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TE TUHIRAU I REHU I RINGA
Translating Sacred and Sensitive Texts:
An Indigenous perspective

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
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at
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Abstract

This thesis centers on translator cognition. Through a series of interviews and think-aloud protocols (*Chapters 3 – 5*), it explores the ways in which a sample of translators (both Māori and non-Māori) negotiate the complex issues involved in translating between a local, indigenous language (Māori) and an international one (English) and, in particular, how they approach the definition and translation of texts that could be regarded as being ‘sacred’ and/or ‘sensitive’. In their definitions of ‘sacred’ texts and ‘sensitive’ texts, all of the participants exhibited a peculiarly postmodern positioning, focussing primarily on perspective rather than on any absolute concept of truth or reality. With the exception of the Māori participants’ traditional definition of, and approach to texts deemed to be ‘tapu’ (see *Chapter 3*), all of the participants expressed beliefs about the translation process which were largely structurally-orientated. They emphasized the importance of respecting the cultural context out of which texts emerged and of attempting, in translation, to reflect the meanings deemed to reside in the source texts by virtue of the intentions of their authors. As witnessed in their think-aloud protocols, however, when involved in the actual process of translation the translators did not always adhere to the views expressed in their interviews, with translation procedures ranging from one that was primarily modernist and structural in orientation (but also reflecting the careful attention to co-text and cohesion that is characteristic of much recent research on discourse analysis) to one that was primarily postmodern and post-structural in orientation, being highly personal, autonomous and individualistic.

In the absence of any clear agreement about translation theory in the literature on translation (see *Chapter 2*), and at a time when pre-modern, modern and postmodern positioning and structural and post-structural perspectives vie for acceptance, each of the participants in this research project appears to have found his or her own way of traversing the complex terrain of translation practice without necessarily being fully aware of the way in which the decisions they made positioned them theoretically. What this suggests is the need for a type of training that introduces novice translators in an explicit way to a variety of theories about

human language and communication and the ways in which they can impinge upon translation practice, thus creating a context in which translators are able to make critically informed decisions about how they will proceed in any particular instance, why they will proceed in these ways, and what is required in order to ensure that their beliefs about translation are in accord with their actual practices. Critical awareness of these issues is likely to be particularly important in the case of those involved in translating between international languages such as English and more localized, indigenous languages such as Māori, where discontinuity in the transmission of the language has occurred and where, therefore, texts that are deemed to be of particular significance would otherwise be unavailable to those for whom the texts form part of their cultural heritage.

Keywords:

translation, translator cognition, think-aloud protocols, pre-modern, sacred texts, sensitive texts, tapu texts.

He Mihi

He maimai aroha tēnei tuhinga ki ōku tūpuna, nā rātou ahau i ārahi, i poipoi ā-wairua i te ao, i te pō. He tohu whakamahara anō hoki ki a Nātana Takurua, nāna ōna wheako, ōna kōrero i tuku mai ki tēnei kaupapa. Nō te 15 o Here-turi-kōkā, te tau 2011, ka riro atu a ‘Koro’ i te ringa kaha o aituā.

Nō reira, e ōku rangatira, moe mai rā, okioki atu rā.

Otirā, ngā mate huhua o te wiki, o te marama, o te tau, haere koutou, haere, haere, haere.

Tātou ngā urupā o rātou mā, tēnā tātou!

He takimano kē taku toa.

Tuatahi, ki te hunga i whakaae mai ki te noho hei kaiwhakaatu, hei kaiwhakamārama i roto i te kaupapa rangahau nei, kāore e ārikarika āku mihi ki a koutou me ō koutou kōrero, ō koutou ariā, ō koutou whakaaro hoki. Nō reira, tēnā rawa atu koutou katoa.

