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TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

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The *Pene Haare* manuscript and issues associated with the translation of historical texts written in indigenous languages

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***Figure 1*:** Ngakuru Pene Haare, date unknown[1]

Abstract

With particular reference to a request to translate into English a manuscript dated 1923 and written by the Māori author Ngakuru Pene Haare, we identify here a range of issues and problems associated with the translation of historical texts written in indigenous languages, suggesting ways in which they might be addressed. Among the problems identified in this case are the paucity of information that is publicly available about the author, the context in which he lived and worked and the events about which he wrote, the absence, or sporadic use in the manuscript of a range of conventions associated with contemporary writing, the occurrence of archaic and/or esoteric words and expressions, and the presence of symbolism that is deeply culturally-embedded. The primary conclusion is that the translation of manuscripts such as this must be ethically-grounded and fully research-embedded. It must therefore involve the mentorship of knowledgeable elders, be guided by procedures that are appropriate in terms of the culture out of which the source text emerged, accompanied by meticulous and wide-ranging research, and take full account of the wishes of the author of the manuscript where these have been stated, or can be inferred.

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Introduction
In September 2007, a copy of a typewritten transcript of a manuscript was given to a member of staff of the University of Waikato by Bella Wade and Stephen Burke, descendants of the manuscript s author, who requested that the University provide a scholarly treatment and translation into English of the original text. Provided at a later date were copies of the minutes of a sitting of the Native Land Court in 1904, letters written by the author and a copy of the original handwritten manuscript.

The Pene Haare manuscript itself (*MS 89/116*) is dated *11 Maehe* (March) *1923*. The author's name is recorded as *Nga Kuru Pene Hare Te Wao*, and the place of writing as *Ngatuna* (in the Hokianga region of Aotearoa/ New Zealand). The manuscript, consisting of 239 leaves, contains accounts of at least 62 Ngāpuhi battles which are recorded (in the Auckland War Memorial Museum library catalogue) as having taken place circa 1820 to 1840. The manuscript, which includes indices and in-text and marginal notes, is handwritten in the Te Rarawa ki Hokianga dialect of te reo Māori of the author's time. The handwriting is neat and, for the most part, legible. There is little evidence of many now familiar writing conventions (such as the use of full stops and capital letters to signal the end of one sentence and the beginning of the next and the signalling of long vowels). The manuscript first came into the public domain in 1987, when it was presented to the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library by Fred Penney, a grandson of the author. Four of the letters referred to above are from Pene Haare to Hare Hongi (an interpreter and writer); one is from Pene Haare to Sir Apirana Ngata (a prominent scholar and statesman). The first four (to Hare Hongi) are dated December 17, 1919; October 20, 1930; November 14, 1930; and November 26, 1930. The last (to Apirana Ngata) is dated August 20, 1943. These letters, the originals of which are held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, proved to be an invaluable source of information about Pene Haare himself and his manuscript.

The first step in seeking to identify and address issues and problems associated with the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript into English was to critically review selected literature on the theory and practice of translation, including literature written by the growing number of Māori scholars who have focused on issues associated with translation involving Māori and English. The next step was to explore the issues and problems that emerged from the critical literature review in the light of a close reading of the copies of the original handwritten manuscript and the typed transcript, letters written by the author and other writings by, or directly influenced by, him, photographs of the author that reveal important information about him, and a wide range of sources of information and opinion (written and oral) about the author and/ or the times and places in which he lived and the events about which he wrote.

Critical review of selected literature on the theory and practice of translation and related matters
Attempts to define 'translation' and to specify the role of the translator
Translation has been broadly defined as: "an activity that aims at conveying the meaning or meanings of a given linguistic discourse from one language to another" (Zaky, 2000, ¶1); and "the transfer of the meaning of a text . . . from one language to

another for a new readership" (Newmark, 1996, p. 5). Such definitions are inadequate in a number of important respects, the most significant of which is that they are predicated on a simplistic interpretation of the concept of 'meaning', one that assumes that meanings are linguistically encoded (rather than a result of the interaction between text and context) and available to be transferred from one language to another. In fact, as Newmark[2] (1996, p. 5) observes, 'meaning' is a complex and multi-faceted concept:

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

In a way that is reminiscent of the definitions provided by Zaky (2000) and Newmark (1996) above, Houbert (1998, ¶1) defines translation as "conveying the meaning expressed by the original writer", adding that it is essentially "a process whereby a message expressed in a specific source language is linguistically transformed in order to be understood by readers of the target language".[3] This suggests not only that authorial intentions are directly embedded in texts but also that it is possible to embed these same intentions in texts written in different languages, languages that necessarily involve different cultural presuppositions. The reality is, however, that even in the case of the most direct transactional communication, such a view of translation is unacceptable. As Roa (2004, p. 44) observes, the Māori terms for translation (*whakamāori*, for translation into Māori and *whakapākehā* for translation into English) have implicit within them the concept of creativity: whaka- meaning 'to cause to become'. Thus, translation is always a creative process, the role of the translator (*kaiwhakamāori*/ *kaiwhakapākehā*) being essentially a creative one. Thus, for Roa (2003, p. 5):

> [Translation is] a complex process whose purpose is to attempt to cross linguistic, cultural and, often, historical boundaries in such a way as to open up . . . meanings and significances of texts written in one language to audiences who are not well positioned to fully appreciate the original and therefore require some form of representation of that original text in another language.

The emphasis in the extract from Roa quoted above is on meanings and significances. In the work of Thriveni (2002), which focuses on literary translation, the emphasis is on culture. For Thriveni (p. 5), translation is "a complicated and vital task", one of the main goals of which is to initiate the target reader into the sensibilities of the source language culture. It is, however, important to emphasize here the fact that translation is always an approximation: it can never be a substitute for the source language and culture. Thus, Roa (2003, p. 16) notes that Apirana Ngata's rationale for translating Māori waiata into English was to provide a foundation for the ongoing study of Māori literary and artistic works. As Palmer maintains in the foreword to Ngata's *Ngā*

Mōteatea, a translation can never be an adequate substitute for the original (Māori) text (Ngata, 2004/ 1959, p. xiii). It follows, therefore, that, as Newmark (1988a, p. 21) maintains, there are, in the area of translation, "no cast iron rules . . . no absolutes".

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

Depending on various factors, including the nature of the source text, translation may perform a wide range of different functions. It may, for example, involve little more than communication of a 'simple'[4] message (Newmark, 1988a, p. 5) or it may have a more complex function, which may be "as much to transmit knowledge and to create understanding between groups and nations, as to transmit culture" (p. 10). James (2002, ¶6) notes that since language and culture are inseparable and since translation is an activity which necessarily involves two languages and two cultural traditions, cultural complexity in the process of translation is inevitable. It involves, in the words of Bassnett (1997, p. 11), an attempt to "cross boundaries and enter into new territory". As Hatim and Munday (2004) observe, the translator has a mediating role, mediating between different languages and cultures or even different varieties of the same language.

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

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

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

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

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

The task of translating begins with a thorough reading of the source text (Houbert, 1998; Steiner, 1998). Different types of source text will require different types of knowledge and understanding. Thus, for example, Beekman and Callow (1974, p. 34) argue that for biblical translators, exegesis, involving the critical exploration or interpretation of the source text "according to hermeneutical principles", is fundamental. Similarly, Newmark (1988a, p. 11) views *analysis* of the source text as the first stage of a translation. His recommendation is that a general reading be undertaken, followed by a close reading. The general reading enables the translator to get the 'gist' of the text. The close reading allows him or her to analyse it from "a translator's point of view", one which he distinguishes from that of a linguist or a literary critic. In this close reading, Newmark (p. 11) observes, the translator will be aiming to determine the intention of the text and the way it is written (including text-type or category, register and emotional tone), and to identify any recurring issues or problems.

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

> In any attempt to examine the communicative nature of the translating task, a number of assumptions will have to be made about texts, their users and the context in which they occur. Such assumptions will take the form of

> hypothetical statements which we as researchers make in the light of our current understanding of how communication works.

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

The elusive concept of a unified theory of translation

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

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

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

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

> A good share of them, in fact, are not actually theories at all in any scholarly sense of the term, but an array of axioms, postulates and hypotheses that are so formulated as to be both too inclusive (covering also non-translatory acts and

non-translations) and too exclusive (shutting out some translatory acts and some works generally recognized as translations).

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

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

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

Approaches to translation

Various 'approaches' to translation have been proposed. These include 'literalism' versus 'humanism' (Hermans, 1997), 'transference' versus 'componential analysis' (Newmark, 1988a) and 'formal equivalence' versus 'dynamic equivalence' (Nida, 1964). All of these dichotomies can be seen to relate to one another.

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

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

that it can result in a translated text that is both clumsy and potentially misleading (in that it is impossible in many cases to capture connotations linguistically).

Nida's concept of 'formal equivalence' involves the translator in attempting to match elements of the source text with those of the translated text, for example, poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, concept to concept (Nida, 2000, p. 129). Within the context of this approach, Nida advocates 'gloss translation', a process whereby the form and content of the source text are reproduced as faithfully as possible (p. 129). 'Dynamic equivalence' is not concerned to match the target language 'message' with the source language 'message' but to achieve a match between the way in which the original receptors are/were likely to respond to the 'message' and the way in which the receptors of the translated text are likely to respond. Thus, the aim is to achieve natural expression in the target text and to "relate the receptor to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his [sic] culture . . . [rather than] insist that he [sic] understands the patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message" (p. 129).

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

In the context of biblical translation, Beekman and Callow (1974, pp. 21-25) outline four possible approaches: *Highly Literal, Modified Literal, Idiomatic* and *Unduly Free.* They consider only two of these to be 'acceptable'. The 'highly literal' approach is deemed to be unacceptable because it is likely to result in a target text that is unnatural, ambiguous and potentially misleading (p.20). The 'unduly free' approach is also deemed unacceptable since, in focusing solely on the message and making no attempt to reproduce the linguistic form of the original, it fails to communicate what the original communicated. Both the 'modified literal' and 'idiomatic' approaches are considered by Beekman and Callow to be acceptable, the latter being the preferred approach where a translated text is intended for general use. Beekman and Callow (p. 33) contend that whatever approach is adopted, there must be 'dynamic fidelity', that is, the linguistic form should be natural and the message should be meaningful, or clearly and readily understood by the readership. Thus, the translator must follow, according to Beekman and Callow (1974), two guiding principles: fidelity to the meaning of the original and fidelity to the dynamics of the original. In connection with this, they note (p. 44) that:

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

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

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

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

Accordingly, Roa (2003, p. 16) recommends, with particular reference to the translation into English of Māori mōteatea (laments), a 'gloss' approach in which the aim is to make the target text as comprehensible as possible to the target readership whilst ensuring that it is also as faithful as possible to the original. In such a case, where culturally specific references that are retained in the translation may prove incomprehensible to the target readership, Roa proposes that the necessary background information be provided as footnotes accompanying the translation. In this way, cultural, historical and linguistic information is provided without unnecessarily encumbering the translated text.

Translation and historical context

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

A critical aspect of context is historical context. Thus Steiner notes that translators must master the temporal and local settings of source texts (Steiner, 1998, p. 26). The reality is, however, that it is impossible to wholly 'master' temporal and local settings. The past cannot be discovered or recreated. Like the present, it is a social construct. Every historical discourse is therefore necessarily subjective, contingent, value-laden, rhetorical and political. Within the context of discourse theory, discourses and the identities produced through them are conceived of as inherently political entities that involve the exercise of power. Thus what may appear to be 'historical truths' are 'myths' that converge on a number of 'nodal points' which, if they are successful in gaining widespread acceptance, are transformed into collective social 'imaginaries' which converge to form 'horizons' (such as, for example, what has frequently been

referred to as 'the Enlightenment'). Discourse theorists are not relativists. They do not believe that all positions have equal status. They do, however, replace the concept of 'historical truth' by one of 'fixation', noting that in the ongoing political struggle to 'fix' meanings, some positions emerge as having greater explanatory adequacy than others (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987, pp. 79-105). It is only, I believe, in accepting that meaning is constructed through discourse, that discourse is essentially rhetorical, and that there can, therefore, be no ultimately authoritative rendering of 'messages' (Derrida, 1978 [1967]) that translators can approach the task of translation in a way that fully acknowledges that their best efforts will be approximations. It is, for me, important to bear this in mind in approaching the task of attempting to situate the Pene Haare manuscript historically. Not only does it come to us from the past, but it comes to us as a representation of events that were in the past when the manuscript was written, events that will themselves have been transformed in the processes of telling and retelling and that, in being translated into English, will inevitably be transformed again in the further process of retelling, a process made even more complex by the different concept of 'pastness' that imbues 'pre-literate'[5] or primary oral societies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To complicate the issue further, S. Percy Smith noted in 1898 (p. 1) the dearth of information regarding Ngāpuhi early history. In considering why much less has been written about the Hokianga region than Northland Bay of Islands, Lee (1996) refers to the differences in the character and development of the two areas as contributing factors. The Bay of Islands was a hub of commercial activity, centring on the port, the whaling industry and trade between Māori and Pākehā. At one point in the 1830s, at least a quarter of the Europeans in New Zealand lived in the Bay of Islands. It was also the initial site of the Anglican mission movement in New Zealand. Hokianga, however, was still very much under the political influence of the Hokianga chiefs at this time, with resident Europeans being in the minority. It is largely for this reason, according to Lee, that the recording of early Hokianga histories was "rather more dispersed and fragmentary" (p. 9). He adds, however, that the histories of the Hokianga may yet make better reading than those of the Bay of Islands "if only because its very early oral records have been better preserved" (p. 10). Within this context, and bearing in mind the fact that Matiu & Mutu, (2003, p. 13) lament the lack of "our own history and traditions from within our own worldview and descriptive frameworks", the importance of the Pene Haare manuscript cannot be overestimated. In considering why Pene Haare may have written this manuscript, it may be relevant to bear in mind that Sissons, Wī Hongi and Hohepa (1999/2001, p. 80) note that a major aim of a manuscript written by Wī Hongi in 1935 (which consists of excerpts from his grandfather's wānanga book or 'book of learning') was to "explicate genealogical and geographical relationships between Ngā Puhi hapū" and, in doing so, to confirm the status of Ngāpuhi as tāngata whenua, or people of the land. It is also relevant to note that manuscripts of a similar nature to that written by Pene Haare form an integral part of the political history of the Ngāpuhi tribes of the inland Bay of Islands written by Sissons et al. (1999/2001).

The translation of imagery, symbolism and metaphor

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

(1988b, p. 96), metaphor is central to "all problems of translation theory, semantics and linguistics". He distinguishes five different types of metaphor, ranging from one-word metaphors through complex metaphors of two or more words or idioms to "nearly all proverbs . . . complete poems . . . and perhaps allegories" (p. 85). Snell-Hornby (1988, pp. 56) sees "metaphor [as] text" and as "a complex of three dimensions" - object, image and sense. She contends that the difficulty involved in translating metaphors stems from their "language-specific idiosyncrasies" (p. 63), the fact that different cultures conceptualize and create symbols in varying ways. She concludes that whether a metaphor is 'translatable', how difficult it is to translate, how it can be translated and whether it should be translated at all cannot be decided by a set of abstract rules, but must depend on the *structure* and *function* of the particular metaphor within the text concerned (pp. 62-63). Steiner (1998, p. 252) argues that meaning can never be regarded as completely separate from expressive form since even the most apparently arbitrary or neutral terms are "embedded in linguistic particularity . . . an intricate mold of cultural-historical habit", and are therefore never absolutely transparent. Beekman and Callow (1974, pp. 137-141) consider the 'implicit' aspect of metaphor to be the main reason why it is so often misunderstood in translation. In the context of Bible translation, they observe that the translator of metaphor must employ both sensitivity and flexibility - sensitivity to the reactions of, and the difficulties faced by, the target audience and flexibility in relation to his/her approach to translation. Options open to the translator include: retaining the metaphorical term (where the transfer of the image is comprehensible to the target readership); translating the metaphor as a simile, thus making implicit elements more explicit; or combining elements of metaphor, simile and non-figurative language in the translation (pp. 143-150). Where there is resistance on the part of the receptor readership to figurative language, however, Beekman and Callow advocate a non-figurative (or literal) translation of metaphor, in order that the 'correct' meaning is conveyed, for to do otherwise would result in a failure of exegetical accuracy (p. 143).
It is a feature of some recently published books on Māori written histories with English translations that the *process* employed in those translations has not been indicated or elaborated.[6] To a considerable extent, the translator working between te reo Māori and English is reliant on the observations made by earlier scholars (such as Grey (1857), Biggs (1952), Ngata (1959) and Mead (1969)) with regard to the translation of *whakataukī* (proverbs), *pepeha* (sayings) and *kupu whakarite* (metaphor). Mead (1969, p. 381) observes that, in translating the compact language of poetry, the translator often needs to provide a long explanation. In order to do so, however, s/he must have "a good grasp on the contextual landscape of the source text". This view is shared by Biggs (1952, p. 177), who advocates the use of translator notes to explain unknown terms, and, in cases where a 'true equivalent' cannot be found in English, leaving the Māori term untranslated. Ngata, (1959, p. xxi) also regards the use of explanatory notes in a translation as "most helpful, especially where the sense of the composer is doubtful, or where more than one meaning can be given to the passage or expression". Roa (2003, p. 16) notes that, in line with his aim that the translation of mōteatea be as faithful as possible to the source text, Ngata also advocates the retention in the translation of imagery and symbols that are deemed to have particular historical or cultural significance, with explanatory notes provided where necessary.

Ethical considerations and the process and product of translation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

cultural 'ground rules', such as respect, community consultation and the sharing of processes and knowledge, is considered essential.

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

At the heart of the issue of ethically-grounded research is the principle that those who 'own' the knowledge being researched should guide the process and should benefit from it. In line with this principle, concepts of consultation and 'mentorship' are considered to be central. Both Irwin (1994) and Bishop (1994) argue for a *whānau*[7] concept in the conduct of research. Thus, they advocate a 'whanau of supervisors' (Irwin, 1994, p. 29) or a 'research whanau of interest' (Bishop, 1994, p. 184). As Smith (1999, p. 15) notes, similar cultural protocols guide the process of ethically-grounded research amongst the indigenous peoples of Canada, North America, Hawai'i and Australia, where researchers speak of "the many aunties, uncles and elders whose views must be sought prior to conducting any interviews in a community . . . [and] the many levels of entry which must be negotiated when [they] seek information".

Roa (2003, pp. 3, 17), in undertaking the translation of a series of mōteatea for Ngāti Hauā, sought from the outset a culturally appropriate translation process that would meet the criteria of Kaupapa Māori research set out above. She agreed to undertake the translation with the guidance and supervision of a panel of Ngāti Hauā kaumātua (elders). Thus consultation and cooperation formed the core of the approach she adopted. Since Ngāti Hauā 'owned' the mōteatea, the kaumātua panel took the lead role in the consultations and thus also 'owned' the translation process. In this context, Māori customary values or tikanga (such as 'kanohi ki te kanohi', 'kanohi kitea' and 'manaaki i te tangata'[8]) were integral.

Translation and concepts of literacy and literacies

Ong (1982, p. 6-7) contends not only that language is inevitably an oral phenomenon, but that the basic orality of language is permanent. It follows that writing is viewed as "a kind of complement to [speech] . . . rather than a transformer of [it]" (Saussure, 1959, pp. 23-24). Since spoken utterances involve two people in a context, "spoken words are always modifications of a total situation which is more than verbal" (Ong, 1982, p. 101). With reference to Māori, Haami (2004, p. 15) notes the potency, power and validity of 'kōrero tuku iho', the spoken words of revered ancestors handed down from generation to generation.[9] These utterances served as both 'symbols of thought' and as a reliable source of information and knowledge which was essential to survival. Thus Orbell (1983, p. 6) notes that "language was always experienced as a part of lived reality, and therefore possessed great weight and finality".

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

The missionaries were concerned with 'civilising' the 'natives' by bringing them to God, assimilating them into the customs of British language and culture, and, as Biggs (1964, pp. 24-25) maintains, 'reducing' the Māori language to writing. From the establishment of the first mission schools in 1816, print literacy became the mechanism through which Māori gained access to the word of God (Haami, 2004, p. 18). As evidenced by the writings of Te Rangikaheke[10], many graduates of the various mission and village schools had by the late 1840s acquired a real competency in reading and writing and had begun to record traditional knowledge and lore in writing, in some cases 'encouraged' by Pākehā administrators with a vested interest in seeing the oral traditions in print (Biggs, 1964, p. 25; Jenkins, 1991, p. 17). McRae (1997, p. 1) proposes that one motivation for the publication of Māori oral traditions by Pākehā in the 19th century was to preserve the traditional knowledge of a people and culture that was deemed to be in decline, if not in the throes of death. There may also have been a genuine appreciation of the artistry of the compositions, some of which were compared to Greek and Roman oral literature. McRae (2002, p. 43) notes that from about 1842, examples of Māori literacy began to appear in the public domain in the form of letters published in the Māori newspapers of the time. Many of the conventions of Māori oratory, such as proverbial sayings, poetry and waiata, were retained in these letters, which make them an extraordinary representation of "old texts in strikingly new settings, literary genres embellished with oral conventions". This view is at odds with Garlick's (1998, p. 11) contention that the translation of oral communication into a written form "yields a different language which obeys new rules . . . bringing concerns about the change in these traditions". However, as Ong (1982, pp. 95-96) observes, writing inevitably has "different contours from those of orally sustained thought".

The fact that, in some cases, Māori gained reading and writing competency (in Māori, and later in both Māori and English) in as little as 3 months, has been attributed to

their prodigious memories, honed from decades of memorisation and recitation (Haami, 2004, p. 10). Thus "anything that could be read was committed to memory", particularly Bible passages (McRae, 2002, p. 19). Haami (2004, p. 10) notes that even Māori living in the remotest parts of Aotearoa who had never seen a missionary often learned to read and write from someone who had been taught by missionaries. Sometimes specific people were sent from a village to seek instruction in writing and return to the hapū to teach it, with the result that Māori rapidly acquired the skills needed to teach reading and writing (Parr, 1963, p. 219).

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

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

Thus literacy may be viewed as "a political fact as well as a cultural and social one" (Moon, 1997, p. 3). In considering five established models of literacy which he believes may, in combination, be applicable to an analysis of Māori literacy in the nineteenth century, Moon (pp. 3-4) ultimately concludes that "the determinant of which of these models takes priority rests with those who have the power to define it". With reference to the manuscripts of Te Rangikaheke, Orbell (1968, p. 32) contends that "something of the beliefs and attitudes" of an author are to be gleaned from his/her writing". She describes Te Rangikaheke's manuscripts as having "a literary sophistication not to be found in the writings of more strictly traditional recorders of Maori material" (p. 8). At a time when "Maori thought was being greatly influenced by new knowledge, and by the pressure of the rapidly increasing Pakeha population" (p. 8), she argues that Te Rangikaheke's writings display "a unique blend of the new and the old (p. 8). Garlick (1998, p. 19) agrees, noting that Te Rangikaheke's writings "demonstrated an intellectual and open-minded attitude to Western thought and an equal sense of the merit and importance of Māori traditions". Te Rangikaheke was converted to Christianity in Rotorua by Thomas Chapman and learned to read and write in his late twenties, some time before 1844 (Thornton, 1999, p. 32). It is therefore likely that he was taught to write by Christian clergy. He also worked in close association with Governor George Grey during the years when his writing was most prolific. It seems likely, therefore, that his written style was, notwithstanding a natural affinity for print literacy, strongly influenced by Western models. It also seems likely that this was the reason why it was regarded by Orbell and others as exhibiting greater 'sophistication' than the writing of other 'more strictly traditional recorders' who were less influenced by Western writing conventions (including punctuation) which they may, in fact, have considered to be unimportant.

Garlick (1998, pp. 23-24) contends that in the transition from oral to written form Māori writings were often taken out of context and arranged according to Pākehā

conceptions of their meaning. The result was inevitably a "linear and analytical" representation (p. 52), a distortion of those texts, "because the conventions which govern such cross-cultural translations [could] not contextualise them". McRae (1997, p. 2) concurs, observing that "editing for the reader shifts the emphasis from the ear to the eye". Thus the reader requires "an explicitness that is uncharacteristic of the oral texts, which were typically oblique and elliptical".

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

Margaret Mutu observes that her uncle, McCully Matiu (whose teachings and traditional knowledge she recorded in *Te Whānau Moana*), believed in the central importance of language, and particularly of dialect, as "the only true way of reflecting the state of thinking and values of the society to which it belongs" (Matiu & Mutu, 2003, p. 15). However, Matiu was mindful of the fact that many of the descendants of Te Whānau Moana had little or no proficiency in te reo Māori. Thus, whilst he would have much preferred the book to be written entirely in Māori, he allowed sections of the Māori narrative to be translated into English in order that the purpose (which was to make accessible to all descendants of the hapū their tribal traditions) should be fulfilled. Even so, the Māori text observes certain conventions in order that the unique dialect of Te Whānau Moana, as spoken, should be recorded and preserved as a learning resource for future generations. Thus, for example, 'whakapapa' and 'whakatupuranga' are rendered as 'hakapapa' and 'hakatupuranga'.[11]

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

The translation of sacred and sensitive texts

Bassnett (1997, p. 2) notes that "exact reproduction across linguistic boundaries is never possible". In view of this, the issue of whether and, if so, how to translate 'sacred' and 'sensitive' texts is one that has had a major impact on debate about translation.

In a collection of essays provocatively entitled *Holy Untranslatable!*, Long (2005, p. 1) observes that "the holy resists translation, since the space it needs in the target language is already occupied; available vocabulary is already culturally loaded with indigenous referents". Referring to a deconstructionist analysis of the Biblical tale of

the Tower of Babel by Derrida (1985), she concludes that "Babel . . . obliges us to confront a multiplicity of interpretations, to address languages and holy texts other than our own if we are to see a complete world picture" (p.3). In doing so, translators are obliged to engage with the issue of 'change' in a way that inevitably increases the anxiety of those for whom the source text has particular significance.

