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Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

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The School of Māori and Pacific Development

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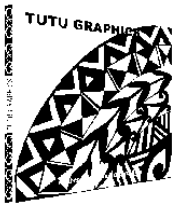

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TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

Ko te Puawānanga tēnei e whakaputa nei i te pia tangi wharauroa, 'ka ngahoro te tikotiko piere… te putunga o te hinu!'
'The flowering Clematis exudes its fragrance, announcing a time of plenty and the gathering in of abundance'.

Kua puta atu te reo o Te Pua Wānanga ki Te Ao. He karanga ki ngā tai e whā kia ānga atu ngā kanohi ki ngā maunga teitei o te mātauranga, kia whātoro ngā ringa ki ngā maurea o te ao whānui, kia tīhorea a taitea kia tū ai ko taikākā anake. Hopukia ngā taonga ka kitea e koe hei whakawhānui ake i tōu māramatanga, waiho iho ngā kapenga ki tahaki.

I share with my colleagues and students our pleasure in the launch of the Journal of Māori and Pacific Development. It indeed announces the maturing of the School of Māori and Pacific Development now in its fifth year of existence at Waikato University. As the opening pepeha states metaphorically, The Puawānanga is reaching its tendrils beyond the canopy of the forest of Tāne to share its flowering with the wider world.

The aim of the journal is to provide a forum for writers expressing views on their perspectives on Māori and Pacific[1] developments. In representing matters of concern in the development of Māori the hope is that by the engagement of a extensive range of interests, both national and the international arena of indigenous peoples developments, there will be a wide pool of informed scholarship to draw ideas from. The main languages of our Journal are Māori and English. We invite your participation.

Professor Tamati Muturangi Reedy
Te Amokapua
Dean
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[1] The Pacific is the whole of the region including the landmasses that form its basin.

Murau A Te Tini (*Mourned By The Multitudes*): Song

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Murau A Te Tini (*Mourned By The Multitudes*)

Murau a te tini	Talked about and mourned by the
Tangi a Mano	multitudes
Roi o te whenua	Tears streamed like rain from the heaven
Roi o te mata	
Taku kuru pounamu	For my loved one who has passed
Kua ngaro ki tua	beyond the veil leaving this acute pain
Mōwai o te ngākau	deep in my heart,
kaniawhea	this longing
Tāonga whakamiri-	Appropriate and sincere salutations
-miri aroha	are expressed
Kupu whakamānawa	To ease the pain
kōrero tika	
E kore e mauru	My love for you will never cease to be,
te aroaroā	as long as yours continues
i ahau e tū nei	
i te kore ōu	
Me he mamaku tūohu	Like the mamaku palm saturated and
i te tōmairangi e	heavy from the dew.
Māturu o te aroha	Such is my love,
Pātere mōrearea	my sorrow
Toro atu tō ringa	Your hand would extend beckoning me.
Taku hei pīwara	Conveying a warmth and affection
hei piriti mai	that kept me going
Whakaaweawe, hihiri, pupuke	
Mā runga mai te mahana	
Makuhane te ngoi i te korekore	
whakaora ai.	
i te ai noa o mahara, o wawata	

Pātuki taku manawa	***Causing my heart to flutter***
Whakahei o manawa, o kupu	***Numbing my senses***
Kōrehu whakaaro	***Lifting my spirit***
I te kuku o te aroha konehe	***Leaving me delirious with love***
Ka hika i taku wairua	
Hīnātore	
Ngaro te ao mārama	
Hīnāmoki i te uma o te pō	
Me he mamaku tūohu	***Like the mamaku palm saturated and heavy from***
i te tōmairangi e	***the dew.***
Māturu o te aroha	***Such is my love,***
Pātere mōrearea	***my sorrow***
Me he mamaku tuohu	***Like the mamaku palm saturated and heavy***
i te tōmairangi e	***from the dew.***

(Readers who would like a version of the song on CD should contact Poia Rewi)

Pounamu (*Greenstone*): Poem
Poia Rewi

Kōwhaiwhai churn and dive into each other

Tukutuku climb the stairway to heaven

Poupou stand watchful, the allseeing eye

Kōhanga Reo cheerfully verse the words of my ancestors

Little greenstone children fostering a greenstone language

My heart walks with them

Government and Legitimacy: Indigenous Development in Aotearoa

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Abstract

Within the indigenous paradigm lies a paradox over what constitutes legitimate Maori authority: Iwi structures are legitimated and recognised by the state, and traditional forms (for example, Hapu and Maori women), have had their authority diminished. Iwi authorities are colonial constructs that diminish the rights of Hapu and Maori women. The manner in which such constructs have come about generally has not involved tribe-wide debate over important issues in which Hapu and Maori women have an interest. For their legitimacy, emergent self-governing structures will need to be grounded in principles that ensure legitimate representation of Maori people and not socially constructed hybrids of a colonial past. Structures need to recognise Hapu and Maori women in the formulation, anything less than this will trigger a legitimation crisis.

Introduction

In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Maori and the British Crown. At least thirteen of the Rangatira (chiefs) who signed the Treaty were Maori women and this is significant in terms of the paradigm to which Maori leadership was introduced. In addition, the issue of what constitutes an Iwi (tribe) has been problematic since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. Whilst Iwi is not mentioned in the Treaty, Hapu (descendants of an eponymous ancestor) on the other hand is. Despite Maori self-definition of Hapu as legitimate Maori authority for decision-making, the Crown mechanism for dealing with Maori on Treaty claims and negotiations is as Iwi authorities legitimated by statute. As my colleague and tribal whanaunga (relation), Dr Linda Smith (1999, p.156) states, Maori tribal authorities "are colonial constructions that have been taken for granted as authentic indigenous formations".

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi led to a collision between Maori lore and British parliamentary government and that relationship has characterised debate since. When the concept of rational-legal authority is applied to indigenous values and belief systems what have been the implications for indigenous political authority? Within the indigenous paradigm lies a paradox over what constitutes legitimate Maori authority: Iwi structures are legitimated and recognised by the state and traditional forms of authority whereas, for example, Hapu and Maori women have had their authority diminished. Thus, Iwi has displaced Hapu, and women "are on the outside looking in to Maori organisations" (Evans 1993, p. 64).

Smith (1999, p. 97) claims that "fragmentation is not an indigenous project, it is something we are recovering from. While shifts are occurring in the ways which indigenous peoples put ourselves back together again, the greater project is about recentring indigenous identities on a larger scale".

Locating myself in the argument

The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 (Reprinted Statute of NZ, S.33, p. 908) established the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate grievances of Maori, dating back to 1975. In 1986 the Act was amended to allow claims dating back to 1840 (Reprinted Statute of NZ, S33, p. 940). Before lodging a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal claimants must show that the Crown has breached the Treaty of Waitangi.

In 1994 the New Zealand government introduced a policy of "full and final settlement" of all historical claims along with a capped settlement fund of $1billion (a fiscal envelope) to settle all claims, and an option of contiguous direct negotiation with government (Durie 1994, pp. 190-194). Three major claims have been settled out of the envelope, as have some minor claims. Over 500 claims await hearing. A small number are at various stages of direct negotiation.

One of my own Iwi, Ngati Awa, has just received a Waitangi Tribunal report on its claim that was lodged eight years ago (Wai: 46, 1999). Ngati Awa has also been in direct negotiation with the Crown for a number of years and is about to enter the process of voting to ratify the final offer of settlement from the Crown. Iwi and Hapu discourse within Ngati Awa has focused on the process of negotiating and settling the offer and around the means of governing and managing as Iwi and Hapu following settlement.

As a lecturer in *Development Studies* at the University of Waikato who is teaching in the Master's programme on Contemporary Maori issues at our Whare Wananga (Tribal House of Learning), I find that the Treaty settlement process provides a rich discourse across disciplines and nations.

Treaty Post-Settlement Structures

Post-settlement Iwi governance structures are a case in point and I shall therefore analyse some of the trends that have occurred in relation to these structures over the last decade.

1. Iwi Legitimacy

In 1996 urban Maori ropu (groups) sued the Crown-appointed Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission (comprising 12 Iwi representatives and 1 non-Maori appointee) claiming equivalent status with tribal authorities (see Te Whanau O Waipareira Trust, & Manukau Urban Maori Authority & Others vs Minister of Fisheries). They contended that since they looked after the vast number of tribal descendants living in urban areas, they were entitled to distribution from the fisheries assets. After extensive litigation and legal expenses in excess of NZ$4 million, the Courts found that urban Maori constitute

"Iwi" or people as members of urban Maori authorities, but are not as such an "Iwi" or a tribal entity.

2. Hapu Legitimacy

Maori authorities established to deal with the Crown in the Treaty Settlement process are statutory authorities representing Iwi and Hapu interests. However, the Crown's legitimation of Iwi is contrary to Maori norms. A previous member of the Waitangi Tribunal, Maori Studies Professor Hugh Kawharu (1996, pp. 11-20) contends that the Treaty affirms that rangatiratanga (status, authority) resides in the Hapu not in the tribe, and that any encroachment on Hapu rights must not derogate the right of Hapu to deal with the Crown on Hapu-defined issues by allowing the Crown to deal only with the tribe. The Waitangi Tribunal also recognises that the body that exercised daily corporate functions was the Hapu (see The Ngati Awa Raupatu Report, Wai: 46, 1999, p. 132).

3. Political Legitimacy

However, at a national and international level, "there is no Maori body politic. In its absence, policy making for and on behalf of Maori is assumed by the Crown, with irregular Maori input and, inevitably, increasing Maori discontent. Even policy decisions about Maori resources rest with the state, not Maori. While the key participants are Maori, the accountabilities, reporting lines, and appointment processes lie with the state" (Durie 1998, p. 237).

4. Gender Legitimacy

The Maori Women's Claim to the Waitangi Tribunal challenges the process of appointment by the Crown to organisations that are established to distribute the benefits from Treaty Settlements (Wai: 381, 1993, pp. 5-6). The claim was lodged in 1993 after the Crown extended the size of the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission and removed a foundation Commissioner, Hapu, Iwi and national leader Dame Mira Szaszy.

The Claim questions the exclusionary practices that exist to inhibit and prevent participation by Maori women in self-determination despite the fact that many women who were prevented from signing the Treaty and the thirteen who did sign, were acknowledged as Rangatira in their own right (Rei, 1993, pp.8 & 9). It is well known that many of the colonialist clerks who took the Treaty around to be signed denied Maori women the right to sign, even where they were clearly the Rangatira (chief), because they could not perceive that a woman could be chief.

Economic Rationalisation

In 1984, the fourth Labour government took office after a snap election. It introduced severe market led economic policies in what has become known as "the New Zealand experiment" (see Kelsey, 1995, p. 1). From 1986, any state activity with a potentially

commercial function was corporatised. Despite, or because of the experiment, "New Zealand is not and has not been performing well economically. Using the usual economic measure of per capita GNP, New Zealand has declined by around 15% compared with Australia and the average for other developed economies. This 15% worse performance has taken place since the so-called reforms and economic miracle started some 15 years ago" (Fletcher, 1998, p. 1). This poor economic performance could have been tolerated had trends in other areas improved. However, they have not done so and the gap between Maori and non-Maori continues to widen:

> Some tribal leaders talk economic development, others talk self-determination. A new generation of indigenous elites also walk across the landscape with their cell phones, briefcases and assets. Some tribes have vigorously pursued a corporate ethos. Is this imperialism? Post colonialism? Economic independence? Tribal development? Progress? People live in a world that is fragmented with multiple and shifting identities, that the oppressed and the colonised are so deeply implicated in their own oppressions that they are no more nor less authentic than anyone else (Smith, 1999, p. 97).

Nation Building

Cornell (1998, p. 19) contends that "to be effective, governing institutions must have legitimacy with the people, and that this means that they have to match indigenous ideas about how authority should be organised and exercised". The Treaty cases reviewed from Maori experiences suggest that Maori authorities rely for legitimacy upon constructs, which do not necessarily match Maori ideas in terms of the political authority of the Hapu and Maori women.

Creating new landscapes in indigenous political and economic structures can provide emergent organisations with the vitality needed for indigenous development. Iwi contemplating a new governance structure need to ensure that the structure involves a depoliticised decision-making process entailing a separation of governance and management in order to guard against old colonial oligarchies simply reinventing themselves as 'old wine in new bottles'. Eade (1997, p. 26) contends that, "it is doubtful that an organisation that itself maintains oppressive social structures can be a reliable vehicle for transforming these in a liberating way, whatever the rhetoric". The importance of developing appropriate and effective structures is a question of both leadership and direction.

One of the most important aspects of the development of a governance structure is to ensure that benefits will trickle down to citizens. As Eade observes, "capacities will not trickle down through a power structure unless active steps are taken" (p. 25). Looking across the spectrum of Maori post-settlement structures reveals that there are many Maori organisations that have bought into the western doublespeak of free market theory and have borrowed structures off the shelf. The greatest potential for indigenous development models in Aotearoa lies in the challenge to tap into our inherent uniqueness: Hapu and women.

Conclusion

A great deal of Treaty discourse has been confined within the parameters of legal positivism and therefore Maori sovereignty remains entrapped within the discourse of British constitutionalism. Consequently, Maori customary lore and social conventions, (which grounded and legitimated Maori society) have been subordinated to the superordinate norm that legitimated British sovereignty, as an absolute and final construct.

The argument of indigenous peoples entrapped within state boundaries laying claim to legitimacy and rightfulness of political power, becomes critical when the normative validity claim of the state is held to be right, and to be well grounded. Research on models of economic and political development (see, for example Cornell, 1998, p. 27) suggest a Nation Building model could provide more effective access to and use of resources, increased chances of sustained and self-determined economic development and a more effective defense of sovereignty.

Durie (1997, p. 113) maintains, however, that sovereignty is an outmoded concept denoting absolute power and that it is doubtful whether any state can truly have it. The impact of globalisation and the ownership of New Zealand's capital by multinational corporations reinforces Durie's argument. Furthermore, the fragmentation of indigenous societies as a result of colonisation, has lessened their resistance to and promoted acquiescence in, constructs not of their own making.

For their legitimacy, emergent self-governing structures will need to be grounded in principles that ensure legitimate representation of Maori people and not socially constructed hybrids of a colonial past. Structures need to recognise Maori women and Hapu in the formulation, anything less than this will trigger a legitimatisation crisis.

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Issues in Testing the Proficiency of Learners of Indigenous Languages: An Example Relating to Young Learners of Maori

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Abstract

In 1999 the New Zealand Ministry of Education commissioned the authors to develop and trial a Maori language proficiency test. The test was to be appropriate for students in Year 5 of schooling (aged 9/10) who were being educated wholly, or in part, through the medium of Maori language. In this paper, we discuss the development and trialling of that proficiency test, focusing on the problems we experienced as well as on the test itself and on the ways in which it can be further developed. We also consider the implications of this project for the development of proficiency tests for other indigenous languages.

Introduction

Over the last few years, there have been substantial increases in the number of students enrolled in Maori-medium education in New Zealand. In 1993, there were 19,329 students enrolled in Maori-medium programmes in New Zealand schools; by 1997, that number had risen to 32,067. Of these, 85% identified as Maori. This means that in 1997, 19% of all Maori students in New Zealand schools were involved in some form of Maori-medium education as compared with 14% in 1993. Of the 19% involved in Maori-medium education, 14% were studying in *kura kaupapa Māori*, that is, in schools that aim to provide a holistic Maori spiritual, cultural and educational environment. *Kura kaupapa Māori* schools were formally established as a form of state schooling through the Education Act 1989. There are now 59 such schools and close to 4,000 students are enrolled in them (Ministry of Education Report, pp. 97 - 98).

Students studying in Maori-medium educational settings may be involved in anything from 31% to 100% tuition in, or through the medium of, Maori. In addition to those students who are studying wholly, or in part, through the medium of Maori, there are others who are studying Maori as a school subject. In 1997, 18% of Maori students in schools were learning Maori as a school subject (Ministry of Education Report, pp. 97 - 98).

These figures indicate the importance of being able to determine students' progress in Maori. Developing Maori language assessment measures is, therefore, an important part of the New Zealand Government's Maori Language Strategy. The work reported on here relates to that overall Strategy.

Task Outline

Our primary task was to develop and pilot, within a three month period, a Maori language proficiency test suitable for students in Year 5 (generally aged nine or ten) of Maori-medium schooling in New Zealand. Throughout the development of the test, we were asked to bear in mind the relevance of each of the following:

- the specific needs, concerns and values of Maori students, teachers and parents and, in particular, the importance of information, consultation and culturally appropriate procedures and outcomes;
- the importance of reflecting national and international research on testing and assessment and, in particular, the need to bear in mind literature on communicative language testing and on the interaction between cognitive and linguistic development;
- the need to relate the test to the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* and, in particular, to take account of the current curriculum statement for Maori and of possible future developments of that statement;
- the need to ensure that the test was as cost-effective as possible and as simple as possible to administer and score, disrupted day-to-day teaching as little as possible, was likely to have a positive impact on teaching practice, and provided students, even those who had, as yet, very limited competencies in the language, with a positive and interesting experience;
- the need to relate the test to an appropriate pedagogic description of the Maori language, a description that accommodated discourse considerations;
- the need to design the test in a way that fully acknowledged that different language skills were likely to develop at different rates.

In addition to these requirements, we were asked to make suggestions about how the Ministry of Education might manage a test of this type, with particular reference to questions of privacy and confidentiality.

Strategic Planning

The limited time available to us meant that (a) we had to plan very carefully, and (b) we had to accept that the outcome would be little more than indicative of some of the directions that would need to be pursued in the future.

We began by contacting stakeholders to inform them about the planned research and development. We also set up an advisory panel whose members we could consult as the work proceeded. Our next task was to design and distribute two questionnaires, one relating to the language backgrounds of Year 5 students in Maori-medium schooling, the other relating to the language backgrounds and professional development interests of their teachers. In parallel with this, we established contact with a number of potential project consultants. These were people who could help with various aspects of the project such as conducting background research, analysing relevant New Zealand curriculum documents, helping to design the test, conducting the pilot, devising scoring procedures, preparing spreadsheets for data entry relating to questionnaire responses and test results, conducting the limited statistical analyses that

would be possible in the timeframe available, and organizing a range of stakeholder meetings throughout the country. All of the tasks had to be carefully timed and coordinated so that we could be sure of meeting the Ministry's deadlines for reporting on various aspects of the project, and so that the final report could be as inclusive as possible.

Problems and Opportunities

It was decided at the beginning of the project that it would be a co-operative one, that all relevant expertise would be welcomed. Although most of those involved would be fluent speakers of Maori, some would not. This meant that although some meetings were conducted exclusively in Maori, and although some of the documentation was produced in Maori only, many discussions, and much of the documentation, involved both English and Maori. Although there were some disadvantages, particularly in relation to the additional time required, the main advantages were (a) being able to draw on as wide a knowledge-base as possible at this initial development stage, (b) providing access to non-Maori to the results of the work. We considered the second of these advantages to be particularly important for a number of reasons. First, the work was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and we felt that any member of Ministry staff who had an interest in the project had the right to full information about it. Secondly, we felt that the work might assist others in New Zealand and elsewhere who wished to conduct a pilot project relating to the eventual design of proficiency tests for indigenous and community languages. Finally, we wished to ensure that contact was maintained with the international community and that we could learn from others who were involved in similar work elsewhere in the world.

Within New Zealand educational circles, the term 'second language' is often used to refer to "a language other than the language of instruction" (Ministry of Education Report, pp. 97 - 98). This means that Maori is generally considered to be the first language of those students who are studying through the medium of Maori even where they have been involved in Maori-medium education for a relatively short time, where they have not attended *kohanga reo* (Maori language pre-school programmes), and where they do not have parents or caregivers who are fluent speakers of the language. Although there are certain social and political advantages in defining first and second languages in this way, there are also potential disadvantages. These relate, in part, to expectations. In assessing how successful schools are in producing competent users of Maori, careful consideration needs to be given to the length of time each student has actually spent in a Maori-medium educational setting, to the range of Maori language domains available to the child in the community, and to the child's language experiences at home.

There is a further area of potential difficulty to which reference should be made at this point. The language spoken by children, however competent, will not necessarily reflect, in all respects, the expectations of their elders. Like all other languages, Maori is subject to change. Thus, quite apart from developmental considerations, there are issues relating to language change that need to be addressed. The dearth of research evidence in this area meant that there would inevitably be some uncertainty in relation to how certain usages should be judged. However, transcriptions of test

responses would themselves provide a valuable research resource which could be used in later developments that grew out of this pilot project. Thus, we could, on the basis of pilot test responses, provide analysed exemplars of performance which would alert test developers and teachers to characteristic usages.

Designing the Pilot Test

In the initial stages of development, we needed to give careful consideration to six related issues:

- how we were going to interpret the complex concept of proficiency;
- how we would develop proficiency descriptor statements relating to levels of performance;
- how we would design the pilot test itself: whether language skills would be fully integrated, or whether the test would have different sections which related to different language skills;
- how we would deal with the integration of cognitive development and linguistic development;
- how we would reflect the expectations enshrined in the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* and, in particular, how far we could make the test consistent with the Maori curriculum, a curriculum that was itself not yet fully implemented in schools and one that is, inevitably, experimental in nature;
- how we would reflect the cultural and educational values inherent in Maori education adequately, at the same time as attempting to meet the rigorous standards that must be required of any language test that is commissioned by a government agency.

These issues are addressed below.

Language Proficiency

We began by defining proficiency, in general terms, as involving knowledge of language (not knowledge about language) and the ability to make use of that knowledge in performing a range of communicative tasks. Thus, proficiency was conceptualized as involving a combination of operational competence and pragmatic competence, with operational competence relating to grammatical competence and textual competence, and pragmatic competence relating to illocutionary competence and sociolinguistic competence (Bachman and Palmer, 1992).

One of the major debates in academic circles surrounding language proficiency relates to the extent to which general language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) relate to academic and cognitive performance. Cummins (1986, p.164) notes, for example, that "it is inappropriate to use test scores from linguistic academic . . . tasks as an accurate assessment for these skills in a child's second language for at least several years of schooling". There is, currently, no research relating to bilingual and Maori-immersion schooling in New Zealand that indicates the stage at which

comparisons might validly be made in relation to language and literacy and other curriculum areas. Even in the absence of such research, it seems sensible to assume that there are likely to be some similarities between the situation of students studying in Maori-immersion contexts in New Zealand and that of language minority students who, as Cummins observes (1984), may take considerably longer to attain grade/age appropriate levels in second language academic skills than it does for them to achieve such a level in face-to-face communication.

There is, then, a major difference between face-to-face conversational fluency and verbal-academic skills, the latter taking considerably longer to develop than the former. Clearly, both are required in the case of students who are learning academic subjects through the medium of Maori. However, to have made verbal-academic skills the exclusive focus of our test would have been, we believe, inappropriate in the case of students who are in their fifth year of schooling, particularly as many of these students have, as our questionnaire returns indicated, had limited exposure to the language. Even so, certain compromises needed to be made in the interests of practicality. So, for example, the listening test involved responding to a taped narrative rather than participating on a one-to-one basis in a conversation.

Language Proficiency and the New Zealand Curriculum Framework

The New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) states the *principles* that give direction to all teaching and learning, the *seven essential learning areas,* and the *essential skills* to be developed by all students. It gives direction to the more specific *national curriculum statements,* and outlines the *policy for assessment* at school and national levels. The seven *essential learning areas* are: health and physical well-being, the arts, social sciences, technology, science, mathematics, and language and languages. The *essential skills* are: communication skills, numeracy skills, information skills, problem-solving skills, self-management and competitive skills, social and co-operative skills, physical skills, and work and study skills. Under the heading of communication skills, reference is made to "listening, speaking, reading, and writing", and to "different cultural, language, and social contexts" (p.18). The *principles* include reflection of the multicultural nature of New Zealand, including ensuring "that the experiences, cultural traditions, histories, and languages of all New Zealanders are recognised and valued" (p. 7).

The *National Curriculum Statements* define in more detail the knowledge, understanding, skills, attitudes, and values described in the *National Curriculum Framework* and specify the learning outcomes for all students. Specific objectives, described as 'achievement objectives' are defined, and set out in a number of levels (usually eight) to indicate progression and continuity throughout schooling from Years 1 - 13. The curriculum statements also suggest assessment procedures, provide assessment examples, and include guidelines relating to appropriate approaches to teaching and learning. Curriculum and assessment policy for all years of schooling is based on these New Zealand curriculum documents.

Like other Curriculum Statements, the Maori curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1996) specifies eight levels of attainment that are not specifically related to age or years of schooling. On the assumption, however, that the majority of students would, in core subjects, progress through at least one curriculum level in two years of schooling, we attempted to focus our testing for students in Year 5 of schooling on Levels 2 and 3 of the curriculum, with some parts of the assessment relating to Levels 1 and 4. There were, however, difficulties in determining what was expected of students at each of these curriculum levels for a number of reasons:

- The curriculum provides no rationale for the decisions reached in terms of assignment of particular categories to specific levels;
- Vocabulary is banded over several levels. Thus, for example, entries may span Levels 1 - 3, or 4 - 6;
- Little account appears to have been taken of discourse considerations and so it is difficult to determine precisely what the expectations are in relation to fully contextualized language use.

There may be good reasons for each of the things listed above. Even so, they did present us with difficulties in attempting to relate the test to the curriculum statement in any precise way. The decision we reached was that we would focus on relevant aspects of the general statements of achievement in the curriculum, rather than on the curriculum details. These statements of achievement relate to eight levels of performance and are expressed in terms of the following skills: listening, speaking, reading, writing, viewing, presenting. Thus, at Levels 3 and 4 in listening, the learner is expected, for example, to be able to respond to main ideas, synthesise spontaneous and recorded language, identify significant language features (verbal and non-verbal), identify the intention of the speaker, and remember main topic ideas.

Clearly, we needed to take account of these objectives in designing the proficiency level descriptors for our test. However, it was also important to pay careful attention to the New Zealand curriculum statements for modern languages such as Spanish and Japanese. This is because these statements include language learning descriptors (general statements about language proficiency development) at different levels. Thus, for example, the curriculum statement for Spanish (Ministry of Education, 1995) includes four *language development descriptors,* each spanning two of the eight curriculum levels. The first of these is outlined below:

> . *Emergent communication: levels 1 and 2*
>
> Learners can understand language that contains well-rehearsed sentence patterns and familiar vocabulary, and can interact in predictable exchanges. They can read and write straightforward versions of what they have learned to say. They are aware of and understand the typical cultural conventions that operate in interpersonal communication. Although they may be enthusiastic participants in class, learners may still be reticent about speaking Spanish outside the classroom.

We began by designing general proficiency level descriptors that would relate to all levels of proficiency and would, therefore, be appropriate for a proficiency test designed to span the entire spectrum from beginner to advanced. From the eight level descriptors we designed at this initial stage, we abstracted the first four and redesigned them with the needs of Year 5 students in mind. We then designed more specific descriptors that related to listening, speaking, reading and writing. The general proficiency level descriptors are listed below followed by an example of a skills-related descriptor.

Proficiency Level Descriptors: general

LEVEL 0
Non-user
To be used only where the student provided no appropriate responses to the test materials.

LEVEL 1 (emergent communication: beginner)
Intermittent user
The student can recognise, understand and use a few familiar words, phrases and sentences and can follow some simple instructions and respond appropriately (verbally and/or physically) to a limited range of simple questions.

LEVEL 2 (emergent communication: elementary)
Limited user
The student can recognise, understand and use simple language that contains well-rehearsed sentence patterns and familiar vocabulary in predictable contexts. S/he can understand and respond appropriately to simple questions and instructions. S/he can interact in culturally and linguistically appropriate ways in a limited range of familiar contexts. Routine, learned responses may be delivered confidently. However, more complex communicative requirements are likely to be marked by hesitancy, error, inappropriacy and misunderstandings.

LEVEL 3 (survival skills: early intermediate)
Moderate user
The student can understand and use familiar language with some flexibility and can pick up some new language from its context. S/he can understand and respond appropriately to many questions and instructions relating to people, things and events. S/he can interact in culturally and linguistically appropriate ways in a range of familiar and unfamiliar contexts. S/he demonstrates a developing understanding of the linguistic sequencing of events and of the ways in which the relationships among events may be indicated linguistically. S/he can make appropriate connections between visually and verbally presented information and can use these connections in formulating appropriate responses. Both routine, learned responses and language that is adapted to meet the requirements of new situations is used correctly and appropriately much of the time.

LEVEL 4 (survival skills: intermediate)
Competent user
The student can understand and use familiar language flexibly, is adept at picking up new language from context, and can adapt his or her language to meet the needs of a range of new contexts and situations. S/he can respond appropriately, coherently and accurately to both simple and more complex instructions. S/he can understand the ways in which people, things and events interact in coherent discourse and can reflect that understanding in responding to, and using, the language.

Proficiency Level Descriptors: skills-specific (example)
Reading

LEVEL 2 (emergent communication: elementary)
Limited user

The student can read and understand a range of familiar words and a range of simple, well-rehearsed sentence patterns which provide simple, factual and descriptive information relating to people, actions, circumstances, and feelings. Familiar words, and routine, learned phrase, clause and sentence patterns may be read with confidence. However, more complex reading requirements are likely to be marked by frequent misunderstandings.

Cultural, Linguistic and Cognitive Appropriacy

As Armour-Thomas observes, "the more familiar and culturally appropriate the content of the stimulus materials, the more likely children are to demonstrate behavior that accurately represents their real abilities" (1992). One advantage we had in designing this test was that cultural considerations could be treated as of central importance from the outset. We believe that the test reflects many of the values central to Maori society as well as including material of relevance to the lifestyles of many rural and urban Maori students. In deciding on the test vocabulary, we decided to echo the thematic foci indicated in the lexical listing in the Maori curriculum. In doing so, we also found that several of the central beliefs and values listed in the *Te Aho Matua Curriculum* (the curriculum of some *kura kaupapa Māori* schools) surfaced. It may be that these beliefs and values would have surfaced in any event. However, the fact that they did is what really matters.

Hēmi and Miria, the central characters who appear in the test, are cousins, a Maori boy and girl of approximately the same age as the test subjects. The other characters are mainly school friends and members of the extended family of Hēmi and Miria. The test moves between urban and rural settings as Hēmi, who has recently moved from a rural to an urban home, reflects on his experiences and prepares for a holiday back home in the country.

In deciding on the overall cognitive focus of the test, we decided to concentrate on the concrete operational stage generally considered to apply to children in the 8 to 11 year old range. That is, we aimed to provide concrete rather than abstract referents for logical connections (Piaget & Inhelder, 1969; Brainerd, 1978). In designing the test, we adopted the middle ground between the assessment of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1980). To have focused exclusively on interpersonal communication skills would have involved long-term observation and recording; adopting a middle ground allowed for a more cost-effective and less intrusive approach. Because language skills development can be uneven, and because students will not all exhibit the same pattern of skills development, we aimed to produce a test that had four sections, each one focusing on a different general language skill (listening, reading, speaking, writing). However, integrating reading and writing and listening and speaking in subsequent tests may be a more appropriate approach.