Ā, ki ōku kaiako i te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, koutou o *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao*, koutou i purua katoatia taku kete ki te mātauranga i roto i ngā tau, tēnei au e mihi kau ana ki a koutou katoa. Ko aku kaiwhakahaere ake hoki tērā: e te ūpoko pakaru, e te Manukura Winnie Crombie, koutou ko Tākuta Aroha Yates-Smith, ko Tākuta Hēmi Whaanga, e kore e mutu āku mihi ki a koutou me ō koutou tini pūmanawa, pūkenga hoki. Ki taku whakaruruhau, ki *MAI ki Waikato*, me āku hoamahi o *MAI*, o *Te Pua Wānanga* e aupiki ngātahi nei i te poutama mātauranga mutunga kore, tēnā rawa atu koutou. Otirā, ki ngā tāngata katoa i whai wā ki te whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, ki te akiaki mai, te wero mai rānei i ahau, me i kore ko koutou e kore pea e eke tēnei mahi.

Mā te huruhuru te manu e rere! Nō reira, he mihi nunui anō ki te *Whare Wānanga o Waikato*, ki *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao*, ā, ki *Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga* hoki.. Me i kore ko koutou, e kore pea e taea tēnei iti rearea nei!

Ki taku whānau, taku ūkaipō, nā koutou taku katoa i kaha tautoko, i kaha poipoi mai i te tīmatatanga, ā, tae noa mai ki tēnei rā, tēnā koutou: ko ōku pakeke, ōku mātua, aku whanaunga, koutou e whawhai tonu nei kia puritia tonutia tō tātou tino rangatiratanga, tēnā rawa atu koutou. Ki taku whaea, ki tō mātou poutokomanawa, e kore e mutu āku mihi ki a koe, e Mā. Ki taku tamatāne pūrotu, a Issa Te Kanapu, nāna i pono mai ki a au, ahakoa ngā piki me ngā heke. Kei runga noa atu koe e taku tama! Ā, tae noa ki āku irāmutu katoa - kei a koutou te ao!! Ko te tūmanako, ka noho tēnei whakatutukitanga a tō koutou whaea hei whakangākau anō mō koutou, ngā rangatira o āpōpō.

Kawea atu!

Preface

*I am somewhere local as I speak – everywhere is local
– but local in the sense of small, marginal, peripheral.
In order to understand where I am, perhaps I need to
theorise my position, my situation, my location. But
generalising, theoretical discourses come from
somewhere else (or seem to), places that are equally
local for local people, but places that are also big,
central, metropolitan. How can I get myself into that
kind of worldly conversation without it (and me)
disappearing?¹*

¹ Stephen Turner (2001, p. 70), from his paper 'In Derrida's Wake: Why Can't I Think Where I Am?' in L. Simmons & H. Worth (Eds.), *Derrida Downunder*.

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Glossary

ārai	screen; veil
atua	deity/deities (pl.); god; supernatural being; an ancestor with continuing influence
haka	ritual dance
hapū	sub-tribe; pregnant
hiki	lift
hui	meeting
iwi	tribe/tribes (pl.)
kaipupuri	repository; guardian
kaitakawaenga	intermediary; liaison; go-between
kaitiaki	(spiritual) guide
karakia	incantation; ritual chant
kaumatua/ kaumātua	elder/elders
kauwaka	(spiritual) agent
kēhua	spirit/spirits (pl.)
koha	offering; an act of reciprocity
kōrero	speech; narrative; to tell, say, talk
kōrero mana/whai mana	authoritative, prestigious or influential narratives
kōrero tapu	tapu narratives
kōrero wairua/whai wairua	narratives of spiritual significance or possessing a spiritual character or presence
kuia	female elder; grandmother
kupu whakarite	metaphor
kura kaupapa Māori	Māori language immersion school
mākutu	spell or charm (malevolent)
mana	authority, prestige
māori	natural, native, or aboriginal
marae	an enclosed space in front of a traditional house; a complex of buildings that make up the domain in which traditional Māori cultural practices are sustained
mātauranga	knowledge
matua	uncle; father, parent
mauri	life principle; life force
mauri- ngoikore	dormant life-force
mauri-ora	active, vibrant life-force