Abdul-Raof (2005, p. 162) maintains that the Qur'an is untranslatable, since "it is a linguistic miracle with transcendental meanings that cannot be captured fully by human faculty". He therefore concludes that translation of the Qur'an is "a betrayal, an inferior copy of a prioritized original". For Green (2005), however, this sort of argument is flawed. Green (p. 141-142) observes that the written traditions of many of the world's religions originated in oral tradition. He notes, for example, that although there is an emphasis in Muslim culture on maintaining the epistemological purity of the original idiom of communication (speech), the passing on of messages, in whatever form, involves new acts of communication. Indeed, he goes further, asserting that the Sufi saints of Awrangabad were themselves, in their roles as repositories of the ancient teachings of their religion, 'translations' in that they were "the embodiments of Islam translated into its many and multifarious linguistic and cultural environments" (p. 143). He notes in particular that the written records of the sayings of the Sufi saints of Awrangabad (generally regarded as accurate records of their sayings) have already undergone a process of 'translation' (from oral to written form). In this context, Green argues that although much is lost in the process of translation from oral to written form (e.g. intonation, stress, pause and timing), much may also be gained (e.g. organization, scene setting, etc.) (p.148). For those who believe that a particular text has something important to offer to those who are not familiar with the language and/or culture of the source text, translation has something valuable to offer. However, the issue of how best to conduct the translation process remains, particularly in the case of the translation of sacred and sensitive texts, since some 'dislocation' is inevitably involved where there is separation from the "original setting and from all the accompanying referents and associations of memory and cultural context" (Long, 2005, p. 3). As Long (p. 13) observes, what she refers to as 'holy texts' are necessarily "multifaceted . . . [functioning] as literature, history, poetry, genealogy or philosophy, as well as revelation". It is therefore crucial, she believes, for the translator to have an understanding of the function and the status of a text of this type, to be familiar with the source and target cultures and to pay close attention to the function of the translation and the needs of the target audience (p. 14). Different cultures adopt different approaches to what they conceive of as 'sacred' or 'sensitive' texts. Within the context of this paper, it is particularly important to consider the relevance of the Māori concept of 'tapu'.

Marsden (1992, p. 119) notes that it is an "untouchable quality that is the main element in the concept of tapu". Thus, for example, "[when] a person place or thing is dedicated to a deity and by that act it is set aside or reserved for the sole use of the deity", that person or object is "removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred", becoming "untouchable, no longer to be put to common use". This process is a reciprocal one. In return for service to the deity, a tapu person may expect to be protected from malevolent forces and to be given the power to manipulate his or her environment in order to meet the demands of his or her daily life (p. 119). As Matiu and Mutu (2003, p. 159) observe, the laws of tapu have had a

profound influence on the regulation of Māori society, particularly as sickness or even death could result from any disregard for tapu (see also Manihera, 1992).

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

In Māori communities prior to European colonisation, knowledge was transmitted orally from generation to generation. However, with the arrival of European settlers, literacy was eagerly adopted by many Māori and, in time, as it became increasingly evident that Māori dialects and traditions were under threat, traditional lore began to be recorded in written form. Thus Biggs (1964, p. 3) observes that:

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

The tapu of Māori traditional knowledge was not considered to be diminished by its representation in written form[12] and there were stringent tikanga or guidelines for ensuring the preservation of the tapu nature of written texts (Haami, 2004, p. 24). Only certain people and certain families were considered to have the right of access to certain kinds of knowledge, and only they were entitled to pass this knowledge on (Pewhairangi, 1992, p. 11). Thus, Sissons et al. (1999/2001) records that Wiremu Wī Hongi, a Te Uri-o-Hua kaumatua (elder), kept a handwritten manuscript of his elders' teachings in his bedroom "away from food, in order to preserve its tapu and mana". He adds that because this bedroom opened onto a kitchen-dining area, the manuscript had to be passed through the bedroom window by Wī Hongi whenever it was borrowed (Sissons et al, 1999/2001, Preface). Manihera (1992, p. 9) also notes the importance of this preservation of tapu. However, Mutu (Matiu & Mutu, 2003, p. 16) recounts how her uncle, McCully Matiu, made an exception, setting aside the widely held notion that because of the tapu associated with *hakapapa*[13] (genealogies) they should not be published. He did this for the express purpose of ensuring that descendants of their hapū, Te Whānau Moana, would know their genealogical history, know "who they are". Matiu's intention was that the whakapapa provided would be a

catalyst, that it would encourage each whānau to initiate its own genealogical research, thus taking an active rather than passive role in the process of learning.

The issues associated with the translation of sacred or sensitive texts in general and, in particular, the significance of 'tapu' in Māori society is such as to raise a number of significant issues in relation to the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript and manuscripts of a similar type.

Addressing issues and problems associated with the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript and manuscripts of a similar type

Arising out of the above literature review is a range of issues and potential problems that will necessarily confront those involved in the translation of historical manuscripts written in indigenous languages. With particular reference to the Pene Haare manuscript, these were addressed through a close reading of the original handwritten manuscript, a typed transcript of it, letters written by the author and other writings by, or directly influenced by, the author. Reference is also made to photographs of the author that reveal important information about him and a range of sources of information and opinion (written and oral) about the author and/ or the times and places in which he lived and the events about which he wrote.

The author and his context: An exploration

Ngakuru Pene Haare, who lived from 1858 to 1950, was born at Taikarawa, a settlement near Mitimiti in the Northern Hokianga. He spent much of his life at Mitimiti (Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, January 2008) but also resided at other locations around the Northland region.[14] He was of the Te Hokokeha *hapū*[15] of the Te Rarawa tribe. For many generations (between 15 and 18), Te Rarawa have occupied the region of the west coast of the North Island, an area that stretches from the northern side of the Hokianga harbour to the western side of Mangamuka, north through Pamapuria, Kaitaia to Maimaru, west to Te Oneroa a Tohe (Ninety Mile Beach) then south to Whangapē and back to Hokianga (Matthews, 1998, p. 2).

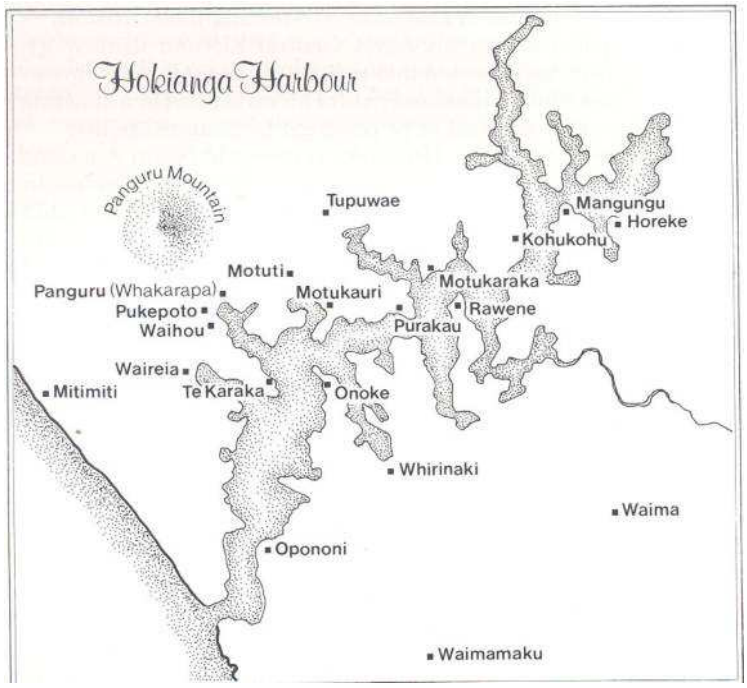


***Figure 2*:** Map of the Hokianga harbour (King, 1983, p. 12)

The Hokianga region has great significance to the Tai Tokerau tribes, as reflected in the whakataukī (proverbial saying), 'Hokianga whakapau karakia'[16] (Hokianga that exhausts ritual incantations), and also in its distinction as 'Te Kōhanga o te Taitokerau' (the birthplace of the Northern tribes) (King, 1983, p. 18). The name 'Hokianga' derives from 'Te Hokianga Nui a Kupe' (the returning place of Kupe), a reference to a whakatauākī uttered by Kupe[17] before he departed from Aotearoa to return to Hawaiki: 'Hei kōnei rā, e Te Puna o te Ao Marama. Ka hoki nei tēnei, e kore e hoki anga nui mai' (Farewell, Spring of the World of Light. This one is going home and will not return again) (Matthews, 1998, p. 4).

The Northland region of Aotearoa/ New Zealand was one of the earliest areas to include European residents: there were probably several hundred around the Hokianga in the 1930s, predominantly runaway sailors, whalers, convicts and sawyers who married local women and were assimilated into the Māori communities (King, 1983, p. 22). King observes that, rather than Europeanising the district, as was the case in parts of the neighbouring Bay of Islands, "they became to all intents and purposes, Māori" (p. 22). Early Māori-Pākehā relations in the Hokianga are described as having been generally harmonious. Indeed, in a letter to the newspaper *New Zealander* in 1864, Maning, an early Pākehā inhabitant of the area and later a judge of the Native Land Court, described as 'peculiar'[18] the unique inter-racial character of the Hokianga communities, where "*every"* Pākehā settler was married to a woman of Māori descent (Lee, 1996, p. 181).

Geographically, Hokianga is rugged. A semi-circle of densely bush-clad peaks, interspersed with narrow valleys, frames the deep, narrow harbour (or 'river' as it is commonly known), creating a dramatic sense of "brooding grandeur" (Lee, 1996, p. 11). The locations and living habits of the Hokianga inhabitants were very much dictated by the geographical features of the harbour, with most of the villages built on the finger-like extensions of land that reach into its mud, mangroves and tidal waters. Handed down from generation to generation, and common to both Ngāpuhi on the southern shore and Te Rarawa ki Hokianga on the northern shore, are many traditions and legends attached to the harbour. The heavily forested hills surrounding the harbour, home to great stands of kauri,[19] traditionally provided Māori with timber, firewood and kai (food). From about the 1820s, kauri spars[20] and dressed flax were traded with the crews of visiting Pākehā ships in return for utensils, tools and weapons. Pākehā demand for natural resources and Māori enthusiasm for European commodities brought about great changes to the traditional Māori way of life in Hokianga. Rum, prostitution and venereal and other contagious diseases were introduced via the trading ships, affecting the health and wellbeing of local Māori and resulting in a sharp decline in the Māori population (King, 1983, pp. 19-22). The kauri trade boom lasted for 20 years before its decline. Despite the great demand for Hokianga timber, the land on which the timber grew was regarded by would-be Pākehā farmers as virtually worthless. Thus, in 1846, when Auckland had supplanted the North as the commercial centre of New Zealand, around half of Hokianga's Pākehā population sold their plots of land to the Government and headed off to Auckland. With the decline of the timber industry, the local communities suffered from the effects of an economic depression (Lee, 1996, pp. 152-153).

The period between 1820 and 1840 was a time of intense inter-tribal warfare[21] in the North: by the end of the 1840s, the Hokianga communities were in a state of disarray

and apprehension, lacking many of the resources that had been available to them earlier and fearing that fighting might erupt again at any time. However, as Belich (1996, p. 164) notes, a massive upsurge in Māori conversion to Christianity and the peacemaking efforts of missionaries contributed to the demise of the so-called 'Musket Wars' (about which Pene Haare writes in his manuscript).

Beginning with the Church Missionary Society, Christian missions were established in the region from 1815, with Wesleyans entering the field in the 1820s and Roman Catholics in 1838. Over time, Southern Hokianga, a Ngā Puhi domain, became a stronghold of the Wesleyan faith although the vast majority of Māori in the Northern Hokianga converted to Catholicism (King, 1963, p. 22). This latter conversion was no doubt due in part to disillusionment with the activities of a Wesleyan minister, Reverend William White, who was accused of engaging in land acquisition and timber trading for his personal financial gain, as well as becoming involved with numerous married women of the community (Lee, 1996, pp. 82-83). In 1838, Bishop Pompallier set up a Catholic mission at Papakawau, moving it across to Pūrākau on the Northern shore in 1939. King (1983, pp. 28-29) notes that the Catholic Church abandoned its mission in the Hokianga between the years 1873 and 1880. During this time, the Catholic faith was kept alive in the community through the efforts of Heremia Te Wake[22], a chief from Whakarapa (Panguru) who was a 'katekita' (catechist), described as being "intelligent, highly literate in Māori and versed in Catholic doctrine" (King, 1983, p. 30). In the North, from about the 1880s, the role of the katekita eventually supplanted that of the traditional tohunga (spiritual leader) (King, 1983, p. 33).

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

The so-called 'Land Wars' took place in Waikato, and further south in Taranaki, Bay of Plenty, Urewera and the East Coast between 1865 and 1870. The tribes of these areas consistently thwarted the assaults of the colonising government's troops, only to have their land confiscated. This had an enormous impact on the Northern tribes' morale, leading to a deepening a sense of despondency and disillusionment. They felt resentful towards, and distrustful of a Government which, despite the assurances of the Treaty, did not acknowledge the mana (authority) of Māori chiefs, excluding them from the machinery of state and allowing them only token representation in Parliament. The Government had certainly done nothing to improve the lot of Māori in the remote Hokianga (Lee, 1996, p. 197). Government revenue was typically directed to the development of Pākehā settlements, with some of the most populous tribal districts (such as Hokianga, Kaipara, Taupō and the East Cape) being neglected (Walker, 1990, p. 112). The establishment of the township of Rawene as a municipal centre, complete with its own resident magistrate,[23] did little to allay the civil unrest that was a feature of life in Hokianga at this time (Lee, 1996, pp. 184-189).

This was the milieu into which Ngakuru Pene Haare was born, one in which the events of the first half of the nineteenth century, facilitated by the Pākehā agencies of

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

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

Ngakuru Pene Haare was born at Taikarawa[24], near Mitimiti, on the stretch of coast lying between the Hokianga and Whangapē harbours. In *Ngā Mōteatea*, in the explanatory notes for 'He tangi mo Te Houhou', Pene Haare provides a whakapapa which charts his descent line from Tuwhenuaroa through Mawete, to his mother Erana (Ngata, 2004 [1959], p. 168) (see *Figure 3* below):

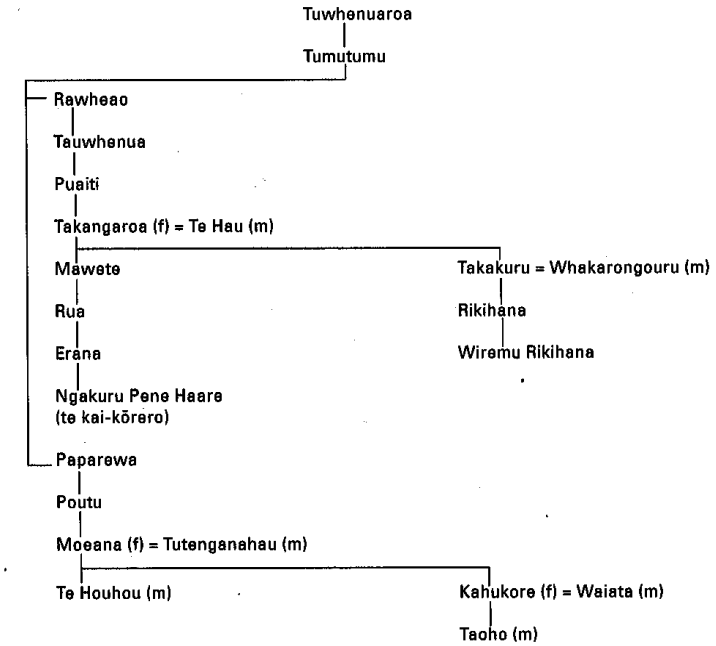


***Figure 3*:** Whakapapa for Ngakuru Pene Haare (Ngata, 2004 [1959], p. 168)

In correspondence to writer-translator Hare Hongi[25] (also known as Henry Matthew Stowell), between 1919 and 1930, Pene Haare writes about aspects of his early life and learning, stating that in 1863, five years after his birth, he began to be instructed by his parents, his grandparents and Rikihana Whakarongouru (refer to *Figure* 3 above) by means of 'te kauwhau', the recitation of oral history and genealogy, a

process that continued until he was 15 years of age. At age 15, he expressed a desire to be schooled in Pākehā learning, but his tūpuna would not give their consent:

> Ka mea ratou e kore e tika. Kia kotahiano kura. maku ko te kura i nga korero o roto inga whare wananga oku Tupuna. Ki te kura ahau i te kura Pakeha. e kore e mau iau nga korero wahanga (14 November, 1930, p. 3).
> (They said it would not be appropriate. There should be only one form of schooling for me and that was the teachings of my ancestors' traditional schools of learning. If I were to learn the Pākehā schooling, I would never retain the oral tradition.)[26]

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

In response to the large-scale land confiscations and a number of acts and ordinances in the 1860s (such as the Native Land Act of 1862),[27] which had a negative impact on Māori land ownership, the Kotahitanga movement[28] was gaining momentum. Simultaneously, in the face of widespread disenchantment with Pākehā religions, the Māori prophet movement[29] rose to prominence. Inter-tribal assemblies were held throughout the country as Māori tribes joined forces, determined to take control of their own destiny. The Taitokerau tribes gathered together at Orakei in 1875. Discussions there centred on calls for the dissolution of the Native Land Court, and for the government to honour the Treaty of Waitangi, with particular regard to 'fisheries and taonga', the natural resources which, under 'Ko te Tuarua' (Article Two), rightfully belonged to Māori. That same year, the Ngāpuhi tribes established Te Tiriti o Waitangi marae, the intention being to reinforce the significance of the Treaty and its principles, including their right to tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) (Walker, 1990, pp. 149-155). On three separate occasions, a deputation of chiefs (the first from te Taitokerau, the others led by the second Māori King, Tāwhiao) journeyed to England to present their grievances to Queen Victoria. Ultimately, these initiatives did not bear fruit, but they did lead to the establishment in 1892 of the first Māori Parliament, and later, of Te Kauhanganui, the Māori House of Assembly, by Tāwhiao of Waikato. These two entities were briefly merged but before long deeply ingrained historic rivalries between the Northern and Waikato tribes fractured the alliance. Despite this, both Te Kotahitanga and Te Kauhanganui continued to meet independently into the early twentieth century (Walker, 1990, pp. 160-171).

In the isolated Hokianga at this time, despite the fact that European influence was strong (with many Māori inhabiting European-style houses, using European utensils, wearing European clothes and attending Catholic church), the communities of the region were still intensely Māori in character, and te reo Māori was still the first language (King, 1983, p. 38). Saw-milling was the major industry of the region, although the available timber was by now at quite a distance from the harbour, and had to be hauled by bullock (Lee, 1996, p. 205). Flax-fibre and kauri gum were additional resources that continued to be exploited until the supply was virtually exhausted. Gum-digging also provided an important source of income for Hokianga Māori. However, the industry became very competitive upon the arrival of Dalmatian immigrants in the 1890s, with their single-minded work ethic. Despite the fact that the

terrain was largely unsuitable, the Government made concerted efforts to establish a farming industry and for a time, from the mid 1870s, Hokianga enjoyed a period of prosperity, with both roading and settlement expanding. However, a series of disastrous fires at the Kohukohu mill (in 1882, 1900 and the 1920s) took a toll on the timber industry, ultimately reducing Kohukohu from what had been a substantial, prosperous township to little more than a roadside village (p. 216). During this period, dairying and gum-digging kept the Hokianga afloat economically.

Ngakuru Pene Haare is referred to variously as a Ngāpuhi scholar (Ngāpuhi Whakapapa Research, n.d.), an authority on Taitokerau history and traditions (Ngata, n.d.), a respected tupuna of Te Rarawa (Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, n.d.), an historian, a chief of great learning (Tate, 2007), an authority on the traditions and lore of the North (Ngata, 1958), and a contributor to Apirana Ngata's *Ngā Mōteatea* (Taitokerau Sustainable Development Research Group, 2006). He is credited with dictating the text of, and providing explanatory information for two waiata in *Ngā Mōteatea- Part One*[30] and three waiata in *Part Two*[31] (Ngata, 2004 [1959] & 2005 [1972]). In the Māori magazine *Te Ao Hou*, Ngata wrote of him[32]:

> When I visited Panguru, Hokianga last November, I met Ngakuru Pene Haare, who is an authority on the traditions and Maori lore of the North. I asked him whether he knew who made the Burial Chests found at Waimamaku. He told me that in Hapakuku Moetara's[33] view these were not the work of Ngapuhi proper, but of an older people, the Ngati Awa. This confirmed my own impression (Ngata, 1958, p.31).

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

> The resolution of the 1947 meeting was to sell Kahakaharoa to the Crown, however Himiona Kamira proposed that the land in question be gifted to the Crown. The owners resolved to gift Kahakaharoa to the Crown without consideration, although Ngakuru Pene Haare dissented (Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, 2004, p. 158).

Clearly, Pene Haare was highly regarded in his lifetime as a repository of traditional knowledge and Taitokerau history. Very little is recorded, however, of his activities during the years between his graduation from the whare wānanga and the time of his first correspondence with Hare Hongi in 1919. Sometime between 1878 and 1904, he married Maraea Boyce and they had 7 children (Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, October 2008). His involvement with papatupu and other committees indicates that he was committed to and active in his community. Other involvement would almost certainly have included mahinga kai (food cultivation/production) and the protection, augmentation and allocation of local resources, as well as ongoing marae, church and Native Land Court commitments. Let us take Heremia Te Wake, another authoritative figure from the Hokianga, as an example: he was, in addition to being chief of the Ngāti Manawa hapū, a pillar of the Catholic Church and the man sought out by Pākehā leaders when they wanted the co-operation of the Hokianga tribes. He was "simultaneously a repository of Maori lore, a farmer, a catechist, a

representative of the law, chairman of the local school committee, and mail contractor (by launch) for the northern Hokianga communities" (King, 1996, p. 21). We know that in 1924 Pene Haare was involved in another committee[34] formed to help regulate the gathering of, and staunch the depletion of toheroa beds at Mitimiti as well as to prevent the establishment of a toheroa canning facility there (Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa, 2007, p. 180). It seems that he had an ongoing involvement in the affairs of Mitimiti, even though, as his correspondence indicates, there were periods of time when he lived at other places, such as Kaihu (Pene Haare, 1904) and Te Awanui North (Pene Haare, November 1930). The Mitimiti school was established in 1890. It is likely that he would have sat on the school committee at some point, or have been otherwise involved in the school.

In the minutes of a sitting of the Native Land Court for the Wairoa Block (March, 1904), Ngakuru Pene Haare gave evidence and also cross-examined other claimants with regard to the mana whenua (land rights, trusteeship) of the block. His authority, his intelligence, his astuteness, and the depth of his knowledge are evident in his repeated challenges to the authenticity of the information given. Asked in one instance by Riapo Puhipi if he upheld the authority of the council of elders "these days" (Native Land Court Minutes, 1904, p. 17), he responded in the affirmative.[35] In February of that same year, a letter from Ngakuru Pene Haare to the editor of the Māori language newspaper, *Te Pipiwharauroa*, was published (Pene Haare, 1904). In that letter, he challenges several claims concerning the Anglican Church that had been made by the editor in a previous issue. For example, he disputed the editor's claim that the Church of England predated 'te Hahi o Roma' (the Roman Catholic Church), noting that the first bishop was a Roman Catholic bishop. With every counter-claim, he quotes relevant Biblical passages (1904, p. 6) and his arguments demonstrate an intimate knowledge of ecclesiastical history and the Scriptures and the same keen intelligence and wit that are evident in the Native Land Court transcripts.

There seems little doubt that Pene Haare, like the majority of Māori in the Northern Hokianga region, was a staunch Catholic. Even though he makes no mention of Catholicism in his account of being schooled as a child by his parents and tūpuna in Taikarawa, he would have come into contact with the Catholic mission of his time. Wiremu Rikihana[36] (1851-1933), the son of one of Pene Haare's kaiako (teachers) Rikihana Whakarongouru (and grandson of the Te Rarawa chief Whakarongouru[37]), was a contemporary of Pene Haare and a prominent Māori Catholic. His wife and children were baptized in 1882. It seems likely that Pene Haare too would have been baptized in this period, after the re-establishment of the Catholic mission at Hokianga in 1880. In King's (1983) biography of Whina Cooper, he notes that the Hokianga-based Mill Hill[38] priests were able to make the arduous trek from Pūrākau to Whakarapa (Panguru) only once every three months to conduct the mass (p. 52). Travel to Mitimiti was even more arduous and visits were therefore likely to have been more infrequent. Mass Sunday was the cause of great excitement in these remote communities: the services began early in the day with Morning Prayers, followed by preparation for Holy Communion, Holy Mass with a sermon, and Thanksgiving. Then, in the evening, there were the Rosary, the Sermon, Benediction and Night Prayers (p. 54).

It is said of Himiona Kamira[39], another historian, writer and exponent of tribal lore from Mitimiti upon whom Pene Haare was an important influence, that "despite the

depth and richness of his traditional training, Kamira was strongly committed to Catholicism" (Tate, 2007, ¶ 13). Thus it can be seen that, as with Heremia Te Wake, elements of these two disparate worlds, the traditional Māori world and world of the 'Whakapono' (the Catholic faith), co-existed quite harmoniously.[40]

The depth of Pene Haare's commitment to the Whakapono is reflected in a photograph (held by a member of the Penney *whānau*[41]) of him in the company of a group of prospective *katekita*, all from various settlements throughout the Hokianga. Among the 14 men pictured are Father Logan, Ngakuru Pene Haare and Takou (Himiona Kamira). The group is preparing to depart for a stint of catechist training in Auckland. In this photograph Pene Haare appears to be in his 70s (Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, December 2008). It is possible that his involvement with the group was that of an elder and adviser, rather than a trainee. Further evidence of his faith is provided by a photograph (*Figure 4* below) depicting Pene Haare late in his life, wearing a necklace of rosary beads.

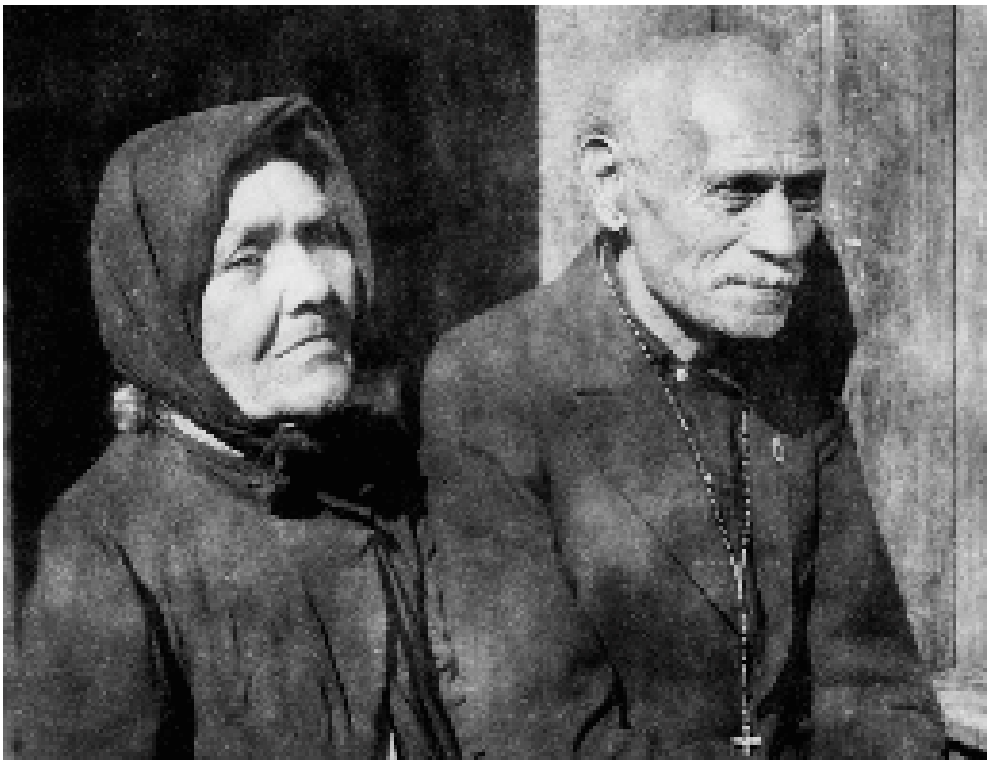


***Figure 4*:** Ngakuru Pene Haare (with rosary) and his wife Maraea (n.d.)

There is also and a report about Pene Haare having visited The Shrine of Mary at Pukekaraka in Ōtaki when he was a younger man, perhaps in his 40s (Sommers, 2008, ¶ 3):

> Miracles have been reported. A man named Ngakuru Pene Hare of Pangaru (sic) of North Auckland was suffering from a terminal disease, and was cured. He went to Otaki and prayed the Rosary with flower petals because he did not have a Rosary. He is still alive and in good health forty years later.