Interpersonal communication involves the negotiation of meaning in context using a wide range of paralinguistic and situational cues. Cognitive/academic proficiency, on the other hand, tends to be marked by the ability to respond appropriately in the absence of rich extra-linguistic cues and, thus, to make maximum use of the cues that are available in language itself, to reflect what Bruner (1975) has referred to as analytic competence. In order to avoid placing too much emphasis on analytic competence, we began by providing some contextual information in the form of pictures of the central characters in the test and some of their extended family members, pictures that reappeared in the test booklets given to students. We also decided to ensure that there was thematic continuity, that each section of the test was linked thematically to the preceding one/s. Although this thematic and pictorial continuity would provide students with an increasingly rich range of contextual cues as the test proceeded, it was important also to ensure that these cues were not essential to adequate performance in each section of the test, that, in other words, there were sufficient linguistic cues in each section of the test to allow for successful completion irrespective of performance in earlier sections. There is, however, one exception. In the case of the writing section of the test, we make direct reference to the reading section. This is because we felt that the benefits to be gained from contextualizing the writing task outweighed any disadvantages. Even so, it is possible, though more difficult, to complete the writing task with reference only to the pictorial cues contained in the student booklet.

The Pilot Test

The test aims to assess the students' ability to:

- understand and interpret spoken Maori used in context;
- extract general and particular meanings from written texts dealing with day-to-day topics;
- drawing on visually presented information, write clear, well organized and coherent Maori dealing with a specific topic;
- with reference to an event sequence represented pictorially, respond and interact appropriately in spoken Maori.

The test is divided into four parts: listening, reading, writing, and speaking. Before beginning the test, the students are shown pictures of some of the central characters. Before each section of the test, there are practice tasks to prepare the students for the test response requirements.

The listening section of the test involves listening to a narrative about the experiences of a young Maori boy and his family in moving from the country to the city. Narrative past time is interspersed with references to future plans and previous experiences, and there are temporal, comparative and logico-deductive links. The students are given a general focus question and then asked to listen to the entire narrative before attempting to answer the question. They are then given two questions relating to the first part of the narrative and invited to listen to that part again before answering these questions. This procedure is continued until the final section is reached. The questions are delivered orally as part of the listening tape. Students' answer books also provide written versions of the questions. Students respond by ticking one, or more than one, picture in their answer book. Under each picture (which provides a pictorial representation of a possible response), there are also written versions of possible responses. An example is provided:

Mō wai tēnei kōrero?

Mō Hēmi

Mō Koro

Mō Whāea Mihi

Of course, as indicated below, it was often necessary to have more complex pictorial representations:

There were occasions also when we asked our illustrator, Alan Oliver, to represent aspects of Hēmi's imaginative life. At one point, for example, Hēmi wishes that his pet cow, Pirimai, could be magically transported to the city:

Although we decided, in order to make scoring as simple as possible, to use a multi-choice format for the listening and reading sections of the test, the students are advised that there may be one, or more than one, acceptable response. In some cases, students need to tick four boxes to cover all aspects of the response. This had a number of advantages as well as a number of obvious disadvantages.

The reading section of the test involves reading a letter written by one of the main test characters to another. Once again, there is a multi-choice format. The writing section, however, offers more opportunity for individual response to the task. Even so, we built in a number of features that would constrain that choice, features that had the unfortunate effect of reducing the requirement for sensitivity to the discourse as a whole there were a number of reasons for this decision. The most important of these was that many teachers (60% of our sample) are themselves speakers of Maori as a second language. They might, therefore, have some difficulty in evaluating test responses unless we were able to provide them with exemplars that were likely to reflect reasonably closely the type of responses that they would be required to evaluate.

The final section of the test is the speaking section. It involves a picture story. Here, students are given a series of ten pictures in order and, after being given a sentence that relates to the first picture, asked to tell the story that is represented by the pictures. There are a number of important sequential and logical links between the pictures. One of the pictures in the series follows:

The Pilot

We conducted a pilot of the test with seventy students in five schools. Some of the results achieved are indicated in Figures 1 - 7 following. These results should be treated with extreme caution. This was simply an initial pilot study and involved a small sample who were selected simply on the basis of availability at relatively short notice. Furthermore, there is a clear requirement for the type of detailed statistical studies that could not be conducted within the timeframe available.

Figure 1: Total score distribution

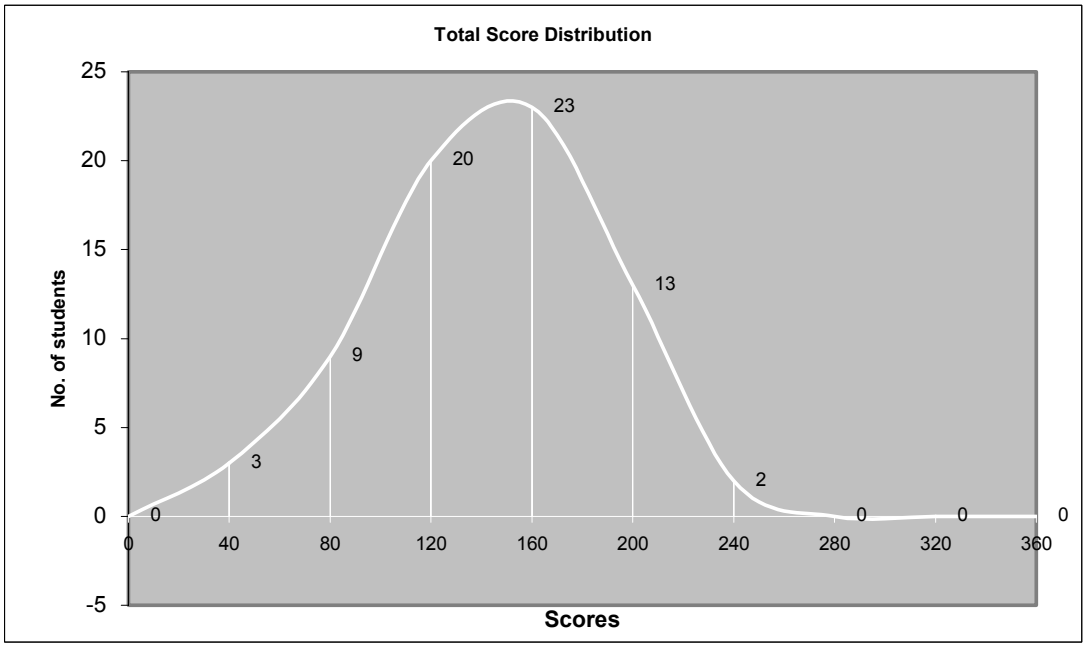


Figure 2: Overall distribution in terms of proficiency levels (%)

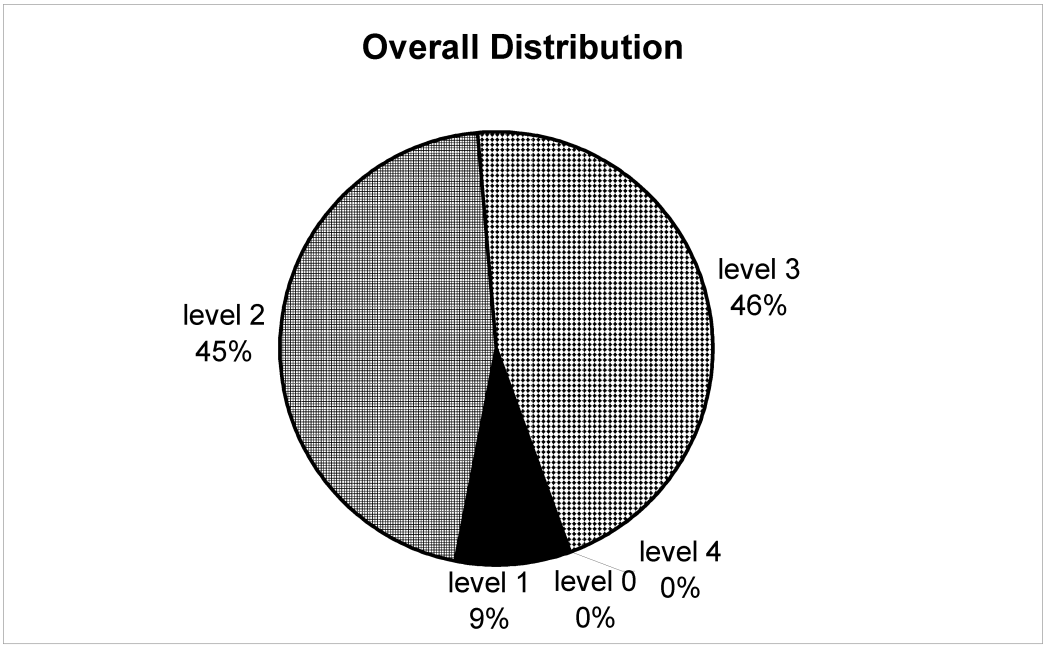


Figure 3: Overall distribution in terms of proficiency levels (ACTUAL NUMBERS)

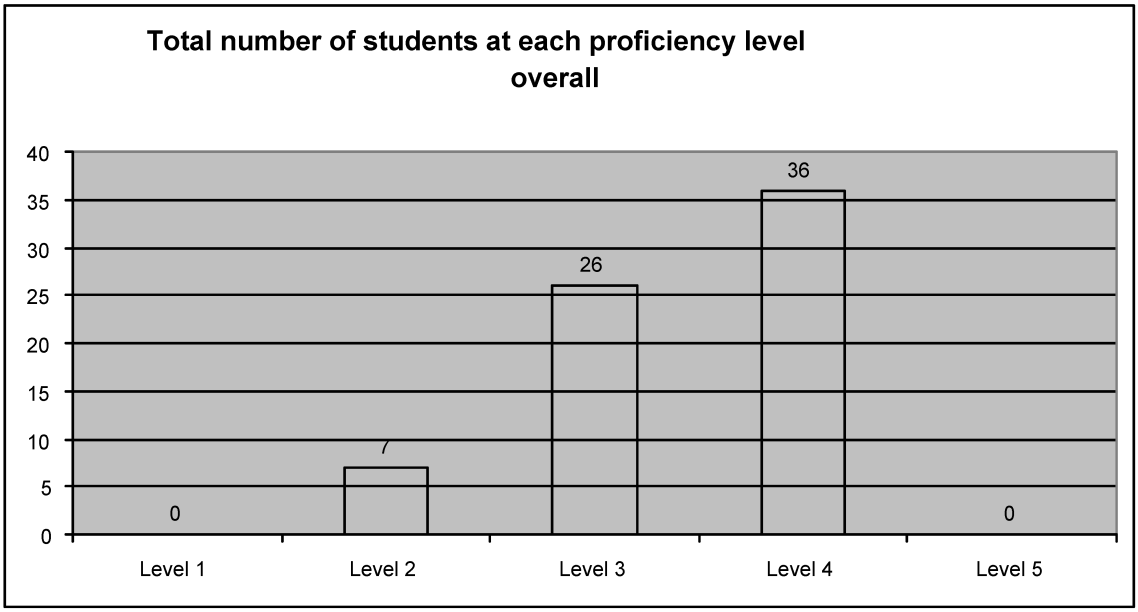
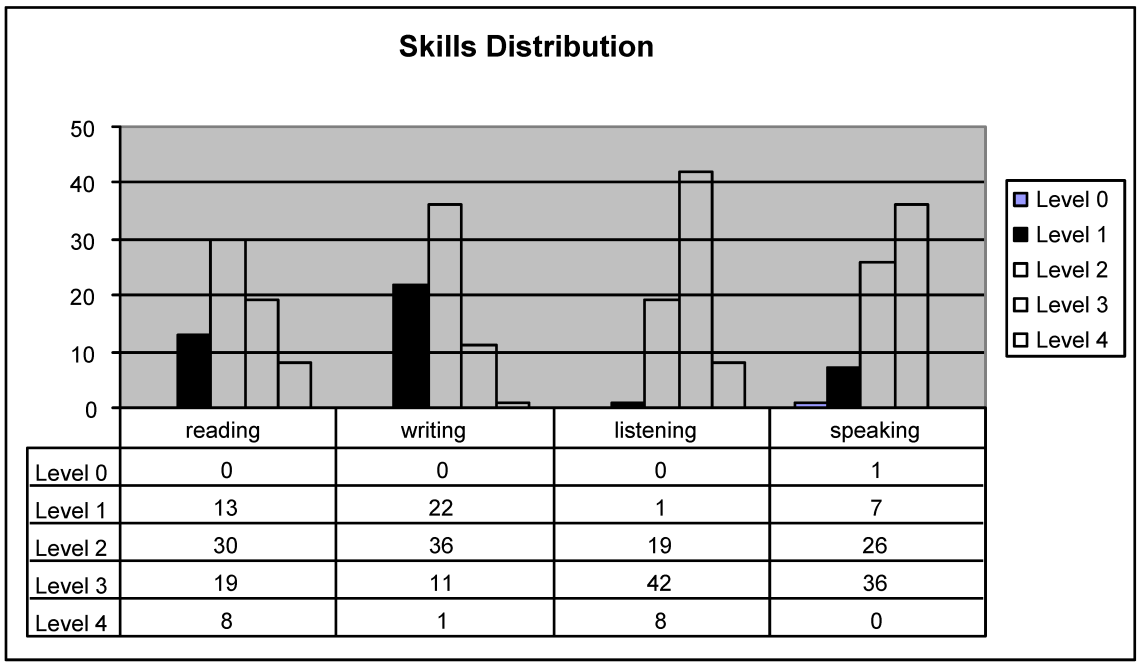
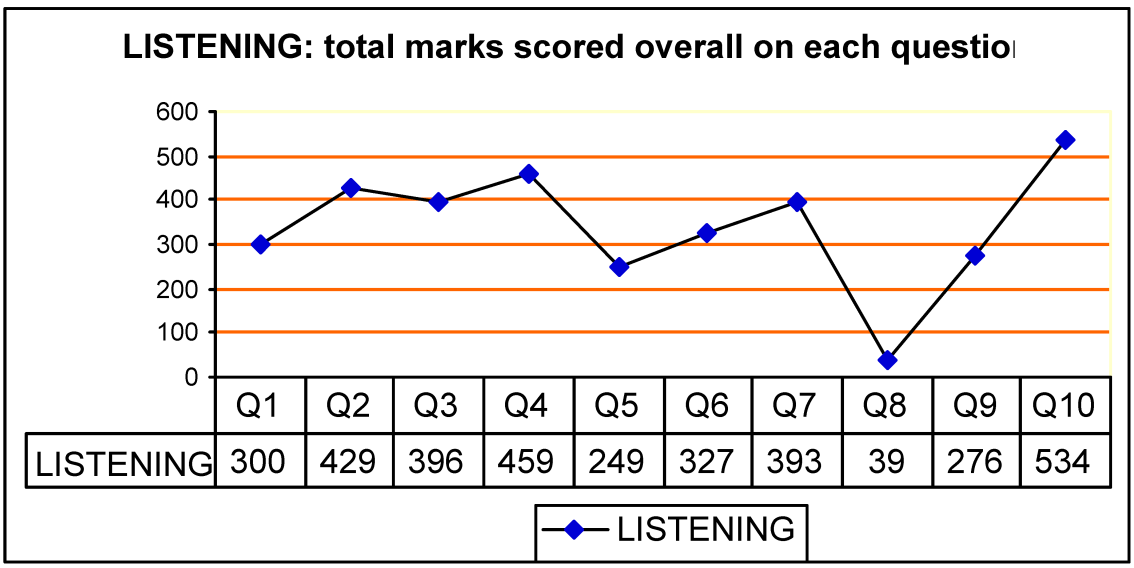


Figure 4: Comparison of proficiency levels in different skill areas in pilot test



	reading	writing	listening	speaking
Level 0	0	0	0	1
Level 1	13	22	1	7
Level 2	30	36	19	26
Level 3	19	11	42	36
Level 4	8	1	8	0

Figure 5: Listening Scores: shows the total overall score for each question in the listening section of the test.



	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10
LISTENING	300	429	396	459	249	327	393	39	276	534

Figure 6: Reading Scores: shows the total overall score for each question in the reading section of the test

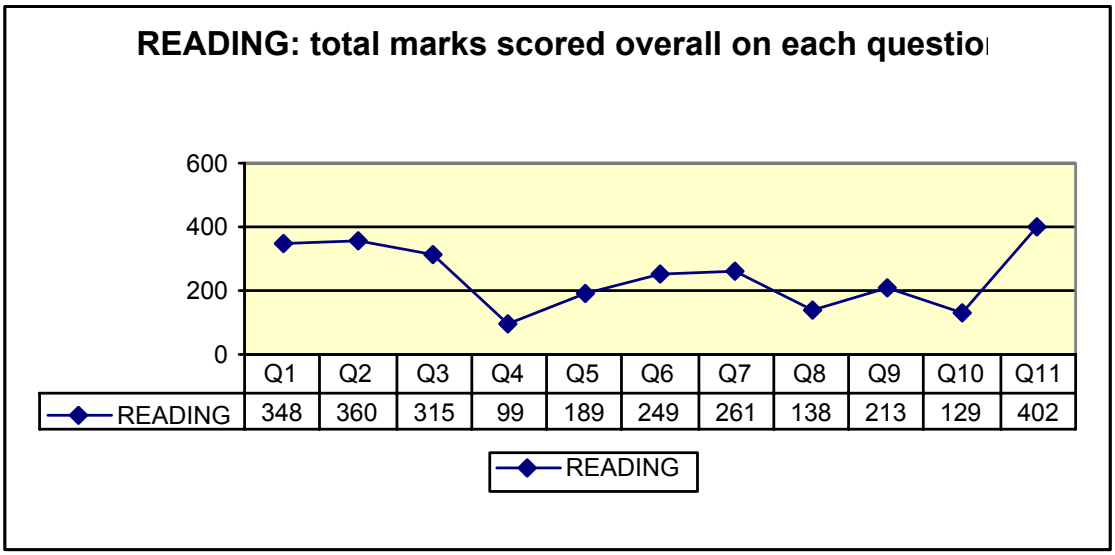
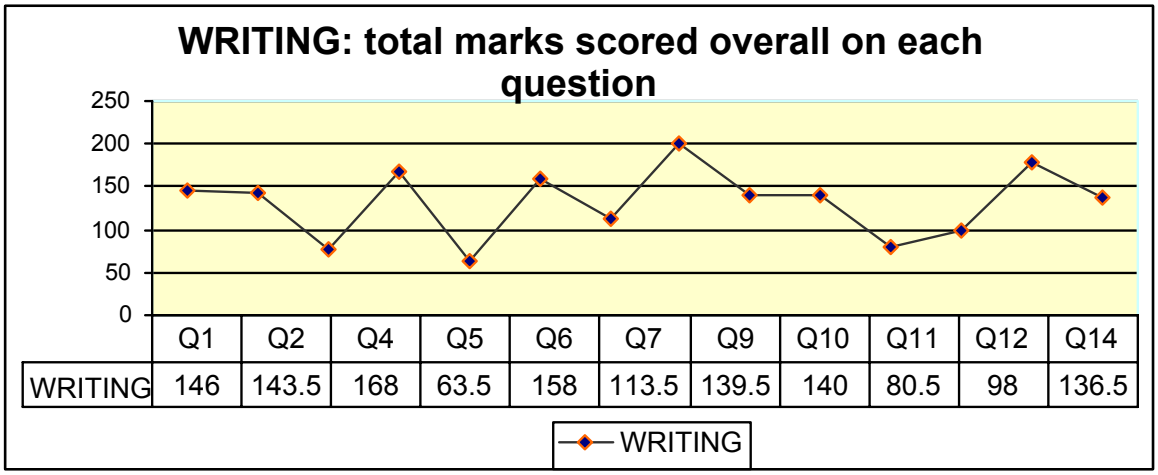


Figure 7: Writing Scores: shows the total overall score for each question in the writing section of the test



As indicated above, these initial pilot test results should not be given too much weight. The subjects were selected in terms of geographical convenience. The pilot test conditions were not always ideal. Furthermore, the pilot test alerted us to certain alterations that needed to be made to the test itself, to the test scoring, and to the marking schedule. Clearly, therefore, a more carefully planned and controlled pilot test involving a larger number of subjects and more detailed statistical studies is required. Even so, it is interesting to note that most of the students scored overall in

the Level 2 and Level 3 range (as we would expect in terms of curriculum expectations) and that scores were higher for listening and speaking than they were for reading and writing (as we would also have expected).

Teacher Test Guides

An important aspect of our assignment was to produce a pilot test that could be administered and scored by teachers without the need for major professional development. We therefore produced a number of pilot guides for teachers. These included a test administration guide, a test scoring guide and analysed examples of typical writing and speaking responses. There was also an outline of the proficiency level descriptors and an explanation of how scores relate to proficiency levels.

Recommendations to the Ministry of Education

We did not recommend that the Ministry of Education make the test available to schools. Before that can happen, a number of major developments are required. We now have a single test which itself needs to be subjected to considerably more scrutiny in relation to the approaches adopted, the Maori curriculum, the aims and objectives of teachers and students, and, above all, accepted psychometric criteria of reliability and validity. When all of this has been done, further tests need to be developed in consultation with teachers as part of a test battery, and further, more detailed, pilot studies need to be conducted. Furthermore, additional test batteries need to be developed that are appropriate for later stages of schooling. In particular, there is a need for a test battery that relates more directly to the language skills required for performing academic tasks. There is, thus, much to be done following this initial stage of development.

The next task is to develop and trial test batteries. These may, in some respects, be similar to the pilot test already developed. It is equally possible, however, that they may incorporate features of another test that we developed in the initial phase of the research, a more communicative test in which reading and writing and listening and speaking were fully integrated. Although we initially rejected that test on the grounds that it would be too difficult to administer and score, the potential of a test of this type is worth further consideration.

When the test batteries have been designed and fully trialled, the task will not have been completed. Ongoing test development will be required as will professional development opportunities for teachers in relation to test administration and scoring. These professional development opportunities could be supplemented by a test preparation materials bank and a test video. A test advice internet site could also be established.

Test batteries such as those under consideration here could prove useful to teachers and schools. However, any comparison of the test results of different schools is likely to be unhelpful. This is, in part, because (i) sample sizes will inevitably be small; (ii) student language backgrounds (including length of time in bilingual or immersion settings) vary widely.

Maori proficiency testing needs to be supplemented by diagnostic testing and by research on the acquisition of the language by children. In the process of developing this pilot test, we began work on diagnostic testing and on Maori language acquisition. We hope that we, and others, will have an opportunity to continue that work and that that work, will inform future developments of the Maori curriculum.

In connection with all of this, it is important to note that the New Zealand Ministry of Education has now issued a further contract in the area of Maori language proficiency testing. The School of Maori and Pacific Development at the University of Waikato has been asked to complete and trial a proficiency test battery for Year 5 students along with a single pilot test for Year 8 students. This project is currently under way and is being directed and administered by a Maori team in consultation with teachers. The fact that more time and more financial assistance has now been made available than was the case in the study reported on here should mean that there is an excellent opportunity to resolve some of the problems associated with the initial phase of development.

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Verbs in Māori: The Problem of Definitional Criteria

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Abstract

A range of different types of criteria has been applied at different points in the history of the classification of verbs in Māori. These have included syntactic and morphological criteria, semantic criteria and derivational criteria. Unfortunately, these criteria have not always been applied consistently and this has led to considerable disagreement about the classification of verbs in Māori. In this paper, different accounts of verb classification in Māori are critically examined and it is argued that some of the disagreements can be resolved by acknowledging (a) that words in Māori may be assigned to different word classes in different contexts, and (b) that word classes and sub-classes should be determined on the basis of morphological and syntactic criteria with semantic and derivational information playing a role only in so far as they have observable syntactic and/or morphological consequences.

Introduction

Bauer (1997, p. 65) acknowledges that "[the] analysis of Maori vocabulary into parts of speech or word classes is an area where there is disagreement in the scholarly community". She attributes this disagreement to the fact that the same word may occur in different syntactic environments:

> The division of opinion arises because Maori, like other Polynesian languages, uses the same form of a word in many different syntactic environments. For instance *waiata* [may be] a lexical head in a verb constituent . . . the lexical head in an argument constituent . . . a modifier in an argument constituent . . . and a modifier in a verb constituent (p. 65).

In fact, this phenomenon is by no means confined to Polynesian languages. In English, for example, 'round' is an adjective in (1) below, a noun in (2) below, a verb in (3) below, and a preposition in (4) below.

(1) It was a round object.
(2) He offered us a round of sandwiches.
(3) You will round that corner too quickly once too often.
(4) He went up the hill and round the corner.

The fact that the same lexeme may, depending on the context in which it occurs, be assigned to a different word class does not appear to create any particular difficulties in the context of word class assignment in English. It is difficult, therefore, to appreciate why it should do so in the case of Māori.

Bauer observes that disagreements relating to word class determination can be resolved "for practical purposes" by accepting that "most base forms [in Maori] have the potential to be used in either nominal or verbal constituents" so that "when such forms are used verbally, they co-occur with verbal particles, and can be passivized, and when they are used nominally, they co-occur with determiners" (p. 65). She goes on to state that "the class noun or verb can be treated as a class of uses, rather than a class of forms" (p. 65). In many respects, these comments are self-evidently true. However, there is a sense in which they do not go far enough and a sense in which they go too far. The fact that certain lexemes may function as nouns in some contexts and as verbs in others is fundamental: it is not just something that we need to accept 'for practical purposes'. It is the way in which a lexeme functions, as revealed by its morphological properties and/or syntactic environment, that determines its assignment to a particular word class. In many languages, the same lexeme can be assigned to more than one word class. There is, therefore, nothing unusual about Māori or other Polynesian languages in this respect. However, acknowledging this is not sufficient to resolve other types of disagreement in relation to word class categorization in Māori. Some of these disagreements relate to the issue of whether Māori has an adjective class. Others relate to the treatment of all closed system items (or items that are more closed system than open class) in Māori as particles. Not all of these issues are addressed fully here because the primary focus of this paper is the classification of verbs in Māori. The discussion here does, however, have implications for other areas of disagreement among grammarians.

Word classes in Māori: an introduction

Underlying the definition of word classes in Māori is the fundamental distinction that is generally made between lexical bases and particles, with nouns and verbs belonging to the former category. However, an examination of the history of word class assignments in Māori reveals that different types of criteria have been used by different analysts in different ways. It may be that some of these disagreements could be resolved by making reference to semantic and derivational information only where such information has observable syntactic and morphological implications, these implications being the critical factor in determining whether a separate category or sub-category should be recognized.

The verb class in Māori

Maunsell (1842) was one of the first grammarians to comment on verbs in Māori. He categorized them into active, passive, and neuter as follows:

> The active is the simple root…e.g., *e patu ana ahau*, I am striking. The passive is the root varied in its termination; e.g., *e patua ana ahau*, I am struck. The neuter expresses being, or a state or condition of being; when the agent and the object

> acted upon coincide, and the event is properly neither action nor passion, but rather something between both: as *I am*, *I sleep*, *I walk* (Maunsell 1842, p. 52).

Maunsell classified those verbs that he saw as being derived from simple adjectives as belonging to the neuter class category. He also recognized a parallel class of verbs, a class that he saw as being passive in meaning but not neuter in form. He classified this class as 'verbalized adjectives'. What is immediately apparent from Maunsell's description at this point is that it is based on two different types of criteria. Thus, neuter verbs are verbs that express being (semantic criterion), whereas verbalized adjectives are derived from simple adjectives (derivational criterion). What is important is to determine whether there are differences in terms of morphology or syntax. If there are, there is a strong argument in favour of establishing two different word classes or two different groups belonging to the same word class; if there are not, the argument for doing so is considerably weaker.

Williams (1862) originally classified verbs in Māori into 'passive', 'active' and 'participle neuter' types, defining 'participles' as a class of words that "are not regularly derived from verbs, as in European languages, but are of independent origin, though participial in meaning . . . . These are treated as neuter verbs, as also are adjectives, when they do not express the intrinsic or essential quality of a thing" (Williams 1862, p. 56). In this case, it is difficult to determine precisely what criteria are being applied although the emphasis appears, once again, to be on meanings rather than on the morphological and/or syntactic consequences of these meanings.

In a later version of his work, Williams (1910) reverts to the term 'neuter verb', stating that these verbs have the same qualities as adjectives. Furthermore, forms such as *ora* have a "notion of becoming, which is peculiarly characteristic of the inceptive, [but which] appears also in some of the other tenses" (Williams 1910, reported in Williams & Williams 1965, p. 49). Of particular significance, is the fact that Williams established a division between neuter verbs and intransitives (verbs occurring without an object).

For a considerable period after the appearance of these works by Maunsell and Williams, little was published on the verb category in Māori apart from what Bauer (1981, p. 13) described as 'school grammars'. These works were intended mainly for an adult audience and were generally based on Williams' grammar. Thus, for example, Ngata (1901), in dealing with the verb in Māori, follows roughly the outline provided by Williams. He classified verbs into 'active', 'passive', and 'neuter', as did Kirkham (1917), Smyth (1939), and Harawira (1950). These works add little to our understanding of the classification issues surrounding the verb category in Māori. In contrast to these works, Johansen's analysis of prepositions (1948) is both detailed and original. Unfortunately, however, its analysis of the verb category is confined to verbal sentences and the prepositions connected with them.

In 1961, Biggs produced a thesis on the structure of New Zealand Māori in which word classes were defined according to distributional criteria, according to their

"occurrence or non-occurrence in certain divisive frames" (Biggs 1961, p. 23). Biggs divided bases into four classes: N-bases, V-bases, A-bases, and G-bases:

- N-bases (nouns) can be juxtaposed to definite articles but are incompatible with pre-verbal particles such as *ka* (inceptive), *e* (general), *i* (past), *kia* (desiderative), *kua* (perfect), *kei* (caveat), *me* (prescriptive), and *he* (indefinite article).
- V-bases can take pre-verbal markers but are incompatible with definite articles (e.g. *ea* 'requited', *hemo* 'passed', and *mahiti* 'spent'). This class corresponds closely to what Maunsell and Williams refer to as 'participles'.
- A-bases can occur in sequence with pre-verbal markers and definite articles (e.g. *ka maroke* 'dry', *te mate* 'death').
- G-bases can occur following the frame: Pre-verbal markers + G-bases + passive suffix. (e.g. *i patu-a* 'was clubbed', *i moto-kia* 'was punched', and *kua aroha-ina* 'has been loved' (Biggs 1961, 25)).

The final class referred to above includes "transitive verbs, and verbs of motion, communication and perception" (Hooper 1984, p. 41). Biggs later combined V- and A-bases into a class named 'statives'. Thus:

All words are divided into two classes, bases and particles. The particles (and certain affixes) are the grammatical words; they are few in number . . . . All other words are bases. Bases divide into five classes (parts of speech). The class of a base is determined by the constructions into which it can enter. *There are no overlapping classes*. A noun can never be a stative; a locative can never be a universal. The classification of a base as a noun, a stative, a universal, a locative, or a personal, tells us all that needs to be known about the grammatical constructions into which it can enter (Biggs 1969, p. 51).