mihi; mihimihi	to greet; pay tribute to; greeting; tribute
mōteatea	songs; laments
ngā atua Māori	the deities or guardians of the natural world
noa	free from the extensions of <i>tapu</i> , ordinary, unrestricted
ōpaki noa/reo ōpaki	informal/ informal language
orokohanga	creation; genesis
pai	good; well
Pākehā	a New Zealander of European descent; a foreigner
pakiwaitara	stories
pepeha	sayings
pono	honest; sincere
pūrākau	narratives
rāhui	ritual prohibition; restricted access
rangatira	chief; noble; esteemed
reo ōkawa	formal language
taonga	valued personal adornments; precious possessions
taonga tuku iho	precious heirloom; something handed down
tapu	restricted, inaccessible; something or someone dedicated to, or under the influence of the gods
tauparapara	incantation to begin a speech
(te) reo	(the) language; dialect
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao	The School of Māori and Pacific Development at the University of Waikato
tika	right; correct
tikanga	customs; cultural practices
tikanga Māori	Māori cultural practices
tino	essence; substance
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
tohunga	expert; skilled person;
tūpāpaku	corpse, deceased
tupuna/ tūpuna	ancestor/ancestors (pl.)
urupā	burial ground
utu	revenge; retribution; reciprocity
waiata	songs
waiata tawhito	ancient song/s

wairua	spirit; spiritual essence
waka	canoe
wānanga	a learning forum (in traditional times, of history, genealogy and esoteric lore)
Whaea	Aunt, mother
whaiwhaiā	spell or charm (malevolent)
whakamā	shyness; humility; embarrassment
whakamāori	translate into Māori
whakanoa	make or cause to become noa
whakapākehā	translate into Pākehā
whakapapa	genealogy; genealogical line
whakatapu	make or cause to become tapu
whakataukī	proverbs
whakawātea	ritual clearing
whakawhiti	convey
whānau	family; extended family
whare wānanga	traditional schools of higher learning
whenua	land; placenta

Chapter 1

Introduction to the research

1.1 Overview of the research project

Modernism, with its challenging of tradition, religion and superstition and its emphasis on rationality, rules and scientific method, has had a profound impact on attitudes towards language and text, as has *postmodernism*, with its focus on the concept of socially-constructed, fluid and contingent meaning. Both therefore have important implications for the theory and practice of translation, particularly as they relate to the translation of texts that are associated with religion and/or spirituality. The research project reported here is concerned with the impact of modernism and postmodernism on the translation between an indigenous language (Māori) and an international language (English) of texts that emerge out of a traditional worldview, texts that could be regarded as being of a ‘sacred’ or ‘sensitive’ nature.

1.2 Research aim

The primary aim of this research is to explore, through a series of semi-structured interviews and think-aloud translation protocols, the ways in which a sample of contemporary translators negotiate the complex problems involved in identifying, defining and translating texts, particularly texts associated with religion and/or spirituality,² between a local, indigenous language (Māori) and an international one (English) at a time when postmodern thinking is itself being challenged by new post postmodern perspectives. Underlying that aim is the desire to contribute to a growing body of literature by Māori researchers that can help to guide and inform those who undertake training in the theory and practice of translation and/or those who are engaged in translating historical Māori texts.

² Texts that are, therefore, primarily traditional in orientation.

1.3 Research Question

Underpinning this research project is a tripartite research question:

How do a sample of contemporary translators who are involved in the translation of texts from Māori into English and/or English into Māori define the terms ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ as applied to texts; how do they approach the translation of texts that might be regarded as sacred and/or sensitive in nature; and to what extent do their definitions and translation processes reflect the changing views on the theory and practice of translation that have accompanied the advance of postmodernism and post-structuralism?

1.4 Research Methods

1.4.1 Introducing the research methods

The research reported here began with a critical review of selected literature on the theory and practice of translation in the context of a number of major changes and developments in ways of thinking about and analyzing language and society. The primary focus of the review was the impact of these changes and developments on the definition and translation of texts that reflect religious and/or spiritual perspectives. A series of semi-structured interviews with a sample of people (both Māori and non-Māori) involved in translation between Māori and English was then conducted, the primary focus being on the ways in which these translators approached the definition, description and translation of texts that could be regarded as ‘sacred’ and/or ‘sensitive’. More detail concerning this research method is provided in the introduction to *Chapter 3*. Next, those translators who had participated in the semi-structured interviews were asked to take part in an exercise involving think-aloud protocols. They were asked to translate two short text extracts (one from English into Māori and the other from Māori into English) both of which could be regarded as being of a sacred and/or sensitive nature, and, while doing so, to record their attempts to verbalize their thoughts. Details of the think-aloud protocol study are outlined in full in the introduction to *Chapter 4*.