The early 1900-1920s saw no abatement of the Pākehā government's alienation of Māori land or its efforts to erode Māori culture and identity, although this was perhaps

experienced to a lesser extent in rural outposts such as the Hokianga. Conversely, in this same period the Māori population was on the increase and alongside this physical regeneration a cultural revival was also taking place. The emergence of the first Māori university graduates, Māui Pomare and Apirana Ngata, both of whom went on to prominent if controversial political careers, paved the way for an emerging 'bi-culturalism' - termed 'Anglophilia' by Walker (1990, p. 181). This phase was encapsulated in legislation such as the Tohunga Suppression Act (1907) and in Māori leaders' compliance with the abolition of the Māori language in schools and their environs[42]. Walker (p. 186) describes the contact between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa up until the 1930s as 'superficial'. Up to this point, 90 percent of Māori were still living in rural communities, away from the main centres of Pākehā population. Thus, Pākehā were not generally aware of the cultural renaissance taking place at this time amidst the ongoing struggle by Māori for cultural integrity and identity within the dominant Pākehā culture.

Rawene became the Hokianga's administrative centre in 1915 and, in the same year, Catholic churches were built at Rawene and Mitimiti. Then, in 1918, Māori communities of the Hokianga were shattered by the devastating effects of a world-wide influenza epidemic. Local chief Heremia Te Wake[43] was one of the many casualties of that epidemic.

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

In terms of chronology, Pene Haare would have been 65 years of age in 1923, when his manuscript is dated, 67 years of age in 1925, when the waiata he contributed to Ngata's mōteatea revival project were published in the Māori newspaper *Te Toa Takitini*, and 72 years of age when he wrote to Hare Hongi (in 1930) about a notice for an upcoming event advertised in *Te Toa Takitini,* inviting ngā tohunga kōrero (knowledgeable speakers) to attend a hui in Auckland where the origin of the name 'Aotearoa' was to be debated. That debate was to be judged by a committee led by Apirana Ngata, and Pene Haare informs Hongi that he will be attending as the speaker for Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa, Te Aupouri, Ngāti Whātua[44] (October 20, 1930). Of the same event in a subsequent letter, he says of his contemporaries:

> . . . ko aku hoa kua Pau katoa aratou nei korero. te tuku ki roto i te toa Takitini. e ono aku hoa kua Pau aratou whakama rama. mo te ingoa nei mo Aotearoa. Ko au ana ke e toe ana. e kore hoki ahau e Pai ki te tuhi Tuhi. ki te Toa. Takitini. Me korero a waha tonu te tahi ki te tahi (November 14, 1930, p. 7).
> (My friends have exhausted all their ideas, sending them into Te Toa Takitini. Six of them have run out of explanations for the name Aotearoa. I'm the only

> one who hasn't. I will never endorse this idea of writing in to the *Toa Takitini*. We should talk to each other face to face.)

Pene Haare was, without doubt, an authority who enjoyed considerable status within his domain, that is, the Hokianga and wider Ngāpuhi region. Penney family members recall hearing the recollections of an elder about a big car that would pull up to the home of the Te Whiu family at Waihou (Panguru), from which 'the priests', including Ngakuru Pene Haare and Himiona Kamira, would emerge. They would enter the house and the children would be shooed outside so that the priests could converse freely (Stephen Burke, personal correspondence, August 2008).

Pene Haare appears to have corresponded with Hare Hongi over several years (at least from 1919-1930 and possibly longer), during the time that Hare was in Wellington working as an interpreter for the Native Land Court. A letter dated December 1919 constitutes a formal introduction and appears to be the initial contact between them. In the first of a series of letters written in 1930 (dated October 20), Pene Haare launches straight into discussion of his 'pukapuka' (manuscript), observing that he has heard that Hongi is an 'initapeta' (interpreter/ translator). In subsequent letters, while readily offering his opinion and expertise on all manner of sayings and tribal histories relevant to Hongi's translation work, the subject invariably returns to the manuscript and his desire for Hongi to translate it. While it seems likely that Pene Haare would have written his manuscript over the span of several years, no reference is made to the it at all in the letter of 1919. This suggests that the date on the manuscript, 1923, may well have been the date he began work on it, at age 65. It is also probable that Pene Haare and Hongi never actually met. In the 1919 letter, Pene Haare says: "Tena-Pea ahau e tae atu ki Poneke a te Hotoke, Maehe, Aperira ranei. Ka tutaki koe kiau" (December 17, 1919) (Perhaps I will be in Wellington this Winter- March or April, and you can meet me). However, there is no mention of their having met in subsequent letters.

From his correspondence with Hongi, we can see that Pene Haare had a very strong sense of himself as belonging to 'te ao kōhatu' (the traditional Māori world), and of the significance of his being the recipient of the tribal knowledge he acquired from his tūpuna, something that gave him a sense of purpose and responsibility:

> "He Maori tuturu ahau. e kore au e mohio kite reo Pakeha He mea. Rahui Taku Tinana nao Taua Tupuna. Ki te Turanga. Taputapuatea" (November 14, 1930, p. 4).
> (I am authentically Māori. I have never known English. My physical body has been restricted by our elders to the esoteric realm [as a repository of ancient knowledge].)

He also observed:

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

> (I was never ever taught in a Pākehā school, therefore, I only know about one thing and that is exclusively Māori. My language is exclusively Māori. If I were to revert to the speech of my ancestors of the last 3000 years, there is no one in this country who could interpret what I say. I alone shall explain so that everyone understands the meaning of the words.)

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

> Mei kura ahau kite reo Pakeha. kua riro ahau ite waha a te Parata[45], kua kore e mau ki nga ohaki a o taua wheinga . . . erangi koa e Hare ko te whakama i te kuare ki te reo Pakeha (November 26, 1930, p. 3).
> (If I had been schooled in English, I would have been consumed by the Great Whirlpool, and not have retained the bequests of our old people . . . on the other hand, Hare, I am embarrassed at my ignorance of English)

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

> E hoa e hare, mei Pena toku mohio ia koe ki te Taha Pakeha. Kua Tika te tu oku waewae kua Pena te tika i tau tu. ki mua inga tangata nunui o te motu no reira Hore Kau noa iho He Painga o te moko Pawaha[46], o te kahohora[47] e Piri atu nei irunga i to hoa (November 26, 1930, p. 4).
> (My friend, Hare, if I knew what you do of Pakeha ways, I would stand confidently, as you do, before the whole country. My authority, my status, is of no benefit to me [in the modern world].)

We have seen that Pene Haare was insulated initially from any contact with Pākehā. His tūpuna kept him apart within the realm of the ancestors and therefore he was, in this respect, the product of a traditional Māori society. This aspect of his formative years had a defining effect on his life. His immediate world did not experience the same degree of colonisation that other more populous, more penetrated areas did, and for this reason he was able to maintain his status and function as 'manu kōrero', someone who upheld the authority of the spoken word, who thrived on the parry and thrust of oratory, who relished and sought out any opportunity to share his knowledge or debate the issues of his day in a public forum. Undoubtedly, his lifetime spanned two disparate worlds - 'te ao kōhatu' and 'te ao hou'- from the time when traditional institutions such as the whare wānanga were integral and essential to Māori society, through their decline and to the very beginning of a period when Māori began the long process of reasserting the significance of their world view. In 1930, he wrote to Hongi: "Ko ahau te tangata Pupuri inga taonga tapu anga Tupuna (November 26, p.

5). (I am one whose role it is to preserve the sacred treasures of the ancestors.) Even so, he must have realised at that time that even in his beloved Hokianga, te reo Māori was unlikely to continue to be the primary language of Māori communities. Therefore, in order for his knowledge to have any lasting value, it needed to be preserved in a form that would be accessible to future generations. Moreover, he needed a translator of considerable fluency in both Māori and English, one who would work closely with him to ensure that the true and proper sense of the words was conveyed in the translation. From the 1920s, Ngata, in line with his efforts to revive Māori arts and culture, had been encouraging Māori repositories from various regions to record their tribal histories and have them published in translated form. Hence, the appearance of publications such as *Ngā Mōteatea* (1924/1928-29), the reprinting of George Grey's *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* (1928), Jack Mitchell's *Takitimu* (1944) and John Grace's *Tuwharetoa* (1959). We know that Pene Haare and Ngata had occasion to meet in 1924 (Ngata, 2004, p. 129), when Pene Haare recorded a *waiata*[48] in Wellington for *Ngā Mōteatea*. Ngata would almost certainly have strongly encouraged Pene Haare to record what he knew of the tribal histories of Taitokerau. He may have done so again when he visited Hokianga as a Minister of Native Affairs in the 1930s.

***Figure 5*:** Ngakuru Pene Haare in Wellington, circa 1920

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

states who these accounts are intended for: "Ko te reo mote PukaPuka he maori. he Pakeha. Kia mohio ai nga iwi Erua" (p. 129) (The language for the book will be Māori and English, so that both peoples understand).

The manuscript and related correspondence

Private family manuscripts such as that written by Pene Haare often contain such things as whakapapa (genealogies), hīmene (hymns), waiata (songs), maramataka (calendars), kōrero tūpuna (tribal narratives), whakataukī (proverbial sayings) and reta (letters), they constitute an important and invaluable source of traditional oral literature. They have therefore generally been closely guarded and kept away from those, including whānau members, who were deemed unsuitable to have access to them (Haami, 2004, p. 23).

The Pene Haare manuscript was almost certainly written over several years. Since there is no reference to it in his 1919 letter to Hare Hongi, it is likely that the year recorded on the manuscript itself, 1923, was the year when he began work on it. He would at that time have been 65 years of age, at a stage of life when he may have had a little more time to devote to such a task than was the case earlier in his life. The manuscript records a series of battles, accounts of inter-tribal warfare pertaining to the Taitokerau tribes. As Ballara (2003, p. 11-13) notes, warfare was endemic in traditional Māori society. An integral part of the Māori political system, warfare was a learned, culturally determined response to offences and crimes, and a method of solving disputes among descent groups.[49]

Pene Haare's informants, the sources of the information he recorded, would have been the elders who nurtured and instructed him 'ki te kauwhau' (by means of oral recitaton), in the whare wānanga at Taikarawa: his mātua and his tūpuna, including Rikihana Whakarongouru[50], and also possibly Rewi Paparangi. In the Land Court minutes of 1904, Pene Haare speaks of having lived as a child with Paparangi (p. 11), referring to himself as Paparangi's mokopuna (grandchild). His statement that Rewi Paparangi "named me Rewi" (1904, p. 19) suggests that the nature of their relationship may have been that of mentor and student.

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

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

We know from his correspondence with both Hongi and Ngata that Pene Haare actively sought to have his manuscript translated into English. In one letter to Hongi, Pene Haare states: "Takuhia hia mehemea i Patata mai tou Kainga ki toku kua mea ahau mau e whaka Pakeha nga koreo o Taku Pukapuka" (October 20, 1930, p. 2). (My intention, if we lived closer to each other, was to suggest that you translate the text of my manuscript.) He also indicated in the same letter that he did not believe that he had the skills necessary to undertake the task of translation himself:

> Koia Taku tino hia-hia ki nga Initapeta Tino mohio ki te reo rangatira o te Pakeha me ana kupu Tino nunui. Kia hei ai te wha ka e ke mai iaua kupu nunui ki runga ki nga kupu Maori Tino nui ona Tikanga" (October 20, 1930, p. 3).
> (That is why I really need translators who are very proficient in English, with its vast vocabulary, so that they are able to transpose those many words . . . upon the complex Māori words.)

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

In a 1943 letter to Ngata, Pene Haare despairs of finding a Māori 'initapeta' (interpreter/ translator) sufficiently proficient in English to translate his manuscript. He makes reference to the fact that although 'Paikea' (probably Paraire Karaka Paikea[51]) had agreed to do the translation, this had never eventuated:

> Tino nui taku Pouri i te matenga o Paikea. I oti pai ia ia mana e whaka Pakeha ta ku Pukapuka. A te tahi wa e watea ai ia" (August 20, p. 3).
> (I am very saddened at Paikea's passing. It was all arranged that, when his schedule allowed, he would translate my manuscript.)

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

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

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

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

The manuscript and its transcription

As classified by the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library, the Pene Haare manuscript (MS 89/116) is entitled *Na Nga Kuru Pene Hare Te Wao,* the author being recorded as 'Hare, Pene (Ben Harris)'. The original manuscript, consisting of one hard-cover volume written in Māori and dated 1923, was submitted to the Museum in 1987 by Mr. Fred Penney, a grandson of the author[52]. According to museum records[53], the manuscript came to the library via the ethnology department through retired ethnologist Dave Simmons. It was subsequently uplifted in November 1992 by Fred Penney's son, Danny, who left a photocopy in the library collection with certain restrictions on access to its contents[54]. At some point, presumably between these dates, a typewritten transcript was produced by the museum. That transcript, consisting of 68 A4 pages[55], is entitled *Nga Pakanga o Ngapuhi* (The Ngāpuhi Wars). According to the Museum's manuscript librarian[56], although the transcription has generally been attributed to Jane McRae[57], labeling on the manuscript's box gives the transcriber as one Clive Barlow[58]. There is, however, no definitive evidence for either[59]. The transcript is compressed and, other than page breaks, has no layout as such.

An inevitable consequence of the process of transcribing is the obliteration of distinguishing elements in the author's handwriting[60], along with some of what Gutt (1991, pp. 127-159) refers to as 'communicative clues' within the text, clues which can be of considerable assistance to a translator in deciding which particular meaning (sense) of any given word is closest to that intended by the author. There were, furthermore, some concerns about the accuracy of the transcription. Some examples that triggered doubt were: an apparent lack of coherence in some of the whakapapa charts; the use of the word 'tawhiti', when a more contextually appropriate word choice would have been 'tawhito' (later confirmed by the original text to be correct); and the use of the word 'uto' in a context where 'utu' seems appropriate[61]. Inevitably, the Source Text (ST) will be subject to the interpretation of the transcriber. Haami (2004, p. 125) stresses the importance, for the purposes of translating, of being able to *see* the original rather than just a transcript. It was for this reason that a copy of the original was requested from the Penney whānau.

The original manuscript consists of 239 pages. The top-most margin of the face page (see *Figure 6* below) is inscribed: 'Na Ngakuru Pene Hare Te Wao tenei pukapuka. DRS.' The initials 'DRS' indicate that this is Dave Simmons's annotation. Immediately below that, in neat and legible handwriting that comes to be familiar as

that of the author, is written 'Ngatuna Maehe [March] 11 1923', presumably the place and date that the writing commenced, followed by the words 'Ko Te reo Tawhito me tona whakamaori Tanga. ki te reo o naia nei' (The ancient dialect and its translation to that of the present day), and the title of the first battle account. This appears to be the intended title of the manuscript, rather than that attributed to it and derived from Dave Simmons' inscription. Pene Haare's use of the word 'whakamaoritanga' (translation or interpretation) implies that the oral histories imparted to him by his tūpuna in the whare wānanga at Taikarawa have undergone some degree of what Houbert (1998, ¶1) refers to as 'linguistic transformation' - from archaic, esoteric Māori to modern Māori (circa 1923), perhaps to render them more accessible to his intended audience, perhaps so that only certain aspects of the esoteric language were revealed, the more tapu elements being preserved. In this sense, the manuscript may itself be seen as a 'translation'. Nowhere on the face page of the original (*Figure 6* below) are the words 'Nga Pakanga o Ngapuhi' in evidence.

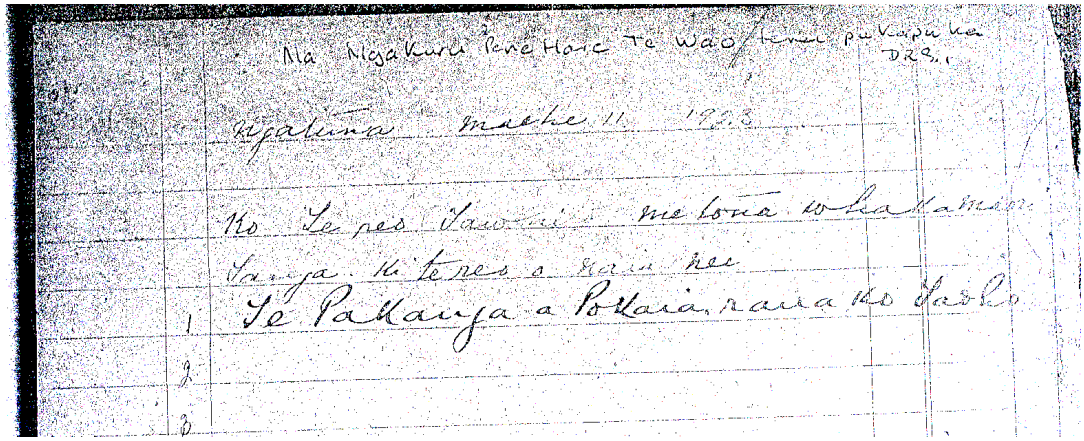
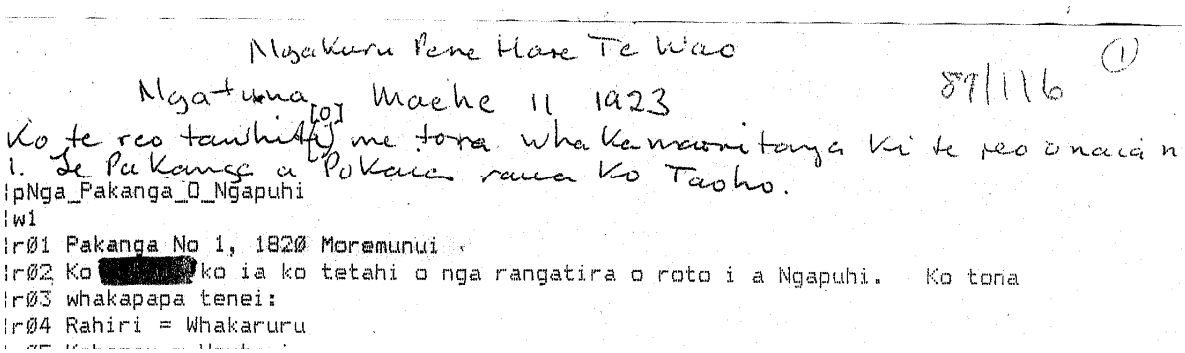


***Figure 6*:** Extract from face page of the manuscript

As seen in *Figure 7* below, the typewritten transcription is inscribed, in what appears to be the same handwriting as that of 'DRS', 'Ko te reo tawhiti [sic] me tona whakamaoritanga ki te reo o naia nei' (The distant (sic) dialect and its translation to that of the present day). The last letter of 'tawhiti' is in parenthesis and the letter [o] has been inserted above it. This suggests that someone other than 'DRS', perhaps the transcriber, has questioned the use of the letter 'i'. However, the word 'tawhito' (ancient), discernable on the face page of the original and even in the photocopy, makes more sense within the context of the sentence.


Ngakuru Pene Haare Te Wao

Ngatuna Maehe 11 1923

Ko te reo tawhiti[o] me tona whakamaoritanga ki te reo o naia n

1. Te Pakanga a Pokaia rawa Ko Taoho.

```
!pNga_Pakanga_O_Ngapuhi
!w1
!rØ1 Pakanga No 1, 1820 Moremunui
!rØ2 Ko [redacted] ko ia ko tetahi o nga rangatira o roto i a Ngapuhi.  Ko tona
!rØ3 whakapapa tenei:
!rØ4 Rahiri = Whakaruru
```

***Figure 7*:** Extract from face page of the transcription

A comparison of page 1 of the original manuscript (*Figure 8)* and page 1 of its transcription (*Figure 9*) highlights the compression of the text in transcription[62]:

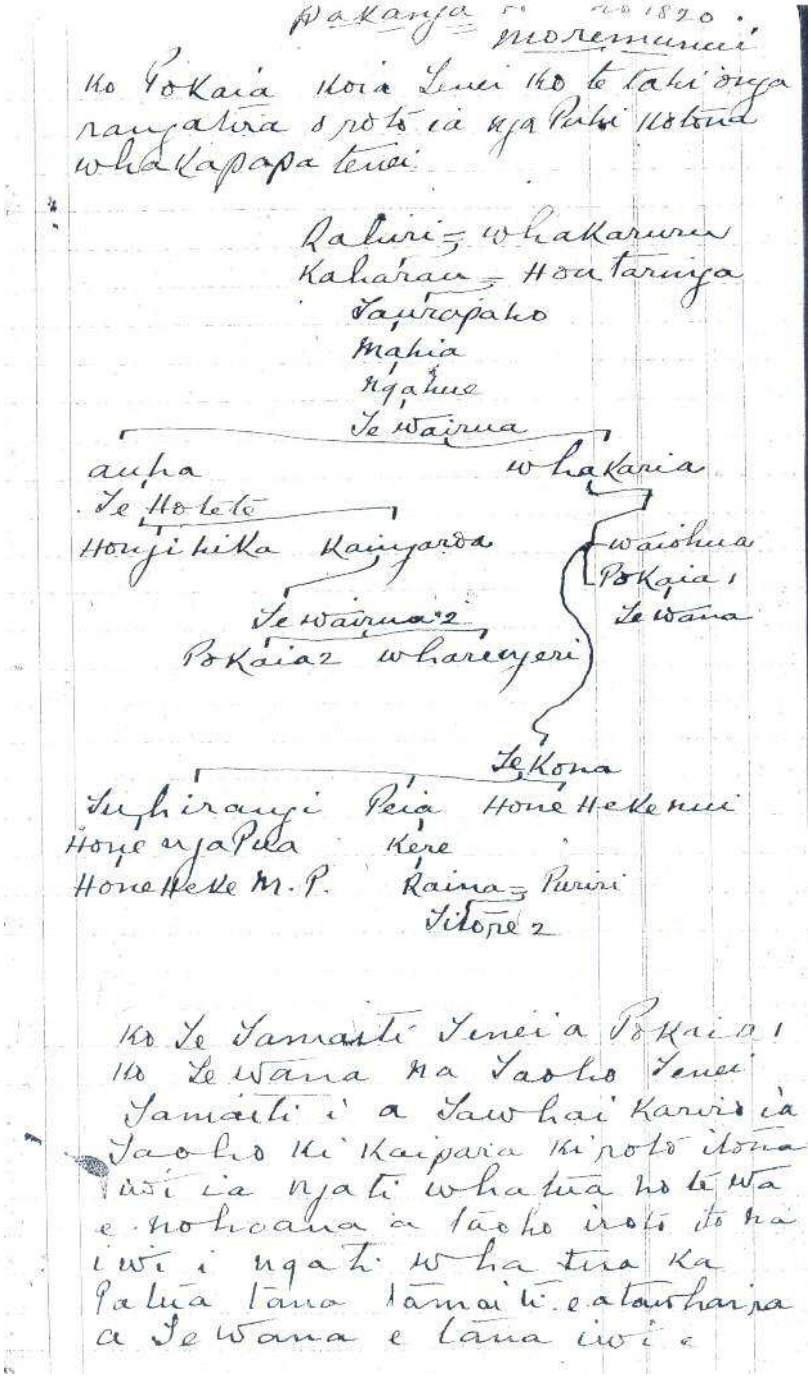
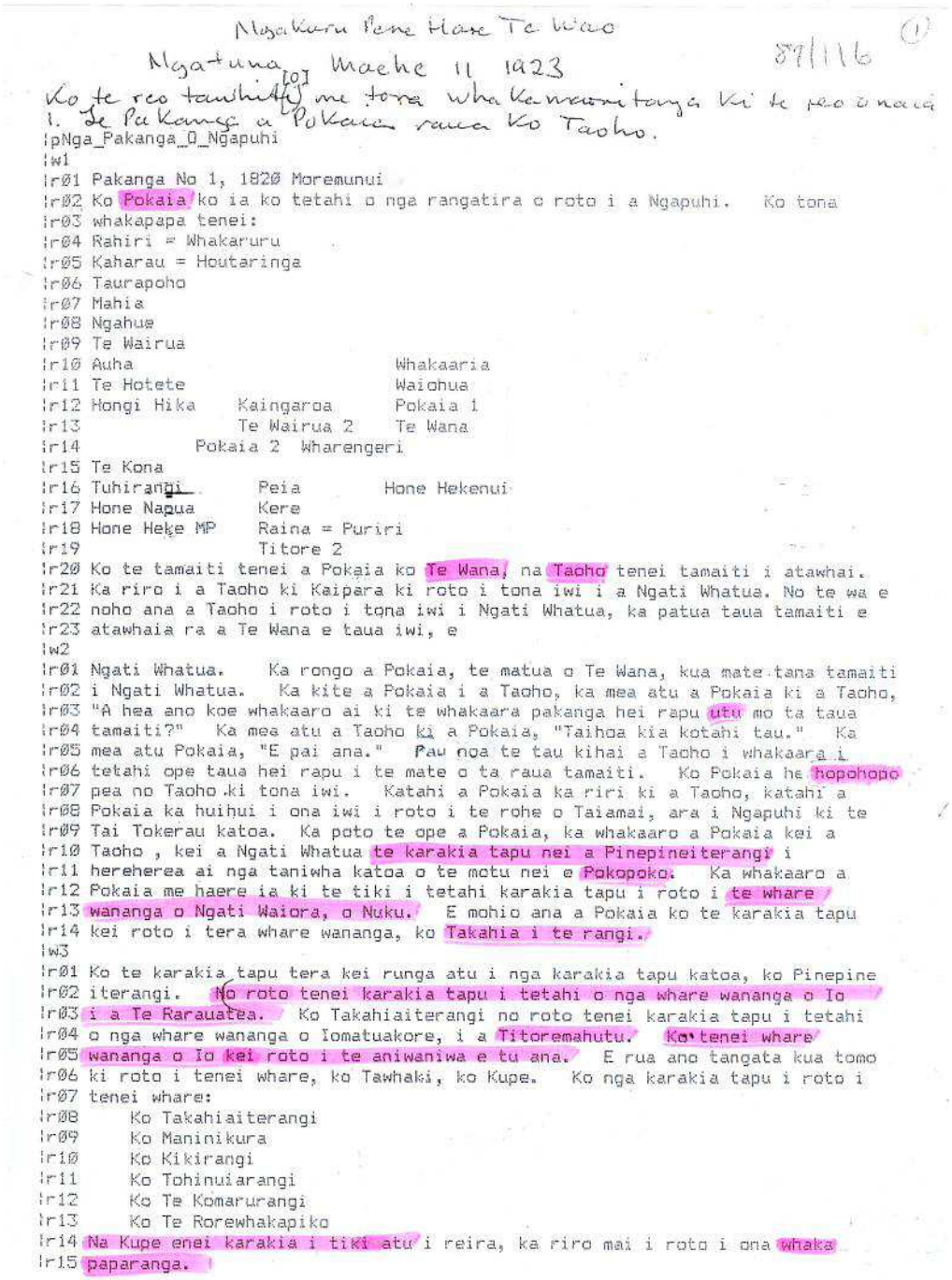