Thus, in 1969 Biggs classified a stative as "any base which can be used verbally but not passively". A G-base or 'universal' was classified as "any word which may be used passively" and is "able to enter into nominal as well as verbal phrases" (Biggs 1969, p. 52).

Following on from the work of Biggs, there was an upsurge of literature on the structure of Māori. The first of these was Hohepa's thesis, *A Profile Generative Grammar of Māori* (Hohepa 1967). Hohepa's work was based on a "mixture of structuralist taxonomic and Chomskyan approaches" and proposed "a set of transformational-generative rules for the basic structure of Māori" (Bauer 1981, p. 16). It did not, however, provide any new insights into the structure of Māori. In a subsequent article on negation, Hohepa (1969) did, however, examine one aspect of verbal classification in discussing the use of *kore* as a stative verb and as the head of the verbal constituent of an embedded clause. In this work, Hohepa made a distinction between what he referred to as 'stative verbs' and what he referred to as 'stative adjectives'. This distinction was based upon a number of arguments. Hohepa proposed six criteria for the stative verb class as follows (Hohepa 1969, pp. 9 -14):

(i) The subject is a noun marked by i, while the object is an unmarked noun phrase.
(ii) When an object is Ko fronted, the particle ai is left as the last item of the verbal constituent and the accusative marker of the object is deleted. With noun phrases initiated by the nā case marker the copy ai is left following the verb.
(iii) A member of either subcategory cannot tolerate 'object incorporation' and overt passivization.
(iv) All statives when preceded by the causative prefix, whaka, syntactically become derived transitive verbs. Following affixation, stative verbs can incorporate both object and overt passivization.
(v) Some stative verbs and adjectives, but no other word class members, take kia as the verbal constituent marker in a imperative construction;
(vi) The particle kia is normally the obligatory marker if a stative is the verb in the subordinate or lower sentence of a subjunctive construction.

Hohepa's five criteria for dividing statives into stative verbs and stative adjectives were as follows (Hohepa 1969, pp. 14 - 17):

(i) State verbs can take state adjectives as a modifier in a sentence, whereas state adjectives functioning in a similar way cannot take a stative as a modifier; but can tolerate another stative adjective as a modifier.
(ii) Stative verbs do not tolerate partial reduplication in the way that state adjectives do.
(iii) The subject of a stative verb when used with the indefinite article *he* is acceptable, but stative adjectives cannot be used in the same construction.
(iv) Some stative adjectives have a polar opposite in meaning.
(v) Stative adjectives can be replaced by proforms, where the stative verb cannot.

In her work on case marking and grammatical relations in Polynesian languages, Chung (1978, p. 47) provided an interesting perspective on the debate on the verb class in Māori. She classified verbs in Polynesian languages into two syntactic classes:

> *Intransitives*, which are subcategorized for a subject but not a direct object; and *transitives*, which are subcategorized for both a subject and direct object. Transitive verbs can further be classified as canonical transitive or middle, largely on the basis of their semantics. Canonical transitive verbs describe events which produce a direct, often physical effect on the direct object, while middle verbs describe events on the direct object immediately. Included among the middle verbs in Polynesian languages are perception verbs ('see', listen to'), verbs of emotion and other psychological states ('love', 'want', 'understand'), verbs normally selecting animate direct objects, including some communication verbs ('meet with', 'help', 'call'), and verbs such as 'follow', 'wait for', and 'visit' (italics added).

Chung's classification of 'middle verbs' in Polynesian languages as perception verbs, verbs of emotion, and verbs normally selecting animate direct objects, offered a new perspective on the classification of verbs in Polynesian languages, including Māori. Although this approach offers an interesting insight into the semantic classification of verbs in Māori, it has not been without its critics (see for example, Bauer 1981, 1984). However, other scholars (e.g. Reedy 1979) have taken a similar approach.

Reedy distinguished between intransitives and transitives, noting that these two classes can be further subdivided "according to semantic criteria, the derivational processes that apply to them i.e., affixation, the case marking, and syntactic behaviour of their nuclear (obligatory) and satellite (non-obligatory) noun phrases" (Reedy 1979, p. 21). Reedy divided intransitive verbs into three classes (stative, adjectival, and experience verbs), noting that the stative and adjectival types were tentatively adopted from Hohepa's (1969) classification of the stative class. Reedy's designation of the third class, that is, experience verbs, relates to their obligatory co-occurrence with animate noun phases (a restriction that does not apply to the stative and adjectival categories). Reedy noted that the patient noun phrase is the only obligatory noun phrase that is accepted for the formation of a nuclear sentence in an intransitive verb in Māori. Reedy (1979) subdivides the transitive verb class into two subgroups: Class I, and Class II verbs. Class I verbs take one object, Class II verbs take more than one object.

Bauer (1981) also classified verbs into two main classes. However, she notes that the boundaries between transitive and intransitive are somewhat blurred in Māori, and for this reason avoids using the term 'transitive' wherever possible, preferring to refer to compulsory or non-compulsory inclusion of one, or more than one argument (Bauer 1981, p. 26). Following the terminology of Biggs (1961, 1969), Bauer (1981) identified the major distinguishing characteristics of 'stative' verbs as:

(i) their incompatibility with passivization;
(ii) the fact that they require only one argument;
(iii) the need for a distinction between the 'causer' of a state and the 'recipient' of the consequences of that state (pp. 70 -74).

Bauer argued that 'experience' verbs (mental activity verbs) do not form "a class with well-formed boundaries, although the central members of the class exhibit consistent behavioural properties which differentiate them from other bivalent verbs" (Bauer 1981, p. 77). In a later article, Bauer (1984) presented three hypotheses (the transitivity-cline, the verb-feature, and the separate class hypothesis) to support her recognition of inconsistencies within this class of verbs in Māori. She points out that this group of verbs has traditionally been classed as a transitive verb because it requires two nominal arguments (the first being an unmarked subject noun and the latter noun phrase being marked either with *i* or *ki*).

Hooper has argued that the name 'stative' is misleading and instead has adopted the term 'neuter', a categorization based on eight syntactic features. Thus, according to Hooper (1982, p. 34), neuter verbs:

(i) cannot take the passive suffix;
(ii) cannot have subjects that are addressees of imperatives;
(iii) cannot occur after the subordinator *ki te*;
(iv) cannot be accompanied by an agent phrase of the form *e noun phrase*;
(v) cannot be used as headwords of nominal phrases;
(vi) cannot directly modify other bases;
(vii) cannot have subjects introduced by the indefinite article *he*;
(viii) must have agent phrases which take the form *i noun phrase*.

Bauer (1993, p. 85), following the suggestions made by Hooper (1982) changed this class from 'stative' to 'neuter' verbs noting that the term 'stative' is semantically misleading. She observed that this category shares some characteristics with adjectival predicates, but unlike adjectival predicates, however, they are not notionally stative.

Bauer (1993) also divides intransitives into active intransitives (e.g. *haere* 'move', *oma* 'run', *noho* 'stay'), and stative intransitives (e.g. *pai* 'good', *nui* 'big', *hē* 'wrong') noting that these verbs require only one nominal argument (the subject). She referred to active intransitives as being 'canonical' (generally appearing as the standard form), 'stative' or 'adjectival'. In addition to the intransitive (active and stative) and neuter categories, Bauer referred to a transitive category, distinguishing between active transitives, (e.g. *kōhuru* 'murder'), and passive transitives, (e.g. *pūhi-a* 'shot'). This category of verbs (transitives) requires two oblique noun phrases. A further category, ditransitives, (including, for example, *hoatu* and *homai*), require three noun phrases.

In a later work Bauer (1997, p. 15) added two further verb categories called reflexive and reciprocal. These she termed as a transitive action where the recipient of the action can be the same as the initiator. A reflexive verb (e.g. *shave*) is an action which involves one participant and a reciprocal verb (e.g. *hug*) is an action which involves two participants. She provides a definition of transitivity as the relationship between an event/action that is expressed by a verb constituent and the participants in that event/action. She adds that these verb types are normally classified according to the number of participants required for the event or action to take place:

> One participant (which is animate) is required for an act of sneezing (namely the sneezer), but two participants are required for the act of beating (one of them animate, the beater, the other either animate or inanimate, the person or thing beaten). For an act of giving, there are three participants: the one who gives, the one who receives, and the object given (Bauer 1997, p. 12)

Bauer (1997, p. 13) defines a transitive verb as involving an action that requires two participants. A transitive sentence must, therefore, have the following properties:

- it has a transitive verb;
- the performer of the action is expressed in the Subject;
- the entity affected by the action is expressed as the Direct Object.

Thus, Bauer's distinction between canonical transitive verbs and experience verbs is based on the different behaviour of the performer. For a canonical transitive, the performer "is the initiator or agent who performs the action of their own will, and the other NP [noun phrase] is a patient which expresses the recipient or undergoer of the action" (p.13). However, for an experience verb, the performer of the action "has an experience (and is not appropriately described as doing something of their own will), and the second noun phrase is not directly affected by the action, unlike the patients of canonical transitives" (p.13). Intransitive verbs require one participant only. Thus, intransitive sentences are sentences that require a subject constituent but no direct object constituent. The division of intransitive verbs into two groups (action intransitives and state transitives) is based on the different position of the performer within the obligatory noun phrase. For an action intransitive, the obligatory noun phrase "indicates the person who performs the action, usually of their own will" and for a state intransitive, the noun phrase " indicates the person who undergoes the action or who is found in the state identified by the verb" (p.14). Neuter verbs are also added to the latter class because they require only one participant, the undergoer of the action. However, "some of [these verbs] are used to encode actions which appear transitive in semantic terms" (p.14). Ditransitive verbs are defined as a class of verbs requiring three noun phrases (e.g. *hoatu* 'give', and *tuku* 'send'). There are, as Bauer noted, some verbs in Māori that do not fit into these patterns. For instance, a transitive verb like *heu* (shave) may involve either (a) an initiator who is also the recipient of the action, or (b) an initiator who is not the recipient of the action. Where one person only is involved, the verb form is reflexive. Verbs involving two people doing the same thing to each other (i.e., *i awhi rāua tahi* 'they hugged each other') are described as reciprocal.

The work of Bauer may be compared with that of Harlow (1996, pp. 4 – 5) in which verbs are divided into five categories according to the differences in the constructions they may enter into. Thus:

- Transitive verbs take an affected direct object, usually marked by *i* (subgrouped also into bitransitives: verbs which take both a direct and an indirect object);
- Experience verbs have imperative marking and are incompatible with the actor emphatic construction;
- Neuter verbs typically have a subject which is the patient and an agent which, if explicit, is marked by the oblique preposition *i*.

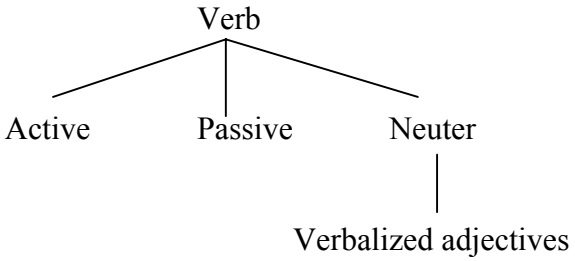
Intransitive verbs . . . have one undeletable argument;

> Adjective verbs . . . have three characteristic distributions: (a) as a modifier following a noun or verb, (b) predicatively with *he* or with tense/aspect particles, and (c) following a determiner, as a corresponding abstract.

Review of landmarks in the history of the classification of verbs in Māori

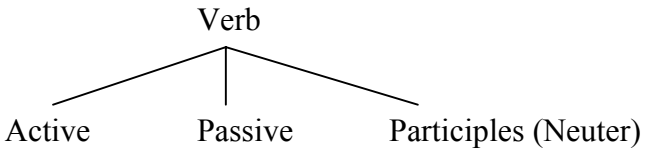
A schematic representation of different accounts of the verb class in Māori is provided below. The categorization offered in Maunsell (1842) is illustrated in Figure 1 following:

Figure 1: Categories of Verb in Māori according to Maunsell (1842)



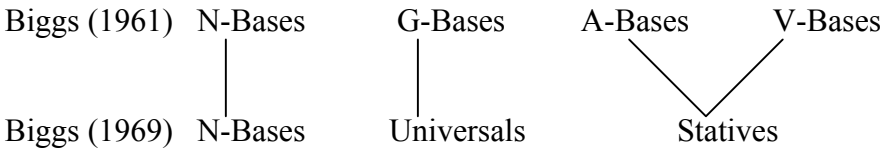
In some later accounts (e.g. Hooper 1984), the term 'neuter' is replaced by the term 'intransitive'.

Figure 2: Categories of Verb in Māori according to Williams (1862)



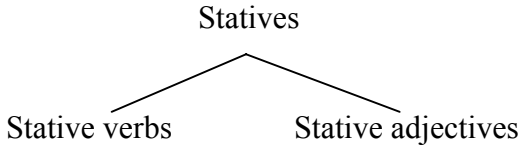
Williams used the term 'participle' rather than 'verbalized adjective', claiming that these verbs did not express the intrinsic or essential quality of a thing. However, in a later account of his work (see, for example, Williams and Williams 1965), the term 'neuter verb' was used for convenience.

Figure 3: Categories of Verb in Māori according to Biggs (1961, 1969)



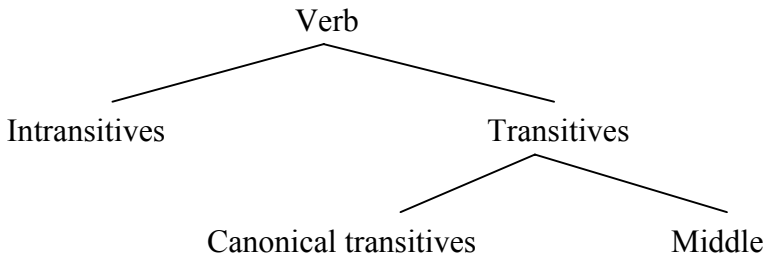
Biggs (1961, 1969) uses the terms 'stative' and 'universal' rather than 'base', applying distributional criteria (including the occurrence of the passive suffix) to support the distinction. These distributional criteria allowed for words such as *waiata* (which can occur as the head of a verb phrase and with the passive suffix C-ia) to be treated as verbs.

Figure 4: Distinction between Stative Verbs and Stative Adjectives as proposed by Hohepa (1969)



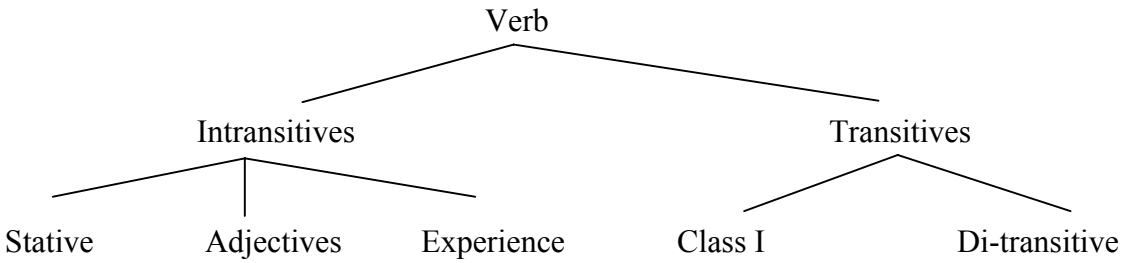
Among Hohepa's criteria for this categorization (Hohepa 1969) is the use of the particle *kia* as a verbal constituent marker in an imperative construction. However, although *mate*, *mutu*, and *hemo* all meet Hohepa's other criteria for statives, they fail to occur in pseudo-imperative constructions. Hohepa argues that *kia* is an obligatory marker of stative in cases where the verb occurs in the subordinate construction or as the lower clause of a subjunctive construction. However, experience verbs in Māori (which do not belong to Hohepa's stative category) occur obligatory with *kia* in these contexts. Reedy (1978) has argued that Hohepa's five arguments in favor of a division between stative verbs and stative adjectives are problematic, claiming that only one of these arguments (the fact that stative adjectives cannot precede stative verbs) appears to be valid.

Figure 5: Verb Categorization in Polynesian Languages according to Chung (1978)



Chung (1978) proposed a distinction in Polynesian languages between canonical transitive and middle verbs. Bauer (1984) has, however rejected Chung's use of 'experience' verbs in her classification, pointing out that Chung's third category (verbs normally selecting animate direct objects) is made up of verbs (e.g. *āwhina* 'help', *karanga* 'call') that are canonical rather than transitive and do not involve experience verbs.

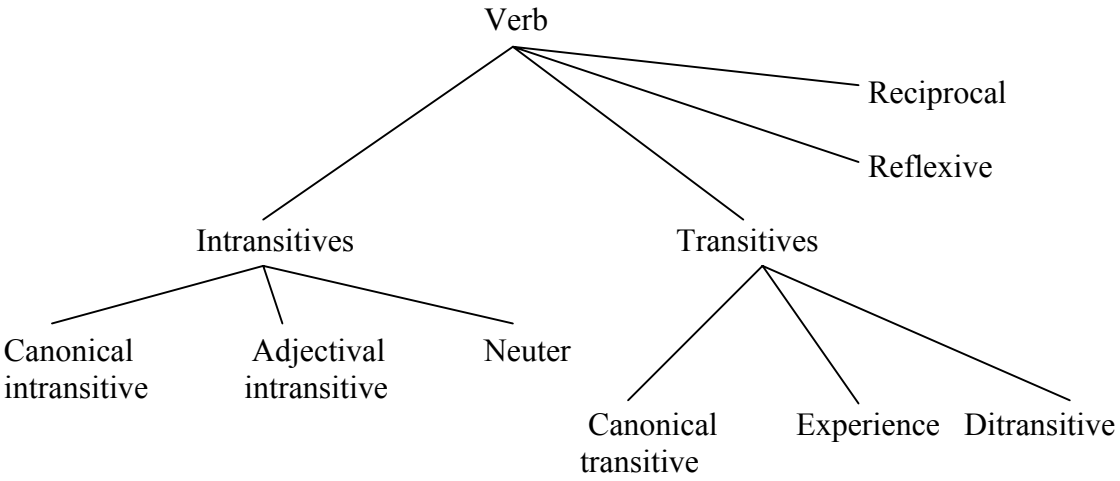
Figure 6: Classification of Verbs in Māori According to Reedy (1979)



Reedy (1979) also classifies verbs in Māori into two distinct classes: intransitives and transitives. He divides intransitive verbs into three classes: stative, adjectives, and experience verbs (following Hohepa's (1969) classification of the stative class). He also makes a distinction within the transitive verb class into two types: *Class I*, and *Class II*. *Class I* verbs are object affecting and *Class II* are di-transitive. Reedy distinguishes experience verbs from adjectives and statives on the basis that experience verbs must have an animate noun phrase. He classifies these verbs as intransitives (where Chung (1978) classed them as transitive) on the basis that derivational

processes that operate on other intransitives also apply to experience verbs. Bauer (1984), however, argues that members of this class do not form a class with distinct boundaries although they exhibit similar behavioural properties.

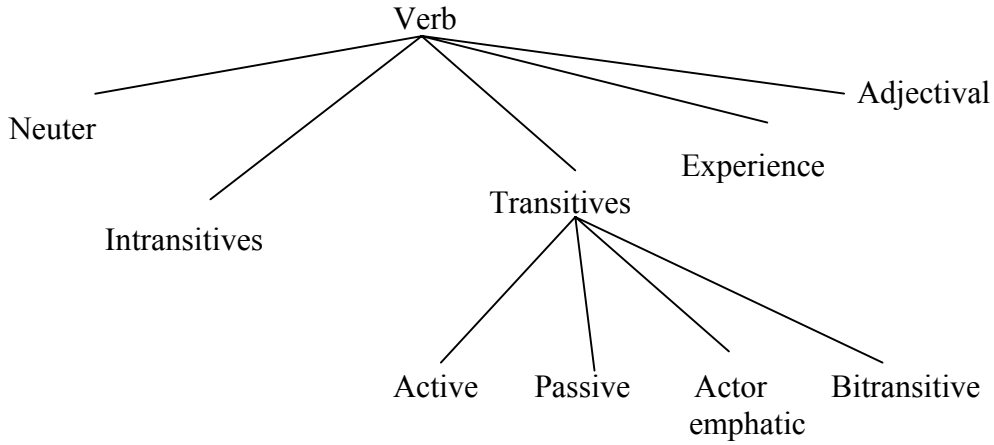
Figure 7: Classification of Verbs in Māori According to Bauer (1981, 1984, 1993, 1997)



Bauer (1981; 1984) has also classified verbs into two distinct classes: intransitive and transitive, refining the boundaries between transitive and intransitive in later works (Bauer 1993; 1997). Thus, Bauer (1993) classifies intransitives as active and stative, calling the active intransitives 'canonical intransitives' and the stative intransitives 'adjectival intransitives'. She also identifies a neuter category (in line with Hooper (1982)), which replaces the term 'stative verbs' as used in her earlier work (Bauer, 1981). Transitive verbs are classified as either active or passive, with passives being either 'canonical transitives', or 'experience verbs'. A further class is ditransitive verbs. More recently, Bauer (1997) has recognized reflexive verbs and reciprocal verbs as separate categories.

Bauer's latest work (1997) combines syntactic and semantic criteria in the classification of verbs, relying heavily on case roles (see, for example, Fillmore 1968) in her analysis and categorization of experience verbs. Thus, for example, in the case of action intransitives, the obligatory noun phrase indicates the person who performs the action, whereas in the case of state intransitives, the noun phrase either (a) indicates the person who performs the action, or (b) the person who is found in the state identified by the verb. Although Bauer's classification of verbs in Māori has much in common with Reedy's account (Reedy 1979), it differs in its treatment of intransitives. Thus, whereas the intransitive class proposed by Reedy includes statives, adjectives, and experience verbs, Bauer's intransitive class includes canonical intransitives (active intransitives), adjectival intransitives (stative intransitives), and neuter verbs.

Figure 8: Verb Category Distinctions According to Harlow (1996)



Harlow (1996) divides verbs in Māori into five categories. The transitive category includes active, passive, actor emphatic, and bitransitive subcategories.

Discussion

Foster has claimed that "the Māori verb must be one of the best and most clearly arranged in any of the world's languages, and is therefore very easy to learn" (Foster, 1997, p. 21). Statements such as this belie the complexities that have gradually been uncovered. Some accounts of verbs in Māori are largely morphological and syntactic in nature: relying on derivational processes such as affixation, case marking and constituent placement; others include semantic criteria. How these criteria are weighted leads to different emphasis in the classification. Thus, for example, Reedy (1979) relying heavily on morpho-syntactic criteria classifies experience verbs as intransitives, whereas Bauer (1994), relying partly on semantic criteria, classifies them as transitives. Harlow (1996) concludes that they should be treated as a separate category.

What appears to receive insufficient recognition in some of these accounts is the importance of acknowledging that the same lexeme may be assigned to a different word class on different occasions. Thus, for example, a verb such as *mate* 'death' may be either a verb or noun depending on context and function. In examples, (5) and (6) below, *mate* is intransitive. In each case, however, it has a different sense. This difference in sense is not encoded in the verb itself, but signalled by the pre-verbal markers (Reedy, personal communication, 1998):

(5) Kua mate a Rangi (Rangi is dead).
(6) Kei te mate a Rangi (Rangi is sick).

In example (7) below, *mate* follows the determiner *te*, and is, therefore, in syntactic terms, classifiable as a noun rather than a verb:

(7) Ka ea te mate o Rangi (The death of Rangi has been avenged).

The implication of this is that the discussion of word classes in Māori should distinguish clearly between lexemes and word-forms and between forms and grammatical functions. *Waiata* (sing) is a lexeme whose word-forms are *i waiata* 'sang', *kua waiata* ' has sung' etc. Two word-forms are said to have the same syntactic function and, therefore to belong to the same word class if they have the same distribution. Thus, for example, *ngeru* 'cat' and *kurī* 'dog' belong to the same word class (noun); *ngā ngeru* 'cats' and *ngā kurī* 'dogs' belong to the same word class (noun); *haere* 'move' and *hoki* 'return' belong to the same word class (verb). However, *haere* 'move' (verb) and *nui* 'big' (adjective) belong to different word classes. Word forms have the same syntactic distribution, whereas word classes may not.

Distinguishing between lexemes and word-forms and between forms and grammatical functions highlights those differences in the distribution of particular lexemes in Māori which is fundamental to the need to classify them in different ways on different occasions of use. It also highlights the problems associated with, for example, the treatment by Biggs (1961, 1969) of *waiata* as being a verb irrespective of its syntactic environment. Thus, in example (8) below, *waiata* 'sang' is a word form relating to the lexeme 'sing'. It has the syntactic characteristics of past participle and it functions syntactically as a verb. In example (9) below, *waiata* 'has sung' is also a word form relating to the lexeme 'sing'. It has the syntactic characteristics of past perfect and it is functions syntactically as a verb. In example (10) below, *waiata* 'song' functions syntactically as a noun:

(8) *I **waiata** ia*	'She sang'	
Lexeme:	*waiata*	'sing'
Word form:	'*i waiata*'	'sang'
Word class:	verb	
(9) *Kua **waiata** ia.*	'She has sung'	
Lexeme:	*waiata*	'sing'
Word form:	'*kua waiata*'	'has sung'
Word class:	verb	
(10) *Kei te waiata ia i te **waiata**.*	'She is singing the song'	
Lexeme:	'song'	
Word form:	'song'	
Word class:	noun	

These few examples demonstrate the importance of defining the term 'word class' clearly in relation to lexemes, word forms, and word classes before attempting to establish criteria for word class membership. As soon as this is done, it becomes clear that assignment to a class or sub-class in a particular instance will depend on form, context and the function, these themselves, however, often being related to inherent semantic properties. Thus, Bauer's distinction between canonical transitive verbs and experience verbs is based on semantic properties. Where semantic properties have morphological and/or syntactic implications, they can validly form the basis for the recognition of different groupings within the same word class. Following this approach may lead in the future to further sub-categorization of verbs in Māori.

In the light of what has been presented within the various analyses of this paper, we are now in a position to put forward a number of questions on the verb in Māori:

- Is there such a thing as a 'verb' in Māori?
- What constitutes the verb word class in Māori?
- If there is, how should it be described?

When defining word classes in a language, a linguist uses formal and functional definitions rather than semantic ones. Words are assigned to word classes on the basis of their morphological (the form of the word) and syntactic behaviour (the types of words that the word can occur with) as opposed to semantic definitions (the meaning of the word). "Although semantic definitions of word classes have some validity, they are neither totally adequate nor totally accurate" (Crowley, Lynch, Siegel & Piau 1995, p. 11). The formal definitions for the word class 'verb' in Māori should describe how the members of this class behave and not on a characterization of shared meanings. Thus, for example, a definition like the following would not suffice as a formal definition for the verb word class in Māori (or for any language in particular): 'a verb is a doing word or a word which describes an action'. This type of definition is based primarily upon semantic criteria. However, a statement such as the following may categorize a formal definition of the word class verb in Māori (this should be regarded as only an example at this point in the discussion and not as a formal definition of the verb class in Māori): a verb occurs immediately after a pre-verbal marker in Māori. This type of definition is not based semantic criteria but on syntactic criteria.

Let us now reconsider the following examples in Māori that were discussed earlier in this section of the paper: *mate* and *waiata*.

Are these words nouns or verbs? If we were using semantic criteria to classify these two examples, it would be difficult to provide a definite answer because both of these words can function as both a noun and a verb in Māori. However, what we should recognise is that each of these examples can function as a noun and a verb and that there is an overlapping of class membership between these two examples. Hence, we do not say that *mate* is a verb or a noun; rather that in sentences like (5) and (6) above, the word *mate* is functioning as a verb, while in a sentence like (7) above, it is functioning as a noun. Similarly, the word *waiata* is functioning as a verb in sentences like (8) and (9) above, and it is functioning as a noun in (10) above.

Conclusion

Assignment to a particular word class, or to a particular category within a particular word class, depends on an equation that includes form, function and context. The history of word class assignment in Māori, particularly assignment to the verb category, indicates the problems and disagreements that can arise when one aspect of the equation is omitted or under represented.

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A National Maori Language Institute: Looking To Cyberspace

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Abstract

In this paper, it is argued that many of the problems associated with the lack of coordinated research and development activities relating to the revitalisation of Maori language could be resolved by establishing a Maori Language and Literacy Institute. The possibility of establishing such an Institute in cyberspace is an attractive one in that it reduces overheads, allows for an immediate link between researchers, educational providers and iwi, and provides opportunities for wide dissemination of findings and for ongoing discussion.

Introduction

Ministry of Education statistics (Education Statistics of New Zealand) indicate that the number and percentage of students studying Maori in Years 9 and above in mainstream schooling in Aotearoa / New Zealand has been declining since 1996 (See *Table 1* below).

Table 1: Number and percentage of course entries for Maori as a subject in mainstream schooling in New Zealand (Year 9 and above) from 1995 - 1999

1995		**1996**		**1997**		**1998**		**1999**	
Number studying Maori as a subject	% of year total	Number studying Maori as a subject	% of year total	Number studying Maori as a subject	% of year total	Number studying Maori as a subject	% of year total	Number studying Maori as a subject	% of year total
25134	10.62	25278	10.62	22325	9.285	21462	8.75	20189	8.20

The number of students who sat University Entrance examinations in Te Reo Rangatira from 1995 – 1999 is as indicated in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Number of students who sat examinations in Te Reo Rangatira from 1995 - 1999

1995	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**
695	699	630	630	616

At 1 July 1999 there was a total of 727,396 students attending New Zealand schools (all levels and types). Of these, 22,222 students (3% of all students) were involved in Maori medium education for more than 30% of the time (7.5 hours or more per week). A total of 4,805 students (4,796 Maori) attended immersion schools (including Kura Kaupapa Maori), 10,421 (8,122 Maori) attended bilingual schools, a further 3,946 (3,845 Maori) were in immersion classes and another 11,621 (10,089 Maori) were in bilingual classes (New Zealand Ministry of Education site http://www.moe.govt.nz: visited 3 July 2000). Even taking all of these figures together, the number of young people who are learning te reo Maori in New Zealand appears to be depressingly low. *Table 3* following gives the number of degree completions with Maori as a subject between in 1997 and 1998 Education Statistics of New Zealand).

Table 3: Number of students who achieved tertiary qualifications with Maori as a subject in 1997 and 1998

	Doctorate	Masters/ Honours	Post.Grad. Dip./ Cert.	Bachelors/ Adv. Dip.	Dip.	Cert.	Inter-mediate Cert.	Intro-ductory Cert.	**Total**
1997		10	2	199	102	422	117	53	**905**
1998		22	2	230	103	561			**918**

Of course, there are other contexts, in addition to formal educational settings, where Maori is being leaned or acquired. Even so, those of us who are concerned for the future of the language need to be concerned. Not only does there appear to be some sign of a reduction in take-up of the language at the higher levels of mainstream schooling, but it also seems that it is increasingly difficult to attract candidates for teacher training courses who have a high level of proficiency in the language. Unless there is long-term planning in this area to back up shorter term initiatives, the problems are likely to continue. However, attempts to ensure that this planning happens have never been more than marginally successful. What appear to be needed is integrated planning, planning that is based on a solid research foundation.