Information about how these translators actually go about the process of translating texts – *what they actually did* – could be considered in the context of data derived from the semi-structured interviews – *what they said/believed they did* (see *Chapter 5*) – and both could then be re-examined in the light of information about the interaction between the theory and practice of translation and a number of major developments in thinking about language and society that emerged from the critical literature review, thus allowing for triangulation.

It should be noted here that *Chapter 3* and *Chapter 4* have been approached rather differently in terms of how they are written up. *Chapter 3*, pertaining to the data collected from the semi-structured interviews, is fluid and narrative in tone, weaving a framework for the participants' *kōrero* that allows space for their views to predominate. The data in *Chapter 4*, relating to the think-aloud protocols, has been written up in a more linear and clinical manner appropriate to the chosen method, with succinct portions of text extracted from the data to illustrate the relevant themes. Both the interview transcripts and the think-aloud protocols are available to view in their entirety³ in the Appendices.

1.4.2 From teacher cognition to translator cognition

Teacher cognition has become a well developed and highly regarded branch of academic research, one that explores *what teachers think, know and believe* and how this informs what they actually *do* in practice (Borg, 2006, p. 1). Informed by insights gained from the field of psychology, it has allowed for a re-conceptualisation of teachers as 'active, thinking decision makers' in a complex, demanding environment, where choices are informed by the 'cognitions' (beliefs, knowledge, theories, assumptions, and attitudes) that they have about their teaching (Borg, 1999, pp. 21-2). A considerable body of research in the field of teacher cognition to date indicates that teachers have "a set of personally-defined, practically-oriented understandings" (p. 22) regarding teaching and the nature of learning which have a significant influence on the decisions they make in the classroom. Although there have been some translation studies that have involved

³ Sections of the interview transcripts that refer to matters of a personal or sensitive nature have been removed or edited to protect the participants' confidentiality.

think-aloud protocols^{4,5} (see *Chapter 4 (4.3.1)*), there appears, as yet, to have been no real attempt to establish *translator cognition* as an area of research worthy of major development. This may be due, in part, to the perception that the generally ‘lax’ experimental methodology adopted in think-aloud protocol research in the area of translation to date calls into question the validity of the results obtained (Bernardini, 1999, p. 1). It may also be because translation research that involves think-aloud protocols rarely involves other research techniques. The triangulated approach adopted here (including a combination of semi-structured interviews and think-aloud protocols, combined with a rigorous approach to research design, data analysis and reporting) represents a possible way forward in the establishment of translator cognition as a recognized and respected branch of translation research.

1.5 Impetus for the research project

My interest in conducting this research project developed out of two inter-related areas of interest/concern. The first of these was my experience of training as a translator of Māori into English (and *vice versa*) and my interest in translator training more generally. The second was my growing awareness as a Master’s degree research student of the gap between my perception of what was involved in translating a Māori manuscript of considerable historical significance (intended to be part of my Master’s thesis) and the expectations of those who had requested that the work be translated.

1.5.1 Translating the Pene Haare manuscript

The main focus of my Master’s degree research project was the issues involved in the translation of a Māori manuscript⁶ dated 1923 and authored by Ngakuru Pene

⁴ An empirical method of observation that originates from the cognitive sciences, involving a subject verbalising their thoughts whilst performing a set task. For more on the theory and background of think-alouds, refer to *Chapter 4* (See also, for example, Bowles (2010), Bernardini (1999), and Kussmaul & Tirkonnen-Condit (1995)).

⁵ Over the last decade, the number of research studies that have sought to gain a better understanding of the cognitive dimension of translation (using methods such as eye tracking, keyboard logging, and thinking-aloud) has grown exponentially. The focus of these studies has primarily been on measuring the difficulty experienced by translators in particular ‘sub-scenarios’, such as the translation of metaphor, and on understanding the different approaches of ‘expert’ and ‘novice’ translators, in order to better inform pedagogical practice (O’Brien, 2011).