***Figure 8*:** Pg. 1 of the manuscript text



Ngakuru Pene Haare Te Wao

Ngatuna [07] Maehe 11 1923 87/116 (1)

Ko te reo tawhito me tona whakamaoritanga ki te reo o naia
i. Te Pukanga a Pokaia rauna Ko Taoho.

```
!pNga_Pakanga_O_Ngapuhi
!w1
!r01 Pakanga No 1, 1820 Moremunui
!r02 Ko Pokaia ko ia ko tetahi o nga rangatira o roto i a Ngapuhi.   Ko tona
!r03 whakapapa tenei:
!r04 Rahiri = Whakaruru
!r05 Kaharau = Houtaringa
!r06 Taurapoho
!r07 Mahia
!r08 Ngahue
!r09 Te Wairua
!r10 Auha                          Whakaaria
!r11 Te Hotete                     Waiohua
!r12 Hongi Hika    Kaingaroa       Pokaia 1
!r13               Te Wairua 2     Te Wana
!r14          Pokaia 2  Wharengeri
!r15 Te Kona
!r16 Tuhirangi      Peia          Hone Hekenui
!r17 Hone Napua     Kere
!r18 Hone Heke MP   Raina = Puriri
!r19                Titore 2
!r20 Ko te tamaiti tenei a Pokaia ko Te Wana, na Taoho tenei tamaiti i atawhai.
!r21 Ka riro i a Taoho ki Kaipara ki roto i tona iwi i a Ngati Whatua. No te wa e
!r22 noho ana a Taoho i roto i tona iwi i Ngati Whatua, ka patua taua tamaiti e
!r23 atawhaia ra a Te Wana e taua iwi, e
!w2
!r01 Ngati Whatua.    Ka rongo a Pokaia, te matua o Te Wana, kua mate tana tamaiti
!r02 i Ngati Whatua.   Ka kite a Pokaia i a Taoho, ka mea atu a Pokaia ki a Taoho,
!r03 "A hea ano koe whakaaro ai ki te whakaara pakanga hei rapu utu mo ta taua
!r04 tamaiti?"   Ka mea atu a Taoho ki a Pokaia, "Taihoa kia kotahi tau."   Ka
!r05 mea atu Pokaia, "E pai ana."   Pau noa te tau kihai a Taoho i whakaara i
!r06 tetahi ope taua hei rapu i te mate o ta raua tamaiti.   Ko Pokaia he hopohopo
!r07 pea no Taoho ki tona iwi.   Katahi a Pokaia ka riri ki a Taoho, katahi a
!r08 Pokaia ka huihui i ona iwi i roto i te rohe o Taiamai, ara i Ngapuhi ki te
!r09 Tai Tokerau katoa.  Ka poto te ope a Pokaia, ka whakaaro a Pokaia kei a
!r10 Taoho , kei a Ngati Whatua te karakia tapu nei a Pinepineiterangi i
!r11 hereherea ai nga taniwha katoa o te motu nei e Pokopoko.   Ka whakaaro a
!r12 Pokaia me haere ia ki te tiki i tetahi karakia tapu i roto i te whare
!r13 wananga o Ngati Waiora, o Nuku.   E mohio ana a Pokaia ko te karakia tapu
!r14 kei roto i tera whare wananga, ko Takahia i te rangi.
!w3
!r01 Ko te karakia tapu tera kei runga atu i nga karakia tapu katoa, ko Pinepine
!r02 iterangi.   No roto tenei karakia tapu i tetahi o nga whare wananga o Io
!r03 i a Te Rarauatea.   Ko Takahiaiterangi no roto tenei karakia tapu i tetahi
!r04 o nga whare wananga o Iomatuakore, i a Titoremahutu.   Ko tenei whare
!r05 wananga o Io kei roto i te aniwaniwa e tu ana.   E rua ano tangata kua tomo
!r06 ki roto i tenei whare, ko Tawhaki, ko Kupe.   Ko nga karakia tapu i roto i
!r07 tenei whare:
!r08      Ko Takahiaiterangi
!r09      Ko Maninikura
!r10      Ko Kikirangi
!r11      Ko Tohinuiarangi
!r12      Ko Te Komarurangi
!r13      Ko Te Rorewhakapiko
!r14 Na Kupe enei karakia i tiki atu i reira, ka riro mai i roto i ona whaka
!r15 paparanga.
```

***Figure 9*:** Pg. 1 of the transcription

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

In contrast to the comments made above with regard to the layout of whakapapa in the original text, *Figure 10* (below) indicates how the ordered conventions of the typewritten transcription enable the reader to more readily distinguish the hari (songs) and waiata (laments) that are included, but difficult initially to locate, in the text of the

handwritten original (*Figure 11*). It can be seen that the transcription has line breaks, whereas in the original author's rendering, the words of the hari are continuous, with no line breaks signalled:

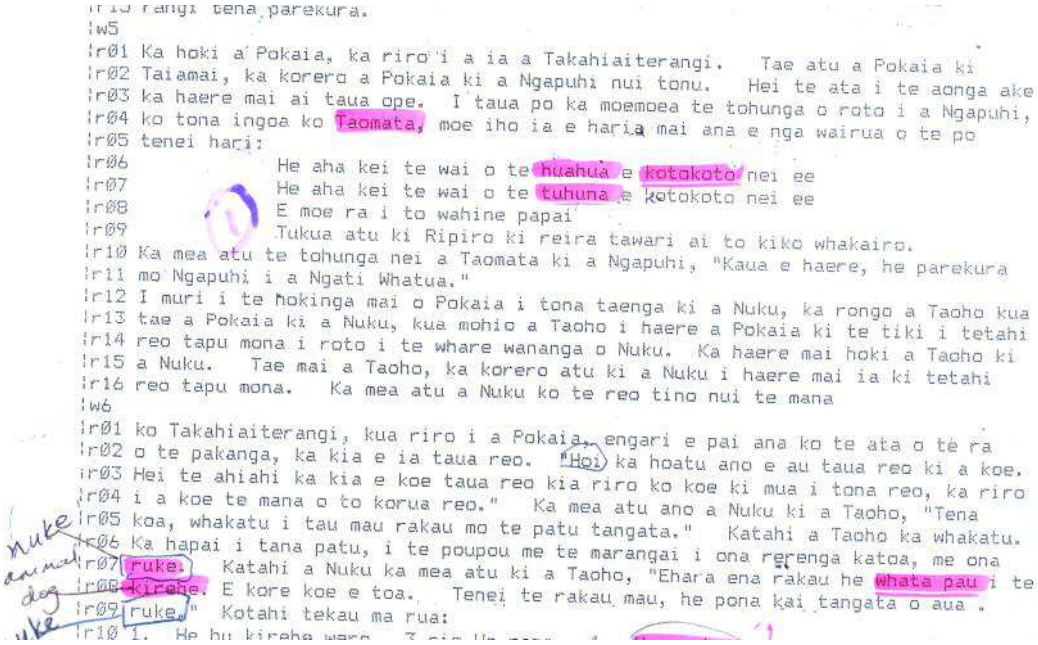


***Figure 10*:** Identifying hari in the text of the transcription (p. 5)

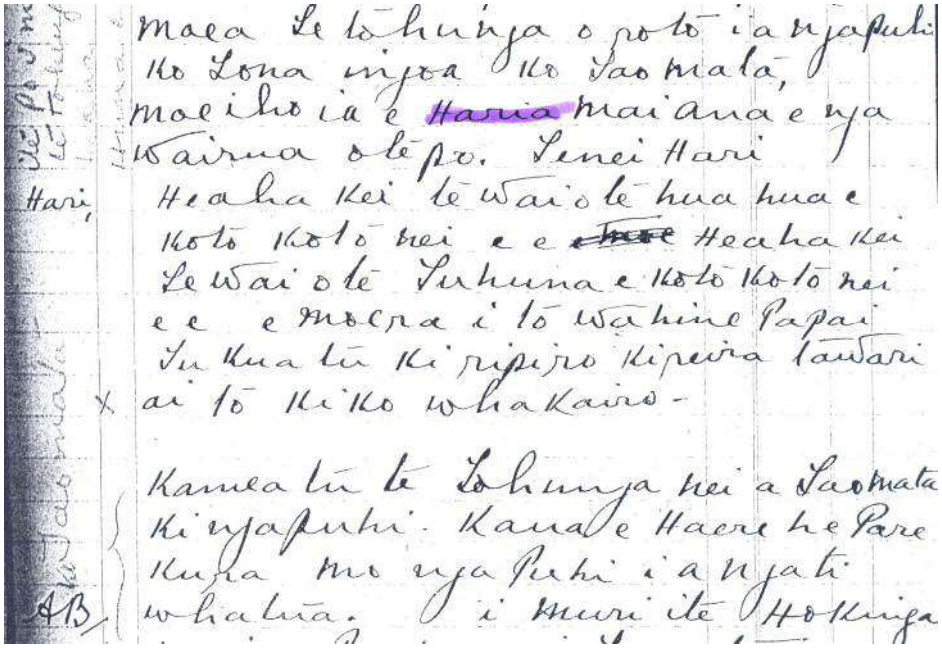


***Figure 11*:** Identifying hari in the text of the manuscript (p. 5)

Figure 10 also provides an example of an instance where a word which appears in the original to be 'nuke' (crooked, humped) has been transcribed as 'ruke' (to throw down, throw away, pour forth, or discharge). In the context of the text segment, 'nuke' makes sense. This example highlights once again the importance, for the translator, of working from the original text wherever possible.

Figures 12 and *13* below indicate the difficulty, without reference to the transcription, that the reader/translator has in identifying where one account ends and another

begins. The body of text in the manuscript appears in some instances as though it were one continuous narrative. This view is supported by other extracts highlighting the titles of some of the battle accounts (see *Figures 15* and *16* on p.?) where the titles appear to have been written into the margins as an annotation, at some point after the text was initially written:

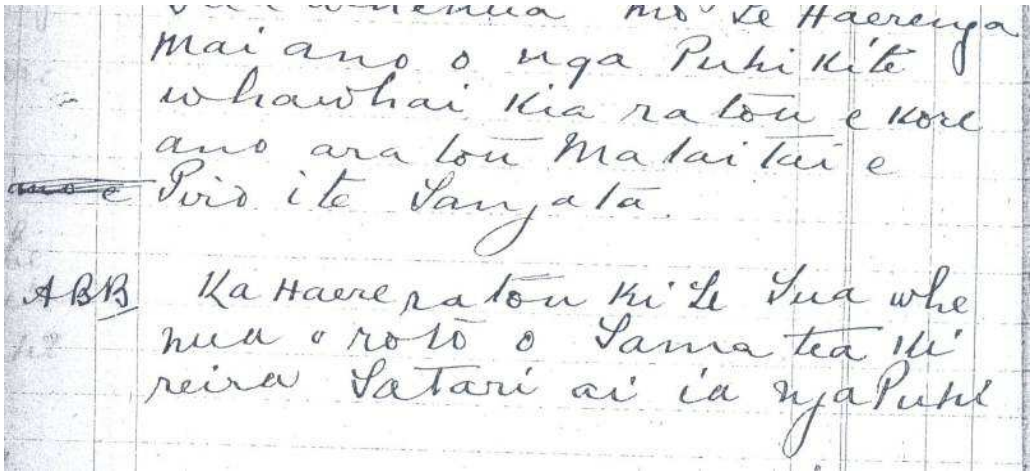


***Figure 12*:** The end of Pakanga No 1 (p. 16)

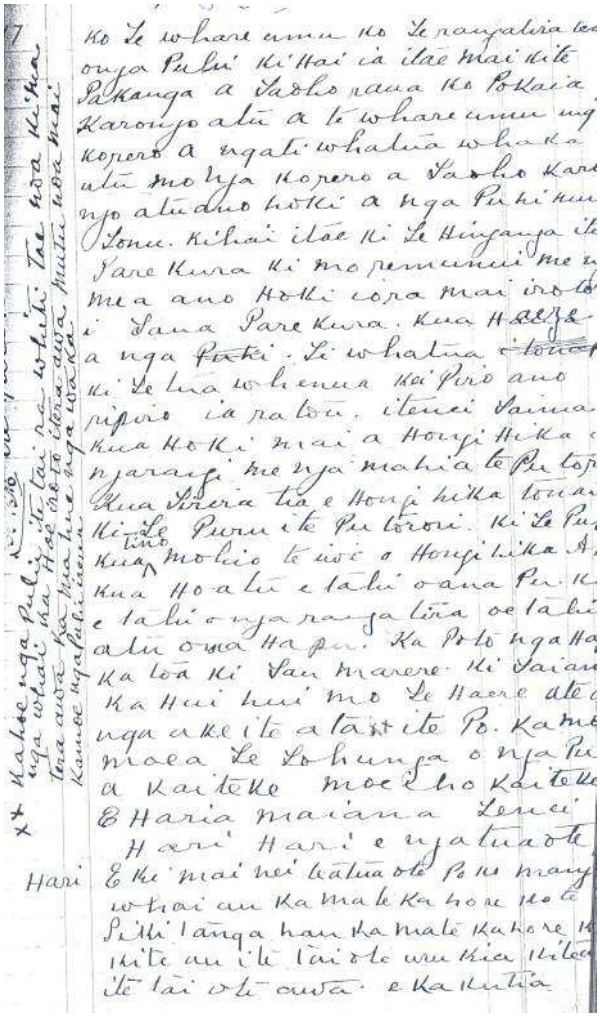
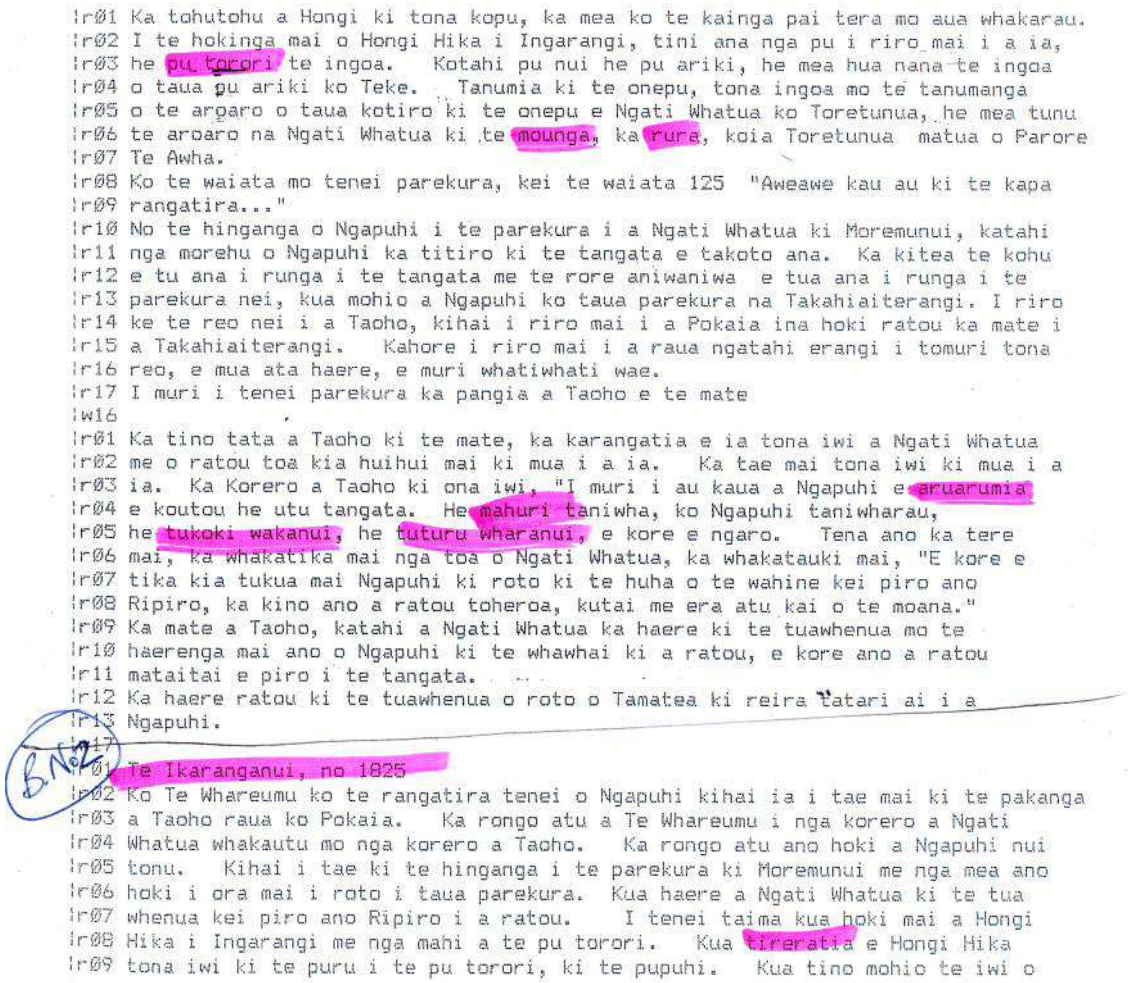


***Figure 13*:** The beginning of the second battle account (p. 17)

Figure 13 above also illustrates the difficulty that confronts the translator when photocopying of the original renders the text illegible, whether through variance in print quality or errors in the alignment of the text. In this case, the text on the lower right half of the page is obscured. In such instances, therefore, the transcription becomes invaluable. This same extract provides a further example of the author's use of margins to add notations and additional text. In this particular case, it is a section to be inserted into the body of the text at the point indicated with the marking 'xx'. The author has also distinguished, in the margin, the location of a 'hari' within the text.

In comparison to *Figures 12* and *13* above, *Figure 14* below provides an extract from the transcription - the point at which the first battle account ends and the second begins:



!r01 Ka tohutohu a Hongi ki tona kopu, ka mea ko te kainga pai tera mo aua whakarau.
!r02 I te hokinga mai o Hongi Hika i Ingarangi, tini ana nga pu i riro mai i a ia,
!r03 he pu torori te ingoa. Kotahi pu nui he pu ariki, he mea hua nana te ingoa
!r04 o taua pu ariki ko Teke. Tanumia ki te onepu, tona ingoa mo te tanumanga
!r05 o te aroaro o taua kotiro ki te onepu e Ngati Whatua ko Toretunua, he mea tunu
!r06 te aroaro na Ngati Whatua ki te mounga, ka rure, koia Toretunua matua o Parore
!r07 Te Awha.
!r08 Ko te waiata mo tenei parekura, kei te waiata 125 "Aweawe kau au ki te kapa
!r09 rangatira..."
!r10 No te hinganga o Ngapuhi i te parekura i a Ngati Whatua ki Moremunui, katahi
!r11 nga morehu o Ngapuhi ka titiro ki te tangata e takoto ana. Ka kitea te kohu
!r12 e tu ana i runga i te tangata me te rore aniwaniwa e tua ana i runga i te
!r13 parekura nei, kua mohio a Ngapuhi ko taua parekura na Takahiaiterangi. I riro
!r14 ke te reo nei i a Taoho, kihai i riro mai i a Pokaia ina hoki ratou ka mate i
!r15 a Takahiaiterangi. Kahore i riro mai i a raua ngatahi erangi i tomuri tona
!r16 reo, e mua ata haere, e muri whatiwhati wae.
!r17 I muri i tenei parekura ka pangia a Taoho e te mate
!w16
!r01 Ka tino tata a Taoho ki te mate, ka karangatia e ia tona iwi a Ngati Whatua
!r02 me o ratou toa kia huihui mai ki mua i a ia. Ka tae mai tona iwi ki mua i a
!r03 ia. Ka Korero a Taoho ki ona iwi, "I muri i au kaua a Ngapuhi e aruarumia
!r04 e koutou he utu tangata. He mahuri taniwha, ko Ngapuhi taniwharau,
!r05 he tukoki wakanui, he tuturu wharanui, e kore e ngaro. Tena ano ka tere
!r06 mai, ka whakatika mai nga toa o Ngati Whatua, ka whakatauki mai, "E kore e
!r07 tika kia tukua mai Ngapuhi ki roto ki te huha o te wahine kei piro ano
!r08 Ripiro, ka kino ano a ratou toheroa, kutai me era atu kai o te moana."
!r09 Ka mate a Taoho, katahi a Ngati Whatua ka haere ki te tuawhenua mo te
!r10 haerenga mai ano o Ngapuhi ki te whawhai ki a ratou, e kore ano a ratou
!r11 mataitai e piro i te tangata.
!r12 Ka haere ratou ki te tuawhenua o roto o Tamatea ki reira tatari ai i a
!r13 Ngapuhi.
!r17
!r01 Te Ikaranganui, no 1825
!r02 Ko Te Whareumu ko te rangatira tenei o Ngapuhi kihai ia i tae mai ki te pakanga
!r03 a Taoho raua ko Pokaia. Ka rongo atu a Te Whareumu i nga korero a Ngati
!r04 Whatua whakautu mo nga korero a Taoho. Ka rongo atu ano hoki a Ngapuhi nui
!r05 tonu. Kihai i tae ki te hinganga i te parekura ki Moremunui me nga mea ano
!r06 hoki i ora mai i roto i taua parekura. Kua haere a Ngati Whatua ki te tua
!r07 whenua kei piro ano Ripiro i a ratou. I tenei taima kua hoki mai a Hongi
!r08 Hika i Ingarangi me nga mahi a te pu torori. Kua tireratia e Hongi Hika
!r09 tona iwi ki te puru i te pu torori, ki te pupuhi. Kua tino mohio te iwi o

***Figure 14*:** Transcription, indicating transition point (p. 5)

The endings and beginnings of each battle are generally more clearly defined in the transcription than in the original. Even so, where these points occur is not always clearly signalled in the original. From approximately midway through the transcription, however, the assignment of titles to battle accounts does not correspond to those provided in the original. Thus it can be seen that, while there are benefits to be derived from having access to the transcription of an original document (in terms

of, for example, cross referencing), reliance cannot necessarily be placed on the transcription.

The content of the manuscript

The Museum library describes[63] the Pene Haare manuscript as containing "accounts of the battles (circa 1820-1840) of Ngapuhi, including Moremonui[64], Maunginangina, Hukatere and Te Houtaiewa [sic][65]" In fact, 63 battles are recorded. In three instances in the earlier accounts contained in the original manuscript, the text of a battle is not clearly defined, appearing as part of a continuous narrative with no apparent title and no obvious conclusion. For the most part however each account is numbered and has a title (e.g. 'B.N. 3 No 1823 Taurakohia ki roto o Waikato ki a Kingi Potatau', and 'B.N. 4 Pariotonga Ngati Whatua')[66]. Within the narrative accounts of the battles, excerpts of *whakapapa*, *whakataukī*, *pepeha*, *karakia*, *waiata* and *hari* are included. The order in which the battles are recorded does not appear to be strictly chronological.

The Auckland Museum Library has classified the battles recorded by Pene Haare as having taken place circa 1820 - 1840, yet at least three of the battles ('No. 8 Rangiputa i a Te Ripo', 'B.N. 32 Ohari ki Otaua na Tarutaru ki a Ngati Whatua', and 'B. Parekura N. 17 Ko Panitehe ki a Kaharau'), would have taken place well before then. The first of these, 'Rangiputa i a Te Ripo', recounts the events from which the name 'Te Rarawa Kai Whare'[67] originated, one that involved immediate descendants of the Te Rarawa paramount chief Tarutaru; the second involves Tarutaru himself. In Matthews' (1998, p. 2) estimation, these events took place some 15-18 generations before the point at which he (Matthews) was writing. In *Ngā Mōteatea* (Ngata, pp. 12-13), in the footnotes for 'He Tangi mo Te Huhu' (A Lament for Te Huhu), refers to Tarutaru as "he rangatira toa no Te Rarawa i ngā rā o namata" (a warrior chief of Te Rarawa in ancient days). It is possible that these particular battles took place around 1780 and 1760 respectively, or possibly earlier. The third battle mentioned relates events involving Kaharau, the son of Ngāpuhi's eponymous ancestor, Rahiri. According to a whakapapa included in Matiu and Mutu (2003, p. 54), Kaharau's era preceded Tarutaru by 6 generations. Likewise, the battle of Moremunui, recorded by Pene Haare as 'Te Pakanga a Pokaia raua ko Taoho' and designated as having taken place 'no 1820' (in 1820), is estimated by other authors to have taken place about 1807, based partly on the fact that it was reportedly the first instance of Māori warfare involving muskets (Smith, 1910; Keene, 1975; Ballara, 2003). Thus, several attempts to introduce chronological elements appear to have taken place, probably at a later date.

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

> Ko te Pukapuka hohonu tenei ona korero me tona reo tapu, ko te reo rangatira tenei ongaPuhi. Tona Tawhiti ki muri kei te 4 mano tau ki muri. e kore tenei reo e taea te whakama-rama e te tahi initapeta Tino mohio o runga o te motu nei, maku ano e tohutohu te Tikanga o te nei Kupu o tenei Kupu (October 20, 1930, p. 2).
>
> (This manuscript contains knowledge of great depth. Its content and its sacred dialect, this is the Ngāpuhi idiom, which originated 4 thousand years ago. Not

> even the most skilled interpreter in the land could begin to decipher it. I myself shall instruct the meaning of each and every word.)

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

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

> Kei Tenei Pukapuka nga korero katoa o nga Waka katoa o nga Puhi Te tuanga me te tonga ki te wai. me te hoenga mai i Hawaiki nga karakia Tapu nga Pakanga. me ra tu mahi iroto inga Rohe o nga Puhi" (October 20, 1930, pp. 2-3).
> (In this book are all the accounts of all the Ngāpuhi waka, the naming and the hauling to the water and the journey here from Hawaiki, the sacred incantations, the battles, and other significant events from the Ngāpuhi region.)