Planning for Maori Language

In 1987, a Committee set up to review the school curriculum (Department of Education 1987) recommended that a national policy on languages "embracing Maori, English, Pacific Island languages, foreign languages, English as a second language; and including first language learning" should be established (p. 41). In 1992, a study of the factors involved in establishing a language policy that was commissioned by the New Zealand Ministry of Education was produced (Waite 1992a & b). That report lists Maori language revitalization as the top priority in any such policy "because the time factor is critical – for the Maori language, the next few years are crucial" and "New Zealanders as a whole have a responsibility to support Maori language revitalisation efforts" (Waite, 1992a, p. 18). In relation to Waite's work, Kaplan made a list of recommendations. These included establishing a "National Languages and Literacy Institute . . . empowered to pursue languages policy implementation in cooperation with a range of agencies and organizations in New Zealand (Kaplan 1992, reported in Kaplan 1993, p. 3). This did not happen. If New

Zealand is not to have a National Language Policy or a National Languages and Literacy Institute, Maori need to take the initiative and establish for themselves a National Maori Language Policy and a National Maori Language and Literacy Institute. Only then will we be in a position to determine exactly what needs to be done to ensure that the Maori language, which is, after all, an official language of Aotearoa/ New Zealand, is available as a living language for future generations.

Some fundamental research questions

If a Maori Language and Literacy Institute were established, we could begin to address systematically and in an integrated way a number of research questions that urgently require answers. These include:

- What proficiency level in Maori is achieved by learners in bilingual, immersion and mainstream settings at different stages in their schooling?
- What level of proficiency in Maori is achieved by students who learn the language in tertiary education settings at different stages?
- Which methods appear to be the most successful in terms of proficiency achievements?
- What is the best way to provide Maori language maintenance and development opportunities for practicing teachers and others?
- For the purposes of academic writing and official documentation, should a single variety of Maori be used and, if so, should that variety be taught in schools alongside the local dialect?
- How best can we help our learners to develop beyond spoken day-to-day transactional competence into the realms of complex, authentic spoken and written discourse construction and comprehension?
- What types of errors are occurring in the speech and writing of learners at various stages in their development and are these errors attributable to developmental factors?
- In what ways is the Maori language changing and are these changes consistent with those language changes that occur in languages that are not at risk?

The Maori Language Act (1987) established a language Commission whose function is to promote the Maori language and report on issues relating to it. However, that Commission is not charged with overseeing research and development in the area of Maori language and so, although it does oversee some research, it has neither the mandate nor the budget to take responsibility for ensuring that research and development are coordinated. Nor is it in a position to establish research and development priorities. In the absence of an agency charged with this responsibility such an agency, research and development are likely to continue to be patchy and uncertain and standards across the country may vary considerably.

Seeking a solution: A Maori Language and Literacy Institute in cyberspace?

There have been repeated calls for the development of a Maori Language Institute. There are, however, problems. These include:

- Determining how such an organization should be funded (particularly in view of the need to ensure that as much as possible of the available resources are spent on development activities rather than administration).
- Ensuring that such an organization could be effectively linked to all of the other agencies involved in the preservation and development of the language.
- Ensuring that the views of all iwi were effectively represented,
- Convincing everyone concerned that a degree of centralization would not impede local initiatives (and ensuring that it did not do so).

At least part of the answer is already available. Technological advances over the last few decades have made the prospect of a Maori Language and Literacy Institute in cyberspace a real possibility. There is no longer any need to be concerned about the physical location of such an institute, or about the possibility of major establishment costs. All that is really required now is the will to succeed, the will to transcend boundaries and work together for a common goal:

> The Information Marketplace will . . . increase the prospects for forming virtual alliances across hierarchical lines within an organization . . . and between sister organizations (Dertouzos, 1997, p. 204).

We already have a Commission whose function is to promote the Maori language and report on issues relating to it. That Commission could establish with very little difficulty, informally in the first instance, a Maori Language and Literacy Institute in cyberspace. All that is really required initially is:

- A mailing list of those involved in research, development and teaching activities relating to Maori Language and Literacy and of all iwi.
- Ask everyone on the list to report on any research, development and innovative teaching practices (including teaching materials) of which they are aware (including local initiatives) and to indicate what they believe to be the research and development priorities.
- Make up a publications database from sources currently available.
- Establish an internet site where research and development findings can be posted.

Taking the initiative in this way would cost very little in time and resources. If that initiative were successful, it is likely that the relatively small amount of funding required to sustain and develop that initiative in the early stages would be forthcoming from government. After all, the eventual advantages, in terms of coordination of research and development efforts and the dissemination of research findings and teaching materials and resources would be in the best interests of everyone.

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He aha tēnei mea, te ‘reo tūturu’?[1]

(What is ‘an official language’?[1])

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1 Te Take *(Introduction)*

Nō te tau 1987 ka whakaaetia e te Whare Pāremata o Aotearoa te Ture Reo Māori, arā, He ture hei whakamana i te reo Māori hei reo tūturu mō Niu Tīreni, hei tuku atu hoki te mana ki te reo Māori i roto i ētahi whakahaere o ngā ture, ā, hei whakamana hoki i te whakatūnga o te Kōmihana mō te Reo Māori, ā, me te whakaingoa hoki i ngā mahi me ngā mana o taua Kōmihana.

In 1987 the New Zealand Parliament passed The Maori Language Act, An Act to declare the Maori language to be an official language of New Zealand, to confer the right to speak Maori in certain legal proceedings, and to establish Te Komihana Mo Te Reo Maori and define its functions and powers.

E toru ngā wāhanga kei raro i te upoko *Tautoko i te Reo Māori*:

> tek. 3. Kei konei e kīa ana te reo Māori ... hei reo tūturu mō Niu Tīreni.
> tek. 4. Kei tēnei o ngā wāhanga te whakatakotoranga o ngā mana ki te kōrero Māori i roto i ētahi whakahaere o ngā ture.
> tek. 5. Kāore rawa e taea e tekihana 3, e tekihana 4 rānei o tēnei Ture te -
>
> > (a) Whakarerekē te mana kei tētahi tangata, mehemea kāore i te tekihana o te Ture, ki te tango, ki te whakapuaki rānei he (sic) kōrero i te reo Māori; ā,
> > (b) Whakararuraru rānei te mana o tētahi iwi kei Niu Tīreni ki te kōrero i te reo o taua iwi.

There are three sections under the heading Support for the Maori Language:

> *3. The Maori language is hereby declared to be an official language of New Zealand.*
> *4. In this section the right to speak Maori in certain courts and similar hearings is specified.*
> *5. Nothing in section 3 or section 4 of this Act shall-*
>
> > *(a) Affect any right that any person has, otherwise than by virtue of that section, to receive or impart any communication in Maori; or*
> > *(b) Affect any right of any other linguistic community in New Zealand to use the language of that community.*

Ko te whakamāoritanga o te 5(a) o ngā wāhanga, e pēnei ana: He mana anō ka homai e ngā wāhanga 3 me te 4, engari kāore he mana i tua atu i ēnei i te whakaaetia. He aha aua mana? Mō te wāhanga tuawhā, e mārama ana, ko ngā mana kei reira e takoto ana, arā, te mana o te tangata, ahakoa ko wai, e whaiwāhi ana ki ngā whakahaere kōti, ki te whakaputa kōrero ki te reo Māori. Engari ki te tahuri ki te tuatoru o ngā wāhanga, kāore i āta whakatakotoria ngā mana e pā ana ki taua wāhanga. Kāore hoki he ture atu anō i tēnei e āta whakamāramatia nei aua mana. Nō reira, he tino pātai e pā ana ki te mana o te reo Māori i Aotearoa ko tēnei: he aha ngā mana o tēnei mea, o te "reo tūturu" o tētahi whenua? He aha te tikanga o te kupu nei, "reo tūturu"?

Section 5(a) implies that there are rights granted by virtue of sections 3 and 4 and that these may not be construed to affect any rights beyond these. But what are these rights? With respect to section 4 it is clear, these are the rights specified there, that is, the right of any party to certain types of hearing to speak Maori. When one turns to section 3, there are no rights specifically laid out, nor is there any other legislation detailing those rights. Thus, an important question for the status of Māori within New Zealand is: what are the rights implied in the term "official language"? What is the meaning of the expression "official language"?

He huarahi e taea ai tēnei urupounamu te whakautu, ko te āta titiro i ngā tikanga o ētahi atu whenua e rua nei, neke atu rānei ngā reo e whaimana ana i roto i te ture, kia kitea ai te tino āhua o te mea nei, te reo tūturu, i roto i te ao whānui, me te whakahāngai i aua tikanga ki te tū o te reo Māori i roto i Aotearoa (tirohia Waite, 1992 II, 47-8).

A way to approach this question is to investigate the situation in other countries with two or more official languages, in order to discover how this term is understood generally in the world, and to apply appropriate aspects of this situation to New Zealand (see Waite, 1992 II, 47-8).

Ko te kaupapa o te pepa e takoto atu nei he āta titiro i te tūnga o tētahi reo kotahi, arā, o te reo **Romanihi** i roto i Huiterangi, i te taha o ētahi reo e toru, o ngā reo Tiamana, Wīwī, Itariana; he rangahau i te tū o taua reo i raro i te ture, i roto i ngā whakahaere tūmatanui o taua whenua.

*This paper reports on research into all aspects of the status and situation of **Rhaetoromansh** in Switzerland beside three other languages, German, French and Italian. One aspect of this general study was the investigation of the legal status of the language, and its status within governmental institutions.*

Ko te take i whakaarohia ai tēnei reo hei tirohanga māku, hei tauira hoki mō te tū o te reo Māori i Aotearoa nei, he tino hāngai nō ngā āhuatanga hapori o taua reo ki ō te reo Māori:

a. he reo tangata whenua ngā reo e rua e tāmia nei e tētahi atu reo, ko te reo Romanihi e te reo Tiamana, ko te reo Māori e te reo Pākehā;
b. e āhua ōrite nei te ōrautanga o ngā tāngata o ngā whenua nei, o Aotearoa me Huiterangi, e kōrero ana i ngā reo nei, tirohia ki raro nei;

c. he mana tō ngā reo e rua i raro i ngā ture o aua whenua, tirohia 2.3.1;
d. he kaha ngā iwi nō rātou ēnei reo ki te hāpai, ki te whakaora, ki te whakawhanake i ō rātou reo;
e. he reo-ā-rohe ō ngā reo e rua.

The reason for selecting this language for study and as a model for the position of Māori within New Zealand, is the similarity of its sociolinguistic situation to that of Māori:

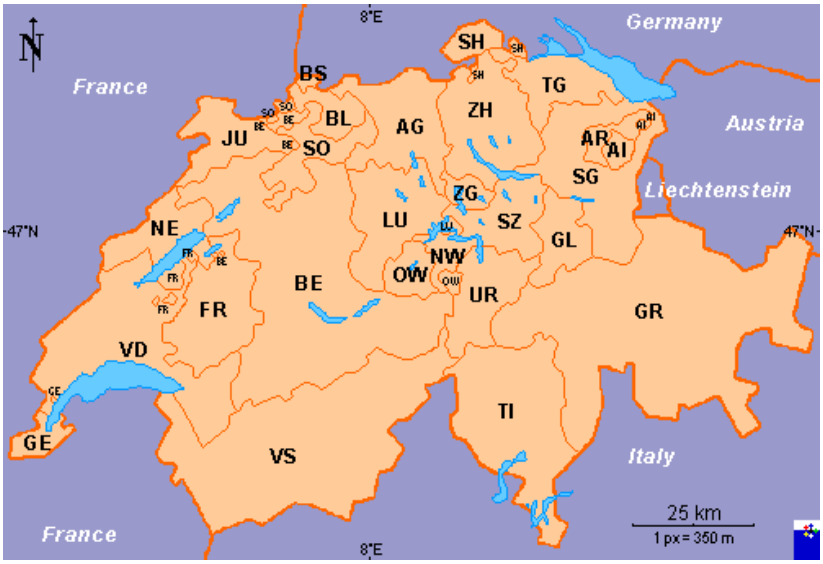
a. both are indigenous languages under pressure from some other language, in the case of Romansh it is German, in the case of Māori, English;
b. similar proportions of the populations of Switzerland and New Zealand speak these languages, see below;
c. both languages have official status in law, see 2.3.1;
d. in both cases, speakers are making efforts to promote, maintain and develop their languages;
e. both show dialect variation.

2. Te Tūnga o te reo Romanihi *(The Position of the Romansh Language)*

2.1 E taea ai tēnei te āta whakamārama, te whakarite hoki ki tō te reo Māori, me mātua whakarāpopoto ētahi āhuatanga o te kāwanatanga me te whakahaere o tēnei whenua, o Huiterangi.

In order to explain the status of Romansh and to compare it with that of Māori, it is necessary first to summarise some aspects of Swiss government and organisation.

Mahere 1. Uropi. Ko te whenua nei, ko Huiterangi kei waenganui i Itari, Tiamani, me Wīwī
(Map 1. Europe. Switzerland lies between Italy, Germany and France)



*Mahere 2: Huiterangi: Ko ngā wāhanga o tēnei mahere, ko ngā **rohe** o te **kotahitanga** o Huiterangi. Ko GR, arā, Kirihūne (Graubünden) te rohe kei reira te reo Romanihi e kōrerohia ana*
*(Map 2: Switzerland: The divisions shown here are the **cantons** of the **Federation** of Switzerland. GR, that is, Graubünden is the region where Romansh is spoken)*

2.1.1 Ko Huiterangi ehara i te whenua pēnei i Aotearoa nei, kotahi te kāwanatanga kei reira ngā mana me ngā whakahaere katoa e arotahingia ana. Ko te whenua nei he **kotahitanga** nō ngā **rohe** e 26. Kei tēnā, kei tēnā o aua rohe ōna mana, tōna kāwanatanga, ōna tari whakahaere, ā, kei te pēnā anō i roto tonu i ngā rohe, arā, he **kāinga**.

***2.1.1** Switzerland is not a country like New Zealand with one level of national government where all power and administrative activities are concentrated. It is a **Confederation** of 26 **cantons**. Each of these has its own powers, government, and administration. Similarly, the cantons are themselves divided into **Communes**.*

He **ture kaupapa** tō te kotahitanga kei reira e rārangi ana ngā mana whānui o ngā tāngata katoa o te whenua, ngā āhuatanga o te whakahaere o te kotahitanga, ngā mana o te kotahitanga, o ngā rohe.

The Confederation has a written constitution which specifies the rights of its citizens, the areas of federal administration, and the respective power of the Confederation and of the cantons.

He ture kaupapa anō tō ia rohe, tō ia rohe hei whakarārangi i ngā mana, me ngā whakahaere o aua rohe, hei whakatinana i ngā mahi e kīa ana i roto i te ture kaupapa o te kotahitanga mā ngā rohe. Kia kaua hoki ēnei ture kaupapa e taupatupatu ki tō te kotahitanga.

Each canton also has a constitution which defines its powers and administration and to implement those activities assigned to cantonal authority by the federal constitution. These constitutions may not conflict with the federal constitution.

He maha (kaua ko te katoa) ngā kāinga kua whiwhi ture kaupapa.

Many (but not all) communes also have constitutions.

Ka kitea, mō te taha ki ngā reo, he pānga anō kei tēnā, kei tēnā o ēnei papa e toru.

As will be seen, all three levels of administration are relevant to the issue of language.

2.2 Te reorautanga o Huiterangi (*Swiss Multilingualism*)

He āhuatanga i tino rongonui ai a Huiterangi i waenganui i ngā whenua o Uropi ko te reorautanga, e whakahīhī ana hoki ngā tāngata ki tō rātou “kotahitanga i roto i te kākanorautanga”. Hāunga ia ngā reo o ngā manene, o ngā “kaimahi-manuhiri”, o ngā tūrihi, e whā ngā reo kei taua whenua e kōrerotia ana, ko te reo Tiamana, te reo Wīwī, te reo Itariana, te reo Romanihi. Engari ahakoa he reowhā te whenua katoa, ko te nuinga o ngā rohe he reotahi (tirohia Mahere 3), ko te nuinga hoki o ngā tāngata he reotahi i te kāinga, otirā he tokomaha kua ako, e ako ana rānei i tētahi atu reo o te whenua, i te reo Ingarihi rānei hei reo tuarua, tuatoru mō rātou.

A well-known feature of Switzerland in which it differs from many other countries of Europe is its official multilingualism; Unity in Diversity is a characteristic of which the Swiss are proud. Apart from the languages spoken by foreign residents, “guest-workers” and tourists, four languages are spoken in the country, German, French, Italian, and Romansh. However, while the country as a whole is quadrilingual, the majority of the cantons are monolingual (see Map 3); the majority of the citizens with respect to their home language, though many have acquired or are acquiring a further national language or English as a second or third language.

2.2.1 Takiwā *(Regions)*

He takiwā ake tō tēnā reo, tō tēnā reo, ā, i roto i aua takiwā koinā anake te reo whakahaere, te reo kura, te reo ake o ngā tāngata kei reira e mahi ana, e noho ana. Katoa ngā tāngata e hūnuku ana ki aua takiwā ki reira noho ai, me ako e rātou te reo ake o reira. E toru ngā reomana o te rohe kei reira anake te reo Romanihi e kōrerotia ana, arā, o te rohe o Kirihūne, ko te reo Tiamana, te reo Itariana me te reo Romanihi.

Each language has its own territory in which it is the sole language of administration, of education, and the main language of work and daily life of the population. People moving to those regions to live must learn the language of the region. There are however three official languages in the only canton, Graubünden, where Romansh is spoken, German, Italian and Romansh.

Mahere 3. Ko ngā takiwā o ngā reo e whā o Huiterangi; 1: Wīwī; 2: Tiamana; 3 Itariana; 4: Romanihi.
(Map 3. The territories of the four languages of Switzerland; 1: French; 2: German; 3. Italian; 4: Romansh)

Ahakoa tēnā, he takiwā anō kei taua rohe e kaha tonu nei te kōrerotia o te reo Romanihi, engari kei te kitea i roto i ngā tau te iti haere o taua takiwā. I roto i ngā whiriwhiringa me pēhea e ora ai te reo Romanihi, ko te whakaū i taua takiwā kia pēnei tonu ai i tō nāianei te nui, i tō te tau 1860 rānei (tirohia Furer, 1993), he take nui. He mea anō, ko te nuinga o ngā kaikōrero reo Tiamana kei taua takiwā e noho ana, kāore i te kaha ki te ako i te reo Romanihi, ki te "whakaōrite" i a rātou anō ki ngā tāngata whenua, me te aha kei te memeha haere te reo Romanihi i roto tonu i tōna ake takiwā (tirohia Ingoakore, 1993).

That notwithstanding, there are regions within that canton where Romansh is still very strong, though these can be seen to be shrinking with time. An important theme in the deliberations about preserving Romansh is the maintenance of those regions either as they are now or as they were in 1860 (see Furer, 1993). Further, many of the German speakers who live within these regions decline to learn Romansh, and to "assimilate", with the result that the position of Romansh is weakened further, even within its own region (see Anon, 1993).

Ko te nuinga o ngā tāngata reo Tiamana, Wīwī, Itariana kei ō rātou ake takiwā e noho ana, engari kua neke atu i te 40% ngā tāngata reo Romanihi kei wāhi kē, kei waho i te takiwā ake o tō rātou reo. Kua marara haere ngā tāngata reo Romanihi. I tua atu i tēnā, kei te āhua tāmia ngā tāngata reo Romanihi i roto i tō rātou ake takiwā.

The majority of the speakers of German, French and Italian still reside within their linguistic areas, but more than 40% of the Romansh speakers live outside their territory. The speakers of Romansh are dispersed. Further, even within their own territory, speakers of Romansh constitute a minority.

***Papatau 1**: Tokohia ngā tāngata e kōrero ana i mea reo kei te takiwā ake o taua reo e noho ana (Kraas, 1992, p. 56)*

Tiamana	96%
Wīwī	92%
Itariana	79%
Romanihi	**59%**

***Table 1:** Proportion of speakers of each language who reside within the territory of that language (Kraas, 1992, p. 56)*

German	96%
French	92%
Italian	79%
Romansh	**59%**

***Papatau 2:** Tokohia ngā tāngata kei te takiwā reo Romanihi e noho ana*

Tāngata reo Tiamana	50,958 (50.9%)
Tāngata reo Romanihi	34,107 (34.1%)

***Table 2:** Population of the Romansh territory*

German speakers	50,958 (50.9%)
Romansh speakers	34,107 (34.1%)

2.2.2 Tokomaha

He uaua te āta kī tokohia ngā tāngata e matatau ana ki te reo Romanihi. Mai i te tau 1860 tae mai ki nāianei, he pātai reo kei roto i ngā tatauranga iwi (ia 10 tau). I pēnei ō te tau 1990.

> 1. *Whakaaro ai koe ki tēhea reo? E tino matatau ana koe ki tēhea reo? Kia kotahi noa iho te whakautu.* Ko te raruraru, kāore tēnei pātai i te hāngai ki ngā mea reorua, arā, ki ngā tāngata reo Romanihi.
> 2. *(T)ēhea reo e kōrerotia ana e koe a) i te kāinga, i roto i te whānau, e) i te kura, i te mahi rānei*.

Kei te papatau 3 ngā whakautu.

Accuracy in determining how many Romansh speakers there are is difficult to achieve. Ever since 1860, there have been language questions in the 10-yearly census. In 1990, the questions were:

> *1. In which language do you think, or which language are you best at? Give only one answer. A difficulty is that this formulation ignores the coordinate bilingualism of the Romansh speakers.*
> *2. Which language(s) do you speak a) at home, with your family, b) at work, or at school.*

Table 3 lays out the responses:

Papatau 3: *Ngā whakautu ki ngā pātai reo o te tatauranga iwi o te tau 1990*

	Tiamana	Wīwī	Itariana	Romanihi	Ingarihi	Ētahi atu
Pātai 1	4,374,694 (63.6%)	1,321,695 (19.2%)	524,116 (7.61%)	39,632 (0.576%) 29679 kei Kirihūne tonu e noho ana		613,550 (8.92%)
Pātai 2	4,951,280 (72%)	2,268,499 (33%)	998,187 (14.5%)	62,353 (0.91%) 39,777 kei Kirihūne tonu e noho ana	761,760 (11.1%)	769,173 (11.2%)

Table 3: *Responses to the language questions in the census of 1990*

	German	French	Italian	Romansh	English	Others
Q 1	4,374,694 (63.6%)	1,321,695 (19.2%)	524,116 (7.61%)	39,632 (0.576%) 29679 living in Graubünden		613,550 (8.92%)
Q 2	4,951,280 (72%)	2,268,499 (33%)	998,187 (14.5%)	62,353 (0.91%) 39,777 living in Graubünden	761,760 (11.1%)	769,173 (11.2%)

Engari, kei te taupatupatu ēnei tatau me ō ētahi atu tirohanga. I 1992, ka whakahaeretia e te Reo Irirangi Huiterangi tētahi tirohanga iwi i roto i ngā takiwā reo Tiamana, reo Romanihi hoki o Kirihūne. Ko te nui o ngā tāngata kei reira e noho ana, āhua 155,000. I kitea: 42% o ngā tāngata i uiuia kei te mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te reo Romanihi, 34%[2], arā, 52,700 ki te kōrero. Nā, he nui noa atu tēnei tatau i tō te tatauranga o te tau 1990, arā tōna 40,000.

However, it can easily be seen that these figures are inaccurate. In 1992, the Swiss Radio Society conducted a survey in the German and Romansh regions of Graubünden. There are approximately 155,000 people living within these regions. 42% of the people surveyed reported that they understand Romansh, and 34%[2], i.e. 52,700 can speak it. Now, this figure is considerably larger than the corresponding figure from the census of 1990, i.e. about 40,000.

I runga anō i aua tatauranga ka whakaritea te takiwā reo Romanihi, arā, ko ngā kāinga e neke atu nei ngā tāngata kōrero reo Romanihi i te 50%. Nā, mehemea e hē ana ngā tatau, me pēhea e tika ai te whakaritenga? Ka ngaro pea i te iwi reo Romanihi ētahi o ngā kāinga e tika ana ko te reo Romanihi hei reomana.

The Romansh territory is determined on the basis of the census, that is, the communes where 50% or more of the population speaks Romansh. Now, if the figures are wrong, how can the determination be accurate? It is possible that some communes will be lost to the Romansh territory which should by rights have Romansh as their language.

2.3 Ngā reo i roto i ngā ture kaupapa *(Language provisions in the constitutions)*
Kei konei ētahi o ngā tino rerekētanga o ngā reo e rua e kitea ana.

> 1. He ture kaupapa tō Huiterangi, kāore ō Aotearoa. He ture tēnei kei runga ake tōna mana i tō ētahi ture katoa.
> 2. E whā ngā reo kei taua ture e whakahuatia ana. Nō mai rā anō hoki tēnei āhuatanga, ā, kua tino waia te iwi Huiterangi ki te noho tahi o ngā reo e whā nei, kua roa kē hoki ngā tohunga ture e whaiwhakaaro ana, e tuhi pukapuka ana mō taua noho tahi (hei tauira, Gieré, 1956; Viletta, 1978; Nay, 1991; Rossinelli, 1992). Engari, ahakoa te reo Māori, kua roa kē ngā tāngata o Aotearoa e waia ana ki te **reotahitanga** o taua whenua, me te aha: kāore anō te take kia āta kōrerohia e ngā tohunga ture.

At this point, two very considerable differences between the situations of the two languages can be seen.

> *1. Switzerland has a constitution, New Zealand does not. The constitution is a law which supersedes all others.*
> *2. The federal constitution mentions four languages, and has done so for some time. The people of Switzerland are well accustomed to the presence of the four languages within their country, and the issue of the national multilingualism has long been a subject of research and publication among legal scholars (e.g. Gieré, 1956; Viletta, 1978; Nay, 1991; Rossinelli, 1992). In New Zealand on the other hand, despite the presence of Māori, people have long been used to national monolingualism, with the result that the coexistence of English and Māori has not been discussed by legal scholars, and may not even be seen as an issue which should exercise them.*

Nō reira, ka whakarāpopotongia i konei:

> a. ngā whakaritenga reo o roto i ngā ture kaupapa o te Kotahitanga me te rohe o Kirihūne,
> b. ētahi whakaaro, kaupapa, mana ka puta mai i aua whakaritenga, e ai ki ngā tohunga ture.

This section will summarise:

> *a. the language provisions in the constitutions of the Confederation and of the canton of Graubünden,*
> *b. some considerations, policies and rights which according to the legal discussion follow from those provisions.*

2.3.1 Te whenua, arā, te kotahitanga *(The country, i.e. the Confederation)*
Mai i te tau 1938 e mea ana te 116 o ngā wāhanga o te ture kaupapa o te kotahitanga:

> 1. Ko ngā reo whenua ko te reo Tiamana, te reo Wīwī, te reo Itariana, te reo Romanihi.
> 2. Ko ngā reomana ko te reo Tiamana, te reo Wīwī, te reo Itariana.

Since 1938, section 116 of the federal constitution has stipulated:

> *1. The national languages are German, French, Italian, Romansh.*
> *2. The official languages are German, French, Italian.*

I mua atu i tērā, i pēnei: Ko te reo Tiamana, te reo Wīwī, te reo Itariana anake ngā reo whenua. Nō mua tata nei (1995) ka whakahōutia te ture kaupapa o te kotahitanga. Kua whakaurua te kōrero: "mō te taha ki te whakahaere i ngā ture o te kotahitanga i roto i te takiwā reo Romanihi, me ōrite te mana o te reo Romanihi i tō ētahi reo." Kāore anō kia āta kitea te hua o tēnei mō te reo Romanihi, nō reira, ko ngā whakaritenga o te ture o te tau 1938 me ōna whakatinanatanga hei āta whakamārama māku.

Before that, the situation was as follows: German, French and Italian were the only national languages. Recently (1995), the federal constitution was revised, and the provision was inserted making the status of Romansh the same as that of the other languages for the administration of federal law within the Romansh territory. It remains to be seen what the benefits of this for Romansh will be, so it is the provisions of 1938 and their implementation that I shall be presenting.

2.3.1.1 Reomana *(Official language)*

Ko ngā reomana me mātua whakamahi e te kotahitanga mō ana whakahaere katoa. Katoa ngā ture, katoa ngā whakamārama, katoa ngā pepa, ahakoa pēhea, a te kotahitanga, whakaputaina ai ki ngā reo e toru nei, ā, e ōrite ana hoki te mana o ngā putanga e toru. Ki te mea he take tā te tangata ki te Kāwanatanga o te kotahitanga, ka taea e ia tana take te kōkiri ki tētahi o ngā reomana, ā, ka pērā anō te reo o te urupare i tō te urupounamu. Mō ngā kōti, he ture motuhake anō e whakarite ana i ngā reo.

The official languages are those which the Confederation must use in all its activities. All federal laws, information, documents of whatever kind are published in all three languages, and all three versions are of equal authority. Any business a private individual may have with federal authorities may be conducted in any of the official languages, and the authorities' responses will be in the same language. There are separate legal provisions governing the use of languages in courts.

2.3.1.2 Reo whenua *(National language)*

E mea ana ngā tohunga ture (tirohia Viletta, 1978, p.176) ko te wāhanga 116.1 ehara i te kōrero tautuhi noa iho e mea ana e whā ngā reo kei te whenua nei e kōrerotia ana, engari he kupu here, arā, he whakatau me pēnā tonu, ko te reowhātanga he tino āhuatanga nō te whenua nei. I runga anō i tēnei whakaaro, ka riro mā te kotahitanga ngā reo e whā e whakapūmau.

Some interpreters of the law (see Viletta, 1978, p. 176) maintain that section 116.1 is not just a descriptive statement that there are four languages spoken within the country, but represents a commitment that this state of affairs should continue, that national quadrilingualism is a defining national feature. According to this view, the Confederation is obliged to ensure the preservation of the four national languages.

2.3.1.3 Reo kōti *(Language of Courts)*

Kei raro i te mana o te Kōti o te Kotahitanga ko ngā take e pā ana ki ngā ture o te kotahitanga, ētahi atu kei raro i ngā kōti o ngā rohe me ngā kāinga. E toru ngā reo o te Kōti o te Kotahitanga, ko ngā reomana, engari ka whakaaetia hoki ngā tāpaetanga,

me ngā kōrero-ā-waha i roto i te reo Romanihi, ka utua hoki e te kotahitanga ngā whakamāoritanga e hiahiatia ana.

The Federal Court has jurisdiction in issues relating to federal law. Courts at cantonal, regional and communal level have jurisdiction in other cases. The three official languages of the Federal Court are those of the Confederation, however written and oral submission in Romansh are accepted, and any translation necessary is paid for by the Confederation.

