about 6-8 years and if it does survive to old age, it could live for 30-40 years.

New Zealand is the native home of the kakapo. They once existed in all the forests of the land. This has been proven through the discovery of the remains of this bird on the sites of early Māori all over the land. Early Māori used the feathers of the kakapo for the making of cloaks.

With the arrival of the Pakeha in New Zealand, many of the kakapo were killed by their dogs and eaten by Pakeha. Some were sent to the museums here and overseas. During the reign of Queen Victoria, 80 birds were sent to the museum of Vienna. During the 1890's, shortly after the introduction of the stoat to New Zealand, the kakapo rapidly died out. A slight improvement followed. But between 1930-40, there was another rapid decline. It was argued that this was because of the loss of the forests. This thick-legged creature was soon lost to the Wellington region and shortly after to the South Island. The survivors, found in the South Island, at Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) were moved to a bird reserve in Mount Bruce. No kakapo were found in the lower North Island regions in the 1990's.

Fortunately, approximately 100 were found in Rakiura (Stewart Island) in 1977 but they were not considered safe there as one of its enemies, the cat, also inhabited the island. In a very short time their numbers were reduced to only 61. It was decided then that these survivors must be taken to a place without cats and stoats.

Hauturu, Codfish and Maud Islands were selected. In order to help the kakapo, the Department of Conservation began to distribute of their favourite foods such as fruits, nuts and muesli bars in the hope that the kakapo would be deceived into thinking that this was a season of abundance of food and would hopefully begin to breed.

Only about 50 kakapo have survived. Who then would not support the idea that this rare and precious bird must be protected lest it is lost forever to this, its native home, like the moa, the hokioi and the totorori.

Text 6: *He hē anō te hē: nā Tīmoti Kāretu – Wrong is wrong: Tīmoti Kāretu (Houia-Roberts, 2004b, pp. 223-225)*

Tēnei māua ko taringa te rongo ake nei kua kaha te whiua o te kōrero, 'E, e takahi ana koe i tōku mana', inā whakatikahia te hē o te rere mai o te kōrero a te tangata. Ko ōna kore mōhio nei ki te whakatakoto i te reo i runga i takahia nei.

Ko tā te hunga e ako ana he whakarongo ki tā te hunga matatau whakatakoto i te kupu, mā te whai hoki i tā te matatau ka mōhio ko te kūare, ko te pōhēhē, ko te kore mōhio.

Ko wai o tātou kāore i whakatikaina mai e tētahi e matatau kē noa atu ana i a tātou ahakoa he aha te kaupapa? Ko wai nei?

Mā te mamae hoki te whakatika mai a te tangata matatau kē noa ake i a koe ka aha? Ka matatau ake te mea i whakatikaina rā?

Engari mō tēnā, ka noho tonu ko kūare tōna hoa haere he kore i areare mai nō taringa ka tahi, he waiho mā wheke kurī noa iho e kawe ka rua, ka noho ko whakamau, ko mauāhara tonu atu rānei hei hoa ka toru, engari kia tino kī noa ake au ki te pērā mai te tangata e kore ia e matatau ki te reo ahakoa pēhea.

Ko tāku nā whakautu hoki ki tēnā whiua mai i te kupu, arā, mō te takahi mana, he kī noa atu, 'E, kei te tūkinu, kei te kōhuru koe i tōku reo.' Ki te pīrangī koe koinei hei reo mōu, tēnā kia tika mai i a koe, ka whakarongo ki te hunga matatau me tā rātou kī mai, 'me pēnei kē, me pērā kē' rānei engari kua e amowheke, e hūneinei noa!

Kia hoki ake nei ki te kōrero 'He hē anō te he'. Kāore i tua atu, kāore i tua mai i tērā! Koutou e ako nei, e whai nei i tō tātou reo kia mau tonu ai, kia ora tonu ai, ka nui te mihi engari kia mārama anō tātou ki tō tātou matatau mehemea kāore te eke, ā, ka whāia kia eke, arā, whakarongo ngā taringa, kopi te waha atu i te whiua pātai kia mārama ai he aha kē i pēnei ai, he aha kē i pērā ai. He wā anō hoki e kōrero ai te waha, he wā anō hoki e noho puku ai taihoa e kōrero.

Kia mōhio tātou katoa āhea, tēhea whāia ai. Ki te taea tērā kua tūmata tā tātou takahi i te ara o te tika, i te ara o te mārama.

Ki te tohe te tangata mō te tohe noa te take he aha te hua ka puta? He tino kore nei! Engari ki te tohe te tangata kia puta ai ia ki te whai ao, kia whiwhi rānei i tāna i pai ai, kātahi te hua ka puta.

Kāti, kia hoki noa ake ki te kōrero a ngā kaumātua, arā, 'He hē anō te hē, he tika anō te tika.

Waiho i konei, kia kitea ai ka pēheatia te reo e te hunga ako, engari ki te rongo au e hē mai ana ko tāku he kī noa atu, 'E me pēnei kē', ā, ki te kī mai tērā, 'E, kei te takahi koe i tōku mana', ko tāku atu 'E, kei te kōhuru, kei te tūkinu koe i tōku reo.'

Me mutu i konei. Whakatika rānei, kōrero Pākehā kē rānei engari me mutu te kōhuru, te tūkinu!

My ears and I have heard the claim "You are trampling on my self-esteem" being heard more often when the grammatical errors in the language of communication are corrected. It is those who have little knowledge of the correct and appropriate structures of the language who are making the claim that their esteem is being 'trampled on'.

Those who are learning need to listen to the way in which fluent speakers structure their language because it is by following fluent speakers that those who are less fluent, those who are unsure, those who do not know, will learn.

Who among us was not corrected by someone more fluent, no matter what the topic? Who?

What purpose is served by being offended at being corrected by someone more fluent than you? Will the person who was corrected become more competent?

That is not likely, ignorance will continue to be his companion, because the ears did not pay attention in the first instance, because 'wheke kuri' will still be the guide in the second instance, grievance or ill-feeling will be a companion in the third instance but I must make it clear that if a person behaves in this way, he /she will never become fluent no matter what.

My own response to the claim regarding the undermining of self-esteem, is to say, "You are treating my language badly, you are killing my language. If you wish to have this as your language, make sure it is correct, listen to those who are fluent and their reminders 'it is said like this, or it is said like that' but don't become fretful, don't become angry".

To return to the statement, 'A mistake is still a mistake'. There is no question about this.

Those of you who are learning, you who are aiming at pursuing our language so that it will not die, so that it may remain a living language, you must be congratulated but we must be aware of levels of proficiency, if these are not being attained, then make this attainment an objective, that is, listen carefully, say nothing except to seek clarification as to why it is like this, or like that. There is a time for talking, a time for silence, for holding back from talking.

We all need to know when or what to aim at. Once that is achieved, we are on the right path, on an enlightened path.

What is the benefit if one argues for the sake of argument? There is none. But if one argues for the purpose of gaining more knowledge, or to acquire what one desires, then there is a benefit.

So that aside, to return to what our elders say 'Wrong is wrong. Right is right'.

Leave that matter here for the present so that the progress of language learners can be observed but should I hear the use of incorrect language, my reaction will be to say, 'This is the correct way to say that', and if the reaction is 'You are trampling my esteem', my response will be, 'You are mistreating, you are violating my language'.

Let us finish here. Correct your language or speak English but stop the abuse, stop the violation.