This description may indicate that the manuscript authored by Pene Haare, which consists solely of accounts of certain Ngāpuhi battles, was but one instalment of what was intended to be a more extensive work[68]. Alternatively, Pene Haare may have been referring here to another work, of a type similar perhaps to the one that Wiremu Wī Hongi had in his possession (referred to earlier), a manuscript written by his elders and given into his guardianship (kaitiakitanga) (Sissons et al, 1999/2001, p. 63). Pene Haare may have been in possession of a manuscript written by one of his kaiako (teachers) or tūpuna (elders) in the ancient, esoteric dialect of the Ngāpuhi tohunga, which he was in the process of interpreting for a modern audience.[69]

An index on page 372 lists the last battle account as 'N. 61 Te Houtaewa ki Pukerahi ki a Whakaririka'. However, battles 'N. 62'[70] and what would be 'N. 63'[71] are also written up. Following on from these are a few more pages of indexes and notes, some of which are reminders to the author to go back and 'whakatikatika' (correct, refine) certain of the accounts. Another index (pp. 371-374) lists the battles by title from 1-61. However, the numbering sequence continues on to 136. In addition, an index on page 224 lists the titles of battles from 63 through 84. Since 'N. 63' was the last account recorded in the manuscript, it seems that Pene Haare intended to record many more battles. When he wrote to Hongi in 1930, **"**Kua kau-matuatia kua Tai maha te

ringa kite Tuhi tuhi" (Pene Haare, 14 November, 1930, p. 9) (I am old and my hand gets tired from writing), he may indeed have been struggling to complete the task that he had set for himself. Other indices show the author's attempts to assign dates to the battles listed. These are likely to have been estimates based on his extensive knowledge of whakapapa.

Addressing issues relating to culture and cultural contact

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

Biggs (1964, p. 43) observes that, in contrast to the gods and heroes of mythology, tribal traditions are concerned with mortals, are local to the tribe concerned and are genealogically located within thirty generations of the present day. Many of these traditional records, "told in terms of great men and great battles", have been maintained in the face of both inter-tribal and inter-racial warfare and numerous colonising influences. Biggs does not speak directly of the influence of Christianity on the recording of such tribal traditions. However, based on what we know about the powerful presence and influence of the Catholic Church in the northern Hokianga region, and the degree to which the Māori communities there embraced the Whakapono, the question of whether Pākehā religion influenced the nature and transmission of tribal traditions is a valid one. As noted earlier of Himiona Kamira, although steeped in traditional lore, he was "strongly committed" to his Catholic faith (Tate, 2007). Likewise, as noted earlier, Pene Haare was a devout Catholic: despite a terminal prognosis, he had recovered his health after praying the rosary at The Shrine of Mary at Pukekaraka in Ōtaki. Even if not an officially designated katekita (catechist), he was certainly involved in the training and development of local katekita and active in his church, and he took the editor of *Te Toa Takitini* to task over claims as to the supremacy of the Anglican church over the Catholic (Pene Haare, 1904). How his having embraced the teachings of the Catholic Church affected his traditional knowledge and the way he chose to transmit that knowledge is a matter for speculation. Some indication of this type of influence may however be contained in his 1943 letter to Ngata where Pene Haare states:

> . . . e rima nga Puka Puka[72] ka tuhia e ahau e rangi e kore ahau e tuhi tuhi inga wahi kino i roto i taku Puka Puka inga mahi ao tatou tupuna Ko nga wahi pai anake ka tuhia e au (August 20 1943, p. 2).
> (Five books will be written. But I am not going to write the bad parts in my book about our ancestors' endeavours, only the good parts.)

We can only speculate about what Pene Haare might have regarded as 'nga wahi kino'[73]. Reading of the Pene Haare's manuscript reveals no attempt to mitigate acts such as, for example, *kairarawa*[74] (the consuming of human flesh and/or organs to extract the mana of the defeated enemy), the killing of women and children, and other activities which might be perceived, from a Catholic perspective, as 'bad' or 'wicked'.

Jenkins' study (1991, pp. 93-100) of the acquisition of literacy by Māori in the early nineteenth century, and the use of literacy as a colonising tool, examines the effect of the use of phrases with moral overtones in the teaching of writing by missionaries (e.g. 'Pai rawa te korero o te Atua' (The word of God is excellent)). She concludes that, in the context of missionary teaching, the meanings of Māori words were redefined according to English cultural and moral sensibilities, and a Biblical sense of 'good' and 'bad'. She observes that "[inherent] with these changes of meanings are the cultural transformations that are overlaid via the imposition of the new meanings of the dominating cultural group, which insists that their meanings [and their worldview] take prominence" (p. 100).

King (1983, p. 33) has noted that, in the Northern districts in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the role and function of the *katekita* eventually came to supplant that of the traditional tohunga (spiritual leader). Haami (2004, p. 24) relates instances where conversion to Christianity resulted in the loss of the tribal traditions (e.g. elders who, upon conversion, renounced their traditional knowledge; and members of Rua Kenana's[75] Christian-Judaic community at Maungapōhatu whose whakapapa books were destroyed once they entered the fold). On the other hand, Pene Haare exhibited many qualities that are consistent with his acknowledged status as a repository of the oral tradition. He was adamant that his authority and expertise did not extend beyond the bounds of Ngāpuhi[76] and was reluctant to ever presume to exert that authority over another tribal area, even when invited to do so (Pene Haare, 14 November 1930, pp. 7-8). This combination of humility and self–assuredness was the mark of a man who understood his role and function within his community and had nothing to prove. A family member recalls hearing of an episode where Pene Haare was seen to summon birds and lizards from the bush, and fish to the banks of the river (Stephen Burke, personal communication, January 2009). The ease with which he managed such feats was attributed to his deep spiritual connection to the land to which he belonged, his tūrangawaewae[77] in the northern Hokianga.

Did Pene Haare's deep devotion to the Whakapono impact on his commitment to his role and purpose in life as a guardian and disseminator of tribal history and traditions? To some extent, this must have been the case. The knowledge recorded in his manuscript had its genesis in the ancient Ngāpuhi oral tradition and in a form of te reo Māori associated particularly with the whare wānanga. It was, however, recorded by him in writing and largely in a version of te reo Māori that was widespread in his region at the time he wrote. Furthermore, although access to the knowledge he imparts would have been restricted to a few select individuals in Pene Haare's youth, the very act of writing it down made it more widely accessible. Furthermore, Pene Haare's desire to have it translated into English indicated a wish that it should be disseminated more widely still. Times were indeed changing. However, as Haami (2004, p. 25) observes, Māori were survivors, and "far from ignoring the new concepts and technologies that were presented to them [they] seized and adapted foreign tools and philosophies to meet their own needs".[78]

Haami (2004, p. 24) observes that, according to Māori beliefs, the passing on of knowledge depletes the giver's mauri (life-force) and could even be a cause of premature death. This may be one reason why Pene Haare deferred the writing of his manuscript for so long. Another reason may have been a tension between desire that the knowledge contained in the manuscript should be preserved and reluctance to

commit sacred knowledge to writing. Smith (1898, p. 1) notes that "we know less about the history and traditions of Ngapuhi and other Northern tribes, than those of any others". This dearth of information, to which reference has also been made by Cloher (2002) and Matiu and Mutu (2003), may be due, in part at least, to the fact that the Taitokerau tribes had a particularly strong adherence to the oral retention of their histories in the first instance. Matiu and Mutu (p. 14) note that "the will of our ancestors to record these things in Māori and from their own point of view" was one reason why they "grasped literacy with great enthusiasm in the early nineteenth century". However, the acknowledgement of the need to preserve traditional knowledge in writing represented an acceptance of cultural threat, an acceptance that must have been extremely difficult for some to come to terms with.

Addressing issues relating to orality and literacy

The traditional Māori world, in which the validation and mana (authority)[79] of oral expression had been all-powerful, was forever changed by the introduction of the written word. However, literacy became in many ways an adjunct to the oral tradition, opening up "new forms of communication and new trains of thought" (Haami, 2004, p. 15). From the mid-nineteenth century, Māori were using a profusion of Māori language newspapers, personal correspondence, hui minutes and proclamations to "inform each other about themselves" (p. 23). They also recognised that writing and publishing was a means of preserving (if in substantially altered form) oral traditions (p. 23).

Jenkins (1991, p. 20) writes of being stirred to nostalgia as she viewed for the first time manuscripts written by Māori in the mid-nineteenth century. Not understanding the full extent of the transition that they would have undergone in the process of acquiring literacy, she regarded those early examples of Māori writing as not very proficient. Haami (2004, p. 24), however, contends that while some early Māori writings exhibit little understanding of English orthographic conventions, others demonstrate a high degree of creativity, making use of punctuation in a way intended to replicate aspects of oral delivery and/or of formulae associated with the oral tradition.

Unlike Te Rangikaheke, who acquired his literacy from European missionaries, Pene Haare was apparently taught to write by literate Māori: his elders. As far as we know, he only ever wrote in Māori. However, letters belonging to the English alphabet do appear in his manuscript. Whilst the Māori term 'pakanga' (battle or war) is used in some titles, the majority of the battle accounts have the letters 'B.N.' in their titles (see *Figure 15* below), presumably an abbreviation of the words 'Battle Number'[80]. In other cases, there is a combination of Māori and English terms[81]. Also seen occasionally in the margins are the letters 'AB', 'ABB' and 'ABB2' (see *Figure 16* below; also *Figures 11* and *12* above), marking an apparently significant section of text, or marking notes that the author has made in the margin:

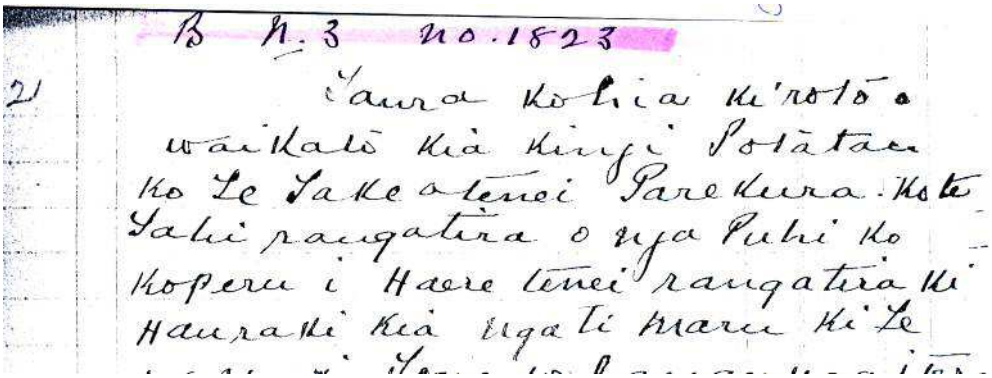


***Figure 15*:** B N 3 - title (p. 21)

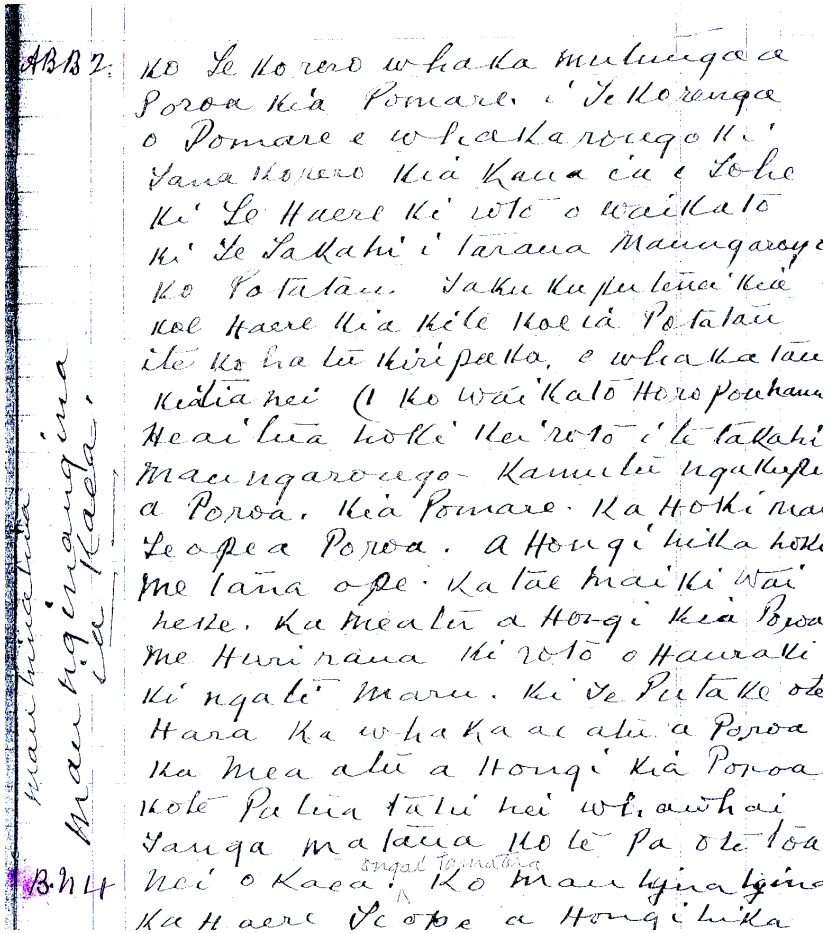


***Figure 16*:** B N 4 - title (p. 33)

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

As well as including dates in some of the battle titles, Pene Haare also attempted at some point to assign dates to the battle accounts listed in his indexes (see *Figures 17* and *18* below):

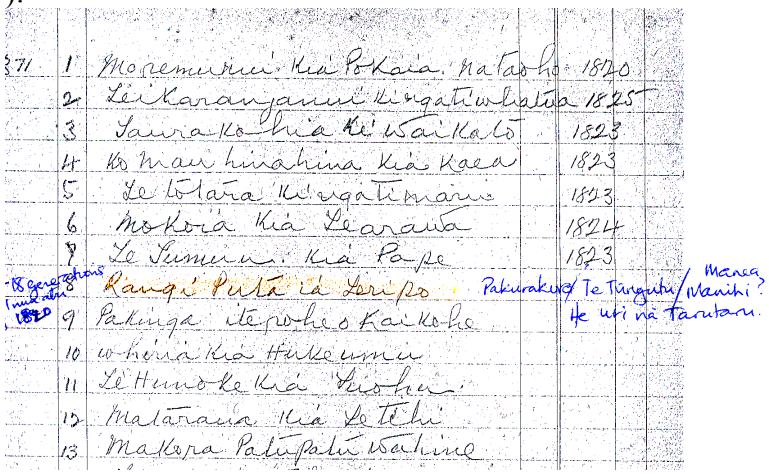


***Figure 17*:** Index from the manuscript with chronology (p. 371)

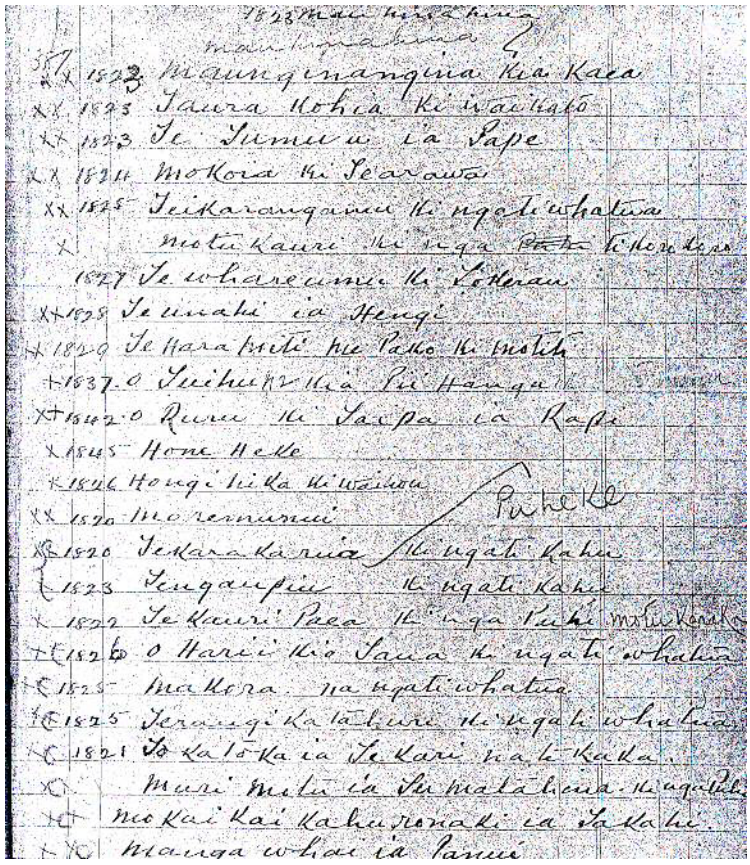


***Figure 18*:** Index showing chronology 2 (p. 387)

King's (1983, p. 30) description of Heremia Te Wake ("intelligent, highly literate in Māori and versed in Catholic doctrine") could have been applied equally appropriately to Pene Haare. Analysts of the written works of Te Rangikaheke remark on his great competence, acquired with the assistance of Christian missionaries and nurtured in his close association with Governor George Grey. Notwithstanding the fact that Pene Haare's literacy had been acquired predominantly in a Māori environment, his writing appears to be every bit as accomplished as that of

Te Rangikaheke. His proficiency is evident at each of its various stages of development, from his letter to the editor of 1904[82] through his personal correspondence with Hongi (1919 to 1930) and Ngata (1943) to his manuscript (1923 to some time in the 1930s). *Figures 19 – 21* below provide some examples:

KI TE ETITA o TE PIPIWHARAUROA.

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

Figure 19: Extract from Letter to the Editor (*Te Pipiwharauroa*, 1904, p.6)

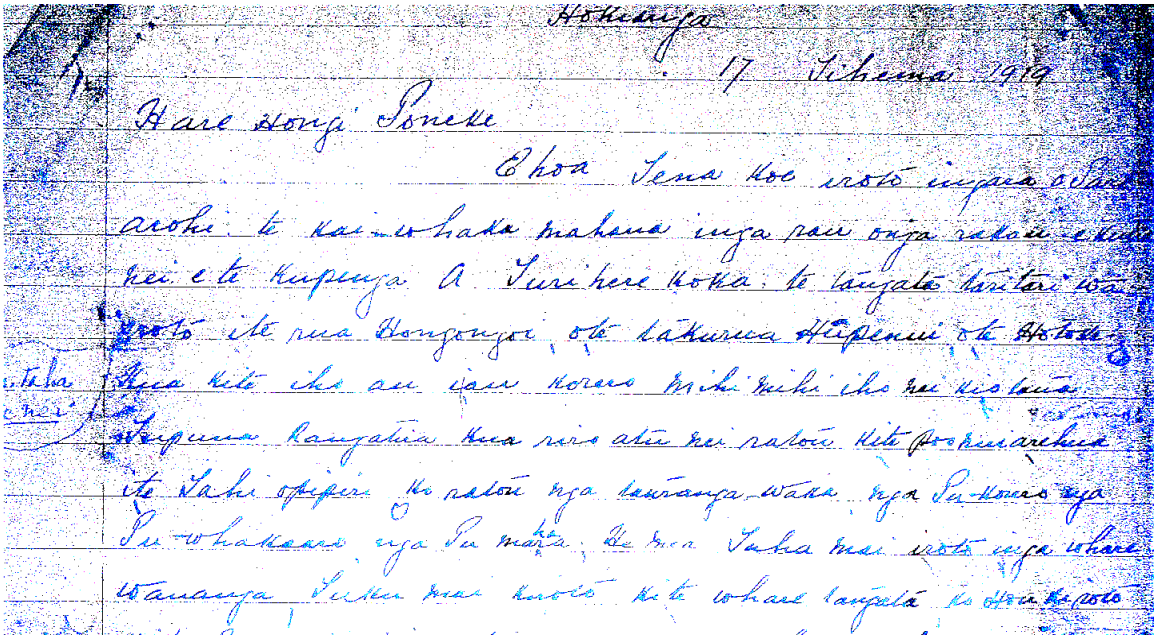


***Figure 20*:** Extract from letter to Hongi (1919, p. 1)

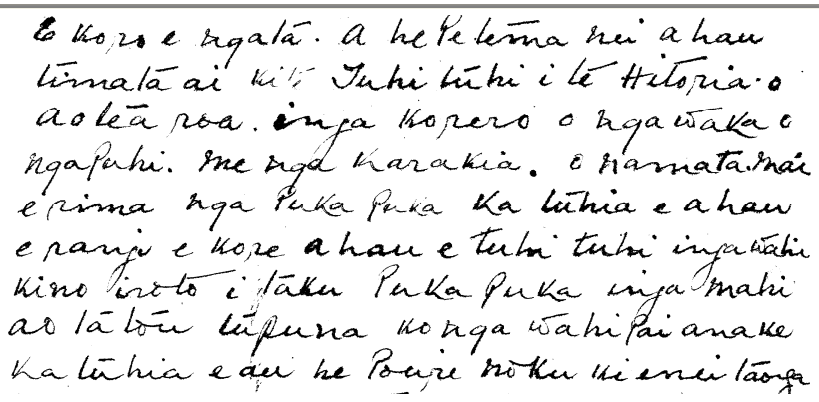


***Figure 21*:** Extract from Pene Haare's letter to Ngata (1943, p. 2)

There is, for example, evidence of creative use of conventional punctuation similar to that which may be observed in Te Rangikaheke's early writing: full stops are used to indicate pauses within sentences as well as the ends of sentences and capital letters are frequently used to emphasise words. Where Pene Haare's writing differs from Te Rangikaheke's, however, is in the fact that he frequently joins words in a way that indicates speech pauses. Equally, there are many instances where words are broken up[83]. The following text extract, from page 1 of the manuscript (shown in *Figure 8* above), provides an example of the author's creative use and adaptation of English orthographic conventions:

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

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

An extract from page 17 (see *Figure 13* above) provides further examples, and includes the use of a transliterated term, 'taima' ('i tenei taima' - at this time):

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

In these extracts, capitalisation appears to be used in some instances to emphasise certain words - for example 'Piro' (pollute, to make putrid), 'Puru i te Pu torori' (load the musket) – and in others to show the beginning of a new sentence or thought. In still others the significance of the capitalisation is unclear. While no now familiar convention is used to indicate long vowels in the text, such as macrons or double vowels[84], there appears in some instances to be a correlation between the word breaks and the pronunciation of those words (e.g. 'i ngarangi' (England) pronounced 'Eengarangi'; 'nga Ti whatua', pronounced *Ngaati Whaatua*, and 'a Tawhai',

pronounced *aatawhai.*) It seems likely that the breaks in these cases signal a long vowel on the sound preceding the break. This pattern is evident in several of the extracts included here, but is not universally the case.

In general, the handwritten text of the original appears to conform to patterns of oral delivery. This would seem to account for the joining together of words in many instances: they are written phonetically, as they would be spoken. Full stops are used sporadically, and not necessarily at the end of a sentence. On page 17 (see *Figure 13*), nine full stops are included in the text. In four instances, they appear to signal the end of a sentence; in four more, they appear to signal a pause; and in one instance the function is unclear.

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

Addressing the issue of authorial purpose

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

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

which the Te Rarawa tribe acquired their name[85], sees Pene Haare depart from the norm. Firstly (see discussion earlier), this particular battle would have taken place much earlier than all but one other of the battles recorded; secondly, he concludes the account with a kauwhau (lecture), giving his own thoughts on who has the right, the mana, to lay claim to the name, 'Te Rarawa':

> He nui no te raruraru ongauri onga iwi ihaere nei ki Te Rapu utu mo te ripo no kona ka whaka ara ano a ngati kahu i tona ingoa Hapu (Pene Haare, 1924, p. 53).
> (Many disputes and grievances have sprung up among the descendants of those descent groups who went to seek revenge for Te Ripo. It is because of this that Ngāti Kahu has resurrected their clan name[86].)

The author gives several reasons, all argued convincingly, why the descendants of all who fought in this battle have a claim to the name - just as though he were engaged in whaikōrero (formal oratory) on the marae ātea (courtyard)[87], or giving evidence in the Native Land Court. His purpose here appears to have been to set the record straight. He concludes his account with a whakapapa, showing all the rangatira (chiefs) whose descendants took part in this war with Ngāti Whātua (and who therefore, in his view, have a legitimate right to the tribal name 'Te Rarawa'), including his own tūpuna, Ngarowiwi. As noted by Biggs (1964, p. 44), the reciting of the appropriate genealogies was important in the narration of traditions, since, by linking himself to the characters in the account, the narrator demonstrated the right to tell the story and also documented its authenticity.

The instance referred to above appears to be an isolated case in the manuscript, where the author/narrator adopts a first-person voice. However, it shows us that Pene Haare had motivations other than simply the preservation of tribal histories when recording his manuscript. Himiona Kamira (referred to above), also kept manuscripts in which he meticulously recorded his vast knowledge of histories, whakapapa and tribal lore, as well as the minutiae of life in his community. As noted by Tate (2007, ¶9), Kamira intended those manuscripts to be of interest and of benefit "not just for Hokianga, but for the whole of Northland". Pene Haare, however, by specifying that he intended his manuscript to be translated for both a Pākehā and a Māori audience (see discussion earlier), may have had a much broader audience in mind.

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

Addressing the issue of the purpose of the translation

A major benefit of the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript would be rendering its contents accessible to the descendents of the author, the Penney whānau, who are

the current, and rightful, kaitiaki (guardians) of the document. This taonga, their tūpuna's manuscript, is the author's legacy to them. A second major benefit of the translation would be the fulfilment of the author's wishes. We have seen evidence of the considerable efforts he made to identify and engage a suitable translator, whilst ensuring that his responsibility to protect and preserve the knowledge entrusted to him was not compromised. Furthermore, Ngakuru Pene Haare, and the immense contribution to mātauranga Māori that his manuscript constitutes, have been undervalued and overlooked by the historians, ethnologists, archivists and biographers of Aotearoa. For example, in a list of Māori scholars who have recorded the oral traditions in manuscript form, Haami (2004, p. 22) includes Taonui of Hokianga, and Tūhaere of Ngāti Whātua among such luminaries as Te Rangikaheke and Mohi Ruatapu.[88] Pene Haare, however inadvertently, is not included. Such oversights abound. Outside of Te Taitokerau, Pene Haare remains largely unknown, as does the vontent of his manuscript[89] As Belich (1996, p. 157) observes, the reason why so very little is known about the Māori inter-tribal wars of the early nineteenth century is that Pākehā historians were not privy to that information. Only Māori themselves knew the reasons why they went to war and, as Ballara (2003, p. 13) notes, these reasons "need to be retold by Maori voices that are as nearly contemporary as possible". The translation of the manuscript would make a contribution to the acknowledgement of Pene Haare's accomplishment. It would, furthermore, represent the realisation of his vision, a manuscript in two languages, both Māori and English: "Kia mohio ai nga iwi Erua" (so that both peoples understand) (Pene Haare, 1943, p. 2).