2.3.2 Te rohe o Kirihūne[3] *(The Canton of Graubünden[3])*

2.3.2.1 Te tura kaupapa o te rohe *(The cantonal constitution)*

Wāhanga 46: *Ka pūmau ngā reo e toru o te rohe hei reo whenua*. Ko te whakamāoritanga o tēnei: ko ēnei ngā reomana o te rohe. Ko aua reo ko te reo Tiamana, reo Itariana, me ngā reo-ā-rohe e rima o te reo Romanihi (tirohia 3.2). Ehara i te mea, ka whakaputaina reotorutia ngā whakatau katoa a te kāwanatanga o te rohe, kei roto te katoa i te reo Tiamana anake, engari ka puta hoki ngā mea “whaitikanga” ki te reo Romanihi me te reo Itariana.

Section 46: The three languages of the canton are guaranteed as national languages. The usual interpretation of this section is that these are the official languages of the canton. The languages concerned are German, Italian and the five regional idioms of Romansh (cf. 3.2). Not all determinations of the cantonal government appear in all three languages; all are promulgated in German, but “important” ones are translated into Italian and Romansh.

2.3.2.2 Ngā kōti *(Courts)*

Ko ngā reomana ko ngā reo kōti hoki. I runga i ētahi ture whakahaere kōti, ko te tino reo ko te reo Tiamana anake, engari ka tukuna he whakamāoritanga reo Itariana nō ngā whakatau ki ngā tāngata reo Itariana e whaiwāhi ana ki te take.

The official languages are also the languages of the cantonal courts. In the case of some provisions on the conduct of court business, German is the only official language, though an Italian translation of determinations is made available to any Italian parties to the case.

2.3.2.3 Ngā kāinga *(Communes)*

Kei ngā kāinga te mana whakatau i te reomana o ngā whakahaere-ā-kāinga me ngā kura.

The communes have the authority to determine the language to be used officially in communal business, and the language of the schools.

2.3.2.4 Ngā kura *(Schools)*

O ngā kāinga 213 o Kirihūne, 167 e whakahaere ana i tētahi kura tuatahi. O ēnei, 82 he reo Tiamana, 67 he reo Romanihi, 18 he reo Itariana. I roto i ngā kura tuarua, ko te

reo Tiamana te reo whakaako. Mō te āhua o te reo Romanihi i roto i ēnei kura katoa, tirohia 2.4.2.2

Of the 213 communes of Graubünden, 167 run a primary school. Of these, 82 are German, 67 Romansh, and 18 Italian. In the secondary schools German is the language of tuition. On Romansh's place in schools, see 2.4.2.2.

2.4 Te whakatinanatanga o aua ture *(Implementation of the legal provisions)*

2.4.1 Te kotahitanga *(The Confederation)*

Atu i ngā āhuatanga me ngā whakaaro kua oti nei te kōrero ki runga ake nei (2.3.1), anei anō ētahi tikanga e whakatinanatia nei te mana o te reo Romanihi i roto i te kotahitanga.

Apart from the aspects and considerations mentioned above (2.3.1), the following are some of the ways in which the standing of Romansh is instantiated at the federal level.

2.4.1.1 Moni tautoko *(Financial support)*

Mai i te tau 1975, hoatu ai ia tau he moni tautoko e te kotahitanga me te rohe ki te Lia Rumantscha (Dörig & Reichenau, 1982, 108). Nō te tau 1991 ka whakapikingia aua moni: 1,875,000 wharani (SFr) ka hoatu ki te Lia e te kotahitanga (SFr 1 ≈ $1.25).

Since 1975, the federal government and canton have been giving money annually to the Lia Rumantscha (Dōrig & Reichenau, 1982, 108). In 1991, the amount of support from the federal government to the Lia Rumantscha was increased to at least SFr1,875,000. Approx. $1-25 - $1-30 = SFr1-00.

2.4.1.2 Te whakaromanihitia me te whakaputaina o ngā ture, puka, pepa a te kotahitanga *(Translation and publication in Romansh of federal legislation)*

Ehara te reo Romanihi i te reomana whānui o te kotahitanga. Engari kei te kaha te kāwanatanga ki te whakaromanihi i ngā ture whaitikanga[4], ngā puka, ngā pepa a te kāwanatanga e pā ana ki te takiwā reo Romanihi, ngā tohu whare, tohu whakatūpato, etc. i roto i te takiwā reo Romanihi. Katoa ēnei mahi ka riro mā te kotahitanga e utu, ā, ka puta ki te *rumantsch grischun* (tirohia 3.2). Ko ngā moni pepa, e whā ngā reo o ngā kupu kei runga, arā, te *Pēke o te Whenua o Huiterangi* me te nui o te wāriu, *10 wharani, 20 wharani.*

Romansh is not an official language at this level. However, the federal government is at pains to publish translation of important laws[4], forms, government papers relating to the Romansh region, signage, etc., within the Romansh region. All these activities are paid for by the Confederation, and all such translations appear in Rumantsch Grischun (cf. 3.2). Some examples: Banknotes have the words Swiss National Bank and the value 10 francs, 20 francs,... printed in all four languages.

Hei tauira anō: ko te uruwhenua o Huiterangi. E **rima** ngā reo o taua pukapuka, ko ngā reo whenua me te reo Pākehā, i runga anō i ngā whakaritenga o te ao whānui kia uru atu hoki tēnei o ngā reo ki roto i ngā pukapuka pēnei. Ka whakaaetia hoki te reo

Romanihi hei tautuhi i ngā āhuatanga o te tangata, pēnei i te tae o ngā karu, te tāroaroa, te aha, te aha.

*Swiss passports are printed in **five** languages, the four national languages plus English because of international requirements that that language should also be used. Personal details, such as eye colour, height, distinguishing features, etc. may be entered in Romansh.*

2.4.1.3 Ngā whare wānanga *(Universities)*

Atu i ngā kura hangarau e rua, arā, ngā kura teitei kei raro i te mana o te kotahitanga, kei raro ngā whare wānanga i te mana o ngā rohe, engari ehara i te mea he whare wānanga anō tō ia rohe, tō ia rohe. Nā, kāore he whare wānanga o Kirihūne (engari he kura takiura), ā, ko ngā ākonga o reira haere ai ki Turiko (Zürich), ki Kenewha (Genève), ki hea, ki hea. Ko te reo Romanihi he kaupapa ako i roto i ngā whare wānanga o Turiko (kāore anō kia whakaaetia hei kaupapa matua), Kenewha, Perena (Berne), Whirīpūka (Fribourg). Engari, he āhua hōu tēnei whakaritenga (nō te tau 1982 rawa ka whakatūria he porohewa reo Romanihi e te whare wānanga o Turiko). Kei te whakaaetia ngā tuhinga tohu paerua, kairangi i roto i te reo Romanihi, ki te mea ko ngā take reo Romanihi te kaupapa. Me kī, kei mua atu a Aotearoa i a rātou e haere ana mō te ako i te reo i roto i ngā whare wānanga o te motu, engari, nō te mea he whanaunga te reo Romanihi ki ētahi atu reo whaitikanga kua roa nei e rangahautia ana, arā, te reo Wīwī, te reo Itariana, te reo Pāniora, kua roa kē hoki te reo Romanihi e tirohia ana e ngā tohunga reo o Uropi.

Apart from the two Technical Universities, the Universities are cantonal institutions, however, it is not the case that every canton supports a University. Graubünden has no University (it does have a Teachers' College), and students from this canton go to Zurich, Geneva, and other Universities to study. Romansh is a subject of study at Zurich (not yet available as a major), Geneva, Berne and Freiburg, but only fairly recently (in 1982 the first professor in Romansh was appointed in Zurich). Licentiate (approx. = Masters level) and doctoral dissertations may be written in Romansh if on Romansh topics. New Zealand is perhaps ahead of Switzerland with respect to the accommodation of Māori (or Romansh) in the Universities, but because Romansh is related to a number of important languages which have long been the subject of research, French, Italian, Spanish etc., it has also enjoyed considerable attention from European linguists.

2.4.2 Te rohe o Kirihūne *(The Canton of Graubünden)*

2.4.2.1 Whakahaere *(Administration)*

E ai ki te ture he reomana ngā reo-ā-rohe e rima o te reo Romanihi (me te reo Tiamana, reo Itariana), engari e rua noa iho kei te whakamahia i roto i ngā whakamāoritanga reo Romanihi o ngā ture, o te aha, o te aha, ko te *sursilvan* (kei te riu whakamua o Raina awa e kōrerohia ana) me te *ladin* (kei te Engatina whakararo). Kāore anō te *rumantsch grischun* (arā, te reo tuhi whakakotahi, tirohia 3.2) kia whakaaetia e te kāwanatanga o te rohe hei reo mōna, ā, he wā anō i kore ai e āta whakamāoritia ngā pepa kāwanatanga ki te reo Romanihi he kore nō ngā moni e nui mō ngā whakaromanihitanga e rua. Ki te whakaaetia te *rumantsch grischun*, ka kore

tēnei karo. E ai ki ētahi, koinā hoki te take e kore nei te kāwanatanga e whakaae, he kore e pīrangi kia ngaro taua karo, ā, ka mate ki te whakamāori i ngā pepa katoa ki te *rumantsch grischun*.

According to the law, the five regional dialects of Romansh are official languages (along with German and Italian), however, in practice only two are used for translation of laws, etc, Sursilvan (Upper Rhine Valley) and Vallader (Lower Engadin). Rumantsch Grischun has not yet been approved by the cantonal government for official purposes, and on occasions government documents have not been translated on the grounds that there was not enough money for two Romansh versions. If Rumantsch Grischun were to be approved, this excuse would lapse. Some assert that that is in fact the reason for the reluctance to approve Rumantsch Grischun.

2.4.2.2 Ngā kura: te reo Romanihi hei reo whakaako, hei kaupapa whakaako rānei *(Schools: Romansh as language of tuition or subject*)

Kei ngā kāinga tonu te mana whakatau i te āhua o tō rātou kura. E rua ngā momo kura tuatahi kei reira te reo Romanihi:

1. Ko te reo Romanihi te reo whakaako i roto i ngā karaehe 1 - 6, ā, ka whakaurua te reo Tiamana hei kaupapa ako atu i te karaehe tuawhā.
2. Ko te reo Tiamana te reo whakaako i roto i ngā karaehe katoa, ā, ko te reo Romanihi hei kaupapa ako (2-3 hāora ia wiki).

The communes have the power to determine the nature of their schools. There are two types of school where Romansh is used:

1. Romansh is the language of tuition for the first six classes, and German is introduced as a second language from the fourth class on.
2. German is the language of tuition throughout the school, Romansh is a subject (2-3 hours a week).

Atu i ngā tau e ono o tēnei kōeke, ko te reo Tiamana anake te reo whakaako i roto i ngā karaehe, tae noa atu ki ngā momo kura tuarua katoa. Ko te reo Romanihi hei kaupapa ako (2-4 hāora ia wiki). I roto i ētahi kura ka whakaakona te mātauranga koiora ki te reo Romanihi.

Apart from the first six years at this level, German is the sole language of tuition in schools, incl. secondary. Romansh is taught as a subject (2-4 hours a week). In some schools biology is taught through the medium of Romansh.

Katoa ngā pukapuka tāngia mai ai e te kāwanatanga ki ngā reo-ā-rohe e rima.

All school books are made available by the cantonal government in all five idioms of Romansh.

2.4.3 Ngā pāpāho *(Media)*

Ko te reo irirangi me te pouaka whakaata tūmatanui he whakahaere tōpū e kīa ana ko te *Rōpū Reo irirangi, Pouaka Whakaata o Huiterangi* (SRG). He maha ngā rōpū kei raro i te maru o tēnei, hei tauira te reo irirangi mō te takiwā reo Tiamana me tō te reo

Romanihi (e toru ngā aratuku), te pouaka whakaata mō aua takiwā tonu (kotahi te aratuku), ā, ka āhua pēnā anō mō te reo Wīwī me te reo Itariana. Tua atu i ēnei rōpū, he rōpū anō kei reira ko te *Cuminanza Rumantscha Radio e Televisiun* (CRR) te ingoa, ā, mā tēnei hei whakahaere te aratuku irirangi kotahi kua whakaritea mō te reo Romanihi me ngā pāhotanga reo Romanihi kei te tukua ki te tīwī. Katoa ngā pāhotanga irirangi a ēnei rōpū kei te utua ki ngā moni raihana a te hunga whakarongo. Ko te pouaka whakaata, kei te pēnā anō te utua, engari tāpiri atu ki ēnei ko ngā pānuitanga tauhokohoko hei puna huruhuru. Ko te SRG me ana rōpū mema kua raihanatia e te kāwanatanga, ā, i runga anō i tēnei raihana me ngā ture ake a te CRR, ko te mahi he pāho i roto i te reo Romanihi i ngā wā katoa hei tautoko i te take o te reo. (Tirohia Capaul, 1987; Stupan, 1987). E ai ki ēnei, nā ngā pāpāho irirangi ngā ārai i whakakore i te kitea tonutia i waenganui i ngā reo-ā-rohe.)

Public radio and television is in the hands of an incorporated body called in German Schweizerische Radio- und Fernsehgesellschaft (SRG). It is an umbrella organisation for a number of different groups with different functions, e.g. radio broadcasting for the German and Romansh parts of Switzerland (DRS: Deutsche und Rātoromanische Schweiz, with three channels), television for the same regions (one channel), and so on for the French and Italian regions. In addition to these, there is also a group called Cuminanza Rumantscha Radio e Televisiun (CRR) with the task of running the single channel presently available for Romansh radio broadcasts, and of producing the Romansh spots being broadcast on television. All the radio broadcasts of these groups are financed by means of licence fees. The same applies also to television, though in this case there is also advertising revenue. The SRG and its member societies are licensed by the government. On the basis of this licence and its own statutes, the CRR is obliged to broadcast exclusively in Romansh as support for its furtherance (Cf. Capaul, 1987; Stupan, 1987). According to these writers, an important function of the broadcast media has been the dismantling of the barriers which could still be seen between the idioms).

2.4.3.1. Reo Irirangi *(Radio)*

SFr6,600,000 ngā moni ka homai e te SRG ki te CRR hei whakahaere i ngā pāhotanga reo Romanihi. Mai i te Mane ki te Paraire: 6-00 - 12-30, 17-00 - 20-00 ngā hāora, Rāhoroi me te Rātapu: 8-00 - 14-00. 40% he kōrero, 60% he pūoro. Ko ngā kōrero he reo Romanihi katoa. Me uaua ka kitea ngā kaimahi tika, kua waiho mā te CRR ā rātou ake tāngata e whakangungu. Me mātua tino matatau ki te reo Romanihi, ā, haere ai ēnei ki te kura pāpāho o Ruhēna (Luzern) ki reira ako ai i ngā ariā, ki te CRR kē ākona ai ngā mahi tonu.

The annual grant from the SRG to the CRR to finance broadcasting in Romansh is SFr6,600,000. These broadcasts take place Mon. to Fr. 6-00 - 12-30 and 17-00 - 20-00, Sat. and Sun. 8-00 - 14-00. 40% of the material is speech and 60% music. The sole language used throughout is Romansh. They have some difficulty in acquiring appropriate staff, and the CRR must train its own reporters etc. In order to be selected, candidates must be fluent Romansh speakers. They are then sent to the media institute in Lucerne, where they learn the theoretical aspects of their work; the practical training takes place on site.

2.4.3.2 Pouaka Whakaata *(Television)*

Kāore anō kia tū he teihana tīwī motuhake mō te reo Romanihi; ko ngā pāhotanga reo Romanihi kei te tukua ki te aratuku tīwī o te takiwā reo Tiamana, pēnei i a Te Karere, i a Wakahuia, i a Marae nei. SFr3,400,00 ngā moni hei whakarite pāhotanga, ā, e pēnei ana te tuku: e toru ngā pāhotanga mōhiohio (e rima men. te roa, Mane, Wenerei, Paraire) ia wiki, ā, he hāwhe hāora ia Rātapu mō ngā take whānui me ngā kēmu patapatai, te aha, te aha.

There is as yet no Romansh TV channel; those broadcasts which are made are transmitted on the German channel, in much the same way as Te Karere, Marae, Wakahuia etc. SFr3,400,00 is the budget for the preparation of Romansh TV spots. These consist of three news broadcasts a week (five minutes a time Monday, Wednesday, Friday), and a half-hour programme every Sunday bringing general items, quiz games etc.

2.4.3.3 Nupepa *(Newspapers)*

E whā ngā nupepa kei te putaputa tonu i roto i te reo Romanihi, engari he iti, kāore hoki i te puta ia rā, ia rā:

Nupepa	nō hea	e hia	auautanga
Gasetta Romontscha	Surselva	5900	2x ia wiki
Fōgl Ladin	Engatina	4000	2x ia wiki
CasaPaterna/Punt	Sutselva	1500	1x ia wiki
Pagina da Surmeir	Surmeir	1600	1x ia wiki

There are four newspapers presently appearing in Romansh, though not every day:

Newspaper	*region*	*print run*	*frequency*
Gasetta Romontscha	*Surselva*	*5900*	*2x a week*
Fögl Ladin	*Engadin*	*4000*	*2x a week*
Casa Paterna/Punt	*Sutselva*	*1500*	*1x a week*
Pagina da Surmeir	*Surmeir*	*1600*	*1x a week*

Hei māngai ēnei mō ngā takiwā e whā o te reo Romanihi, mō ngā hāhi (he katorika ētahi, ko ētahi ehara), mō ngā rōpū tōrangapū. Engari he maha ngā reo e mea ana kia kotahi te nupepa, ā, kia puta ia rā, ia rā. I pēnei ai te whakaaro he whakapono nō ēnei tāngata: ko te nupepa kotahi hei piriti mō waenganui i ngā takiwā reo Romanihi; mā te whakakotahi ka pai ake ngā nupepa; he nupepa-ā-rā ō ētahi atu reo whenua, nō reira, i runga anō i te ōritetanga o ngā tāngata Huiterangi katoa, me āhei hoki ko te tangata reo Romanihi ki te pānui mōhiohio hōu ia rā ia rā ki tōna ake reo. Mā te kotahitanga e whakatutuki, ki te kore e taea e rātou ake te whakatū.

These serve the interests of the four regions concerned, the churches (some are Catholic, some evangelical) and the political parties. However, there is much support for the idea of a single daily newspaper, on the basis of the arguments: that one paper would act as a bridge between the Romansh regions; that having one paper would improve the quality of the journalism; that since there are dailies in the other national languages, it follows from the constitutional equality of all Swiss, that Romansh speakers should also have daily access to news in their own language. This project should be supported by the Confederation, in the event that it is not viable with only local support.

I nāia tonu nei e kōkiritia ana e te Pro Svizra Rumantscha (he rōpū motuhake tēnei koinei anake te kaupapa) tēnei take i waenganui i ngā iwi reo Romanihi, i ngā kaitā i ngā nupepa kei te puta i nāianei, me te Kāwanatanga. Te āhua nei ka whakaae te kotahitanga (ki te pēnei, ka whakaae hoki te rohe) ki te tautoko, engari, kāore anō kia tau ngā āhuatanga katoa.

The project is being promoted by Pro Svizra Rumantscha (a special organisation, founded for this sole purpose) among the Romansh population, the publishers of the existing newspapers and the government. It appears that the Confederation will agree to support the project (in this event, so will the canton), but as yet by no means all the details have been finalised.

3. Ētahi atu āhuatanga *(Other aspects)*

Atu i ngā āhuatanga i kōrerohia i runga ake nei e pā ana ki te tūnga o te reo Romanihi hei reomana, anei anō ētahi i tirohia e te kaituhi.

Apart from the matters discussed above relating to the official status of Romansh, the following were also investigated and are worthwhile reporting.

3.1 Te Lia Rumantscha *(The Lia Rumantscha)*

Me kī ko te Taura Whiri tēnei i te Reo Romanihi. Ko ngā mahi me ngā whāinga e hāngai ana ki ā te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, engari he rerekē te āhua o te whakatūria. I te kitenga ka ngaro haere pea tō rātou reo ka kaha ngā tāngata reo Romanihi ki te whakatū rōpū hei whakatairanga i te reo. Nō ngā tau 1880 ka tīmata taua ngohe, ā, nō te tau 1919 ka whakatūria te Lia Rumantscha hei whakaruruhau, hei māngai mō aua rōpū. Ahakoa kei te tautokona e ngā kāwanatanga o te kotahitanga me te rohe, ehara i aua kāwanatanga i whakatū. Nō reira, ehara i te mea me whai e te Lia Rumantscha ngā kaupapa here a aua kāwanatanga, pēnei i te Taura Whiri nei i whakatūria e te Pāremata.

Atu i ngā mahi e ōrite ana ki ā Te Taura Whiri, he ngohe anō ā te Lia Rumantscha, arā:

- kei te whakaputa pukapuka taiohi;
- he wāhanga motuhake anō hei whakaromanihi i ngā pepa a ngā kāwanatanga me ngā whakahaere tūmataiti;
- kei te whakatairangatia e rātou te *rumantsch grischun;*
- kei te whakahaeretia e rātou ki roto i ngā takiwā he karaehe whakaako reo Romanihi mō ngā tāngata reokē e neke mai ana;
- kua whakatūria ki roto i ngā takiwā reo Romanihi he “kaikōkiri” hei whakahaere whare pukapuka, toi whakaari, karaehe.

One could perhaps say this is the Taura Whiri i te Reo Romanihi. Its activities and goals correspond to our own Taura Whiri, however it was established in quite a different manner. As people became aware of the danger of extinction facing their language, they began to form organisations to promote its use. This began in the 1880s, and in 1919 the Lia Rumantscha was established as an organisation to coordinate the activities of these societies and to represent them. Although receiving financial support from the federal and cantonal governments, the Lia was not

established by these, and thus is not bound, as is Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, which was established by Parliament, to adhere to government policy.

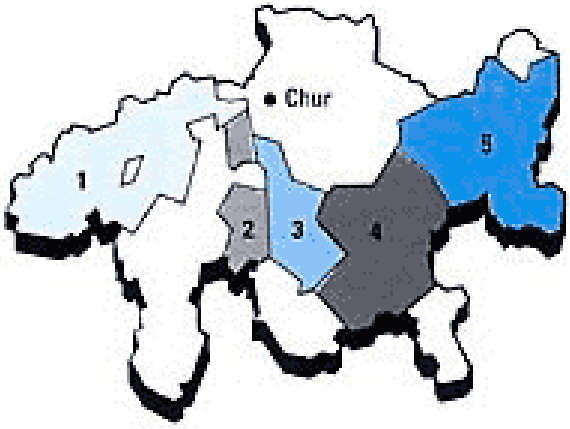
Apart from the activities which correspond to those of Te Taura Whiri, the Lia engages in others as well:

- *publication of young people's literature;*
- *maintenance of a section for translation of government and private documents,*
- *promotion of Rumantsch Grischun;*
- *administration of Romansh language classes within the regions for immigrants speaking other mother tongues;*
- *appointment of regional "Animators", who conduct activities locally such as maintenance of libraries, production of Romansh drama, running classes, etc.*

3.2 Ngā reo-ā-rohe *(Dialects)*

Neke atu i te 2000 tau te reo Romanihi kei Kirihūne e kōrerotia ana, he mea kawe atu ki reira e ngā hōia romana. Pēnei i ngā reo katoa nei e roa ana kei te whānuitanga o tētahi rohe e kōrerotia ana, kua rerekē haere ngā reo-ā-rohe. Nō te wā o te whakahōutanga o te hāhi (16 o ngā rautau), ka tīmata te āta tuhi i aua reo-ā-rohe, ā, i nāianei e rima ngā reo tuhi o te reo Romanihi: te reo o Runga i te Ngahere (*sursilvan*), tō Raro (*sutsilvan*), tō Surmeir, te *puter* me te *vallader* (kei Engatina ēnei, he ingoa anō mō ngā mea e rua ko te *ladin*). O ēnei, ko te *survilvan* me te *vallader* ngā reo kei te kaha tonu te kōrerotia, ā, i roto tonu i aua takiwā, koinā tonu ngā reo o ia rā, o ia rā.

Romansh has been spoken in Graubünden for more than 2000 years, having been brought there by the Roman invaders. Just like any other language which has been spoken over an extended area for a long period of time, it developed dialects. Principally from the time of the Reformation (16th century) on, written versions have developed, and there are now five of these: Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Surmeiran, and the two Engadin dialects of Puter and Vallader. Of these, it is Sursilvan in the Rhine Valley and Vallader which are spoken by the highest numbers of people, and are the language of every day life within their regions.



Mahere 4: Ngā reo-ā-rohe o te reo Romanihi kei Kirihūne; 1: sursilvan; 2: sutsilvan; 3; surmeir; 4: puter; 5: vallader. 4 + 5 = ladin.
Map 4: The dialects of Romansh in Graubünden; 1: sursilvan; 2: sutsilvan; 3; surmeir; 4: puter; 5: vallader. 4 + 5 = ladin.

I runga i te whakaaro, e kore e taea ngā reo tuhi e rima te āta whakapūmau, e kore hoki ngā kāwanatanga e roa e aro atu ana ki aua reo katoa i tono ētahi āpiha o te Lia Rumantscha i te tau 1982 ki a Porohewa Heinrich Schmid, māna e whakatakoto he tikanga mō tētahi reo whakakotahi[5,6]. Ko te otinga ko te *rumantsch grischun*. I whakaarohia i te tuatahi hei reo mō ngā pānui me ngā pepa e haere ana ki ngā takiwā reo Romanihi katoa, mō ngā āhuatanga hoki kua tuhia ki te reo Tiamana, me i kore he reo Romanihi kotahi nei. He māmā te pānui i te reo nei, nō te mea i hangaia i runga anō i te whakaritetanga i ngā reo *sursilvan*, *vallader*, arā, i ngā reo e kaha tonu nei te kōrerotia, kei te tino rerekē hoki tētahi i tētahi. Mai i taua wā, kua nui haere te aro atu me te pai o ngā kāwanatanga, o ngā whakahaere tūmataiti me ngā iwi ki te whakaaro me pēnei. Kua nui ake te mahi whakaromanihi a te Lia Rumantscha i roto i ngā tau 12 nei mai i te tau 1982 i ō ngā tau 1919-82 katoa[7]. E ai ki te uiuitanga iwi i whakahaeretia e te *Būndner Zeitung* (tirohia Diekmann, 1986) i te marama o Kohi-tātea 1994, e 51.3% o ngā pakeke reo Romanihi kei Kirihūne e noho ana e whakaae ana ki te *rumantsch grischun*. Katoa ngā pepa a te kotahitanga kei te whakaromanihitia, ka puta ki te *rumantsch grischun*, ā, kei te pēnā anō te Lia Rumantscha.

With the thought that in the longer term the preservation of all five written idioms [5] will not succeed, and that the authorities will not be prepared to have regard for all five[6], officers of the Lia Rumantscha approached Prof. Heinrich Schmid in 1982 with the request that he should develop a proposal for a single, unified written form. The outcome was a new idiom called Rumantsch Grischun. It was conceived in the first instance as the language for documents intended for all Romansh regions, and for any communication where German would otherwise be used, if there were no such single form of the language. This idiom is easy to read because it is based on a compromise between Sursilvan and Vallader, the two idioms which are at once the most diverse and the most spoken. Since that time, there has been a continually growing acceptance on the part of the authorities, private organisations, and the people at large that this is a good step. In the twelve years since 1982, the translation activity of the Lia Rumantscha has been greater than in the previous 63 years of its existence[7]. According to a survey conducted by the Bündner Zeitung (see Diekmann, 1986) in Jan. 1994, 51.3% of Romansh adults living in Graubünden approve of Rumantsch Grischun. All federal documents being translated into Romansh now appear in Rumantsch Grischun, and the Lia Rumantscha has a similar policy.

3.3 Ngā kupu hōu (New terminiology)

Ko te nuinga o ngā kupu tuku iho o te reo Romanihi e pā ana ki te āhua tahito o te toiora me ngā hangarau kei ngā maunga o Kirihūne e mōhiotia ana, arā, mahi kaipāmu. I runga anō i te huatau, me āhei te tangata ki te whakaputa whakaaro ki te reo Romanihi mō ngā take katoa e āhuareka ana ki a ia, kei hinga ki te reo Tiamana, kei māwhitiwhiti rānei, kei te kaha te Lia Rumantscha ki te kimi, ki te whakapukapuka kupu hōu. Kua whakatūria he putunga hōtuku, pērā tā Rīhari Benton i whakahaere ai i te Rūnanga Whakawā Mātauranga o Aotearoa, kei reira ngā mea hōu katoa e putu ana, ka taea hoki te patapatai ki te waea rorohiko.

Much of the inherited vocabulary of Romansh relates to the traditional way of life and technology known in the mountains of Graubünden, which was agricultural. On the basis of the principle that people must be able to express their thoughts in Romansh on any subject of interest to them, or else they will resort to German, or at least to code-switching, the Lia Rumantscha is very active in establishing and publishing new vocabulary. A database, similar to Richard Benton's at NZCER, has been set up, in which all new items are stored, and which may be accessed by modem. If a required item is not found in the database, a request may be left there for it to be created.

Ko ngā tikanga hanga kupu e ōrite ana ki ā te Taura Whiri, arā:

1. he kore e tiki kupu atu i te reo Tiamana;
2. he whakaara i ngā kupu tahito kua kore e mōhiotia, me te whakarite i tētahi tikanga hōu;
3. he tiki kupu atu ki ngā reo whanaunga, arā, reo Itariana, reo Wīwī;
4. he tiki tauira atu ki te reo Tiamana, engari ko ngā wāhanga kupu e honohononga ana i runga anō i aua tauira he kupu Romanihi.

Their neologistic guidelines are similar to those of te Taura Whiri:

1. words may not be borrowed from German;
2. where appropriate, traditional words, which are now longer in widespread usage are revived and assigned a new specialised meaning;
3. words based on those of related languages, e.g. French, Italian, are used;
4. calquing of German models, whereby the morphemes and words combined according to these models are native Romansh.

E ono ngā pukapuka kupu motuhake kua puta, hei tauira, mātauranga koiora, hākinakina, hangarau, me tētahi papakupu nui e whakakotahi ana i ngā mea hōu katoa.

Six booklets of specialised vocabulary have appeared, e.g. biology, sport, technology, and one major dictionary bringing together all the new items promulgated to date.

4. He whakaaro *(Some conclusions)*

I te kaituhi e rangahau ana, e pānui ana, e tūtaki ana ki ngā tāngata e whai nei kia ora tonu tō rātou reo, ka whānui haere ki tāna nei titiro ngā ōritetanga o ngā tū o ngā reo e rua, o te reo Romanihi, o te reo Māori. Kāore e āta whakatakotoria i konei ngā āhuatanga katoa o tēnei whakaaro, ka tere kitea e te tangata e mōhio ana ki te āhua o te reo Māori me tana tū i roto i Aotearoa i a ia e pānui ana i tēnei pepa. Heoi anō te mahi i nāianei he paku whakamāori i ngā āhuatanga o te reo Romanihi hei reomana kia hāngai ai ki te tū o te reo Māori.

In the course of my research and discussion with people engaged in the preservation of Romansh, I was more and more struck by the similarities between the positions of the two languages, Māori and Romansh. I do not intend to spell these out; they will be obvious to anyone familiar with the Māori situation who reads this report. All I want to do here is to adapt some of the aspects of the official status of Romansh as they might apply to Māori.