⁶ Although referred to as *The Ngapuhi Wars*, or *MS 89/116*, titles conferred upon it by the Auckland Museum Library, the words inscribed by the author on the facing page of the original

Haare⁷ of the Te Rarawa tribe. The manuscript included an account of inter-tribal battles involving Ngāpuhi tribes⁸ which took place prior to 1840. Members of the Penney (Pene) whānau, wishing to access the information in their *tupuna*'s manuscript and not having the proficiency in Māori to do so, requested that a scholarly treatment and translation into English of the manuscript be undertaken. For a number of reasons, which included my own tribal links,⁹ I was offered the opportunity of undertaking the work.

The complex issues involved in attempting to translate the Pene Haare manuscript, issues relating, in part, to the author's use of esoteric language and culturally-embedded symbolism, were the focus of my Master's thesis (Tipene, 2009). What I discovered in the process of conducting that research project was that neither the international nor the local literature on translation theory and practice provided much guidance on how best to approach the kinds of problems associated with the translation of complex, historical texts that could be regarded as sacred and/or sensitive.¹⁰ Indeed, there appeared to be very little discussion in the literature on translation of what the translator actually *does* in the process of translating. It seemed to me, therefore, that there would be considerable potential value in exploring how a group of people who translate between Māori and English define terms such as 'sacred' and 'sensitive' and how they approach the task of translating texts that could be regarded as being sacred and/or sensitive in nature. In particular, my interest was in the extent to which the attitudes and practices of these translators reflect aspects of modern and postmodern thinking.¹¹

239 page manuscript read, 'Ko te reo tawhito me tōna whakamāoritanga ki te reo o naia nei' (*The ancient dialect and its translation into that of the present day*).

⁷ Ngakuru Pene Haare (1858-1950) was from Mitimiti in the northern Hokianga. He was an acknowledged authority on Taitokerau history and traditions, and was a contributor to Ngata's *Ngā Mōteatea* (Tipene, 2009).

⁸ 'Ngāpuhi' in this context refers to the broad confederation of northern tribes - Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Whātua and Ngāpuhi (Matiu and Mutu, 2003, p. 179).

⁹ My tribal affiliations are to Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, and Te Aupouri.

¹⁰ In addition, much of the literature was predicated on Western concepts and perspectives that have little relevance to Indigenous concepts and perspectives.

¹¹ Also explored, though less directly, is the extent to which the attitudes and practices of these translators reflect aspects of the more recent movement that has been variously described as 'post postmodernism', 'post-millennialism' 'metamodernism' and 'pseudomodernism', that is, "the new, weightless nowhere of silent autism" where "[y]ou click, you punch the keys, you are 'involved'. . . [where] "[y]ou are free: you are the text: the text is superseded" (Kirby, 2006, ¶21).

1.5.2 Translator training in Aotearoa/New Zealand

After completing undergraduate studies in *te reo Māori* and *tikanga Māori*, I enrolled in *Te Tītohu Whakamāori*, a full-time, one-year postgraduate diploma programme in translation and interpreting in Māori, offered through the University of Waikato. That programme was jointly established in 2000 by *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao*¹² and *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (the Māori Language Commission) in response to growing demand for professional, licensed translators who could translate documents into Māori. It was the only comprehensive Māori-medium training course available in Aotearoa for those wishing to train as translators and/or interpreters.¹³ The intention was that the University of Waikato should provide the expertise and resources required to make available training to a high professional standard, and *Te Taura Whiri i te reo Māori* should focus on its statutory role, examining prospective translators and interpreters, granting certificates of competency and issuing licenses.¹⁴

Prerequisites for entry into *Te Tītohu Whakamāori* are an acceptable standard¹⁵ in a Bachelor's Degree in which Māori is a major subject and/or work experience in or prior knowledge of translating and interpreting. Applicants are also assessed in terms of their motivation, maturity, self-management and communication skills in both Māori and English (University of Waikato, 2011).