Addressing issues relating to the nature of the translation

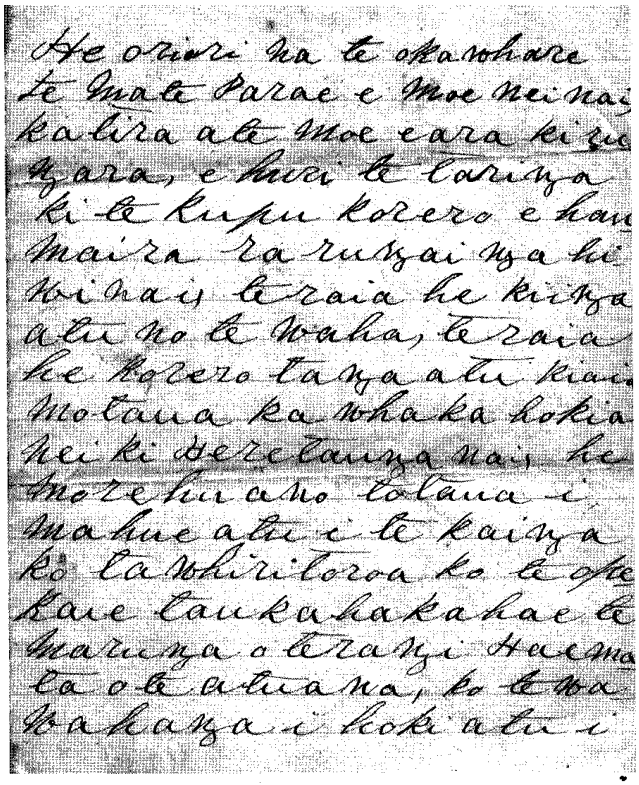
Tau and Anderson (2008, p. 17) observe that Māori tend to look to language in order to understand history. Thus, "the allusions, metaphors and symbolism" and to the relationships between the protagonists may be as important as the actual narratives themselves.

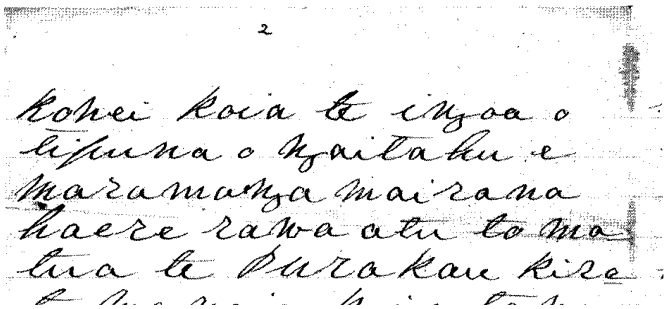
The difficulty of translating the imagery, symbolism and figurative language that characterises much Māori discourse has been encapsulated in Kawharu's (2008) book *Tāhuhu Kōrero: The Sayings of Taitokerau,* a collection of *whakataukī* (proverbs) and *pepeha*[90] (sayings). Kawharu (pp. 1-2) notes that the significance of Māori sayings is that they commemorate key moments in history, important places and celebrated ancestors, often using features of the landscape and other natural elements as metaphors for human behavior and thus reinforcing the links between people and their lands, and descendants and their forebears. She also notes that Māori proverbs and sayings, "like stories, genealogy and history in general", have multifarious shades of meaning and have an enduring relevance in the present day as "records of tribal memory" (pp. 1-2). The Pene Haare manuscript includes a profusion of figurative terms and idioms, as well as *hari*[91], for which there is no contextual information provided. This indicates the need for much research and consultation and signals that a gloss translation would be appropriate.

Gloss translation aims to create a target text that is as comprehensible as possible to the target audience, whilst ensuring as faithful a rendering of the source text as possible. This involves the retention of culturally specific (or 'culturally-embedded') terms and references that may be incomprehensible to the target audience, accompanied by explanatory notes (such as those employed by Ngata (1959) in *Ngā Mōteatea*). Biggs (1952, p. 178) advocated the use of translator's notes to explain

unknown terms, while Buck (1949, p. 45) maintained that the translation of Māori texts should be "as literal as possible", with "some allowance made for the different grammatical styles of the two languages". A gloss approach was adopted in Roa's translation of a series of Ngāti Hauā mōteatea. Since, as Roa (2003) notes, "the precise form in which a function is communicated . . . may have embedded within it important cultural information" (p. 7), a primary aim of her translation was to preserve as much as possible of the original text (p. 10), while revealing as much as in terms of *meaning* to the target audience (p. 16). Thus, the target audience was encouraged to "appreciate . . . the complexity and range of social, cultural, historical and personal reference[s] and the interaction of literal and symbolic meanings" within the text (p. 16).

As Haami (2004, p. 125 & p. 13) observes, original texts, as taonga, should be widely read and discussed and thus kept alive: a translation can never be anything other than an approximation and it must always be open to revision. For this reason, Haami advocates a system of organization/ presentation for the translation of Māori manuscript documents (see *Figure 22* below), which he refers to as 'the four-column page convention':





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

***Figure 22*:** The four-column page convention (Haami, pp. 58-59)

This format enables readers to view the original document in column 1; the exact transcription of the original text in column 2; a conversion of the original text to modern Māori in column 3; and the English translation in column 4. This format would have many benefits in relation to the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript, one that it would provide important information for students and scholars. However, in view of a range of issues associated with dialect, language change and linguistic discontinuity, there are also risks associated with the inclusion of the conversion of the text to 'modern Māori'.

Concluding remarks

The whānau of Pene Haare requested a scholarly treatment and translation into English of the Pene Haare manuscript in September 2007. The task was offered (as a potential topic for a Master's thesis) to the primary author of this article (who is of Te Rarawa descent and had just completed a postgraduate diploma in interpreting and translation), working under the mentorship of one of the other contributors to this article and the supervision of the other. In the event, the Master's thesis, upon which this article draws extensively, will be completed shortly (Tipene, 2009) and will be presented, along with a preliminary translation intended for access by the Penney whānau only. The reasons why a more comprehensive scholarly treatment of the work and a more adequate gloss translation could not be provided within the context of the timeframe available for a Master's thesis are outlined here.

Providing a scholarly treatment and translation of a document such as the Pene Haare manuscript is by no means a simple task. To deal appropriately and in an ethical way

with a manuscript of this kind requires the mentorship of a range of specialists whose experience, expertise and whakapapa places them in a position to be able to guide, and participate in, the translation process. Furthermore, any translation whose aim is to "capture the essence of a source text" can never be regarded as definitive. With this in mind, a number of recommendations, recommendations that apply equally to the translation of other manuscripts of a similar nature, are made.

The first recommendation is that a further translation, and the further scholarly work associated with it, be undertaken by a translator of Te Rarawa descent who is familiar with, and sensitive to, the historic, cultural, linguistic and ethical complexities of the task, as well as the status of the manuscript and its author. It should be undertaken in accordance with culturally appropriate ethical guidelines which include:

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

Haami's (2004) prototype of the 4-column page convention for the translation of Māori manuscripts, or some adaptation of it, is recommended as a means of preserving and exhibiting the original text in all its complexity (Haami, 2004, p. 23).
Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa is currently in the process of establishing a Te Rarawa centre for tribal archives in Kaitaia. This can only be seen as a positive and proactive step toward the goal of preserving Māori records and, in this particular case, Te Rarawa perspectives on their own stories. It is therefore important that those involved in the translation of the text and in further scholarly work associated with it should ensure that they liaise with those involved in establishing and running that Centre.

Endnotes

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

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

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

4. Something that is, from a linguists' perspective, seldom straightforward.

5. For a discussion of the use of the term 'pre-literate', see *Translation and concepts of literacy and literacies* below.

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

7. Irwin (1994, p. 29) defines *whānau* in this context as being characterised by *aroha* (respect, compassion), cooperation and collective responsibility.
8. 'Kanohi ki te kanohi' (face-to-face, direct communication); 'kanohi kitea' ('the seen face', or being seen to be present); and 'manaaki i te tangata' (having a respectful and caring manner toward people).
9. This contributes to the widely held perception that Māori is primarily an oral culture notwithstanding the rapid spread of literacy following European colonisation.
10. An esteemed chief of Ngāti Rangiwewehi in the Rotorua district who lived from 1820-1893 and wrote prolifically during the years 1849 -1853.
11. Also, for example, 'ēnei' is transcribed, 'wēnei', 'tāua', 'māua', and 'rāua' as 'tao', 'mao' and 'rao'.
12. See for example Biggs (1964); Haami (2004) and Sissons et al. (1999/2001).
13. 'Hakapapa' is a dialectal (Ngāti Kahu) variant of 'whakapapa'.
14. One of his letters (Letter to the editor, *Te Pipiwharauroa*, February 1904) gives his residence as Kaihu (in the Kaipara district); his three letters to Hare Hongi in the year 1930 give his residence as Awanui North (presumably the settlement just north of Kaitaia).
15. According to the minutes of the Land Court sitting, Wairoa Block (1904), there were formerly two hapū names associated with the people of Te Hokokeha. They were 'Te Uritoto' and 'Ngaati Waikare' (p. 29). Pene Haare states: "The name of the hapuu of my ancestors staying at Pariroa was Te Uritoto" (p. 7).
16. Refers to an epic battle of ritual incantations at Hokianga between Nukutawhiti, captain of the Ngātokimatawhaorua waka, and Ruanui, captain of the Mamari waka, which ultimately led to Nukutawhiti and his people settling the southern Hokianga and further inland, while Ruanui and his people settled the northwest side of the harbor.
17. There are many variations in the tribal histories recorded about Kupe, a principle ancestor of the Northland tribes. In the Northland traditions he was a great chief and navigator of Polynesian origin who is credited with the discovery of Aotearoa.
18. Allowing for the period and in the context in which Maning was writing, 'peculiar' is likely to have meant 'distinctive' or 'different'
19. A tree, native to Aotearoa, which was prolific in the Hokianga area in the early nineteenth century. Kauri can grow to more than 50 metres tall, with a girth of up to 16 metres. The young trees were used for ships masts and the mature wood was milled for boat building, carving and housing. Kauri gum was another important extractive industry.
20. A wooden pole, such as a mast or boom, used to support sails and rigging on ships.
21. Commonly referred to as the 'Musket Wars'- a term discussed by Ballara (2003).
22. The father of Whina Cooper (1895-1994), a woman who was one of the most visible and controversial Māori leaders of her time (For further reading, see King, 1983).
23. James Reddy Clendon, who had previously been Police Magistrate at the Bay of Islands.
24. The character of the people who lived at Taikarawa has been summarised in the definition 'manu moana' (a person who survives by living off the bounty of the sea) (Taitokerau Sustainable Development Research Group, 2006).
25. Hongi (1859-1944) was born at Waimate in Northland. His father, J. S. Stowell, was a Pākehā engineer and his mother, Huhana, was the daughter of the Ngāpuhi chieftain, Maumau (National Register of Archives and Manuscripts, 2000).
26. All translations in parentheses are provided by Jillian Tipene.
27. An Act which replaced customary communal ownership of Māori land with individual title, with disastrous results for Māori.
28. This movement grew out of a growing awareness that Māori tribes needed to be united in their efforts to resist the forces of colonisation, and assert their 'tino rangatiratanga' (right to self-determination) (See Walker, 1990).
29. The Māori Prophet movement saw the emergence of a series of Māori religious 'cults', many of them pacifist in nature, whose spiritual leaders took on the role of political leaders of their people in a time when anti-Pākehā sentiment was high (See for example Walker 1990; Binney, 1995).

30. No. 38, 'He waiata aroha mo Ripiroaiti' (Ngā Puhi), written by Te Rangi Pouri, and No. 39, 'He tangi mo Te Houhou' (Rarawa) written by Te Ngo.
31. No. 127, 'He waiata tangi mo Te Tihi', written by Te Matapo; No. 132, 'He waiata whaiāipo', written by Pakiri; and No. 133, 'He waiata tangi mo Koi-tikitiki raua ko Te Hara', all Ngā Puhi waiata.
32. This visit is likely to have taken place in or around 1932, when Ngata, then Minister of Native Affairs, was involved in the Hokianga Land Development Scheme, overseen by Whina Cooper.
33. Hapakuku Moetara (Te Roroa), from Waimamaku, Hokianga, was the son of Rangatira Moetara, a signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi. Like his father, he was an assessor in the resident magistrate's court.
34. Along with Himiona Kamira, Henare Matini, Moa Tahana, Mana Hotere, Winata Hone and Eruera Rikihana.
35. No doubt the Government's consistent efforts to assimilate and marginalize Māori had taken its toll on the traditional hierarchies of Māori society. Thus, even though such a council of elders may have been installed and functioning within a community, the authority of that council may not necessarily have had the support and acknowledgement of the whole community.
36. Wiremu Rikihana grew up mostly at Waireia but also at Taikarawa, his mother Harata's birthplace. He assumed the mantle of his father, Rikihana Whakarongouru, a prominent leader (and Pene Haare's kaiako, or teacher). He was a signatory to the deed of sale for Rawene when it was sold to the Crown in 1875 and a principle speaker for claimants in the Native Land Court. From 1923 to 1930, he was a member of the Legislative Council (Tate, 2007). Pene Haare's whakapapa (Figure 3, above) shows that Wiremu Rikihana's grandmother was Takakuru (the sister of Pene Haare's great-grandfather, Mawete) who married Whakarongouru.
37. Whakarongouru was the younger brother of the Te Rarawa chiefs Te Huhu and Papahia, who are mentioned in some of the battles recorded by Pene Haare.
38. The so-called Mill Hill priests were members of St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society, founded at Mill Hill in London in 1866 by Father Herbert Vaughn.
39. Te Rarawa historian and genealogist Himiona Kamira (1880-1953), also known as Takou, was a prolific writer who meticulously recorded, rearranged and explained in a series of notebooks the knowledge he had received from his father, Kamira. He was an important contributor to a series of Northland hui wānanga run by Te Rōpū Wānanga, a group of about 18 elders who got together to debate and record genealogies and canoe voyages. Some of his writings were subsequently published in the *Journals of the Polynesian Society* (Tate, 2007)
40. Kamira, also a catechist, may well have been instrumental in ensuring that the Catholic faith was kept going at Mitimiti in the long spells between the priest's visits, as Te Wake had done at Waihou/Panguru during the Catholic mission's abandonment of Hokianga.
41. A copy of this photograph is held by Stephen Burke.
42. Although Ngata at first endorsed this, his endorsement was later retracted (Walker, 1990, p. 193).
43. Heremia Te Wake (1838- 1918), father of Whina Cooper, was a chief of the Ngāti Manawa hapū of Te Kai Tutae. (For more on Te Wake, see King (1983)).
44. Pene Haare was held in very high regard by Ngata, as a repository of the oral tradition of Taitokerau, and as one who understood the importance of recording the "precious heritage of our ancestors" while those who were the guardians of such knowledge were still alive, and able to explain the nuances of the idioms (Ngata, 2004, p. xxii). It is likely that Ngata would have invited him to speak at this event.
45. *Te Waha a te Parata*- a reference to the Great Whirlpool that nearly swallowed Te Arawa waka on its voyage from Hawaiiki (Ballara, 2007).
46. *Moko pawaha*- a reference to the lines of facial tattoo that run from the outer corners of the nose to the chin (a symbol of aristocracy or status).
47. The meaning of the word 'kahohora' is unclear.

48. *He tangi mo Te Huhu* (A Lament for Te Huhu).
49. Descent groups' is another term for what may also be referred to as sub-tribes or clans (hapū).
50. According to the *whakapapa* (*Figure 2*) above, Rikihana Whakarongouru would have been of the same generation as Pene Haare's maternal grandfather, Rua. His father, Whakarongouru, was the younger brother of the Te Rarawa chiefs Papahia and Te Huhu, both of whom are referred to in battles recounted in the manuscript.
51. Paraire Karaka Paikea (1894-1943) was a Rātana leader, politician and interpreter. Of Te Uri o Hau and Ngāti Whātua descent, he would also have been an ideal translator for the Pene Haare manuscript. He died prematurely, at the peak of his political career, aged 49 years (Ballara, 2007)
52. Stephen Burke, personal communication, January, 2008.
53. G. Warren (Librarian Maori), personal correspondence, February, 2008.
54. G. Warren, personal correspondence, February, 2008.
55. Page 67 of the transcript is noted as missing.
56. M. Collett, personal correspondence, 17 October, 2008.
57. Jane McRae is an academic and writer, who lectures on Māori oral literature in the Māori Studies Department at the University of Auckland.
58. This may actually have been Dr. Cleve Barlow, a senior lecturer in Māori Studies at Auckland University and the author of 'Tikanga Whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture' (1990).
59. M. Collett, personal correspondence, October 17, 2008.
60. Haami (2004, p. 24) notes the significance of *moko* and other symbols that were used by Māori chiefs who had yet to acquire literacy to validate documents in the early days of European contact. Similarly, words that were written by hand, the hand-writing of an individual, must surely have been imbued to a greater extent with the *mana* (authority) and *wairua* (spirit) of that person than any typewritten transcript could ever be.
61. Both words could be translated as 'revenge', however, it could not be said with certainty whether the use of 'uto' was a deliberate use of a Tai Tokerau dialectical term or an error in transcription.
62. At 16 pages, the first battle account from the original manuscript, 'Te Pakanga o Pokaia raua ko Taoho', is one of the longest. In the typewritten transcription the same account takes up 5 pages.
63. Personal correspondence, G. Warren, Māori Librarian, Auckland Museum Library, October 14, 2008.
64. Referred to in Pene Haare's manuscript as 'Moremunui'. This battle was also known by the name 'Te Kai a te Karoro' (The Seagulls' Feast).
65. Te Houtaewa, a legendary chief of Te Aupouri, was a fearless warrior, renowned for goading the enemy, then evading them by running at great speed in a zig-zag pattern. The battle referred to here is likely to be an account of a battle between Te Houtaewa and Hongi Hika (see Cloher, 2002, pp. 44-47).
66. "B.N." is presumably an abbreviation of 'Battle Number'.
67. 'Te rarawa kai whare' – 'Te Rarawa, consumer of houses of the dead' (Kawharu, 2008, p 176).
68. Reference is made in Kawharu (2008) to a set of papers authored by Pene Haare, *MS Papers 71* (n.d.), about which neither I nor, I believe, the Penney whānau were formerly aware.
69. Certainly, at least one person among his kaiako and tūpuna was literate, since at least one of them taught Pene Haare to write.
70. Entitled 'Ko Mataraua Pa i a Te Tihi na Hongi Hika'.
71. Entitled 'Ko Hihiaua tenei Parekura'.
72. In a 19th century context, 'pukapuka' (book or manuscript) was also understood to mean 'letter'.
73. The word 'kino' may also be translated, depending on the context, as 'evil', 'wicked', 'corrupt' or 'immoral'.

74. "Kairarawa denoted the consumption of the life-force and the psychic and spiritual forces of the enemy which replenished one's own powers" (Marsden, 2003, p.13).
75. Rua Tapunui Kenana (1869-1937) of Tuhoe, was a Māori Prophetic leader, faith healer and land rights activist (for more on Kenana, refer to Binney, Chaplin and Wallace (1979)).
76. The term 'Nga Puhi' (Ngapuhi/Ngāpuhi), as well as referring to the tribe, often refers to a collective of tribes of the Taitokerau region (McCully & Matiu, 2003, p. 172). These tribes are referred to in the Ngāpuhi proverb: *E whā ngā pātū o taku whare, ko Te Aupōuri, ko Te Rarawa, ko Ngāti Kahu, ko Ngāti Whātua, ko Ngāpuhi te tuanui*.
77. Literally 'place to stand'.
78. Furthermore, since every act of transmission is in itself a translation or interpretation and is, necessarily, subjective, these tribal histories could not possibly have survived intact, in their original form. Moreover, variation and differences in interpretation are acknowledged as an integral feature of the oral tradition. As Sissons et al. (1999/2001, Preface, p. 7) observes, however,: "a tribal history that calls forth disagreement and debate is a living history with mana", and it is this aspect that is, ultimately, most important.
79. It is important here to note the inadequacy of any one word (whether it be 'power', 'control' 'prestige', 'authority' or 'right') to convey the full depth of meaning of the term 'mana' in any given context.
80. For a body of text that is written entirely in Māori, this use of English orthography is incongruous. (For example, 'B.N. 3 No 1823, Taurakohia ki roto o Waikato ki a Kingi Potatau' and 'B.N. 40 Pariotonga Ngati Whatua').
81. For a body of text that is written entirely in Māori, this use of English orthography is incongruous. (For example, 'B.N. 3 No 1823, Taurakohia ki roto o Waikato ki a Kingi Potatau' and 'B.N. 40 Pariotonga Ngati Whatua').
82. Although type-set for publication in *Te Pipiwharauroa*, the grammatical characteristics of the handwriting have been retained.
83. There may be some significance in the fact that this manner of joining and splitting words seems to be more marked in Pene Haare's personal correspondence than it is in his manuscript.
84. The original Māori orthography did not mark vowel length. Although both macrons and double vowels did appear in Māori language newspapers and Māori manuscripts of the nineteenth century, they were sporadic (Wikipedia/ Māori Language/ Orthography. Retrieved December 2008 from URL: http://www.wikipedia.org). The standardised use of the macron is a relatively recent development (from 2000), one which has largely replaced the use of double vowels popularized in the 1960s by Professor Bruce Biggs (Wikipedia, n.d).
85. No. 8 'Rangiputa i a Te Ripo'.
86. In 1919 Ngāti Kahu was elevated from the status of *hapū* (descent group or sub–tribe) and registered as a major tribe in its own right (Cloher, 2002, p. 94).
87. Formerly, the *marae ātea* was "designated as the open area of land directly in front of the sacred carved house. It was here that the priestly experts conducted their sacred rituals" (Barlow, 1991, p. 73).
88. In the 1870s, Ngāti Porou tohunga Mohi Ruatapu recorded the previously oral myths, legends and songs of his people. The result is regarded as the most important single body of writing on myth produced by any nineteenth-century Maori writer.
89. References to Pene Haare's manuscript *MS 89/116* may be found in Cloher (2002) and (2003), and to another of his writings, *MS Papers 71* (n.d. held by Dr. Cleve Barlow), in Kawharu (2008).
90. Kawharu defines pepeha as "sayings which are specific to a particular event or place", and distinguishes them from whakataukī, which she defines as "general proverbial sayings" (pp. 1 – 2). However, the situation is not so clear-cut as Kawharu suggests.
91. In some instances in the manuscript these songs appear to have been used to incite warriors to battle; in others, they were prophecies, transmitted to *tohunga* (traditional spiritual leaders) in dreams.

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Māori students and issues of hybrid identity: The response of one inner-city state school

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Abstract
As a result of a more liberal national migration policy than was the case in the past, school communities in Aotearoa /New Zealand are increasingly multi-cultural, with both students and teachers coming from a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In these global village environments, managers and governors strive (with varying degrees of success) to acknowledge, value and accommodate the heritage of new-migrant groups and to address the particular educational needs, interests and aspirations of the individuals within them. While it is extremely important to be inclusive of those students who are newly-arrived in the country, another imperative is, of course to protect and enhance, within an increasingly global educational perspective, the special status of indigenous Māori students, particularly those in mainstream education, as they explore and shape the hybrid identity (part indigenous / part global citizen) that will undoubtedly characterize their lives in the 21st century.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss some identity-building strategies which one central-city, state, single-sex secondary school has initiated to support its indigenous students. While the strategies discussed must be considered as part of an ongoing, evolutionary process, indications are that the approach adopted is having a significant impact on the personal, social and academic development of Māori students.

Introduction

In that body of research literature that concerns the development of bicultural identity, one of the key areas of investigation in the past has been in relation to people who have migrated to a new country and who, through a complex process of accommodation, develop strategies which allow a degree of integration within the new society while still maintaining links with the language and cultural practices that have been left behind. (Berry, 1993; 1997; Giddens, 1991; 2000; Phinney (1990); Phinney & Devcich-Navarro 1997; Robertson, 1992). However, this very broad-ranging subject is increasingly being examined from an entirely different perspective - from the point of view of those who have never moved from their own environment but whose lives are undergoing an equally significant transformation because of the impact of globalisation, including the impact on them of incoming migrants (see, for example, Condon 1988; Verma & Saraswathi (2002) Hermans & Kempen 1998; Ivory 1999).

Globalisation and the formulation of cultural identity

Arnett (2002, p. 777) suggests that "as a consequence of globalisation, most people in the world now develop a bicultural identity, in which part of their identity is rooted in their local culture while another part stems from an awareness of their relation to the global culture".

Within this context, a number of studies have examined the impact of globalisation on cultural identity in different regions of the world (see, for example, Booth; 2002; Nsamenang, 2002; Santa Maria, 2002; Stevenson & Zusho, 2002; Welti, 2002). While these studies cover a wide range of quite diverse geographical regions such as Latin America, the Middle East; Africa, areas of South East Asia, China and Japan, the findings that emerge from them have a number of things in common. Among the most significant of these are:

a) those who seek to adopt a global identity in addition to their local identity are generally successful in doing so in direct relationship to their socio-economic status; (the higher the socio economic level, the higher the chance of successfully adopting a global identity);
b) the drive to adopt a global identity creates tension (often negative) between old and new cultural values and practices;
c) tension (often negative) between old and new cultural values and practices creates significant intergenerational tension and often rupture of traditional family roles and structures;
d) the greater the distance between the original cultural values and 'global' values the greater the potential for conflict;
e) the greater the distance between the original cultural values and 'global' values the greater the possibility of failure to 'belong' to the global community;
f) the lower the socio-economic position, the greater the possibility that, in attempting to adopt a global identity, both the local and the global identity are lost.

With reference to the context of sub-Saharan African, Nsamenang (2002, p. 13) observes:

> The process of acculturation and globalisation has bestowed on contemporary Africa a dual politico-economic and cultural system of old indigenous traditions and imported legacies. . . . This has produced a marginal population whose adults, teenagers and children are groping desperately to reconcile within individual and collective psyches the ambivalences and contradictions of a confusing cultural braid.

Without doubt, these comments also reflect the situation in a number of other countries. There is little wonder then, as Arnett, (2002, 778) argues, that in an increasingly globalised world as local cultures change in response to globalisation, so "some young people find themselves at home in neither the local culture nor the global culture' and experience a kind of confusion which he terms 'identity confusion".

Failure to develop a bicultural identity: Psychological impact

Several psychological studies, initially developed to examine the issue of bicultural identity development among migrants to new countries, have now been reviewed and reapplied to understanding the development of bicultural identity within the context of globalisation. Not surprisingly, many of these studies have identified commonalities between both contexts. For example, the cross-cultural psychologist John Berry has identified some significant behaviours from his early work on migration and acculturation (Berry, 1993) which appear to be equally relevant to a consideration of

the impact of globalisation on identity and identity confusion. Four of the most important behaviours identified by Berry (1997) are:

> **Marginalisation** - where a person has little interest in maintaining his or her original culture but also rejects or is rejected by the new culture.
> **Culture shedding** – where aspects of a previous cultural repertoire are discarded because they are deemed to be no longer appropriate.
> **Acculturative stress** – where there are situations of conflict between the original culture and the new one.
> **Cultural distance** – where there is dissimilarity between two competing cultures in their beliefs and practices.

Giddens (1990), Thompson (1995) and Tomlinson (1999) use terms such as 'delocalisation', 'dis-placement' and 'deteritorializatio' to describe situations where young people in particular (since this is the group most affected by globalisation), in developing a global consciousness, lose their ties to the place and the culture where they are living. While some young people are unaffected by this, others suffer from what Arnett (2002, 778) describes as:

> . . . an acute sense of alienation and impermanence as they grow up with a lack of cultural certainty, a lack of clear guidelines for how life is to be lived and how to interpret their experience.