He aha ngā mana kei te hōmai i roto i te wāhanga tuatoru o te Ture o te Reo Māori 1987? Ko te nuinga o ngā āhuatanga me ngā whāinga i raro i tēnei take kei te mōhiotia, ā, kua tīmata kē ngā mahi e ahu pēnā ana.

To return to my initial question; what are the implications of section 3 of the Maori Language Act 1987? Most of these and the policy goals which follow from them are known, and indeed activities to implement them are already in place.

I runga anō i te tauira o Huiterangi, me pēnei te āhua o te “reomana”, “reo tūturu” rānei.

On the basis of the Swiss example, the designation of Māori as an official language entails the following.

1. Ka taea ngā take a te tangata tūmataiti, a ngā rōpū, te whakatakoto ki mua i te Pāremata, i te Kāwanatanga, i ngā tari Kāwanatanga, i ngā kōti ki ngā reomana katoa.

I runga i tēnei whakaaro, me whakawhānui te Ture o te Reo Māori. I tēnei wā kotahi anake te mana i āta whakapuakina ki taua ture, arā, te mana ki te kōrero Māori i roto i ngā kōti. Engari kua kitea ki te tauira o te reo Romanihi; ahakoa pea te tokoiti o ngā tāngata e kōrero ana i te reomana, me ōrite te tū o taua reo ki tō te reo o te nuinga, arā, me whakature hoki te mana o te tangata kōrero Māori ki te whakahaere i ana take ki ngā tari tūmatanui ki te reo Māori.

1. *Private individuals and corporate bodies can conduct their business with Parliament, government, government offices and courts in either of the official languages.*

On this basis the Māori Language Act should be broadened. At the moment, only one explicit right is bestowed by the act, that is, the right to speak Māori in courts. However, the example of Romansh shows that, irrespective of the size of the community speaking an official language, the status of that language must be equal to that of the majority language. The right of anyone to transact their business with all public offices through the medium of Māori must be enacted.

2. Katoa ngā pepa mana a te Pāremata, a te Kāwanatanga, a ngā tari Kāwanatanga, a ngā kōti me puta ki ngā reomana katoa.

Kei mua noa atu a Huiterangi i Aotearoa i runga anō i ēnei āhuatanga. Ahakoa kāore (anō) te reo Romanihi i whakaaetia hei reomana mō te kotahitanga, kua kaha kē tēnei ki te whakaputa pepa ki taua reo, ā, kei te whakaaetia ngā tāpaetanga reo Romanihi ki mua i te Kōti o te Kotahitanga. Kei Aotearoa nei, kua kīa te reo Māori he reomana, reo tūturu, engari kāore anō kia whakatinanatia ēnei mana, ahakoa he wāhanga anō ēnei nō te tūnga o te reo hei reomana. Arā, kua tau ko te ōritetanga o ngā reo e rua o Aotearoa i roto i ngā ngohe tūmatanui katoa hei whāinga mā te Kāwanatanga, engari, ki tā te kaituhi nei, ehara i te mea me whakawhānui ake te ture, me whakature anō rānei ēnei tikanga, kei roto tonu ēnei i te tekihana 3 o te Ture o te Reo Māori o te tau 1987.

2. *All official documents of Parliament, government, government offices and courts must appear in both official languages.*

Switzerland is well ahead of New Zealand in this respect. Even though Romansh has not yet been recognised as an official language of the confederation, this level of administration has been at pains to publish its documents in that language, and submissions to the Federal Court in Romansh are accepted. In New Zealand, despite the legal recognition of Māori as an official language, Māori is not yet used in this way, even though this is an intrinsic part of the official status of a language. Now, the achievement of equality for the two languages of New Zealand in all public activities has long been a policy objective for the Taura Whiri, but in my opinion, it is not necessary to expand the provisions in law; such status is implied already in section 3 of the Act of 1987.

He āhuatanga anō: nā te tāutungia o te reo Māori hei reo tūturu ka here te Pāremata i te Kāwanatanga kia riro māna te reo e whakapūmau (tirohia 2.3.1.2). He maha ngā āhuatanga kei raro i tēnei, ā, me kī hoki he maha ngā ngohe e whakahaeretia nei e te Kāwanatanga hei whakatutuki i tēnei whāinga, engari he maha anō hei whakaaro. E toru pea ngā wāhanga.

A further consideration: through the designation of Māori as an official language, Parliament has bound the government to preserve the language (see 2.3.1.2). There are many aspects to this, and it must be said that the government has already initiated a number of activities in pursuit of this goal. A few remarks here under three headings

1. Te whakatinana i te reomanatanga o te reo Māori:
Kei te āhua pōturi te Kāwanatanga i runga i tēnei, hei tauira ko ngā moni pepa me ngā uruwhenua kātahi ka whakahōutia. Ki te tirohia ngā pepa pēnei kei Huiterangi, ka kitea he māmā te whakauru i ngā reo e whā, e rima rānei, engari e karo tonu ana te kāwanatanga o Aotearoa i te whakaaro kia reorua ā tātou! Kāore anō te Kāwanatanga kia whaiwhakaaro ki te whakamāori nahanaha i ngā ture. Kei ngā kaiwhakawā tonu te mana whakaae, whakakore rānei i ngā tāpaetanga reo Māori kei te whakatakotoria ki mua i ō rātou kōti.

1. The implementation of the official status of Māori:
In this area, the government is rather slow, cf. e.g. the recently renewed banknotes and passports. If one looks at the corresponding Swiss documents, it will be seen that it is a simple matter to accommodate four or five languages, yet the New Zealand government still resists the idea that ours should be bilingual! There has as yet been no consideration given by the government to the systematic translation of legislation. Judges still have discretion as to whether to accept or reject submissions to their courts in Māori.

2. Ngā pāpāho:
Atu i te take: nupepa, kei te āhua pai ngā ngohe a te Kāwanatanga i raro i tēnei upoko; ko te mate pea ko te pīrangi o tēnā iwi, o tēnā iwi kia tū tāna ake teihana. Kua kitea te marara o ngā rauemi, me te aha kāore pea tētahi kotahi (hāunga ia pea te Reo o Tainui me Te Upoko o te Ika) o ngā teihana i te whakatutuki pai i tā rātou e pīrangi nei.

2. Media:
Apart from the issue of a newspaper, there have been a number of worthwhile provisions made by the government under this heading; difficulties arise here in part through the desire of individual tribes to maintain their own broadcasting stations. A clear result of this has been that the relevant resources have been spread too thinly, so that very few if any of the stations which exist are able to carry out their mission successfully (Exceptions are Te Reo o Tainui and Te Upoko o te Ika).

3. Ngā kura:
Mā Te Kōhanga Reo, me ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori anake pea e ora ai te reo, nō te mea kua whati te āhua māori o te tukuna iho o te reo, arā, ki roto i te kāinga. Nō reira, kia kaha te Kāwanatanga ki te taunaki i aua momo kura. Kei te āhua pēnā hoki, engari he nui tonu ngā raruraru e pā ana ki ngā rauemi kura reo Māori, ki te whakangungu tika hoki i ngā kaiwhakaako mō roto i aua kura, me te aha kāore pea i te ōrite te kōeke me te pai o te whakaakona o ngā tamariki reo Māori i tō ngā tamariki kei roto i ngā kura reo Pākehā.

3. Education:
Perhaps, Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori will turn out to be the only way in which Māori can survive as a living language, since the natural transmission of the language, that is, within the family, is virtually broken. Thus, it behoves the government to give strong support to these institutions. In large part this is happening, but many problems remain, esp. as concerns Māori language resources and the appropriate training of teachers, so that it is probably fair to say that the level and quality of teaching in Māori is not the same as in English language schools.

Mō tēnei take nui, mō te whakatinana i te whakatau a te Pāremata kia tū te reo Māori hei “reo tūturu” mō Aotearoa, he maha ngā āhuatanga kei te tārewa tonu. Ko te tūmanako mā ngā tauira pea o ētahi atu whenua, o ētahi atu iwi, pēnei i ngā Romanihi nei o Huiterangi, e kitea ai he tikanga, he huarahi e tutuki ai te take.

There are many aspects of the implementation of Parliament’s wish that Māori should be an official language which have not yet been addressed. The hope is that study of the examples of other countries and of other peoples such as the Romansh in Switzerland will provide direction and methods for this implementation.

Endnotes

1. He whakarāpopototanga tēnei nō tētahi pūrongo i takoto i te kaituhi ki te aroaro o te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. E kore rawa e mutu taku mihi ki ngā whakahaere me ngā tāngata nāna nei au i tautoko i roto i taku rangahau. E kore e taea te whakaingoa takitahi i konei, engari koutou katoa, tēnā koutou, me i kore koutou, kua kore hoki e taea e au tēnei take whaitikanga te rangahau.
1. This is a summary of a report presented by the author to te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori.
2. E ai ki tētahi tirohanga i whakahaeretia e te nupepa, *Bündner Zeitung* 27 Kohi-tātea 1994, 35.1% o ngā tāngata (18 ngā tau, neke atu rānei) o Kirihūne e mōhio ana ki te whakarongo me te kōrero reo Romanihi.
2. According to a survey conducted by the newspaper, Būndner Zeitung 27th Jan. 1994, 35.1% of the population of the canton (18 years of age and older) can understand and speak Romansh.
3. Tirohia Lia Rumantscha 1992:20-1.

3. *Cf. Lia Rumantscha 1992:20-1.*
4. He maha ngā ture kua oti kē te whakaromanihi, te ture kaupapa, ngā ture rangapū (civil law code). Ko te ture e pā ana ki te whakangau poaka, tia, he mea tito ki te reo Romanihi, kātahi ka whakamāoritia ki ētahi reo e toru.
4.Several laws have already been translated incl. the constitution, and the civil law code. The federal law on hunting was composed in Romansh, and subsequently translated into the three official languages.
5. Hei reomana, hei reo mō te kāwanatanga. Ehara i te mea, e kīa ana me waiho kia mate ētahi atu reo-ā-rohe; me kōrero tonu, me tuhi tonu, me tipu tonu, engari hei reo mō te kāinga, mō te whānau.
5. As official languages, as languages for public business. It is not being maintained that the idioms should be left to perish; they should continue to be used, written, developed, but as local languages.
6. Ahakoa kei te whakaputaina tonutia e te kāwanatanga ngā pukapuka kura ki aua reo katoa.
6. Although the government of the canton continues to publish school books in all five idioms.
7. Tirohia Pult 1987. Katoa ngā mahi whakawhanake i te *rumantsch grischun* kei te utua e te Pūtea Whenua, e te kāwanatanga rānei o Kirihūne, kaua e te Lia Rumantscha tonu.
7. Cf. Pult 1987. All development work on Rumantsch Grischun has been paid for by the Nationalfonds or the government of the canton, not by the Lia Rumantscha.

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Māori Goddesses in Literature
Part 1: Pre-1880 - 1900

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Abstract

Many contemporary Māori are familiar with atua wāhine, [1] Māori goddesses, through accounts that have been passed on to them by word of mouth. Few, however, have had an opportunity to consult accounts of atua wāhine that date from the early period of Māori-Pākehā contact. Those who wish to do so may have considerable difficulty in sifting through all of the written materials for the information they seek. For this reason, this paper provides a review of the literature pertaining to atua wāhine from pre-1880 to 1900, together with a commentary on the sources to which reference is made. A review of literature on atua wāhine which appeared after 1900 will appear in the second volume of this journal.

1. Introduction

This review of written literature, moving from the period of early contact between Māori and Pākehā (pre-1880s) through to 1900, includes a survey of primary and secondary sources. The original material comprises whakapapa, karakia, stories from history and waiata, the last of these appearing in unpublished manuscripts as well as in such texts as *Nga Moteatea* (Ngata and Te Hurinui 1959-90). Waiata and karakia are reliable indicators of traditional concepts as they rarely change, hence the reason for including waiata and karakia as well as whakapapa. Using both published sources and unpublished manuscripts provides a broader data base for future researchers than would otherwise be the case. Published texts, however, are more readily accessible for the general reader.

The commentary on the sources to which reference is made here will provide some insight into the nature of the Māori and English texts, as well as the authors' perspectives. Although the original material was written in Māori by Māori, or recorded by Pākehā males from Māori informants, the wealth of publication was by Pākehā men whose writings, particularly in the first eighty years, posed two major problems: interpretation and censorship severely distorted the picture presented of goddesses. Hence early Pākehā comments about the feminine in religion, perpetuated by later writers, had an adverse influence on attitudes held by some Māori and Pākehā towards the role of women in traditional Māori society.

Māori women had little input into the pool of information available today, even though waiata were composed by women. Of all the early ethnographers, only Best, Beattie and Shortland are recorded as having female informants. To what degree the emphasis on the male, and consequently the marginalisation of the feminine, was a

result of Pākehā men's questions and/or Māori men's perspectives, is difficult to determine but, clearly, knowledge held by Māori women at the time was generally not recorded.

2. Pre-1880

In the early years of Māori and Pākehā encounter, Māori keepers of celestial lore possessed a wealth of knowledge which still formed a solid foundation for a Māori way of life. Had a major study of Māori goddesses been made at that time, a vast amount of information could have been gathered. The reality, however, was that the early Pākehā visitors [2] and settlers in this country had other more pressing interests; the explorers were intent on recording their observations regarding geographical features of the country, and the general life style of the Māori people encountered on their journeys. The language barrier, too, would have prevented closer examination of specific aspects of Māori culture. Although the early missionaries studied the language, they were intent on replacing the current religious beliefs of the Māori with their own Christian doctrine (see Binney 1968, 13).[3] To have spent time and energy investigating Māori religious beliefs might have validated the very belief system they were attempting to supersede. It is ironic that the very group of people who, on a philosophical level, might have been most able to investigate this area did not do so. Consequently, the missionaries' early writings focussed principally on converting the Māori to Christianity. Indeed, most early Māori writings were translations of hymns, prayers, the scriptures and other matters pertaining to the Church. This is confirmed by a survey of published literature and *The Early Journals of Henry Williams* (Williams 1961). There were, of course, exceptions: Wohlers (1874-75) and Taylor (1855) did record information about customs and traditions.

3. Pre-1880s. Unpublished manuscripts

The earliest known writings about Māori spirituality appear to have been by Te Rangikāheke (between 1846-49) and Tiramōrehu (in 1849). These works are considered particularly valuable as they were recorded by two chiefs who received a traditional form of education in the era prior to Christian contact. Possibly both Tiramōrehu and Te Rangikāheke were not entirely without Christian influence, being converts to that faith. However, their Christian beliefs do not seem to have influenced their presentation of material in any significant way.

3.1 Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikāheke (c. 1815-96)

Te Rangikāheke (*aka* Wiremu Maihi/William Marsh) was a chief of the Ngāti Rangiwewehi tribe of Te Arawa and a son of a notable tohunga. Born c. 1815 (Curnow 1983, 10), Te Rangikāheke possessed knowledge of the pre-Christian era although he became a Christian in his adult years.[4] By 1843 he was literate,[5] and had started writing for Sir George Grey between 1846 and 1849, continuing in this fashion for about eight years (Curnow 1985, 99, 101).

Te Rangikāheke himself adapted his style to the Pākehā literary palate; these accounts were more concise and the order of events chronological (Thornton 1987, 73), as opposed to the complex and non-chronological sequences characteristic of the traditional oral narrative which were employed for his Māori audience (Thornton

1987, 75). This change in narrative style affected both the presentation and detail of the material. As Thornton pointed out, some of the mythical elements in Māori stories, considered 'fabulous and highly extravagant' by Grey (1854, introd.) were downplayed or completely removed from the published accounts, some being changed so drastically that very different stories resulted, stories which are now regarded by many as authentic. Given the subsequent alteration and frequent distortion of the accounts, it is important that Te Rangikāheke's original Māori manuscripts are still available today to provide evidence of traditional Māori style, and of the stories as they were told by him.

Te Rangikāheke wrote about Papatūānuku and many other female deities. The manuscript 'Religious Beliefs and Traditions' (GNZ MMSS 81) containing descriptions of, and incantations belonging to, ceremonies surrounding childbirth alluded to Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwārangi (*sic*) and other Hine.[6] Written sources with references to atua wāhine and childbirth practices are extremely rare, rendering this document significant indeed. In another manuscript entitled 'Tupuna' (GNZ MMSS 44),[7] Te Rangikāheke recited the many Pō, Rangi, Papa, and Ao. Reference was made to some of Rangi and Papa's sons. An oriori referring to Papatūānuku, reputed to have been written by Te Rangikāheke, is to be found in the Turnbull library (Grey MSY-2097, 31). The relevant lines of the waiata follow:

> E Hine i kimihia ki raro ki a Papatuanuku
> Ki te kore te whiwhia ki te kore te rawea …

Reference to Papa's separation from Rangi was found in the manuscript texts Grey MSY-2097, 86 and GNZ MMSS 116, 1, 54.[8] Another of Te Rangikāheke's manuscripts, 'Commentary on Maori Poems and Mythology' (MS-0158), contained references to Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwārangi (*sic*) and Rukutia.

Te Rangikāheke admitted that the information he gave was a mere snippet of the total knowledge which existed, suggesting that even in his day much precious knowledge had already been lost. He commented: 'Kua ngaro etahi e kitea ana etahi ko te nuinga kua ngaro me te mana nui o nga korero o nga tupuna o nga atua hoki. Kua mahue. He korero taki tahi e mau nei. He mana iti no nga tapu e mau nei no nga Atua hoki' (Grey MSY-2076, 90).

3.2 Dr Edward Shortland (1812-93)

Medical practitioner, former Police Magistrate and Sub-protector of Aborigines based at Maketū in the Eastern district of the North Island 1842-44, Shortland also worked as interpreter and native adviser in the South Island for a time during 1843-44 (*DNZB* 1990, 394-97). While travelling around the country, he collected information about local Māori history and genealogy (*DNZB* 1990, 394-95). Parts of Shortland's manuscript material formed the basis for his published works discussed later in this section.

Shortland's MSS no. 1 (A) 'Mythology and Traditions' (catalogued as MS-0001), recorded whakapapa which mentioned atua wāhine, an account (later published in Shortland 1882) of Tāne shaping Hineahuone, and the story of Whakatau and

Hineteiwaiwa, and Hinetekakara (written down by Tamihana Te Rauparaha). MS-0002 Maori Manuscript no. 2, 'Tradition-Superstition' included the story of Rātā and Hinetūāhōanga (narrated by Ngapora in 1854), as well as information and karakia relating to tūā rituals (p. 48), and childbirth (pp. 52-56); one of the latter karakia being 'te tuku o Hineteiwaiwa', recorded by Te Hinepōuri. MS-0011 (also known as MS (K) no. 11) was entitled 'Primitive Religion and Mythology - Aryans and Polynesians' - 'Maori Tenure of Land'; it included brief references to Papa and some personifications in Māori cosmogony. In MS-0015, 'Maori Notes, Genealogies, Karakia, Customs, etc.', a whakapapa beginning with the words 'Ko Te Po' listed the names of several atua wāhine, including Hineruakimoe, Māhorahoranuiarangi, Papa, Hineahupapa, Hineatauira, Hinetītamauri, Hinauri and Hinetūāhōanga. Hinenuitepō's name occurs in the karakia 'he matamata rākau' as well as in a karakia for the tūā ceremony. Hineteiwaiwa and Hinerauwhārangi are mentioned in the karakia 'Te Tuku o Hineteiwaiwa'.

3.3 Hikawera Wiremu Mahupuku (pre-1835-91)

Mahupuku was born and bred in the Wairarapa district and belonged to Ngāti Kahungunu, and Ngāi Tara tribes. Mahupuku was instrumental in the move to record tribal knowledge in manuscript form in his region.[9] His manuscript, 'Whakapapa tupuna', believed to have been written between 1860 and 1870, is held in the Hikutai Resource Room, Māori Studies Department, Auckland University. In the very first paragraph of the manuscript, Mahupuku explained that his writings are the teachings of his old people, who, fearful lest they be 'cast out into the bush' by the Christian clergy, had not passed all that they knew on to him, but had secretly informed him of certain matters in the dead of night. Such was the fear of the kaumātua that they did not teach Mahupuku ancient karakia. In fact, as Mahupuku related, those who possessed knowledge about the ancestral lines of descent of the firmament and the earth had all died (n.d., 1).

Mahupuku's manuscript contained a description of the separation of Papa and Rangi. Several other female entities were named including Moanawheuriuri (who mated with Tangaroa), Hinemaunga, Parawhenuamea, Hineraukiokio and others. The forming of Hineahuone at Kurawaka, Hine's mating with Tāne, and the subsequent birth of Hinetītama was the subject of another section of the manuscript. A brief account was given of Hinetītama's enquiry into the identity of her father, and of her flight to Te Rēinga, her change of name to Hinenuitepō and of her union with Tūteamoamo (their progeny were listed). Of note is the fact that in this version Hinerauwārangi was born after Hinetītama became Hinenuitepō; on hearing Tāne lament the loss of his wife, Ioa (*sic*) told him to go to Hinehauone and to name their yet unborn daughter, Hinerauwārangi. Finally, Mahupuku recorded a whakapapa beginning with Papa and Rangi which presented them as the parents of Pōurikerekere, Pō tangotango and other Pō (n.d., 46), unlike other whakapapa which showed Rangi and Papa as descendants of te Pō, te Kore etc. Elsewhere in the text, Whaitiri was described as a descendant of the kāhui ariki mentioned and listed in the whakapapa (n.d., 54).

Mahupuku's manuscript provides evidence of the position of feminine entities in his tribal whakapapa. His comments relating to the loss of knowledge, his people's concerns and their attempts to retain elements of that knowledge indicate that Māori

at the time were well aware of the problems facing them and were proactive in finding remedies.

3.4 Some South Island Traditions recorded by Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers; collected by Christine Tremewan

Wohlers was a German missionary who lived from 1844 to 1885 in the South Island, especially on Ruapuke Island, during which time he recorded the myths and traditions of local iwi. Christine Tremewan used Wohlers' manuscript material as her source for editing and translating some southern myths in 'Myths from Murihiku' (Tremewan 1992). Tremewan provided the different tribal versions of some myths, naming the tribe, and informant or author. The material is examined here as it is in this period that the information was first collected. In the story about Tāne, brief mention was made of the creation of Hinehāone (Hineahuone), and the birth of Hineatauira/Hinetītama. Hine's farewell words to Tāne, along with waiata reputedly sung by Hineatauira and Tāne to each other, were recorded (1992, 132-50). In Māui's story, his mother was named as Hine. The text did not indicate the gender of Mahuika (Hine's parent), or Murirangawhenua. The account about Māui's wife, also named Hine, and Tuna was related, as was Māui's encounter with Hinenuitepō (1992, 205-52). In one version it was said that Hinenuitepō received humankind back into her womb through her vagina (1992, 131). Whaitiri's powerful mana was evident in the story of Whaitiri and Tāwhaki (1992, 285-331). Hinetūāhōanga's name appeared in the story of Rātā (1992, 333-60). Rona, in the version related here, was male (1992, 402-36). A lesser known account of Hineitepūwha and Tautini was provided (1992, 482-516). Finally, Te Ruahinematamāori's pursuit of Paowa was described. Te Ruahinematamāori, also known as Te Ruahinekaipīhā, was described as a witch by Wohlers because she was noted for her knowledge of whaiwhaiā, witchcraft. Her name suggests that she was a ruahine, with a diverse range of skills; one mentioned in the story was her knowledge of kūmara karakia (1992, 573-93).

4. Pre-1880s. Publications

4.1 Shortland ([1856] 1980)

In his *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* ([1856] 1980), Shortland provided brief references to Papa and Rangi, and Hinenuiatepō (whom he described as having the reputation of being a 'terrible person'). In this version, Māuimua was intending to steal kūmara from Hinenuiatepō's store when he was killed between Hinenui's thighs. Two other allusions were made to atua wāhine: Mahuika was mentioned in 'he whai mō te wera' (a karakia for a burn) (Shortland 1980, 134), and Hinetūāhōanga's name occurred in a waiata [karakia] composed by Rātā at the launching of the Tainui canoe (1980, 165).

4.2 Matiaha Tiramōrehu (c. 1800-81)

Matiaha Tiramōrehu, a chief and tohunga of Kāitahu (Ngāi Tahu), recorded some South Island traditions in *Te Waiatatanga Mai o te Atua* (1987), a work which is significant not only as one of the earliest pieces of evidence, but also because of the nature of the evidence, which provides some insight into the cosmological beliefs of the South Island Māori.

Tiramōrehu's work opened with a whakapapa going back to te Pō, and moved through to some discussion about Raki (Rangi), his wives Hekehekeipapa, Hotupapa, Māukuuku, Papa and their progeny, as well as the separation of Papa and Rangi.

The story of Hineatauira/Hineteuira was narrated,[10] ending with her flight to te Pō when she met Hineateao, Hineatepō, Hineruakimoe. An explicit description of the journey and the final exchange between Hine and Tāne was given. Other Hine were mentioned in the relating of the above stories. Two other female entities were named: Whaitiri in connection with her genealogical line, and Hinetūāhōanga in relation to toki (axes), although no indication was given of who she was.

As well as providing information about female entities who were absent in other versions of Māori cosmology, Tiramōrehu provided evidence of the roles played by atua wāhine in southern Māori traditions. In this way, too, his work established a base for comparative studies to be made between southern and northern Māori traditions. Tiramōrehu reflected on the abandonment of Māori rituals for Christianity and on the impossibility of collecting all the tribal knowledge regarding the old beliefs because of the sheer volume involved (1987, 11).

4.3 Sir George Grey (1812-98)

During Grey's term of office as Governor-in-chief of New Zealand, he pioneered the collecting of Māori waiata and legends. Grey not only had his Māori male interpreters and acquaintances write down mōteatea for him as he visited the various tribal regions, he also commissioned Māori men to record their tribal stories. These contributions were compiled and resulted in the collections, *Ko nga Moteatea, me nga Hakirara o nga Maori* (Grey 1853), *Ko Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori* (1854), the English version of *Nga Mahinga*, the *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race* (1885),[11] and *Ko nga Waiata Maori* (1857).

The names of numerous atua wāhine occurred in the karakia and waiata found in *Ko nga Moteatea* (Grey 1853).[12] Parawhenuamea was mentioned in a waiata by Nukupewapewa (p. 8); Mahuika in a pōpō tamariki (p. 46); and Hinetāpeka in a tangi (p. 25).[13] References to Whaitirimātakataka, Whatitiri/ Whaitiri were found in several waiata, karakia and haka (p. 32) composed by the following: Te Ngahue (p. 117), Takina (p. 181), Hoki (p. 192, p. 211), Te Hawe (p. 235, p. 409), and Te Aratukutuku (p. 412, p. 421). Papatūānuku and other names by which she was known were present: Papa/Nuku in a tā kōpito (p. 44), in a pōpō tamariki from Taupō (p. 46), a waiata from Ngāti Kahungunu (p. 187), a ngeri (p. 81), a maro tauā (p. 221), a tau (p. 370), tau waka (p. 90, p. 224), a pātere (p. 247), in tangi (Te Uamairangi p. 105, p. 134), a waiata (Te Heuheu p. 243), in a mākutu (p. 409), a karakia to separate a woman and a man (p. 296), one to render the hands noa (p. 359), and other karakia (pp. 60, 136, 274, 304, 307, 356, 377, 414, 418, 420-23).[14] Other forms of the name occurred in two tangi: Papateraharaha, Papahurikēkē (p. 163), Papatūkiterangi (Tāoho p. 350); in a waiata (p. 389), and a karakia: Papanui, Paparoa, Papaitukia, Papaimātoe, Papaiwawahia (p. 380). The latter was used at the completion of the kūmara harvest.

Hineatetuhi was alluded to in a tangi (Motuhia 1850, 50), Hinekaitangi in a waiata (Te Rāwhiti p. 96), and Rukutia in a waiata (p. 102). Rukutia appeared in a waiata karakia whakawai, used during the lip tattooing process, along with Hinerauwhārangi, Hineteiwaiwa and Papa (pp. 58-60). Hinetinaku and Hinemataiti were named in a karakia[15] recited over Tūtānekai (p. 166). Uenukutiti appeared in an oriori (p. 186); Hāpai, Tangotango, Hinepuanganuiarangi and Hinematua were mentioned in a haka (Hoki p. 192); and Kurawaka, Hinengamatamea, Hinemapuhia, Hinewairangi, Rākautekura, Hinengapuhia in a whakaoriori tamariki (pp. 218-20). Pani was alluded to in a waiata (p. 226), Hine in an apakura (p. 229) and a karakia to Maru (p. 262), and Hinepito with Hineaupounamu in a pana (Raro p. 410-11). Hineteiwaiwa's name appeared in a haka (Hoki p. 298) and in a tūā pana tamariki wāhine, along with Hineangiangi, Hinekorikori, Hinerauwhārangi, and Ruanuku (pp. 353-54).

References to Hine, Hinenui, Hineroa, Hineteweriweri, and Hineruakimate were found in a karakia (pp. 305-07); Hinenuitepō's name occurred in a tangi (p. 329), Hineteko and Hinehore were mentioned in a waiata from Ngāti Kahungunu (p. 352), Hinetūāhōanga in a tau waka (p. 355), and Hineruakimoe, Hinemanini, and Hinemanana in a tau to burn down te Tatau o te Pō, the house of Miru (pp. 370-71). Of special significance here is a waiata karakia, composed by Te Aratukutuku, who was acknowledged as a 'wahine ariki'; Maikukumākākā was referred to in the waiata as 'te whakatapairu-ariki', a term which revealed her elevation to a great status. Whatitirimātakataka, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Māitiiti, Mārekareka, Ruatamahine, Hineruarangi, and Papatūānuku were other atua mentioned (pp. 411-15). The historical accounts in the appendices contained references to many of the above-named atua. Hinemoa's story was also recounted earlier in the book (pp. 52-57).

Several karakia and waiata in *Ko nga Waiata Maori* (1857) also contained references to atua wāhine. A tangi by Kōhurehure mentioned Para-whenuamea, Whaitirikapapā, Papatūānuku, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka, and Ruatamawahine (pp. 3-8). A waiata, composed by a woman for her pet kurī, recorded the names of Hinetukia and Hinemarie (p. 15), while another tangi alluded to Hinereireia (p. 41). Papatūānuku (*aka* Nuku, Papatahuaroa) appeared in tangi (p. 24, p. 31, p. 37), the last of which also alluded to Whaitirimātakataka.

In *Ko Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna* (Grey 1854),[16] references were made to Papatūānuku, in a brief account of her separation from Rangi, and Murirangawhenua,[17] Mahuika, Hinenuitepō, in relation to Māui's actions. The story of Hinauri and Rupe (Māui transformed into a pigeon) was told; the tangi sung by Rupe during his search for Hinauri (Hina) was included, along with her song of reply. The term 'Ko Te Pou o Whatitiri' was found in this account (pp. 31-35). Hineteiwaiwa's[18] expedition to find Kae was related (pp. 36-38); Hine's companions were listed as Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Rekareka, and Ruahauatangaroa. The names of Hinepiripiri, Tangotango, Whaitirimātakataka, occurred in the story of Tāwhaki (pp. 45-53) and Hineteiwaiwa, Hinetinaku and Hinemataiti in an account about Wahieroa, Rātā and Whakatau (pp. 54-58). A karakia used at the birth of Hineteiwaiwa's child referred to Hinetinaku and Hinemataiti. The story of Hineteiwaiwa and Whakataupōtiki was recounted (pp. 59-62). Hinetūāhōanga's arrival in Aotearoa was mentioned (p. 69), as well as that of Whakaotirangi and

Kearoa (pp. 70-71). Kuiwai featured in the chapter about Manaia and Ngātoroirangi (pp. 83-93), while in another chapter Kurangaituku's capturing of Hatupatu was sketched (p. 95). The famous story of Hinemoa was related; a variation of the karakia recorded earlier in the book (pp. 57-58) was provided (p. 129), being the karakia used at Tūtānekai's birth. Accounts about Te Kahureremoa (pp. 141-48), Te Huhuti (pp. 164-65), Puhihuia (pp. 166-71), and Raumahora (pp. 182-83) were also narrated.

In amassing, editing and translating the manuscripts for the purpose of publication, Grey altered much of the original style by removing what he thought would be considered monotonous repetition for a Pākehā audience. He reconstructed the stories by creating a new chronological sequence, thus removing the true essence of oral Māori literature,[19] and often combined material[20] from different sources (Williams in Grey 1971, vii) which resulted in a compilation of separate versions and ultimately a new account. In some instances, he removed sections of the original story which he considered might not appeal to the European's sensitivities or were superfluous in a European context. For instance, Grey excluded the details of Māui entering Hinenuitepō's body, as well as some of the karakia (e.g. the karakia to induce the birth of Hineteiwaiwa's child (Grey 1854, 57-58). However, Grey's translation of *Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna* was fairly accurate. Despite the few references to atua wāhine, his work, particularly his collection of material in Māori, remains one of the most extensive[21] and authoritative, having been written mainly between 1845 and 1854, and by the hand of Māori themselves.

4.4 Rev. Richard Taylor (1805-73)

The recording of Māori traditions might have appeared an unusual pastime for a cleric. However, acutely aware of the loss of knowledge among the Māori of their traditions and religion, Rev. Richard Taylor was keen to "rescue from that oblivion into which they were fast hastening the Manners, Customs, Traditions and Religion of a primitive race" (Taylor [1855] 1974, vi). *Te Ika a Maui*, first published in 1855, included a whakapapa relating to Atatuhi and Te Werowero's union with Ranginuietūnei, a description of Papa's appearance before she bore her children, and references to Waitiri (*sic*), Kurangaituku and Hineteiwaiwa. Hinenuitepō was given brief mention in connection with one of 'the two grand orders of gods', the gods of the night, of whom she is the 'great mother' and the 'grandparent' (1974, 16). Taylor later referred to Hinenuitepō's womb as Hades (1974, 31) when telling the story of Māui's attempt to enter Hinenuitepō.

4.5 Mohi Ruatapu (n.d.)

Mohi Ruatapu was a leading tohunga of Ngāti Porou, and one of the last tohunga and instructors at Te Rāwheoro, the Whare Wānanga at Ūawa (Tolaga Bay). Though the date of Ruatapu's birth and death are unknown, it is assumed that he was an old man in the 1870s.[22] The two manuscripts 'He pukapuka whakapapa no ngā tūpuna Māori' (dated 1871) and 'Ko Rangi e tū nei, ko Papa e takoto nei' (dated 1875), written by Ruatapu, were translated, edited and annotated by Anaru Reedy (1993), resulting in the publication *Ngā Kōrero a Mohi Ruatapu tohunga rongonui o Ngāti Porou*. The 1871 document is held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and the 1875 manuscript in the Hocken Library, Dunedin.

The first manuscript 'He pukapuka whakapapa no ngā tūpuna Māori' (1993, 17-66) contained several references to atua wāhine, in the whakapapa themselves as well as in the stories recounted by Ruatapu. The names included Papa, Hineahuone, Hinemanuhiri, and Hinetītama. Occurring in the story of Māui were Taranga (Māui's mother), Hinauru (*sic*) (his sister), Hineraumāukuuku (his wife), Murirangawhenua, Mahuika and Hinenuitepō (his kuia). Hineiaiere was named in Māui's karakia to change Irawaru into a dog. In the account about Tāwhaki, Whaitiri was a prominent figure, demonstrating her knowledge of karakia. Te Ruahinematamorari and Hineatekawa were also mentioned.

A whakapapa stemming from Wahieroa and Hinetuahōhanga (*sic*) was provided, followed by the story of Hinetuahōhanga and Ngahue. Hinetuahōhanga appeared again in the section on Rātā. Another whakapapa began with Hinemanuhiri and included Hinekapuarangi, Hinerauwhārangi, and Hineatauira. Whakaotirangi was mentioned in a migration story. An account about Houmea was related; Houmea was Hineruakimoe's daughter and Tangaroa's wife. Hinematikotai's name occurred in the myth about Ruatepupuke. Further whakapapa referred to Hinetītama, Hineruakimoe, Hinetūturi, Hinenuitepō and Whaitiri.

The second manuscript 'Ko Rangi e tū nei, ko Papa e takoto nei' (1993, 69-114) embodied further whakapapa, kōrero and karakia. The various whakapapa found in this section of the book included the following atua wāhine: Taranga, Whaitiri, Papa, Hineahuone, Hinemanuhiri, Te Kahurangi (f?), Hinekapuarangi, Hinerauwhārangi, Hineatauwira *(sic)*, Hinetītama, and Murirangawhenua. One whakapapa was preceded by an account about Papa and Rangi.

Two karakia contained references to goddesses: one alluded to Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Itiiti, Mārekareka, and Pani, while another invoked Hine to heal a broken back:

> … Haruru tapuwae no Hine,
> Ngātoro tapuae no Hine.
> Pērā hoki rā ko Hine, tūtakina ngā iwi,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina te tuanga hiwi roa,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina ngā kaokao,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina te poho,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina ngā papa-
> Ko Hine, tūta[ki]na ka w[h]iw[h]i,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina ka mau,
> Ko Hine, tūtakina … (1993, 73-74).

As an introduction to a karakia kūmara, the story of Pani was briefly related, describing Pani's custom of producing her children, the kūmara, in the waters of Moanaariki. Murirangawhenua, Hinemakaiere, Mahuika and Hinenuitepō were referred to again in connection with Māui. Finally, an account about Houmea was also related.

4.6 Rev. J. F. H. Wohlers (1811-85)

Wohlers' work has already been examined in its manuscript form earlier in this section. His published paper 'The Mythology and Traditions of the Maori in New Zealand' (*Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* 1874-75) included much of the same material, therefore further discussion is not necessary other than to note that references were made to the following atua wāhine: Papatūānuku, Hinehāone, Hineatauira, Hinekitaharangi, Hina, Mahuika, Whaitiri, Hinenuiotekawa, Hinetūāōaka (Hinetūāhōanga), Hineteiwaiwa (Hinetangarumoana) (1874, 3-53), Rukutia, and Te RuahinemataMāori/ Ruahinekaipīhā (1875, 108-23). Three observations are made here: though the atua were mentioned in both unpublished and published versions, Hine (Māui's mother) appeared as Hina in the *Transactions* as opposed to Hine in the manuscript, Mahuika's gender was not identified in the manuscript but was said to be female in the *Transactions*; and Hinetuaoaka, though named in the published Māori text remained anonymous in the accompanying English translation. Wohlers wrongly translated the phrase 'o tou tupuna, ko Hinetuaoaka' (of your ancestor Hinetuaoaka) as 'of your ancestors', thereby completely changing the meaning, and removing any reference to Hinetuaoaka from the English text (1874, 21 English, 46 Māori).

4.7 Other published sources

Some writers devoted sections of their works to the mythology, 'superstitions', and religious beliefs of the Māori. The accounts were generally written for a Pākehā audience. In 1851, Wesleyan minister Rev. Thomas Buddle delivered two lectures entitled *The Aborigines of New Zealand* at the Auckland Mechanics' Institute. His version of how death came into the Māori world is very unusual: Hinenuitepō, from a union with Tiki, was giving birth to her first-born when a little bird flying past laughed. Ashamed or offended, Hinenuitepō strangled the child in the birth process (1851, 14). As Buddle does not give his source, it is difficult to ascertain the origin of this version but it could well have arisen from Buddle's misunderstanding of the account when he first heard it.

Arthur Thomson's chapter on Mythology and Superstitions, in *The Story of New Zealand* (1859), briefly summarised the separation of Rangi and Papa, and Māui entering Hinenuitepō. Thomson's sources were Shortland (1856) and Grey's *Ko Nga Mahinga a nga Tupuna Maori* (1854). Clearly Pākehā comments about, and interpretations of, Māori life and traditions were being reiterated by other Pākehā writers at a very early stage.

William Yate (1835) had only one reference to Hina, given as Mawe's (Māui) wife. Thomas Kendall[23] regarded Hine (or Hina) as the mother goddess, the 'First Mother, globular and white, or a virgin', and as 'Queen of the Host of Heaven'[24] (in Binney 1968, 152). Kendall's description of Hine presented her in a very Christian, European, and very un-Māori way; Hine was not white, nor was she a virgin.

5. Summary of published sources: pre-1880

This period of first encounter is clearly significant in that the literature written about atua wāhine during this time is the earliest documented record available today. A

considerable degree of consistency exists between accounts (Buddle excepted). Although the references to atua wāhine lacked detail and depth, a mark of the marginalisation of the feminine, the female presence was evident. Clearly female entities were regarded as atua in the original Māori manuscripts. Equally obvious in the English texts was the superimposing of European concepts onto the accounts, for instance the flair for romanticism: Taylor's description of Hinenuitepō's womb as Hades (1974, 31) and Kendall's interpretation of Hine as 'white', 'virginal' or a 'Queen of the Host of Heaven'. This form of writing was to pervade the literature for many decades to come. Although perhaps irritating and distracting to a modern reader, the European imprint was insignificant in comparison to the wealth of knowledge being recorded.

6. Commentary on published sources: 1800 - 1900

The period from 1880 to 1900 saw more investigations being made into the traditions and life style of the Māori. Extinction of the Māori was predicted so there was a race against time to record as much of their knowledge as possible. Best, for instance, regarded the Pākehā race as having a duty to preserve a permanent record of the customs of the people it displaced (Craig 1964, 23). This was one of the fundamental reasons for the establishment of the Polynesian Society and its *Journal* (Sorrenson 1992, 21, 24).

The studies made of the Māori included investigations into the cosmogonic beginnings but focussed predominantly on the male component. The researchers were amateur ethnographers, all Pākehā and male, who, in the course of collecting information, interviewed mostly Māori men (Te Awekōtuku 1991, 73). Only Best, Beattie and Shortland were recorded as having female informants: Best corresponded with Makurata; Beattie interviewed several Māori women; Te Hinepōuri presented one of the karakia in Shortland's collection. It is difficult to assess the degree to which the emphasis on the male, and consequently the marginalisation of the female, was the result both of Pākehā men's questions and/or of Māori men's perspectives. However one thing is evident, the knowledge of atua wāhine held by Māori women at the time was not recorded by European observers.[25]

To understand why the women's domain of knowledge might have been overlooked, or ignored, one must consider the historical context in which the information was being sought. A sense of cultural superiority over the Māori race pervaded Pākehā philosophy at the turn of the century, with the main intent being to eradicate some of the more 'savage' ways of the Māori, and to civilise the people as good Christians (Sorrenson 1979, 69). John White,[26] for instance, was of the opinion that Māori were held in 'servile bondage' to 'satanic' superstitions and he supported missionary efforts to suppress them (Reilly 1989, 162). The male ethnographers were products of the Victorian era, with its stress on male chauvinism and the servile role of women (Scutt 1983, 11). Although some modification of women's subordinate function may have occurred within colonial society, given the essential partnership that evolved among the settlers, the general concept appears to have remained strongly intact.

In the Victorian era, men were more formally educated than women; very rarely did women gain tertiary education. Therefore, it is possible that the Pākehā

ethnographers, in examining aspects of the Māori world, wrongly concluded that men alone were the repositories of knowledge: outsiders, observing that Māori men delivered whaikōrero in most tribal areas, and that men attended the whare wānanga,[27] might easily have assumed that women held inferior positions in Māori society. After all, these newcomers, having no equivalent model with which to compare the Māori women's ritual function as the hunga karanga and hunga waiata, had no comprehension of the significance of these roles within the Māori context. It is unlikely that the researchers were ever in a situation where they could discuss such issues as childbirth or atua wāhine with Māori women, or could witness women's rituals. Presumably the cultural and gender barriers between Victorian ethnographers and Māori women would have been too great, had the researchers been interested in investigating the world of Māori women.

The absence of women in the literature we are considering could have led to assumptions being made, and conclusions being drawn, about the role of women in certain institutions, and in the wider society. In fact, this appears to have been what actually happened.

In committing to paper their findings, many of the ethnographers added their own perspective, interpreting and selecting the material from within the framework of their own cultural context. Distortion and reconstruction could easily result, making it difficult to decipher which were the original threads of a story and which were superimposed perceptions. Beattie stands out as one who strove not to introduce his opinion when recording information. All the writers did have one thing in common: total dedication to the cause, which meant hours and hours of data collection, the collation of notes, as well as the writing and printing of texts. Several of these writers gained the reputation of being leading scholars in the area of Māori language and/or culture. Once their ideas were down in print they were commonly accepted by the Pākehā of the time and, a generation or so later, by a substantial section of the general Māori populace, dependent on the written word for accessing tikanga information, as being correct and representative of the Māori society being described by them.

Māori themselves were becoming heavily involved in the main Christian churches or the developing Māori sects. It is evident that some of the old Māori were concerned about the loss of traditional knowledge and were keen to have some of the ancient lore recorded for future generations. Whether this desire was also strengthened because of the predicted extinction of the Māori race is impossible to say. However, the wish to retain the knowledge led to the writing down of information hitherto considered too tapu to be shared with the society at large. Few Māori wrote about traditional Māori religious beliefs. Those works which remain in unpublished form or are now published are valuable sources of information, providing rare pieces of primary material. One or two of the Māori scribes were also known to have altered texts. There was some concern about the extent to which Te Whatahoro altered the texts he was transcribing for Te Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū (Simmons 1994, 121). Hare Hongi was also said to have used his own dialect instead of the dialect of the speaker when transcribing texts (Simmons 1976, 372). Nevertheless, the writers' commitment to recording the information was clearly outstanding. Without their efforts the evidence would not be available today.

7. Unpublished manuscripts 1880-1900
7.1 Moihi Te Mātorohanga (c. 1800-76)[28]

Moihi Te Mātorohanga belonged to the Ngāti Kahungunu, Rangitāne, and Ngāi Tahu ki Wairarapa tribes. He was a graduate from various renowned whare wānanga of his area and spent much time giving instruction at the Rāwheoro Whare Wānanga at Ūawa/Tolaga Bay (Simmons 1994, 115).

The MS-Papers-0189-B020[29] proved to be one of the few documents which held significant information about Papatūānuku and other Māori goddesses. In this manuscript, Te Mātorohanga described some of the activities of Rangi and Papa's family, prior to, and immediately after, the separation of Rangi and Papa, providing many lists of whakapapa. There were scant references to both Papa and Rangi, who appeared to be marginalised, set in a relatively passive state while their children separated them. The principal focus was on the sons and their designs. Nevertheless, this work is significant in that it did mention Papa, describing her and Rangi's relationship with each other and with their children.

One reference to Papa concerned the gestation period of six nights before her children were born (MS-0189-B020, 7). This bears a strong resemblance to the Bible story where heaven and earth were created in six days. Possibly the six day duration is simply co-incidental and the version was not affected by Christian influence; on the other hand, Te Mātorohanga, or Te Whatahoro, might have sought to bring the parameters of the story in line with the Book of Genesis of the Old Testament (see Te Rangihīroa 1974, 526). A committee of Māori elders set up to judge the accuracy or otherwise of the writings,[30] accepted the version given as being correct. Although the elders could have been correct, their decision may have reflected their lack of knowledge of the finer details of Māori cosmology, and/or the impact that Christianity had already made on the philosophy of the Māori.

Material extracted from the NZ Māori Purposes Fund Board Manuscript Papers-0189-B115, dated 1892,[31] proved to be another useful source. Presumably, the writer was Whatahoro and the informant Te Mātorohanga.[32] Implicit in the manuscript's opening line, 'He pukapuka no nga atua' (a book about/from the gods), is that the book's contents are about atua, although Te Mātorohanga did not specifically refer to Rangi and Papa as gods. The statement, too, that the females in Rangi and Papa's family were all 'wahine atua' (female gods) (MS-0189-B115, 28), is further confirmation that Te Mātorohanga considered them atua. Because of the godly nature of these females the resulting offspring were also goddesses. Hence, when he stated that there were no women among Rangi and Papa's children or grandchildren, the narrator was saying that there were no women who held the seed of human life. The existing goddesses were unable to produce the human life principle, te ira tangata. The uha, the female element to create humankind, was missing. That these 'women' were referred to as goddesses by Te Mātorohanga is crucial to our understanding of this source.

One reference made to Papatūānuku focussed on the severing of Ranginui and Papatūānuku's limbs. Later, Te Mātorohanga alluded again to the separation of Rangi and Papa, this time with respect to their grieving for each other. A better understanding can be gained of the great trauma being experienced by Papa and

Rangi at the time of their enforced separation. In the manuscript references were also made to Pārāweranui, Hineteuira, Hinemoana, Parawhenuamea, Hinehauone, Hinenuitepō, Hinemākohurangi, Hinewhaitiri, Papatūānuku/ Papamatuatekore, Mahuika, Hinetāpapa, Hineahuone, Hine-tītama, Hinetamara, and Hinerauwhārangi (MS-0189-B115).

Te Mātorohanga's material on Rangi and Papa was quite detailed in comparison with Te Rangikāheke's. Both shared common threads of the cosmogonic stories but each focussed on different stages of those accounts. As can be expected from graduates from the same school of learning, consistencies can be found between Te Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū's teachings. Some of the material given in 'He pukapuka no nga atua' was phrased in a similar way to that found in *The Lore of the Whare-wananga* (Smith 1913).[33] In fact, the passage in the publication clarified the manuscript excerpt.

7.2 Hetaraka (Kapua) Tautahi (1835-1908)

Hetaraka Tautahi was a tohunga of ariki lineage of the Ngā Rauru tribe in South Taranaki. In October 1897, he dictated to his son-in-law the contents of the manuscript entitled, 'Ko Te Wananga o Nga Korero a nga Tupuna'.[34] The 'karaipiture' (scripture) as Tautahi termed the work, was a detailed whakapapa of Ngā Rauru relating to their cosmological origins.[35] In the manuscript several female deities were named, including Rikoriko, Te Atatuhi, Hinewhakatihi, Hineteiwaiwa, Tarahanga (Taranga), Whaitiri, Hineiteata, Hinehungamea, Hineiāngina, and Hinewairangi. Of Rangi and Papa's twelve children, two were presented as female, namely the eighth child, called Hunga, and the ninth child, Ari (Rapley 1988, 4). In this version, Rangi cohabited with Rikoriko and Te Atatuhi after being separated from Papa.

Tautahi's manuscript provides an early record of a Taranaki version of cosmology. The names of female entities were listed in Tautahi's whakapapa charts, but details about those atua were not given. Nevertheless, the manuscript is important both as a source identifying atua wāhine and as a catalyst for his people to begin writing down their whakapapa and traditions.

8. Publications 1880-1900

The publications produced between 1880 and the turn of the century contained important records of Māori traditions. Many of these records are extremely significant. Shortland, Best, White, Smith and Tregear were prominent writers, with a sole female author, Kate McCosh Clark, contributing her *Maori Tales and Legends* (1896), a popularised version of some myths. A composite edition of *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race* and *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* by Grey was published in 1885.

8.1 Dr Edward Shortland

In 1882 Shortland published *Maori Religion and Mythology* based on the accounts he had recorded in manuscript form three decades earlier.[36] Brief accounts were given of Papa[37] and Rangi's separation and the creation of Hineahuone. In this version it

was Papa who sent Tāne to his various kuia to find the uha, finally sending him to Kurawaka. The story was related of Hineatauira's departure for te Pō where she became Hinenuitepō; included was the dialogue between Hineatauira/Hinenuitepō and Tāne before he returned to te Aotūroa. In the chapters on 'Religious Rites of the Maori' were found the karakia of Hineteiwaiwa 'Te tuku o Hineteiwaiwa',[38] and karakia used in tūā rituals ([1882] 1977, 40-43). Chapter Five contained karakia from the pure ceremony for Ihenga; the karakia referred to Hinenuitepō, Whatiurimatakakā, and Kearoa. Both 'Te tuku o Hineteiwaiwa'[39] and the pure karakia are significant as examples of invocations to atua wāhine, for use for women and men alike. Kearoa and Whakaotirangi were recognised as sacred female ancestors and as representing ruāhine (1977, 60-61).

8.2 John McGregor (1832-1925)

John McGregor was responsible for collecting waiata from the Waikato area and publishing them in *Popular Maori Songs* (1893). He wrote that the waiata were written down by Waikato Māori between December 1863 and February 1864, making the collection one of the earliest of its kind. The recorders were prisoners of war, having surrendered at Rangiriri, and McGregor was one of their guards; he was interested in viewing some waiata in written form and asked one of the prisoners to write down a few. Other prisoners also contributed, with the understanding that McGregor would endeavour to publish the waiata at the conclusion of the war.

The names of Maikukumākākā and Hineraka appeared in 'Pinepine te kura hau' (anon. in McGregor 1893, 9-10).[40] In a waiata by Tāwhaki when he sought his wife, Whaitiri, reference was made to 'te mata o Whaitiri' (1893, 34). Three more waiata tangi, found in the Supplements to *Popular Maori Songs*, also referred to Whaitiri (1898, 26; 1905, 83). Other atua wāhine included in waiata were: Nuku, in a waiata sung by Tāwhaki; Parawhenua (anon.); Hinemapuhia, Hinewairangi, Hinengaapuhia (anon.); and Hinematioro (Mero) (McGregor 1893, 34-61). A story about Hinekōrangi was related, along with the waiata composed by her father for her (1893, 24-28). A ngeri mentioned Papa (anon.), and a tauparapara from the time of the migration of Tainui included the name of Hinetūāhōanga (anon.) (1893, 114-15).

More names of atua wāhine were found in the four Supplements to *Popular Maori Songs*. Rona was noted in a waiata (Tāoho in McGregor 1898, 16). Several were mentioned in relation to tangi: Hinenuitepō, in a Ngāti Whātua tangi tawhito composed by Waiahina for Tarahawaiki (1905, 78); and in one from Taranaki (anon.) (1908, 106); Hinepeke, Hinekōtuku (anon.) (1905, 81); and Hinemākinokino and Whatitiri in a Whanganui waiata tangi (anon.) (1908, 97-98) for a kūmara cultivation. Papa was mentioned in a karakia recited by Rātā (1908, 109).

8.3 Edward Tregear (1846-1931)

Tregear, one of the most prominent Pākehā intellectuals of his time, was a founding member of the Polynesian Society, and a principal contributor to the *Journal* in its early years of publication, writing about philological and linguistic issues pertaining to Polynesian languages and Polynesian origins. What was perhaps his greatest work, *The Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (1891), proved to be a useful

source for identifying many of the atua wāhine. An extensive list of female entities can be found in the Dictionary. Apart from the more commonly known goddesses already noted, less familiar deities recorded were Hineahua, Hineahupapa, Hineapohia, Hineaterepo, Hineheheirangi, and Hinematikotai (1891, 71). People and works Tregear had consulted were listed in the book's preface, acknowledging the wide range of oral and written sources used and the people who had sought information on his behalf (1891, x-xii).

8.4 John White (1826-91)

John White arrived in Aotearoa in 1834, spending his working life employed as a Māori land purchasing officer, government interpreter and Resident Magistrate (Reilly 1989). In his time he was at the forefront of collecting information from Māori for publication. A government-initiated project, begun in 1879, culminated in the publication of White's *Ancient History of the Maori* (1887-90), a six volume collection which White hoped to add to. He died in 1891 before he was able to fulfil his wish.

The *Ancient History of the Maori* included creation stories from several tribes in Māori and English. Volume I chapter 2 had whakapapa noting the offspring of Pokohāruatepō, Hekehekeipapa, Hotupapa, Māukuuku, Tauharekiokio, and Papatūānuku, all of whom coupled with Rangi (Ngāi Tahu).[41] Other atua wāhine mentioned were: Hinetūāhōanga, Hinateiwaiwa, Hineteotaota, Itiiti, Mārekareka, Raukatauri, and Raukatamea. Of note is a Ngāti Kahungunu tradition which described Papa as the daughter of Matuatekore, and Rangi as the son of Ranginuiatamaku and Kewa (1887 I, 160). Versions of Papa and Rangi's separation were recounted, including one which stated that the last born, a daughter named Paia,[42] was responsible for suggesting that Rangi be raised up above (1887 I, 137).

Several 'readings', as White termed these accounts, focussed on Tāne's search for the female element and on the ultimate forming of the female, named Hinehauone[43] (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu), Hinemanuhiri (Ngāti Porou), Hinehāone and Iowahine (Ngāi Tahu). Tāne's karakia to enable him to create a female was provided (1887 I, 155-58 English; 139-41 Māori). A Ngāti Kahungunu tradition located the formation of Hinehauone at the pubes of Papa (1887 I, 162 English; 146 Māori). In a Ngāti Porou version of woman's creation, Tānenuiarangi went to a sandy beach at Tapatairoa, in Hawaiki, mixed sand with mud and formed woman. She had two names, Hinehauone and Hinemanuhiri (1887 I, 158-59 English; 142-43 Māori).

A similar version, from the Urewera (1887 I, 159-60 English; 143-44 Māori), stated that Tāne went to Hawaiki and asked the goddesses there where the female element was. He was shown the river of Hawaiki and was told that the water of the river itself was female and that the child would come from it. Tāne formed a woman from the river mud. In the karakia which Tāne recited, the woman's name was Hinemanahiri (*sic*). The Ngāi Tahu tradition related that Tāne wished to have children by his mother. However, she explained that this was not possible and instructed him to form a female's body from earth (1887 I, 134 English; 120 Māori). A Ngāti Hau account named Mārikoriko as the first woman in this world: she gave birth to Hinekauataata, whose father was Tiki (1887 I, 151-52 English; 136-37 Māori). Other tribal versions of Tāne's subsequent search for his wife were related.

In addition, many other female deities' names were given, including Hineatauira, Hinenuitepō, Hinepupukemaunga, Hineraukiokio, Whaitiri, Iowahine and Hineahua to name a few.

Volume II included references to Mataora, Niwareka, Mahuika, Hinauri, Hineteiwaiwa, and Hineitepūwha. Volumes III-VI contained stories of migration and more recent history which alluded to prominent female leaders of the time. A whakapapa of Rangi and Papa and other atua was found in Volume VI.

White's six volume text is a testimony to his dedication to the huge task of collecting and collating the masses of material which make up the *Ancient History of the Maori*. Tribal derivations were the only sources given for the material, apart from White's acknowledgement of certain informants in the preface of Volume I.[44] It is known that White did not agree to showing whakapapa in his possession to Māori whakapapa experts lest they corrupt his texts (Reilly 1995, 28) so few checks were made by knowledgeable Māori of the material prior to its publication.

In his article entitled 'Seeking the Elusive Mōhio: White and his Māori Informants', Reilly (1990) examined the relationship of White and these people. Reilly explored the informant's role in gathering data; he noted that they sometimes received payment for their services (1990, 45). For some, one could say, there were serious consequences. For example, Te Takurua the tohunga was believed to have breached the law of tapu by 'giving away the secrets of mākutu to a "common man"' (1990, 47). When Te Takurua and his son died suddenly, White appeared to show no signs of remorse, though the deaths were ascribed to their having given information to White (1990, 47).

8.5 The Journal of the Polynesian Society

A fundamental reason for establishing the Polynesian Society and its *Journal* was to preserve a record of Māori life and traditions (Sorrenson 1992, 21, 24), since the decline of the people and their culture was anticipated (Sissons 1991, 3). The *JPS* contains a range of articles by a number of Pākehā contributors, recording traditions of the Māori. The most prolific writers on the subject of Māori were Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, Walter Gudgeon, Edward Tregear, Johannes Andersen, and Henry Skinner. Although Māori would have provided information indirectly for the *Journal*, relatively few contributed directly, making their papers all the more important as primary sources.

In the very first volume of the *Journal*, Percy Smith alluded to Hinetūāhōanga, describing her as 'the goddess or deified ancestress, who is always connected in some form with the production of stone axes' (Smith 1892, 82). Other early submissions to the *Journal* included 'Te tangi a te Rangi-mauri mo Tonga-awhikau', a lament alluding to Rangi embracing Papa, and to te aitanga o Parawhenuamea (Te Rangi-mauri 1896, 112-14),[45] and 'Omens and Superstitious Beliefs of the Maori' by Best, which referred to Miru as the 'Goddess of Hades' (Best 1898, 9). 'Notes on Mythology' contained the names of Kurawaka, Hineahuone, Papa, Huna, Hinerauamoa, Tāwharanui, Panitinaku, among others (Best 1899, 116). In a later article, Best acknowledged Hinenuitepō as the personification of death and the

goddess of Hades (1900, 177). Shand wrote about the Moriori tradition of Rangi and Papa (1895, 33), providing a whakapapa beginning with the two primal parents (1895, 42-43).

8.6 Kate McCosh Clark (1847-1926)

English born Kate McCosh Clark was a community leader, artist and writer of children's books (*DNZB* II, 87-88). She wrote *Maori Tales and Legends* (1896) to record interesting, informative Māori stories for young people. The publication was unusual in the nineteenth century, given that published works about Māori subjects by women writers were extremely rare. The stories of Rangi and Papatua (shortened from Papatūānuku), Pare and Hutu, Hinemoa, Niwareka, Marama and Ina, and lastly Waitiri and Tāwhaki were related in a popular style. Hina, Hinenuitepō, 'The Whetstone Maid' (presumably Hinetūāhōanga, although she was not named), Hinemati,[46] and Hāpai also featured. The authenticity of some details in the stories is dubious, although references provided at the rear of the book indicated that Grey and White were two major sources, Clark knowing Grey personally; in the preface she also stated that King Tāwhiao was one of her informants (1896, ix). The outstanding characteristic of Clark's work, though, is the attention she gave the feminine in the stories and her recognition of the power of atua wāhine in Māori cosmology.

9. Summary 1880-1900

As with the pre-1880 section, the data collected in the final quarter of the nineteenth century provides an important source for subsequent research into Māori traditions, and way of life in general. Of particular significance is the primary material collected and written during this time; generally the information contained therein was provided by Māori who had received a traditional Māori education, although Christian influences may still have come to bear on some of the informants' delivery of their material.