In relation to this, some researchers have examined the long-term impact of identity confusion on individuals and societies. It is strongly suggested that, in contexts where young people experience cultural identity confusion, there can be sharp increases in suicide rates, instances of substance abuse and in manifestations of aggressive and anarchic behaviour (see, for example, Burbank (1988); Condon (1988); Delafosse, Fouraste & Gbobouo (1993); Liechty (1995); and Rubenstein (1995).

The situation in Aoteroa/New Zealand

The body of research to which I have made brief reference here is of considerable relevance to the situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Just as is the case in other countries in the world, young (and sometimes not so young) New Zealanders have global aspirations. Young people in Aotearoa/New Zealand buy designer labels, download reflections of their real and imagined lives onto *You Tube* and *Beebo*, upload music onto iPods and aspire to live international lives with well-paid jobs in what are perceived to be glamorous locations. This means that, inevitably, they are caught up in the same identity issues as their peers in other areas of the globe. The process of identity development in Oceanic societies such as Aotearoa/New Zealand is an even more complex issue than may at first appear to be the case.

The underlying assumption in some of the research work outlined earlier is that societies have at their core some kind of homogenous cultural identity. But what of countries where, even without the impact of globalisation, the issue of bicultural identity is already problematic? For people in countries like Aotearoa/ New Zealand, the impact of globalisation on issues of identity makes an already complex situation even more so. Citizens of this country have always grappled with complex issues associated with identity. In common with many other Oceanic societies, we are a nation built on a combined indigenous and colonial past, with generations of citizens identifying, in complex ways, with issues associated with cultural heritage while at the same time feeling the need to forge some kind of cohesive national identity. Many

of those of Māori heritage struggle with issues of linguistic and cultural loss. Some of those of European heritage have a solid understanding of the dialects and cultural norms of the place their extended families commonly call 'home' but may never have visited these places. This is not, however, a situation that is unique to non-indigenous citizens. References to 'Hawaiiki', the 'homeland' or place of origin of Māori, abound in songs, stories and legends.

Cause for concern in Aotearoa/New Zealand?

In Aotearoa/ New Zealand, there are clear warning signs that the symptoms of identity confusion, with its associated problems, are becoming widespread. There are disturbing images and reports in the media which indicate that, unless we address this issue, there will be a long-term negative impact on society. Significantly, the signs are most visible in relation to young Māori and Pasifika people who are often from families in low socio-economic brackets and who are often faced with the most complex identity development issues in the country. On the one hand, these young people are often urged by their elders to adhere to traditional cultural values and practices. On the other hand, they are encouraged to 'fit' into a society where indigenous world views are not always valued or easily accommodated. Add to this mix the complexity of inter-racial marriage, ease of international migration and the insistent temptations of globalisation, and the situation becomes one in which the potential for confusion and alienation is extremely high. The problem for these young people is not simply to develop a bicultural identity, but to somehow construct what Hermans & Kempen (1998) and Ivory (1999) identify as a 'hybrid identity', one that combines all the different strands of their own ancestral map. The questions facing Aotearoa/ New Zealand as a nation, and particularly those of us engaged in educational sectors, are (a) whether it is possible for us to find strategies to support these young people as they search for some form of identity equilibrium, and (b) whether it is possible to establish cultural synergies and interactions that might mitigate the likelihood of identity confusion. The second part of this paper outlines the strategies implemented by one inner city school in response to this question and examines the impact that this has had on the academic and cultural well-being of Māori students.

Background to the educational context

For many years, particularly through the 1960s and 1970s, New Zealand's educational achievement was among the best of the OECD nations. NZ students scored well in international literacy and numeracy tests and were consistently highly ranked on the international leagues tables. Over recent years, however, New Zealand's sound educational reputation has diminished, and while the best of NZ students still score well, it is now acknowledged that there is a large tail of students who are under-achieving in relation to international benchmarks. In 2004, the then NZ Secretary for Education, Howard Fancy (2004), in a speech to NZ school Principals reported that "the reality is that too many students - especially those from poor socio-economic backgrounds or who are Māori or Pasifika are not doing as well as they should".

Considerable efforts have been made throughout the country to explore ways of responsing to the needs of groups such as Māori zand Pasifika students whose educational performance overall is of concern. Thus far, with some exceptions, these efforts have not led to a marked increase in overall educational performance.

The local educational context

The school which forms the focus of the interventions reported on in this part of the

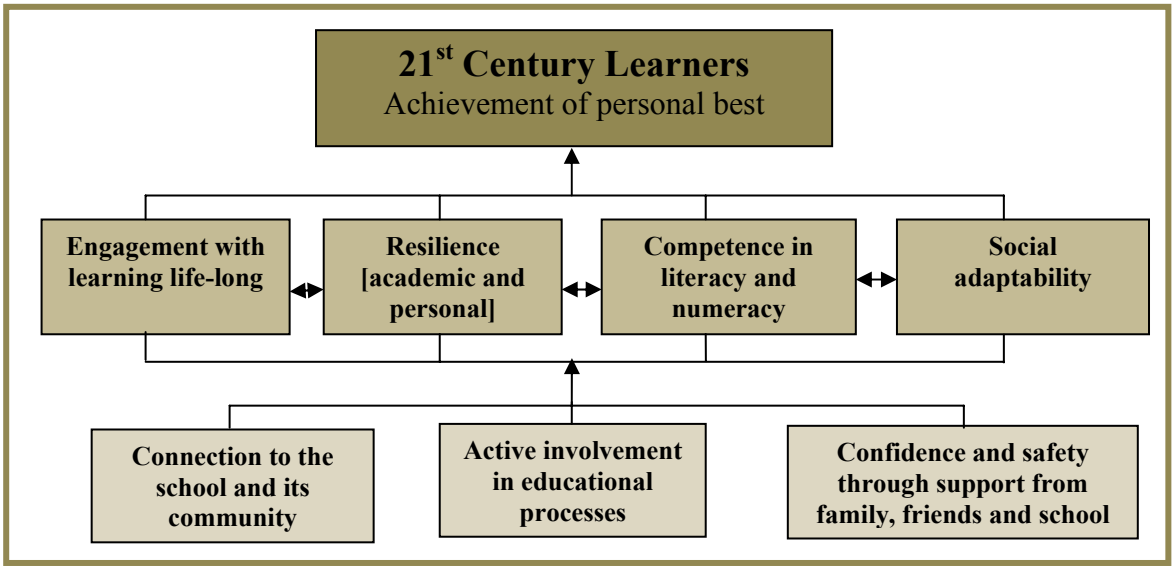
paper is an inner-city state school for girls. There are 1430 students and over 120 staff. The Board of Trustees and the senior leadership team aspire to create an innovative and stimulating educational environment for all students and are mindful of the need to attend to the particular needs and interests of different groups. The focus is on preparing learners and enriching teachers for the 21st century. However, with a community of over 1600 people working and interacting in the school on a daily basis, the potential range of learner and teacher profiles and relationships is immense.

This school, like many others, is increasingly multi-cultural with both students and teachers coming from a wide range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Among the student body alone, there are 60 different countries of origin. The countries of origin of staff members include the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, Cina, Africa, Japan, Poland and Pacific Islands countries. Among those staff members born in Aotearoa/ New Zealand are some who identify as Māori. The school strives to value and accommodate the heritage of new-migrant groups in the school and to address the particular educational needs, interests and aspirations of the individuals belonging to them. It willingly acknowledges that it has a responsibility to be inclusive of those students and teachers who are newly-arrived in the country and those who, although they may have been in the country for some time, in some cases since birth, have linguistic and cultural links that extend beyond Aotearoa/ New Zealand. However, it also willingly accepts that it has a particular responsibility to protect and enhance the special status and identity of indigenous Māori students, particularly as they explore and shape the form of hybrid identity that will undoubtedly characterize their lives in the 21st century.

The school's pluri-ethnic perspective

The overall strategic vision for the school is expressed in ***Figure 1*** below. If each student is to achieve her personal best as a 21st Century learner, she needs to be connected to the school and its community, supported by family, friends and the school, and actively involved in her own educational processes. With this in place, the keys to overall achievement are competence in literacy and numeracy, engagement with life-long learning, personal and academic resilience and social adaptability. It is the combination of these factors that will shape her capacity to forge a strong identity and underpin her success.

***Figure 1*: Strategic Vision for School**



There is an understanding in the school that students with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds may need special support to take best advantage of their educational opportunities. Although there are some special programmes that have been proposed by academics in New Zealand to support Māori student achievement, these have not been adopted by the school. While often very well intentioned, some of these initiatives only address the needs of small numbers of students at any one time and they are often short-term, rather than sustained. For these reasons, they may fail to produce any real, long-term gain. Programmes that are longer-term, often involve a considerable financial commitment that the school simply cannot afford. Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of some of these ready-made initiatives is that they oversimplify Māori student profiles, categorising Māori students into some kind of pre-determined mass. Implicit in the philosophy underlying some of these initiatives is the assumption that a similar course of action will necessarily be appropriate for all. The fact is, however, that Māori students are individuals with varying degrees of involvement in, and association with, Maori linguistic and cultural heritage and, therefore, with differently constituted senses of identity.

While fully acknowledging the need to adopt culturally sensitive approaches to pedagogy, the school is determined not make assumptions about individuals that are based on ethnicity. There is, afrer all, a considerable body of research that indicates thar such assumptions can reinforce rather than diminish disadvantage. (see, for example, Aboriginal Education Unit (1993); Anderson (1988); Andrews & Hughes (1988); Banks (1988); Bindarriy, Yangarriny, Mingalpa, Warlkuni (1991); Cole, Gay, Glick, & Sharp (1971); Cooper, (1980); Irvine & Berry (1988); Jacob & Jordan (1987); Keefe (1987); Kleinfeld, & Nelson (1991); Malin (1990); More (1989, 1990, 1996); Ogbu (1987); Reynolds & Skilbeck (1976); Sternberg (1988,1990); Swisher & Deyhle (1989); Vyas (1988); Yu & Bain (1985)). It does not follow from this that the school fails to accept that there are cultural and linguistic issues that can have a profound impact on students' engagement with learning and, by extension, their well-being and success. Students need genuine and sensitive support if they are to come to terms with issues relating to linguistic and cultural heritage, global citizenship and the development of an academic persona within the context of 'mainstream' schooling. It is an important part of the school's role to help them to manage the complexities involved.

Support for Māori students

Māori students have always held a special place in the school. In line with its Treaty of Waitangi obligations, the school acknowledges Tainuitanga, the protocols of the tribal group in whose area the school is located. While the school has always had a strong commitment to the tangata whenua (people of the land) status of Māori students, the quality of support offered to Māori students has increased over recent years, with students now being encouraged to use their linguistic and cultural heritage as a platform upon which to build their aspirations and endeavours and as a solid foundation from which they can take advantage of educational opportunities that will bring them success.

Environmental support

The school has built a *wharenui* (meeting house) in a traditional style which is used for meeting and as a teaching and learning space. In a departure from normal protocols, and because they understood the school's aspirations, local *kaumātua* (tribal elders), gave special permission for the carvings surrounding the *wharenui*

(meeting house) to represent the lives and strengths of significant Māori women within the region. Use of the wharenui is not limited to Māori students but protocols for its use are based on Māori custom and practice.

The *wharenui* has an attached *wharekai* (dining room) so that, for some of the time at least, students can meet, interact and learn in a culturally familiar setting. The school has recently constructed *whare paku* (toilet) and *horohoroi* (shower) blocks so that overnight (and longer) stays can be accommodated at the school in line with customary practice.

Architecturally, the buildings surrounding the wharenui form a traditional paepae (threshold/ forecourt) where, in a more traditional context, learning would take place. A group of kaumātua regularly work in the wharenui engaged in traditional handcrafts. Recently, for example, they have created a korowai (ornamental cloak) for the school to use on ceremonial occasions. Students can be seen wandering in and out, engaging in conversation and/ or working alongside the visitors on a range of projects.

Organisational support
The school has a Māori student council convened and managed by the Māori students themselves with support from Māori staff and senior managers of the school. The kapahaka (culture) group has trainers who are not volunteers but salaried through special funding initiatives. Māori parents and caregivers form a whānau (family) support group that meets each month to discuss issues of relevance to the students and to offer advice to the school about issues of interest or concern to the Māori students. The chairperson of the whānau group is a member of the Board of Trustees so that this group, in particular, has a strong advocacy role and a voice in policy and decision making.

Procedural support
All important school occasions centrally involve Māori protocol. There is a powhiri (welcome ceremony) each year to welcome new students and staff; new buildings and equipment are blessed in accordance with Māori tradition, and small but significant issues such as correct pronunciation of Māori words and names and bilingual signage are encouraged.

Courses of special interest to Māori students
A number of additional initiatives have been put in place to support Māori students to engage with learning and to commit to those academic processes that will bring them the highest level of success. These include the development of specially targeted courses in art, English and drama. In English, for example, one of the courses has a focus on Māori authors who write in English. This kind of course is proving highly popular with the students and they are experiencing a high level of success. In drama, special courses have targeted Māori playwrights and traditional forms of Māori performance that are relevant to women.

Students have the opportunity to learn te reo Māori and students coming from kura kaupapa Māori (Māori medium schools) are placed at levels appropriate to their language proficiency levels rather than wasting time repeating work already covered. Students for whom English is an additional language are given literacy support.

A specific new venture that the school has just initiated is an artist in residence position. A professional artist is appointed to this position to work in a specially

designed studio in the school for a period of 3 months each year. The first artist in residence, appointed in 2008, was a Māori weaver, a woman with affiliation to Tainui, who produces traditional Māori weaving with a contemporary twist. She provided another strong role model for Māori students and staff, as well as contributing to the creative culture in the school.

Personnel support

One of the most significant innovations the school has implemented has been to give two Māori staff members time allowances and management units to be mentors for Māori students. Their job is not to deal with behavioural issues which are referred to a guidance network, but to be academic coaches for Māori students for who find school and learning problematic. In the first two years of operation of this scheme, students were identified and shoulder tapped by the mentors. Now, the scheme is one of self referral, and most interestingly, the number of students taking advantage of the mentor's time has almost doubled this year, to a point where other mentors may need to be appointed. What is very rewarding is that those referring themselves to the mentors are not just those who are struggling, but also those who want to reach high levels of achievement to enter competitive training programmes or contestable places at University in disciplines like medicine and engineering.

In all kinds of both overt and covert ways, the school attempts to create a community where strong, positive images of Māori language and cultural practice are set alongside core values that might be expected in New Zealand society generally. In this way, everybody in the community learns about the significant place that Māori hold in our society and Māori students are encouraged to engage with aspects of their own culture within a supportive school context.

Successes for Māori students

Overall, initiatives to support Māori students in the ways outlined have had a positive impact on teaching and learning and the extended family concept has met with a very positive response from Māori students and their families. In particular, the mentors have:

- visited every home of those who have self-referred to make connections with parents and caregivers;
- offered special support in study periods;
- established a homework group;
- run special tutorials during lunchtime.

Other positive signs of success include:

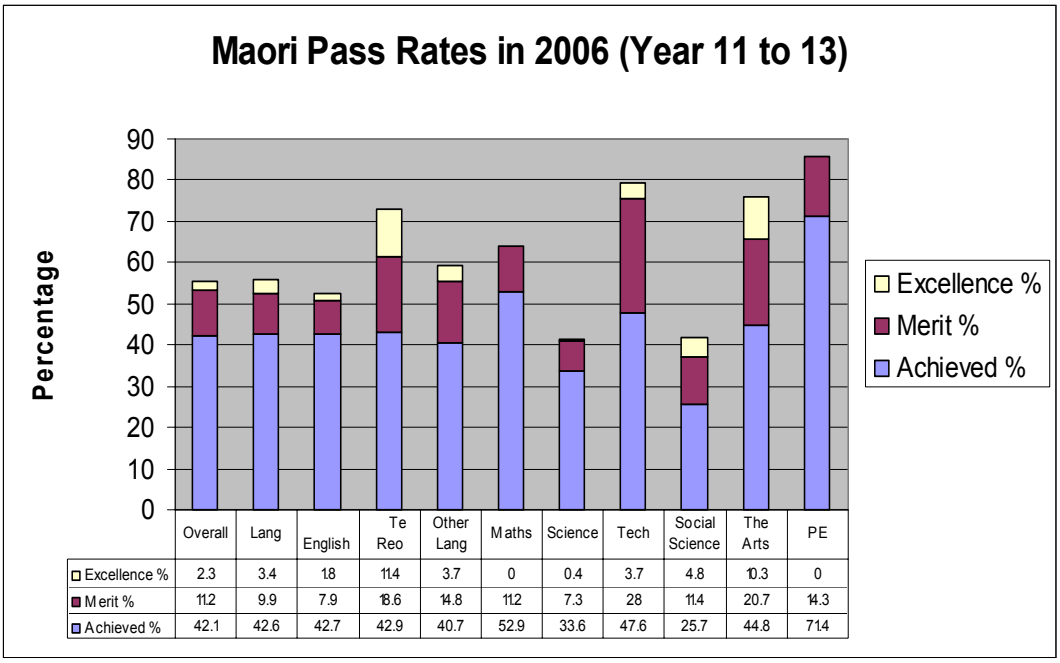
- the *whānau* group (homeroom group) - a vertical group with approximately 60 students and three teachers involved - is meeting a need highlighted by parents for students coming from *kura kaupapa* Māori and making the transition into a mainstream school;
- Kapa Haka is highly successful and visible, with a combined group involving a boys' high school having been selected as the top mainstream group at local kapa haka competitions by regional judges and having taken part in the national competition in the capital Wellington in 2008;
- more Māori students are accepting positions as student leaders so that in the past few years, Māori students have held positions as:

- Head girl;
- Deputy Cultural Captain;
- House leader;
- Deputy Sports Captain.

Impact on Māori student outcomes

Importantly, the initiatives to which reference has been made are also having an impact on learning outcomes. Māori students are beginning to achieve very creditable grades in National Achievement although, there is still work to do in the area of science, mathematics and, very surprisingly for students who are traditionally very talented sportswomen, in the area of physical education. Māori student

Table 1: **Māori Student Pass rates Years 11-13 (2006)**



	Overall	Lang	English	Te Reo	Other Lang	Maths	Science	Tech	Social Science	The Arts	PE
Excellence %	2.3	3.4	1.8	11.4	3.7	0	0.4	3.7	4.8	10.3	0
Merit %	11.2	9.9	7.9	18.6	14.8	11.2	7.3	28	11.4	20.7	14.3
Achieved %	42.1	42.6	42.7	42.9	40.7	52.9	33.6	47.6	25.7	44.8	71.4

One of the most satisfying academic results for the school is that Māori students at the school are increasingly achieving above the national norm. Results for 2007 show that they are performing just over 13% better than cohorts of Māori students in schools overall.

Table 2: **Māori Student Pass rates at Year 11 (2004-2007)**

	Overall Pass Rate		
	School	**National**	**Comparison**
2004	**59.5**	**48.7**	**+ 10.8**
2005	**56.6**	**49**	**+ 7.6**
2006	**63.9**	**51.4**	**+ 12.5**
2007	**62.4**	**49.3**	**+ 13.1**

Outcomes and indications

What this school is doing is neither perfect nor particularly different from what happens in many other educational institutions. However, the approach is consistent,

sustained and is being expanded each year. Staff acknowledge that there is still a great deal of work still to be done. Nevertheless, they believe that the work that has been done thus far is at least partly responsible for a significant reduction in the number of Māori students who are suspended and excluded from school for truancy or for anarchic behaviour each year. The Board of Trustees, the Principal and the senior management team believe that the approach adopted in the case of Māori students provides systematic, substantial, individualized and locally-contextualized support for successful personal, cultural and educational outcomes. They also believe that a similar approach could be beneficial in the case of other groups. Thus, many of the initatives that have been created for Māori students are now being recreated for Pasifika students and also for other minority groups, particularly the children of refugee families.

Conclusions: Future dreams and directions

It is clear that globalisation will continue to have an increasing impact on the development of identity. As Giddens (2000, 65) observes, "when globalisation alters and erodes traditional ways, identity has to be created and recreated on a more active basis than before".

At this school, it is hoped that the active support for positive identity creation will allow Māori students to find a strong future with the various aspects of their hybrid existence intact and that, to the extent of their aspirations and abilities, they become successful participants in both local and global villages.

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Communicative language teaching and outcomes-based objectives setting: A questionnaire-based survey of a sample of tertiary teachers of English in Taiwan

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Abstract
The aim of the research reported here was to determine, using a questionnaire-based survey, the extent to which a sample of teachers of English at tertiary level (college and university) in Taiwan appear to have been affected by two of what might be described as emerging 'orthodoxies' of English language teaching – the use of approaches associated with communicative language teaching and 'can do' outcomes-based objectives setting. The findings indicate that, so far at least as the survey respondents are concerned, these approaches are much less pervasive than is sometimes supposed. This suggests that teachers of English in Taiwan may be less likely to provide a receptive audience for dominant Western discourse on language teaching and learning than is sometimes supposed.

Introduction
I report here on one aspect of a research project whose overall aim was to investigate the teaching and learning of English in tertiary institutions (that is, in degree-granting institutions, such as colleges and universities) in Taiwan. In this part of the research project, the emphasis was on the impact of the globalization of English and, in particular, of English language teaching, on two aspects of the English curriculum, that is, concepts of communicative language teaching (CLT) and the specification of achievement objectives and learning outcomes in terms of 'can do' statements, each of these being particularly associated with the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (2001).

Critical review of selected literature on aspects of the globalization of English language teaching
Graddol (2006, p. 82) notes that although "[there] is an extraordinary diversity in the ways in which English is taught and learned around the world . . . some clear orthodoxies have arisen. As Canagarajah (2005a, xiv) observes, "the way knowledge is spread . . . [displays] a one-sided imposition of homogeneous discourses and intellectual traditions by a few dominant communities". This imposition includes "what counts as competence, who gets to define what counts as competence, and what is considered the best way to acquire it" (Heller, 2001, p. 47). To some extent, aspects of the English curriculum are "directly defined and prescribed through the influence of international organizations . . . through the models provided by dominant nation-states, and the education professionals who operate on a worldwide basis". However, it is also true that there are "receptive audiences in national societies and states eager for legitimacy and progress" (Benavot, Cha, Kamens, Meyer & Wong 1991, p. 97). Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that here is no guarantee that concepts and practices developed in one context can be transported successfully into another. As Canagarajah (2005b, p. 9) observes,"[the] local has negotiated, modified, and absorbed the global in its own way".

Two very significant aspects of developments in English language teaching that have had an impact in many parts of the world are communicative language teaching (CLT) and the concept of specifying learning outcomes in terms of 'can do' statements. In fact, the approach to the teaching of English recommended in the Taiwanese *Grade 1~9 Integrated Coordinated Curriculum* (Ministry of Education (Taiwan), 2004a) as it relates to English (Ministry of Education (Taiwan), 2004b), a curriculum concerned with the improvement of instructional methods and techniques in elementary and junior high schools, is clearly a communicative one. Direct reference is made to a communicative approach to English teaching in the principles guiding the creation of teaching materials (Ministry of Education (Taiwan), 2001, para 6) and in a commissioned project report published by the Ministry of Education on elementary and junior high English teaching (Shih, Chou, Chen, Chu, Chen & Yeh, 1999; also see Shih, 2001; Shih & Chu, 1999). Furthermore, some of the competency indicators included in that curriculum document are expressed as 'can do' statements. One example of this is reading skill entry 3.1.10: *To be able to predict or make inferences on the basis of pictures, book titles, or contextual clues*.

From communicative competence to communicative language teaching

Over half a century ago, Chomsky (1957) challenged behaviorist theories of language acquisition, proposing a theory in which creativity rather than imitation and repetition was central. As part of that theory, he put forward the notions of 'linguistic competence' (the ideal speaker/hearer's knowledge of a language system) and 'performance' (the use to which this system was put in concrete situations). Although Chomsky was concerned with first language acquisition rather than second language learning, his proposal had an impact on the teaching of second/ foreign languages, which gradually moved away from the habit formation practices that had underpinned audio-lingualism[1] towards an approach (often referred to as 'cognitive code learning') which highlighted the importance of the students deriving rules for themselves on the basis of examples and creating new sentences in terms of what they needed/wanted to communicate rather than on the basis of repetitive drills (Stern, 1983, p. 465).

A major challenge to Chomsky's notion of 'linguistic competence' came in the early 1970s with notions of 'communicative competence', a term used by Campbell and Wales (1970), Habermas (1970), Hymes (1971) and Jakobovits (1970). The work of Hymes, in particular, has had a profound influence on language teaching. He included within his definition of communicative competence each of the following: *formal possibility, implementational feasibility, contextual appropriacy,* and *the performative role of utterances*. Since then, definitions of communicative competence have undergone changes which reflect developments that have taken place in linguistics and, in particular, in discourse analysis. Thus, for example, in an attempt to provide a content base for syllabus design and methodological development, Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell (1995) divide communicative competence into five major components: *discourse competence, linguistic competence, transactional competence, sociocultural competence* and *strategic competence*. More recently, the Council of Europe (2001, pp. 108-130) has proposed a model that divides communicative competence into three areas: *linguistic skills and knowledge, sociolinguistic skills and knowledge* and *pragmatic skills and knowledge* (see also Bachman, 1990). The first of these includes phonology, orthography, vocabulary, morphology and syntax; the second includes rules of politeness, norms governing relationships (e.g., between generations, sexes, classes and social groups) and

codification of social rituals; the third includes discourse competence, functional competence and design competence.

In the context of English language teaching, the effect of a focus on communicative competence has not necessarily always been entirely positive. Indeed, particularly in the early stages, it sometimes led to an underestimation of the importance of linguistic structure even though, as Crombie (1988, p. 284) notes, "grammatical form is not only included in this list [Campbell and Wales' list of the various aspects of communicative competence], it is, in fact, the first item on the list". Indeed, as early as 1980, Carroll (1980, p. 8) felt it important to remind language professionals that "there are rules of grammar without which the rules of use would be inoperable". Furthermore, the notion of 'communicative competence' has now broadened into one of 'communicative competencies' in response, in particular, to research in the 1980s which began to examine the concept of strategic competencies in relation to language testing (see, for example, Canale & Swain, 1980; Canale, 1983; Oller, 1983). The issue of competencies (including strategic competencies) continued to occupy researchers in the 1990s (e.g., Bachman & Palmer, 1996) and is fundamental to more recent developments such as the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 2001). Since the notion of communicative competence or communicative competencies effectively includes everything that a learner needs to know and be able to do in a target language, an attempt to incorporate every aspect of it/ them into language teaching can lead to confusion and frustration. As Widdowson (1998, p. 331) observes:

> Learners of a foreign language should be made aware of . . . cultural conditions on real communication. . . . But the explicit teaching of communicative abilities which measure up to those of the communities whose language they are learning is quite a different matter.
>
> I believe that an attempt to do so is to set an impossible and pointless goal whose only outcome is likely to be frustration. . . . It is the business of pedagogy to decide on what can be feasibly and effectively taught . . . so as to activate a learning investment for future use. Talk of real world communication is all too often a distraction.