Pākehā attitudes of cultural superiority still predominated at the beginning of the twentieth century. Best, Andersen and their peers were writing prolifically but there were few Māori contributions to the written record. Although information regarding Māori goddesses may still have been relatively accessible in the first decades of the twentieth century, only the following works include atua wāhine to a significant extent: some of Best's writings and Smith's *Lore of the Whare-wananga*, a compilation of the teachings of Te Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū, and the text translation by Smith. Apart from these, only smatterings of information were to be found in unpublished and published works. Goddesses were generally acknowledged by brief mention, with little elaboration. Yet even this cursory treatment suggests that knowledge of atua wāhine was still extant.

Endnotes

[1] The terms atua wāhine and goddesses are employed here to differentiate between female and male gods. These ancestresses of the Māori were also recognised as wāhine whai mana, women who possessed great authority and status.
[2] Many visitors didn't stay long enough to study Māori life and customs at a profound level.

[3] Indeed, Binney referred to the missionaries Kendall, Hall, and King as being determined to destroy the heathen's culture while saving the heathen's soul (Binney 1968, 13).
[4] This occurred after the arrival of Rev. Thomas Chapman in the Rotorua area in 1835. Te Rangikāheke was christened William Maihi (Marsh) and attended the local mission school.
[5] Curnow suggests that because Te Rangikāheke is inconsistent in his use of 'wh', he most probably learned to write before that consonant was first printed in 1844 (1985, 99).
[6] See also Te Rangikāheke's MS-0158, 83 for a reference to Hinerauwhārangi, Rukutia, and Hineteiwaiwa.
[7] The equivalent manuscript found in Turnbull appears to be 'Origins of mankind' (Grey MSY-2091).
[8] Further references can be found in Grey MSY-2076 and MSY-2089 (about four pages after p. 729. The paging of this manuscript is inconsistent).
[9] Mahupuku was the 'Prime Minister' of the Pāpāwai gathering in the Wairarapa where Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū presented their seminars (Simmons 1994, 159).
[10] It appears that Hineteuira/Hineatauira is the South Island equivalent of Hinetītama in the North.
[11] Grey's collection of manuscripts was used as sources for *Nga Mahinga*. Some manuscripts are held at the Turnbull Library: MSY-2055 contained references to Māui, Mahuika, Hinenuitepō, and Hinetītama; MSY-2076 alluded to the separation of Papa and Rangi, and MSY-2091 referred to Hinetūāhōanga.
[12] Only one reference will be made to the year of publication in the next five paragraphs to allow for easier reading of the text.
[13] The composers of these waiata were generally not given, but where mentioned the names will appear in brackets along with the page number where the waiata or karakia is found.
[14] The names used included Puaki-Nuku, Ru-Nuku, Ru-Papa, Aio-Nuku, Wai-o-Nuku. The karakia was a mauri, recited at the end of the purenga ritual (See Grey 1853, 420 note).
[15] The karakia was described as 'Te tukutuku o Hineteiwaiwa.'
[16] In 1928, an expanded version of the book was retitled *Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna*. Of the 198 pages of *Nga Mahi*, at least 50 pages were authored by Te Rangikāheke (Simmons 1966, 179). Also note that no further reference will be made to the year of publication in this paragraph to allow for easier reading of the text.
[17] Although Murirangawhenua's gender is not given, the name is included here as the term tūpuna is used to describe both Murirangawhenua and Hinenuitepō (Grey 1854, 17).
[18] A karakia used at the birth of Hineteiwaiwa's child was recounted (Grey 1854, 57-58).
[19] Thornton 1987, 66. Characteristic of traditional Māori oral narrative, this type of sequence is termed the appositional style (Thornton 1987). It is a style in which an important event in the narrative, though not necessarily first chronologically, is taken as the starting point. The narrative then goes back in time to provide background, eventually returning to the starting point before proceeding further. Stories may contain several such cycles.
[20] Although Simmons has succeeded in unscrambling some of these stories (see 'The Sources of Sir George Grey's *Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna'* 1966), the books themselves remain in the original format.
[21] Grey's extensive collection of unpublished material (some 9,800 pages or more) is held in the Auckland Public Library.
[22] Editor Anaru Reedy in Ruatapu 1993, 11.
[23] Kendall to Pratt, 27 July 1824 (as recorded by Binney 1968, 152 n 129).
[24] Kendall to F. Hall, 31 July 1822 (as recorded by Binney 1968, 152 n 130).
[25] Bernard noted that women 'increasingly fault history … for its neglect of women, so that what history we have is almost exclusively a history of men. Male biases determine not only what is selected for study but also how it is interpreted' (1973, 780).
[26] The comments were made in a lecture entitled 'Māori Superstitions', conducted by White in 1856.
[27] The existence of schools other than the whare wānanga was not considered. That Māori women might have had alternative avenues of instruction was not even discussed in the general case. An exception here is Best's treatment of the Whare Kōhanga.

[28] It is estimated that Te Mātorohanga was born in the late 18th century, or early 19th century as he was an old man when he died (*DNZB* 1993, 519).
[29] Mentioned in Simmons 1994,164. These papers were produced as a result of Ngāti Kahungunu's attempt to collect tribal lore (Simmons 1976, 371-72).
[30] This was called Te Komiti a Tūpai and was a subcommittee of Te Komiti a Tānenuiarangi, set up to oversee a collection of traditional Māori knowledge, and to check that the writings were accurate records. The establishment of the committees was a direct result of the Māori elders' concern about the steady disappearance of Māori traditions expressed at a meeting in Wairarapa in 1899 (Simmons 1994, 117).
[31] See Simmons 1994, 156.
[32] The following extract indicates that Moihi Torohanga (*aka* Te Mātorohanga) was the informant: 'Na ka mea a Moihi Torohanga ki a maua …' (MS-0189-B115, 14). Note that, in referring to page numbers for MS-0189-B115, the page numbers from the original book will be quoted, that is, those which are listed at the side of the typescript and not those given at the top of the foolscap pages.
[33] I refer to a passage about Papa's son, Uepoto (Te Mātorohanga MS-0189-B020, 5).
[34] A loose translation for this title would be 'The Lore of the Ancestors'. In his M.A. thesis, Broughton (1979, 52) cites the manuscript as Ngaa Koorero a Tautahi ki a Rima Wakarua moo Aotea. (Rima is Tautahi's son-in-law who lived from 1877-1936).
[35] The manuscript used for the purposes of this study was part of Marie Rapley's master's thesis (1988): 'The Early Ancestors of Nga Rauru from an Account by Hetaraka Tautahi'.
[36] See the pre-1880s section (unpublished manuscripts) for the names of atua wāhine mentioned therein.
[37] According to this version, Rangipōtiki had three wives Hineahupapa, Papatūānuku, and Papa. Papa had been living with Tangaroa.
[38] Shortland 1977, 28-30 English with notes; 109-10 Māori.
[39] Shortland notes that this karakia was still in use by Te Arawa at the time (1977, 30).
[40] A second version of 'Pinepine te kura' is recorded immediately after the first, also bearing the same goddesses' names.
[41] Tiramōrehu was the source for this material. See Tiramōrehu 1987.
[42] According to this Ngāti Kahungunu version, Paia and Tānenuiarangi were the only ones who could stand erect. It was Paia who said that Rangi should be raised up above.
[43] Variously known as Hineahuone and Hinehāone.
[44] White lists Māori who might have given him information and acknowledges Rev. C. Creed, Rev. R. Taylor, and Rev. J. Wohlers (1887, vi-vii).
[45] The translation provided by Hare Hongi is: '(They burst forth), like the overwhelming deluge' (1896, 115).
[46] Her full name is Hinematikotai. Some of the names, no doubt shortened for the European reader, were wrongly abbreviated; Papatua, Hinemati and Hine-a-te (for Hineaterepo) are irregular forms.

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Theses

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Waitangi and Indigenous Rights:
Revolution, Law and Legitimacy
By F.M. Brookfield
Published by Auckland University Press (1999)
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With this important work, Professor Brookfield brings a fresh legal perspective to the revolutionary conquest of Western expansion and colonisation globally, including New Zealand. This is more than a history lesson: it is a bold vision statement with a revolutionary strategy for the settlement of Waitangi issues. It offers, furthermore, insights into what New Zealand might be like in the future. This book is indeed timely, dealing as it does with so many of today's important issues - The Treaty of Waitangi, the settlement of Maori claims and the Republic of New Zealand.

Professor Brookfield has devoted many years to researching and writing on law and revolution, Waitangi matters and indigenous rights. The conclusions presented here, and the evidence for these conclusions, are the results of this comprehensive research.

This book contributes greatly to the debate on Māori counter-revolutionary resistance over the years, carefully considering the constitutional challenges that have arisen since the establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi. It provides compelling arguments for open and informed debate on constitutional and Waitangi matters.

The work has been constructed and written with a set of clear purposes in mind. At the forefront of these important tasks is the author's intension of defining clearly the concept of revolution. He also considers in detail the constitutional changes and legal orders that legitimise the revolutionary seizure of power.

Brookfield analyses several revolutions in Aotearoa, beginning with the Crown's seizure of power in 1840. He repeatedly raises a number of complicated constitutional issues for debate and careful consideration, never failing to offer a carefully considered perspective on each of these issues. For example, in relation to the claim by some Māori that the 1835 Declaration of Confederation and Independence supported legal rights for iwi and hapu today, he argues that the Independent State of United Tribes did not survive what he refers to as 'the legitimation of state succession' following the revolution of 1840. Indeed, although some Maori counter-revolutions persisted in some areas (such as the King Country, Parihaka, Ngāpuhi in the north and Tūhoe in the Urewera), their legal status as independent nations finally ceased to exist around the end of the nineteenth century. This is not to say, however, that Maori entitlement to equity, cultural, intellectual, and proprietary rights and claims were extinguished. Indeed, what the Crown did to assert its power over New Zealand, and how and why it did it, is explained in terms of the thesis of legitimation of state succession after revolution.

The application of the principles of legitimacy, Brookfield argues, does not apply only between Māori and the Crown: it applies also between Moriori and Maori and between Moriori and the Crown. Thus, the case of the Chathams is a special one, one that deserves wider and more serious consideration.

There is a wealth of ideas, evidence of careful and insightful scholarship, in this publication. These important ideas are likely to have a profound effect on the negotiation of the various major claims yet to be heard by The Waitangi Tribunal or High Court or Court of Appeal. They are also likely to have some influence on judicial decisions in relation to these claims.

In this book, Professor Brookfield has done much to advance the debate about Treaty issues. At the same time, he has launched a revolutionary plan to establish a negotiated constitutional order, an order that could lead New Zealand into the future with a renewed sense of purpose.

Historical Tidbits
Collated by Caroline Matthieson
Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao
The School of Maori and Pacific Development
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
University of Waikato

1835	The first book published in Aotearoa, a Maori translation of *The Epistle to the Philippians and the Ephesians*: William Colenso's press in Paihia on February 17, 1835. <http://webnz.com/tekorero/korero-archive.html>
1852	*Constitution Act* established Provincial Government. Only males over 21 who had individual title to property of a certain value were entitled to vote. Very few Maori males were able to do so. <http://www.nzhistory.net.**nz**/Links/Treaty.htm>
1863	Governor Grey invades the Waikato region ***Suppression of Rebellion Act:*** **No right to trial before imprisonment. Intention was to punish "certain aboriginal tribes of the colony" for rebelling against the Crown.** *New Zealand Settlement Act*: Over three million acres of Maori land confiscated to pay for the war. **<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>**
1864	*Native Reserves Act* established. All remaining land reserved for Maori use put under settler control. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1865	*Native Land Court* established. Designed to determine ownership. Maori owners had to spend many months in town waiting to have their cases heard. If they did not show up, they lost the right to the land. This caused many of them to build up debts and they consequently had to sell land to pay for them. Maori owners had to pay for any surveying work that had to be done. Many Maori owners sold land rather than go through the humiliating experience of the Land Court sitting. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1867	*Maori Representation Act* established. Four Maori seats in Parliament established. A response to Pakeha fear that Maori (who by now had a majority under the property qualification clause of the *1852 Constitution Act* in a number of electorates) could gain a majority in Government. *The Native Schools Act*: Extended the parameters of the 1858 Act. These schools would assist in the process of assimilation. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>

1869	A new Maori version of the Treaty was requested by the Government: "Kawanatanga" in Article 1 is replaced by "nga mana Katoa o te Rangatiratanga" <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1871	A Government stipulation that instruction in Native Schools had to be in English. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1877	The Treaty is declared a nullity by Judge Prendergast in the Bishop of Wellington v Wi Parata case. Legislation was introduced to allow direct purchase of Maori land. Breach of *Article 2*. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1879	An amendment by Grey of the *Native Land Act* made it easier for small farmers to secure Maori land. The Government sabotaged the Commission that was set up to investigate land confiscation in Taranaki. *Peace Preservation Bill*: One year's hard labour for Maori people who refused to leave their abodes. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1880	*Maori Prisoners' Act*: 200 Maori arrested in Taranaki for preventing the surveying of confiscated land. Kept in prison for an indefinite period without trial. *West Coast Settlement Act*: Any Maori in Taranaki could be arrested without a warrant and jailed for two years with hard labour if they built anything or in any way hindered the surveying or property. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1881	*Native Reserves Act*: The control of Maori reserves is taken over by the Public Trustee. 2500 troops invade Parihaka and Te Whiti the prophet is arrested. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1886	Te Whiti re-arrested (under the *West Coast Preservation Act* of 1881) without warrant, charge or trial and jailed for three months. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1887	*Native Land Act*: Large-scale direct purchase of Maori land. Bastion Point, Auckland appropriated for defence purposes. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>

1892	The *Native Department* abolished. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1897	92 Maori in Taranaki arrested for ploughing land in protest of Public Trustee control of their lands. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1908	*Tohunga Suppression Act*: Penalties were imposed on tohunga (experts in Maori medicine and Maori spirituality). <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1909	*Native Health Act*: Maori could no longer use the whangai system for adopting children. Maori women could no longer breastfeed! <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1918	Maori servicemen who returned after WWI were not eligible for the benefits of the Rehabilitation Scheme. The scheme was only available to Pakeha servicemen. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1932	Ratana M.I.'s present petition with 30,000 signatures calling for ratification of the Treaty. It was ignored. Maori received half the unemployment benefit given to the Pakeha. A single Maori received 7s 6d and a Pakeha 15s. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1933	1 October, Te Rata (the third Māori King), of Tainui, Ngāti Mahuta tribes, Te Rata, died on this day. Written by Angela Ballara. Essay from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* vol.4 (1998) **<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Maori/Mbfram.html>**
1933	8 October, Koroki Te Rata Mahuta Tawhiao Potatau Te Wherowhero was crowned as the fourth Māori King on the day of his fathers funeral. **Written by Angela Ballara. Essay from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* vol.4 (1998)** **<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Maori/Mbfram.html>**
1946	The Tainui Maori Trust Board was established. **Written by Angela Ballara. Essay from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* vol.4 (1998)** <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Maori/Mbfram.html>
1949	30 March, Koroki and 600 supporters presented Fraser with a petition demanding the maintainence of an agreement for liquor to be banned from the King Country in return for railway and other developments. **Written by Angela Ballara. Essay from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* vol.4 (1998)** **<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Maori/Mbfram.html>**

1953	Maori Affairs Act: If Maori land was not occupied or being used then it was declared "waste land" and taken by the Government. Town and Country Planning Act: Prevented Maori from building on their land. This forced many Maori to move from rural areas to the cities. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1953	30 December, Queen Elizabeth visited Tūrangawaewae Marae **Written by Angela Ballara. Essay from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* vol.4 (1998)** **<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Maori/Mbfram.html>**
1960	The Hunn Report: Jack Hunn, a top-ranking civil servant, recommended a stepping up of the assimilation process. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1966	23 May, Piki (the daughter of the fourth Māori King) was crowned,Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu a few hours before Koroki's burial on Taupiri. **Written by Angela Ballara. Essay from *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* vol.4 (1998)** **<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Maori/Mbfram.html>**
1971	1971 was the United Nations year for the elimination of racial discrimination, and there was talk among Maori of an appeal to the UN. Waitangi ceremonies were disrupted by incidents organised by the Auckland-based group Nga Tamatoa; the following year Nga Tamatoa staged a walk-out. The gap to be bridged in mutual understanding can be gauged by the Governor-General's ill-chosen comments: 'I just do not believe that racism or discrimination exists in this country', said Sir Arthur Porritt, who considered that Maori–Pakeha relationships were being dealt with adequately through intermarriage. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Gallery/treaty/protest71.htm>
1984	1984 was a watershed year. A hikoi (march) to Waitangi, organised in protest against ‘celebrating' the day, included representatives of many tribes, church leaders and some Pakeha. The impact of the protest was blunted when Governor-General David Beattie, James Henare and Hiwi Tauroa waited in vain for two hours to meet hikoi leaders. But the expression of kotahitanga (oneness of purpose) was impressive, and two hui followed, calling for a Maori consensus on the treaty and no further Waitangi ‘celebrations' until the treaty had been ‘honoured' (a term much used thereafter). <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Gallery/treaty/waitangi1980.htm>
1986	The Crown created a property right with the introduction of a fisheries quota system. A breach of Article 2. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>

1990	Maori Fisheries Act: Re-definition of an important part of Article 2, which guarantees Maori *"full exclusive possession of the Lands and Estates, Forest, Fisheries"*. By 31st October 1992 Maori are granted 10% of the fishing quota. The Government has re-defined full as 10%. A further breach of the Treaty agreement. <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/Links/Treaty.htm>
1995 April	Cathy Dewes was elected Ngati Rangitihi representative to Te Arawa Trust Board, after a 16 month battle over her right as a woman to stand, including High Court action. Heneriata Whaingata (Tai) Green, a daughter of Sir Apirana Ngata and thought to be the first Maori woman to attend a NZ university, died in Rotorua aged 90. Former NZ Governor General Sir Paul Reeves was sworn in as chairman of Fiji's constitutional review committee. The other members are former speaker Tomasi Vakatora as government nominee and Australian academic Dr Brij Lai, a Fijian expatriate, as Opposition rep. Customs appointed long-serving staff member Riki Moeau Maori perspectives co-ordinator. His job includes identifying the importance of artefacts and taonga entering and leaving the country. Whangarei sickness beneficiary Joseph Murphy, 39, was charged with dishonouring the NZ flag by trampling on it at Waitangi on Feb 6. His request the case be heard on Waitangi marae by his own people was refused. Hamilton Youth Court judge David Brown turned down a father's request his 16-year-old son face kidnapping, armed robbery and conversion charges on his home marae. The Raglan man said kaumatua and the victims were the appropriate people to judge the case. Judge Morris said the law was administered in the recognised court system. In convicting Steven Andrew Waaka, 24, of refusing to supply a blood sample and refusing to accompany police, Tauranga District Court Judge David Wilson said several High Court decisions made it clear the Transport Act applied to all people. Waaka told police that under the Treaty of Waitangi they had no authority to test him, and that under the Declaration of Independence he had a right to have his elder there. Vandals hacked the penis off a carving of ancestor Te Au o Te Whenua at Arataki Visitors Centre in Auckland's Waitakere Ranges. Arson severely damaged Te Aitarakihi Multicultural Centre's marae in Timaru April 10. Chairman Dan De Har refused to link it to racial tension round the country, or to a graffiti attack in December when "One statue: 10 niggers" was scrawled on the building. The marae was built over the past 16 years for non-Ngai Tahu people in the

1995 April (contd.)	district, and opened last year. Community member Mike Tahi said North Island problems weren't the business of South Island Maori, and the fire must have been set by out-of-towners because "We don't have a racial problem in Timaru." Squatters moved onto the Allan Titford farm at Maunganui Bluff, which is included in Te Roroa claim. Mr Titford moved to Australia after negotiations to sell it to the Crown broke down. A group from Te Paatu hapu of Ngati Kahu occupied Takahue school near Kaitaia on March 29.The land is owned by the army. Tina Perry from Te Paatu said the hapu wanted direct negotiations about the site. Muriwhenua Runanga executive officer Matiu Rata said the land was already in the Muriwhenua claim land bank, and would be returned when the wider claim was settled. Te Paatu should negotiate a lease for the school. <http://webnz.com/tekorero/korero-archive.html>
1995 May	Kahu Morrison, mother of Sir Howard Morrison and grandmother on Temuera, died in Rotorua on May 9 aged 84. Mrs Morrison was awarded the Queens Service Medal in 1987, and performed with her son until last year. Actor and director Don Selwyn won the arts and culture section of the Awards of NZ. 7 May, Pakaitore Maori sent a letter to Treaty Negotiations Minister Doug Graham seeking direct talks with the Crown rather than the council, because of the treaty and sovereignty implications. Mr Graham rejected talks because the Government won't discuss sovereignty. <http://webnz.com/tekorero/korero-archive.html>
1996 September	Samoan director Sima Urale's film *O Tamaiti* won the best short film award at the 53rd Venice International Film Festival in Italy. It was produced by Kara Paewai and filmed in Wellington. Emma Paki released her debut album, *Oxygen of Love*, after a two year hiatus. Whakatane private training establishment Te Whare o Awanuiarangi was given university status. Chief executive Himiona Nuku said it would allow the centre to offer a wider range of courses. <http://webnz.com/tekorero/korero-archive.html>
1997 November	A 6.5m carving by Heke Collier , believed to be the largest in the country, was unveiled in Opotiki,despite being slightly singed in an arson attack. The Tainui Maori Trust Board celebrated its 50th birthday by giving a $230,000 Mercedes Benz S500 limousine to Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu . Board chairman Hare Puke said the cost was

1997 November (contd.)	insignificant: "This is the admiration of the people for Te Arikinui. I think this is just reward." Given the tens of thousands of kilometres a year the Maori Queen clocks up attending hui and tangi, the gift should relieve her supporters of some concerns over her safety. Maori Council foundation member and deputy chairman Sir John Mokonuiarangi Bennett died in his Havelock North home Oct. 28 aged 85. Sir John, a teacher for 40 years, became chairman of the Maori Education Foundation in 1975 and later chairman of the Kohanga Reo Trust, playing a key role in the revitalisation of the Maori language. He is survived by five of his six children, and by his eight brothers and sisters, including Sir Charles Bennett and Bishop Manu Bennett . Entertainer Robbie Ratana died at his Mangere home Nov. 7 aged 55. Ratana worked in show bands on the international circuit, particularly with the late Prince Tui Teka, before returning home . Emma Coyne of Whangarei won a NZ Senior Achievers Award. Coyne, 75, was the first Maori to attend the Bible College of NZ, going on to join the United Maori Mission, taking school bible classes in the Northland region. She is also a kuia of Pehiaweri Marae and Northland Health Services. <http://webnz.com/tekorero/korero-archive.html>
1999 August	A Wellington jury Aug. 6 awarded activist **Dun Mihaka** $5000 compensation from the *New Truth* for a Feb. 95 article describing him as a "bare buttocks" "fun loving" protester. Mihaka said made him sound like he protested for the fun of it. Justice **John Wild** reserved judgment to hear arguments from News Media Auckland Ltd that the story was covered by qualified privilege. <http://webnz.com/tekorero/korero-archive.html>
1999 October 28	Taranaki Maori marched on Oct. 28 to commemorate the signing of the 1835 Declaration of Independence. Organiser **Takawai Murphy** said the document was still as significant for Maori people, because it acknowledged Maori sovereignty. "The Government ignored it for a long time and has consistently discredited it, but to Maori it has status and mana." Historian **Bill Oliver** said while Murphy offered a fair representation of the Maori nationalist position, "it would not be accepted by most historians". He said the declaration was not a sign Maori were seeking to "retain their authority", because in 1835 their authority was not under threat. "There would have been lots of meetings and debates over that 15 to 20 year period, but I've not heard of any evidence that matters of sovereignty were discussed." <http://webnz.com/tekorero/korero-archive.html>

TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAIKATO

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
THE SCHOOL OF MAORI AND PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT

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Dean's Welcome

Nau mai haere mai

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao (The School of Māori and Pacific Development) aims to lead the way for the new millennium as an educator and research institute in Māori and Indigenous Studies. In achieving this we strive to be a world centre of excellence in teaching and research. Underpinning our School activities is the commitment to the advancement of Māori through the teachings of Te Reo, Tikanga, and indigenous development. With our quest for knowledge, Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao is committed to building long term relationships. Our School aims to provide life long learning opportunities and to prepare our students for successful careers. We welcome all to join our whānau at Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao.

Professor Tamati Reedy
Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

The School consists of several departments that contribute to our vision of uplifting the people:

- Te Tari Māori
- Development Studies
- Te Tīmatanga Hou
- Te Whakapiki i te Reo
- Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research
- Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research
- MSAAC

Te Tari Māori

Our School was founded on the strong teachings of Te Reo (Māori Language) and Tikanga (Māori Protocol or Traditions). It is through the teachings of language and traditions that the School aims to maintain and develop the cultural identity of Māori as indigenous peoples of New Zealand.

Staff at our School are involved in a wide range of activities outside of their teaching duties. Staff are involved in activities such as iwi/hapū management and treaty negotiations, kapa haka and other Māori performing arts, which all contribute to the teachings and learning within Te Tari Māori and our School.

By maintaining and developing Māori cultural identity, the School plays an important role in indigenous nation building in New Zealand.

Development Studies

Our Development Studies department offers the opportunity for incorporating the international dimensions of development issues for our School. Alongside the Māori development issues, the department offers learning about other indigenous peoples and the challenges they face in nation building. The department provides a multidisciplinary approach to learning by offering courses from a wide range of fields that relate to issues of development.

Te Tīmatanga Hou

Te Tīmatanga Hou is a foundation programme designed for Māori students in mind. The programme is taught under a kaupapa Māori philosophy where tikanga, and te reo are incorporated where possible. The programme targets in particular Māori who do not have any previous tertiary education study experience and require preparation for entering the tertiary education environment. This is a commitment by the University and the School for providing accessibility to tertiary education for Māori through providing sufficient academic preparation in a culturally sensitive environment.

Te Whakapiki i Te Reo

Te Whakapiki i te Reo offers practicing teachers the opportunity to enhance and develop their language proficiency and competency. The course further seeks to develop language skills for the delivery of Māori as a second language. This service helps the School to achieve the promotion and development of Te Reo outside and beyond the tertiary level of education.

Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research

Given our School's relative youth, we have been successful in securing and undertaking research contracts. There are currently three major areas of research which different research teams, from the School and University, are undertaking:
1) Māori Sustainable Development in Te Puku o Te Ika
2) He Rangahau Tikanga Māori - Traditional Fisheries Research Project
3) Māori Language Proficiency Tests for Year 5 and Year 8
The School will be opening a new Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research, which will help to manage the research activities within the School.

Māori Student Academic Advisory Centre (MSAAC)

To support Māori students studying at the University of Waikato, a centre was established to provide advice and a friendly environment for Māori students. MSAAC services provide academic advice and support Māori students to ensure there is a high retention rate of Māori students at the tertiary level. Students who approach MSAAC will find an environment that encourages academic learning with a particular focus on tikanga Māori, supporting both the cultural and academic development.

Guidelines for Final Submission of Article for JMPD

General

Manuscripts should be in Times 12 cpi with 1.5 spacing and fully justified. There should be the equivalent of one line left between paragraphs within sections and new paragraphs should not be indented. Articles that are 20 pages in length or shorter are preferred. The manuscript should **NOT** have numbered pages but should have a footer on each page with the first three words of the title.

Title

The title should be in Times 12 cpi boldface and should be centred on the page. The title should indicate as clearly as possible the nature of the content of the manuscript. All content words of the title are to have an initial capital letter.

Abstract

Each article must include an abstract of not more than 200 words. The heading Abstract should be in Times 12 cpi boldface, and centered.

Headings

Level 1 headings should be capitalized in the same way as the main title, and centered. The font used is Times 12 boldface. The format for *level 2 headings* is the same as for *level 1 headings* except that the font is Times 11, and the heading is justified to the left of the column. There should be the equivalent of a one line space between level 1 and level 2 headings and the following text. The format for *level 3 headings* is the same as for level 2 headings, except that the font is Times 10, and there should be no space left between the heading and the text.

References within the text

All references within the text should be placed in parentheses containing the author's surname followed by a comma and a space before the date of publication (Jones, 1999). If the sentence already includes the author's name, then it is necessary only to put the date in parentheses: Jones (1999). When several works are cited, each entry should be separated by a semicolon: (Jones, 1999; Peters, 1995; Simon, 1993). When a reference has more than three authors, cite only the name of the first author followed by *et al* in every subsequent reference to the same work. When including page references, separate them from the date by a comma and a space (Jones, 1999, 7 – 14). Page numbers should be indicated as follows: Peters (1999, p. 1), Jones (1998, pp. 4 - 7).

Endnotes

Endnotes are indicated within the text by a number[2] in superscript. They should be in Times 9, and appear together at the end of the article and before the reference list.

Tables and Figures

All tables and figures should be centered in the manuscript. Tables and figures should be numbered in the text, and should be preceded by a caption in Times 12 cpi italic. The equivalent of one line space should be left between captions and the tables or figures to which they refer. Captions and the tables or figures to which they refer should always appear together on the same page.

References

References should be listed in alphabetical order at the end of the article. The title of the section, 'References', should be a *level 1 heading*. The first line of each bibliographical reference must be justified to the left of the column, and the rest of the entry should be indented five spaces. The following examples (of fictitious references) illustrate the format required for conference proceedings, books, journals, articles, Ph.D. theses, and chapters of books respectively:

Jones, L.E. (1999). Marae Protocol. In *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society for Māori Language Revitalisation* (pp. 71 -- 133). Wellington, NZ: Te Rapa Books.

Peters, S.O. (1997). *Words and Meanings*. London: Groves and Parker.

Stephens, E. & Jones, A.E. (1987). An Experimental Approach to Case, *Journal of Case Studies*, 2 (3), 12 - 17.

Houia, A. (1992). Common Syntactic Errors in Young Learners of Greek. Doctoral Thesis. University of Te Rapa, Auckland.

Edmonds, A.B. (1991). Scaffolding Second Language Learning. In T. A. Stone, A.T. Bread & V. Matthews (Eds.), *Scaffolding in Education* (pp. 12-48).Wellington, NZ: Learning Media.

Policy regarding use of the macron

The editors will respect the decisions made by authors in relation to their use of the macron in text written in English and/or Maori. Where Maori words are included by the editors themselves in text written in English, the macron will not be used in cases where a particular word (such as, for example, the word *Maori* itself) is deemed by the editors to have been fully integrated into New Zealand English. Thus, the macron is not used in the title of the Journal.

Submission

Each manuscript should be submitted on white A4 paper (3 copies) and sent to the Production Editor (Dr. Winifred Crombie) at *Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao (*the School of Māori and Pacific Development), Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato (University of Waikato), Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand.

The manuscript should be accompanied by a Word Disk and/or also sent by email attachment to <crombie@waikato.ac.nz>. Author's names should **NOT** be included in the manuscript but should be indicated in an accompanying letter in which institutional affiliations, institutional addresses, email addresses and phone and fax numbers are also included. The accompanying letter should indicate clearly whether the content of the manuscript has, in the same or similar form, either (a) been delivered as a conference paper and, if so, where and when, or (b) been produced or published in any other context and, if so, where and when.

Acknowledgments

Place all acknowledgements (including those concerning research grants and funding) in a separate section at the end of the article.