The notion of 'communicative language teaching' (CLT), which has emerged alongside the notion of communicative competence or communicative competencies, has been presented and understood in a variety of different ways. Littlewood (1981) defined communicative language teaching in terms of four broad skill domains: *manipulation of the language system; ability to relate form and communicative function; understanding of the social meanings of linguistic forms*; and *strategic control in the use of language to communicate effectively in specific situations* (p. 6). He also outlined three general principles of CLT: *the communication principle* (involving the belief that activities that engage genuine communication promote learning); *the task principle* (according to which the extent to which language is used to carry out meaningful tasks is regarded as important to language learning); and *the meaningfulness principle* (according to which the learning process is supported to the extent that language is used meaningfully) (pp. 6, 77 & 78).

One of the best known definitions of communicative language teaching is that provided by Nunan (1991, pp. 279-295) which includes:

- emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language;
- introduction of authentic texts into the learning situation;
- provision of opportunities for learners to focus, not only on language but also on the learning process itself;
- enhancement of the learner's own personal experiences as important contributing elements to classroom learning; and
- attempt to link classroom language learning with language activities outside the classroom.

Celce-Murcia, Dörnyei and Thurrell (1997, p. 143) have argued that "the lack of firm linguistic guidelines led to a diversity of communicative approaches that shared only a very general common objective, namely, to prepare learners for real-life communication rather than emphasizing structural accuracy". To further complicate the issue, there is, according to Howatt (1984, pp. 296-297), a strong version and a weak version of communicative language teaching. The strong version involves the belief that "form can best be learned when the learner's attention is focused on meaning" (Beretta, 1989, p. 283); the weak version includes explicit language practice. However, as Johnson (2000, pp. 197) observes:

> These principles [the principles associated with communicative language teaching] do not have a specific set of circumscribed methodologies associated with them. As has so often been maintained, there is no best method and just as there are important variations in the teaching context, there are important differences among learners that need to be reflected in the variety of methods employed. Furthermore, a wide range of materials may be considered appropriate.

There is considerable evidence that learners often appreciate approaches associated with communicative language teaching. Thus, for example, Savignon and Wang (2003), who elicited the views of 174 first-year university students in Taiwan, found that there was a significant preference for meaning-based classroom activities and "a dislike for both form-focused teaching and the amount of class time devoted [in high school] to the explanation and practice of rules of grammar" (p. 230). This preference was particularly marked in students who had attended private pre-school English language classes in which the emphasis was on communication-based practices (p. 235). These findings are consistent with those of Huang (1998) whose study of the views of Taiwanese senior high school students also revealed a strong preference for approaches to the learning of English that centered on use of the language.

Sato and Kleinsasser (1999) explored the beliefs of ten teachers of Japanese in Australian high schools in relation to communicative language teaching. Overall, these teachers thought of CLT as being about learning to communicate in the target language. They also thought of it as including many different types of activities, as focusing more on listening and speaking than on reading and writing, and as involving little, if any, grammar teaching. In connection with these perceptions, it is important to note that CLT need not necessarily focus more on listening and speaking than on reading and writing and that grammar tends to be taught implicitly and communicatively rather than explicitly. It is also relevant to note that Sato and Kleinsasser (p. 507) reported that their language teacher informants generally believed

that there were barriers to the implementation of CLT that included lack of sufficient preparation time and appropriate resources. Most of them claimed to use role-play, games, simulations etc, but the classes observed "were heavily teacher-fronted . . . and there were few interactions . . . among students" (p. 505).

Kervas-Doukas (1996, p. 187) conducted an attitude survey of 16 Greek teachers of English, finding that "[while] most teachers profess of be following a communicative approach, in practice they are following more traditional approaches" (p. 187).

Achievement objectives, learning outcomes and 'can do' statements

The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (Council of Europe, 2001) emerged out of an inter-governmental symposium that was held (on the initiative of the Swiss government) at Rüschlikon in Switzerland. The symposium was called *Transparency and Coherence in Language Learning in Europe: Objectives, Evaluation and Certification*. Out of that symposium emerged the recommendation that the Council of Europe should develop a *comprehensive, transparent* and *coherent* framework of reference for the description of language learning and teaching at all levels in order to:

- provide a basis for the international comparison of language objectives and language qualifications, thus facilitating personal and vocational mobility in Europe;
- provide policy analysts, teacher trainers, teachers, textbook writers and learners in both schools and adult education contexts with a comparative basis for establishing a set of common standards and levels for language teaching and learning, thus facilitating the design of a unit credit system that can be used across institutions and countries;
- offer a consistent, coherent and comprehensive framework for describing all of the necessary facets of language competence.

As Graddol (2006, p. 84) observes, the European language portfolio attempts to record a learner's experience and achievement in non-traditional ways and *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* employs the concept of 'can do' statements rather than focusing on aspects of failure. A general movement towards outcomes-based curricula has come to be associated with an emphasis on communicative competencies. It is evident, for example, in recent New Zealand Ministry of Education curriculum documents for languages where the lists of structures and vocabulary that characterized earlier syllabus documents have been replaced by a relatively small number of outcomes-based achievement objectives (see, for example, Ministry of Education (New Zealand), 2002). Bruce and Whaanga (2002, pp. 10-11) make the following observation with reference to New Zealand Ministry of Education curriculum documents:

> The achievement objectives introduced at each level are the same for both French and German in the draft curriculum guidelines. In fact, there is no reason in principle why they should not be the same for all languages irrespective of similarities and differences in relation to, for example, structures and script. Thus, all students can aim to perform similar types of communicative task at the same stage of learning whatever their target language. Of course, they will not do so in the same ways.

Examples of this type of outcomes-based achievement objectives (Ministry of Education (New Zealand), 2002) are provided below:

Students should be able to:

- communicate about likes and dislikes, giving reasons where appropriate;
- communicate about obligations and responsibilities;
- communicate about immediate plans, hopes, wishes and intentions.

Research aims and research methods

The overall aim of the research reported here was to determine to what extent the beliefs and reported practices of a sample of teachers of English in tertiary institutions in Taiwan appeared to have been influenced by communicative language teaching and the specification of learning outcomes in terms of 'can do' statements. Questions relating to each of these were included as part of a self-completion questionnaire (available in both English and Chinese).

The target population was teachers of English in the tertiary education sector in Taiwan. The sample was one of convenience in that only those tertiary level teachers of English who attended particular workshops in Taiwan (on teaching methodologies) were asked to participate. However, these workshops were delivered in a number of different locations and participants came from many different institutions.

The questionnaire was initially written in English and five Taiwanese teachers of English were asked to trial it by (a) attempting to answer the questions, and (b) providing a written commentary on any problems they had in doing so and any issues that occurred to them as they did so.[2] Three of the five teachers involved at this stage had problems with some of the terminology in English and two felt that there should be a final question that allowed teachers to add any comments they wished. A final question of this type was added, the terminology was adjusted, and the questionnaire was translated into Chinese. The original five participants were then asked to comment on the revised versions (the English version and the Chinese version). With the exception of some aspects of the translation (which were modified in a way that satisfied all five teachers), no further issues were raised at this stage. The final version of questionnaires in English and Chinese included 51 questions.

Before the questionnaire was trialled, it was submitted to the relevant Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato[3]. Committee members were satisfied that responses would be provided anonymously, that no form of coercion was used to secure responses, that the aim of this part of the research program (included on the front page of the questionnaire) was clearly communicated, and that participants were advised that their responses would be included in reporting of the research. The questionnaire was therefore approved.

Of the 150 questionnaires that were distributed, 71 were returned. Of these, 66 included responses to all of the questions and one (1) included responses to most of the questions. The remaining 4, which are not included in the analysis, were either blank (2) or contained responses only to the questions in the background information section (2). The questions that are relevant to the current research report were the following ones:

Questions relating to course outcomes:

26. If you were asked to provide a list of the expected **SPECIFIC OUTCOMES** of each of your English courses (that is, a list of what students **can do** in English as a result of the course), could you do it?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

27. If you answered YES to Question (26) above, please give the year and type of one of your courses (e.g. Year 1: General English) and list one specific outcome that relates to that course.

Year and type of course: _____
One outcome:_____

Questions relating to CLT:

44. Do you believe that what is sometimes referred to as 'communicative language teaching' is relevant at the levels you teach?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

45. Do you believe that 'communicative language teaching' can take place **only** in small classes (e.g. in classes of 20 students or fewer)?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

46. Would you describe your teaching of English as 'communicative'?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

47. If you answered YES to Question (46) above, what are the characteristics of your courses that you would describe as 'communicative'?

_____
_____

48. How much of the time that you speak in class do you use English? Please tick the most appropriate box.

1. ☐ 100% of the time
2. ☐ Between 80% and 99% of the time
3. ☐ Between 79% and 51% of the time
4. ☐ 50% of the time or less

49. Which of the following activities would you use in your English classes? (Please tick more than one box if appropriate)

1.	Whatever is in the textbook	
2.	Oral drill practice	
3.	Written drill practice	
4.	Explicit grammar teaching	
5.	Implicit grammar teaching	
6.	Singing	
7.	Role play	
8.	Grammar-based games	
9.	Vocabulary-based games	
10.	Designing graphs on the basis of written or spoken text	
11.	Group discussion involving problem-solving	
12.	Writing or telling a story based on a sequence of pictures	
13.	Writing letters	
14.	Short answers based on interpreting text	
15.	Reading and/or writing film or television program reviews	
16.	Debating	
17.	Reading aloud the dialogues and/or texts in textbooks	

50. Which of the following statements **best** describes your philosophy about English teaching? **Please tick ONLY ONE BOX.**

1. ☐ I believe it is important to explain grammatical rules explicitly in Chinese and translate sentences into Chinese so that students can understand
2. ☐ I believe that students will be more motivated if my teaching mainly focuses on listening and speaking in English.
3. ☐ I believe that students can learn better if the focus is on meaning; learning grammar is less important.
4. ☐ I believe that students' English will improve naturally if I speak English all or most of the time in class.

The findings

Question 26 asked whether participants would be able, if requested to do so, to provide a list of the expected specific outcomes of each of their English courses. In response to this question, more than half (37 – 56%) ticked 'yes'; 15 ticked 'no', 13 ticked 'I don't know'. Two (2) did not respond (see *Figure1*).

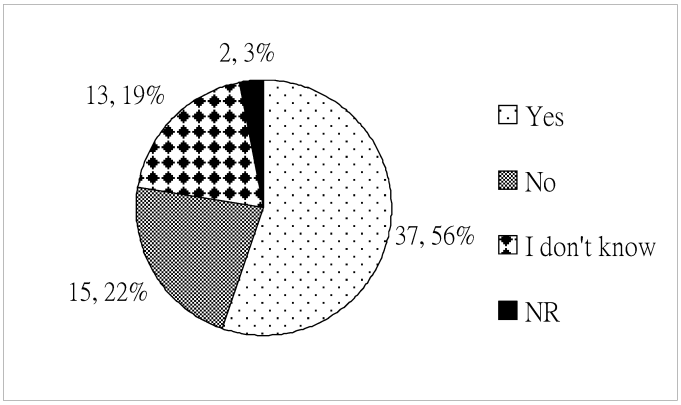

Figure1: *Participants' beliefs in relation to whether they would be able to list the expected specific outcomes of each of their English courses*

Question 27 asked participants to provide, in English or Chinese, an example of a course outcome for any of the courses they teach. The responses indicate that almost all of the respondents would, in fact, find the task of specifying course outcomes (and, therefore, also, presumably, teaching objectives) very challenging.

Thirty-two (32) out of the 37 who responded to Question 27 provided examples in some form. Of these, 3 gave only a course title. The remainder provided course types/ titles *plus* examples of course outcomes. Some of those provided were very general indeed, so general as to be effectively meaningless as learning outcomes (see examples below). Note that where examples are in brackets they have been translated into English from Chinese by the researcher.

> *Year/Course Title:* English conversation and writing
> *Outcome:* To improve writing skill.
>
> *Year/Course Title:* First Year Listening and comprehension
> *Outcome:* Students can thoroughly understand the daily conversation
>
> *Year/Course Title:* Fourth year (without course title)
> *Outcome:* (To be able to understand clearly how to listen to a long speech/ lecture).
>
> *Year/Course Title:* General English
> *Outcome:* To be able to read in the daily life context.

Some responses were a little less general but not much more informative (see below):

> *Year/Course Title:* Writing
> *Outcome:* (To be able to write an organized composition.)
>
> *Year/Course Title:* Practical English Writing
> *Outcome:* (To be able write English sentences without serious mistakes, and express meanings clearly in compositions.)
>
> *Year/Course Title:* English Reading
> *Outcome:* (To be able to analyze the content of readings.)
>
> *Year/Course Title:* Journalistic English
> *Outcome:* Acquire general Newspaper English vocabulary.

One response focused on knowledge about language (see below), suggesting that general English courses are sometimes perceived to be as much courses *about* language as courses whose aim is to improve language proficiency:

> *Year/Course Title:* General English
> *Outcome:* Enable the learner to distinguish nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs.

Some responses referred to 'passing' a particular English test as an outcome of the course (see below):

> *Year/Course Title:* 1st and 2nd Year, English reading
> *Outcome:* (Passing CSEPT.)
>
> *Year/Course Title:* 2nd Year, English Listening
> *Outcome:* (Students will be able to understand relevant topic content and to make notes, as well as to apply listening skills in the listening part of CSEPT)

Only two provided course outcomes that were specific (or relatively specific) and directly relevant to the course type:

> *Year/Course Title:* 3rd Year English Reading
> *Outcome:* (To be able to learn and apply meanings from contextual clues, grammatical knowledge, word structures and lexical comprehension.)
>
> *Year/Course Title:* Freshman Writing
> *Outcome:* The student will be able to write a well-formed paragraph with a clear topic sentence, well-developed cohesive ideas, transitional words, and concluding sentence.

Question 44 asked whether participants believed that what is sometimes referred to as 'communicative language teaching' is relevant at the levels they teach. Three (3) participants did not respond to this question; 16 ticked *I don't know*; 8 ticked *No*. Forty-one (41) – 61% of the total sample – ticked *Yes* (see *Figure 2*).

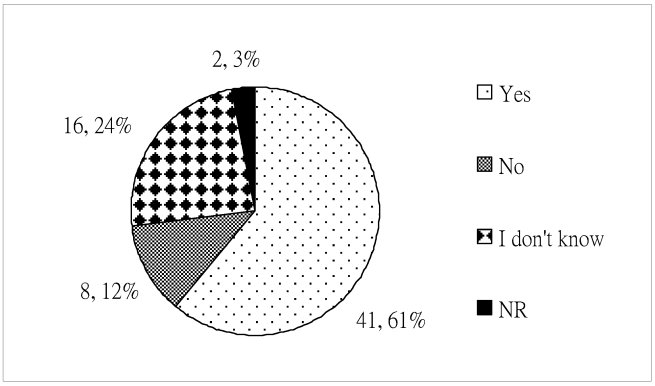

Figure 2: *Participants' views on whether 'communicative language teaching' is relevant at the levels they teach*

The next question (Question 45) asked whether participants believed that 'communicative language teaching' could take place only in small classes (e.g. in classes with 20 students or fewer). Five (5) participants did not respond to this question. Fifteen (15/ 22%) selected *I don't know*; 29 (44%) selected *Yes*; 18 (27%) selected *No* (see *Figure 3*):

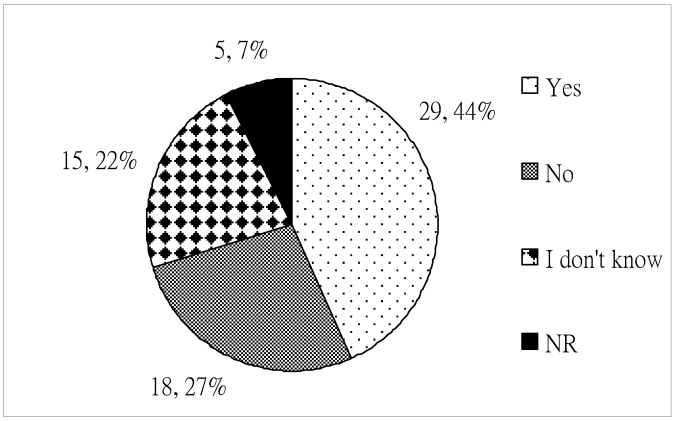

Figure 3: *Participants' views on whether communicative language teaching can take place in small classes (e.g. in classes of 20 students or fewer)*

Question 46 asked if participants regarded their own teaching as 'communicative'. Eleven (11) participants did not respond to this question. Of the 56 who did respond, 11 (16%) answered *I don't know;* 19 (28%) answered *No*; and 32 (47%) answered *Yes (see Figure 4)*.

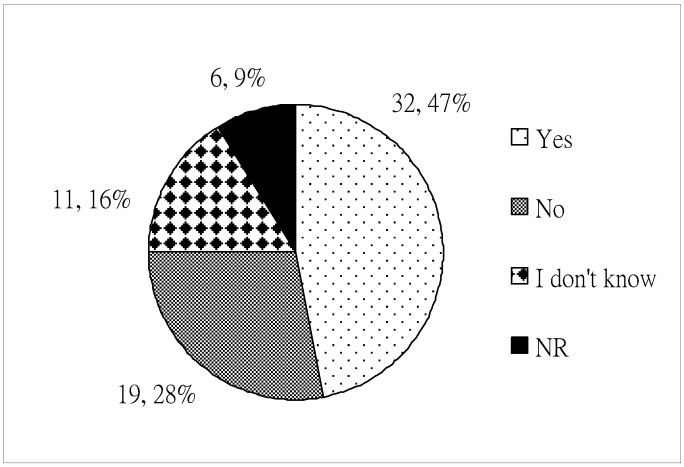

Figure 4: *Participants' views on whether their own teaching could be described as 'communicative'*

Question 47 asked those who had answered *Yes* to the previous question to identify those characteristics of their own teaching that they would describe as 'communicative'. Although 32 respondents had indicated that they *would* describe their own teaching as 'communicative', only 23 responded to this question and there were only 32 items listed, with the majority of respondents listing only one item. The responses were grouped into categories as follows: group discussion; information gap activities; jigsaw activities; role play; problem-solving; teacher-student interaction; student-student interaction; authentic materials (see *Figure 5*):

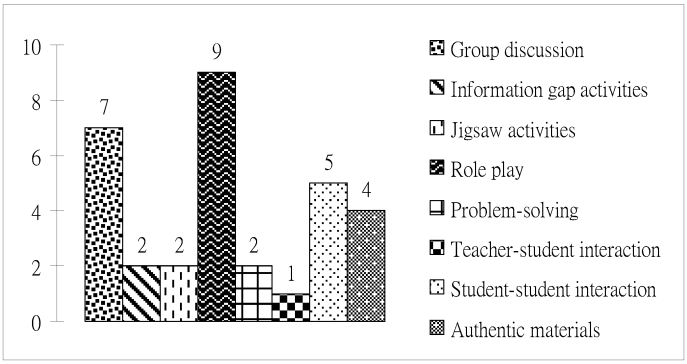

Figure 5: *Characteristics of own teaching described as 'communicative' - Number of times items occurred*

Question 48 asked participants to estimate how much of the time they used English when they spoke in class?

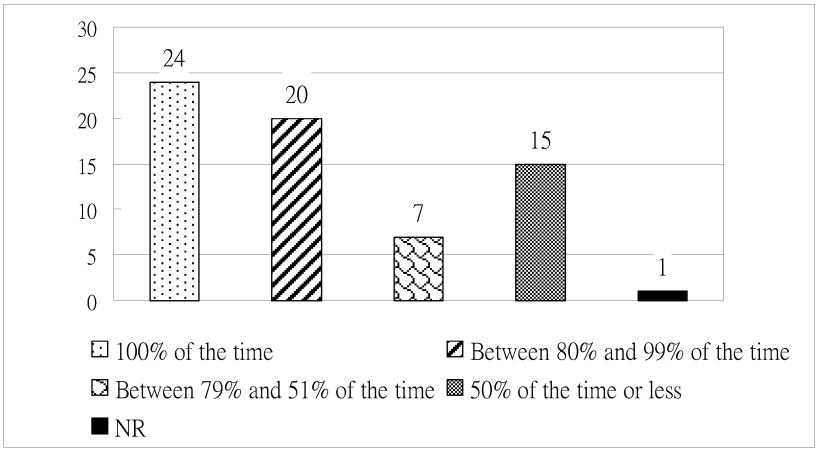

Figure 6: *Participants' estimates of the amount of time they use English when speaking in class*

Twenty five (25) respondents selected the first category (*100% of the time*); 20 selected the second category (*between 80% and 99% of the time*); 7 selected the third category (*between 51% and 79% of the time*); 15 selected the fourth category (*50% or less of the time*). Thus, over 20% of the respondents claimed to use English for 50% of the time or less when they spoke in English classes and over 30% claimed to use English for less than 80% of the time.

Question 49 asked what kind of activities respondents used in their English classes. There were 17 options and respondents could tick any number of categories. There were 517 selections as indicated in *Table 1*:

Table 1: *Activities participants use in class*

11.	Group discussion involving problem-solving	52
1.	Whatever is in the textbook	49
2.	Oral drill practice	49
14	Short answers based on interpreting text	44
7.	Role play	40
17.	Reading aloud the dialogues and/or texts in textbooks	39
3.	Written drill practice	37
4.	Explicit grammar teaching	34
6.	Singing	26
12.	Writing or telling a story based on a sequence of pictures	26
5.	Implicit grammar teaching	23
15.	Reading and/or writing film or television program reviews	19
13.	Writing letters	23
9.	Vocabulary-based games	16
8.	Grammar-based games	15
16.	Debating	14
10.	Designing graphs on the basis of written or spoken text	10

Question 50 asked: *Which of the following statements best describes your philosophy about English teaching?* There were four options:

- I believe it is important to explain grammatical rules explicitly in Chinese and translate sentences into Chinese so that students can understand;
- I believe that students will be more motivated if my teaching mainly focuses on listening and speaking in English;
- I believe that students can learn better if the focus is on meaning, learning grammar is less important;
- I believe that students' English will improve naturally if I speak English all or most of the time in class.

Eight participants did not respond to the question. Although the expectation was that participants would make only one selection, seven respondents' made two selections.

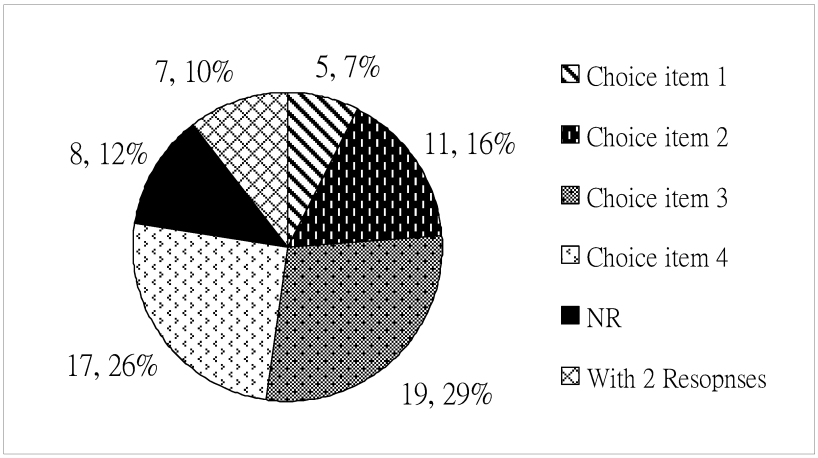

Figure 7: *Respondents' teaching philosophy*

The most popular option (19 responses) was the third one: *I believe that students can learn better if the focus is on meaning; learning grammar is less important*. The next most popular option (17 responses) was the fourth one: *I believe that students' English will improve naturally if I speak English all or most of the time in class*. Next in popularity (11 responses) was the second option: *I believe that students will be more motivated if my teaching mainly focuses on listening and speaking in English.* Least popular (5 responses) was the first option: *I believe it is important to explain grammatical rules explicitly in Chinese and translate sentences into Chinese so that students can understand*.

Discussion

It is interesting to note that only 41 respondents (61% of the total cohort) reported believing that communicative language teaching was relevant at the level they taught and only 18 (27% of the total cohort) indicated clearly that they did *not* believe that communicative language teaching could take place only in small classes (of, for example, 20 or fewer students). Furthermore, although 32 respondents (47% of the total cohort) claimed that their own teaching was communicative, only 23 (34% of the cohort), attempted to specify some of those aspects of their teaching that led them to classify it as communicative. Of these 23, the majority provided only one such characteristic. Since a communicative approach to language teaching generally emphasizes the importance of using the target language in class, it is relevant to note

that fewer than 70% of respondents claimed to use English when talking in class for 80% of the time or more. Also relevant here is the fact that when asked about the activities they used in class, only 23 (34%) selected 'implicit grammar teaching' (generally characteristic of a communicative approach), whereas 34 (51%) selected 'explicit grammar teaching'. In connection with this, it is relevant to note that although responses to Question 49 indicated that many in-class activities appeared to be communicatively oriented (for example, group discussion involving problem solving (52 entries); role play (40 responses); writing or telling a story based on a series of pictures (26 entries); reading and/ or writing film or television program reviews)), this may be largely due to the nature of the textbooks used since 52 respondents (77%) indicated that in-class activities related to 'whatever is in the textbook'.

What all of this suggests is that, so far at least as this sample of tertiary level teachers of English in Taiwan is concerned, the impact of communicative language teaching is by no means as pervasive as one might expect on the basis of the amount of coverage it has had in the literature on language teaching.

When asked whether they could give examples of the specific outcomes of the courses they taught, just over half of the participants (37/ 55%) said that they could. However, only 32 (67%) provided examples of specific learning outcomes when requested to do so and only two of these examples were *both* specific *and* of direct relevance to the type of course indicated in the course title. This would appear to indicate that the trend towards the specification of learning outcomes in terms of 'can do' statements has thus far had little impact on this sample of tertiary level teachers of English.

These findings suggest that, so far as the teachers involved in this study are concerned, at least two major 'orthodoxies' (Graddol, 2006, p. 82) of English language teaching emerging out of the "homogenous discourses [of] . . . a few dominant communities" (Canagarajah, 2005a, xiv) may be having less impact than is sometimes supposed. As Canagarajah (2005b, p. 9) observes, the local appears to be negotiating and modifying the global in its own way.

Endnotes

1. The audio-lingual approach generally involved explicit rules and the repetition of the core structural elements of model sentences (with lexical variation).

2. It is relevant to observe that only responses to those parts of the questionnaire that relate to CLT and outcomes-based achievement objectives specification are reported here.

3. The Human Research Ethics Committee of the School of Māori and Pacific Development (in which I was then enrolled for a PhD degree).

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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, pp. 7 – 14). Page numbers should be indicated as follows: Peters (1999, p. 1), Jones (1998, pp. 4 - 7).

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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.

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Acknowledgments

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