The programme focuses on four main areas: translation theory and ethics; translating literary and specialised texts; competency in interpreting; and the practical skills necessary to conduct oneself as a professional translator and/or interpreter. The last of these areas includes a practicum in which individual students are apprenticed for a fixed term to a local business or client, with whom they establish a professional contract for a substantial commissioned translation.

The *Te Tītohu Whakamāori* is not currently being offered in its entirety. There are several reasons for this. First, although it was established by a group of language

¹² The *School of Māori and Pacific Development* at The University of Waikato.

¹³ Prior to the establishment of *Te Tītohu Whakamāori*, *Te Taura Whiri* had periodically conducted week-long intensive workshops in practical translation. Those workshops did not extend, however, to addressing translation theory (Ray Harlow, personal communication, March 2013).

¹⁴ The official Māori Interpreters' and Translators' Licence, *Toi Reo Māori*.

¹⁵ Generally B+ or above.

experts who were strongly committed to its success, over time these language experts have passed on, retired or become involved in other projects. Secondly, the demand for Māori translation, while particularly high when the programme was established,¹⁶ is no longer as high as it was. The number of proficient speakers of te reo Māori wishing to pursue translator/interpreter training at the University of Waikato has also declined. Finally, *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* has had to contend with some major issues over the last decade,¹⁷ leaving less scope for involvement in activities such as *Te Tītohu Whakamāori*. There are few other opportunities in Aotearoa for professional training in Māori/English and English/Māori translation and interpreting, and there appears to be little interest among those proficient in te reo Māori in attending the courses and/or programmes that are on offer.

At the University of Auckland, students receive some instruction in translation as part of undergraduate Māori language courses. In addition, language students may study translation at postgraduate level, with those who specialise in Māori studying through the Māori Studies Department. Over the past few years, however, no students specialising in Māori have pursued that particular qualification (Margaret Mutu, personal communication, February 27, 2013). At Auckland University of Technology, there is a training programme for professional translators that consists of core papers in the theory, principles and practice of translation. The papers are taught in English, with assignments and examinations being completed in the students' particular language/s of specialisation, which may include Māori. To date, however, very few Māori are known to have enrolled in those translation courses (Cynthia D'Souza, personal communication, February 27, 2013). Victoria University's MA in Literary

¹⁶ The 1990s was the period directly following the declaration of te reo Māori as an official language of New Zealand (the *Māori Language Act, 1987*) and the establishment of *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (1987). That decade saw the genesis of Māori radio and television broadcasting and the proliferation of immersion Māori education, which led to an exponential increase in the numbers of speakers of te reo (*Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, (n.d.)).

¹⁷ In their annual report for 2000, the then newly-appointed chairperson of *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* outlined some of the difficulties faced by the Commission in the preceding year, relating primarily to diminished morale amongst its staff as a result of being "continually at the mercy of non-Māori speaking analysts, linguists and decision makers" (*Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori*, 2000) and, therefore, largely constrained in their ability to perform the role for which they had been established.

Translation Studies is not offered for those wishing to translate between English and Māori.¹⁸

Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori conducts one examination annually to assess whether candidates, who may have undertaken no specific training, should be awarded a *Certificate in Translation and Interpreting (Māori)*. That examination, conducted over a weekend, currently has a ‘one size fits all’ format, incorporating a broad range of texts from diverse fields and genres. From 2014, *Te Taura Whiri* intends to change its examination format, so that it is tailored more to the specific domains within which individual translators and interpreters habitually work. Thus, there will be separate exams for medical translators, legal translators, government translators, and so on (Te Haumihiata Mason, personal communication, February 20, 2013). While the proposed changes may provide a more effective means of assessing translators’ and interpreters’ linguistic skills in particular domains, they will do nothing to resolve the problems associated with (a) the lack of assessment of knowledge and understanding in other areas relevant to interpreting and translation, and (b) the absence of acceptable professional training opportunities for those working between Māori and English.

If we are to develop a pool of highly-skilled, ethically-informed translators who work between Māori and English, there is clearly a need for appropriate professional training opportunities. Even when *Te Tītohu Whakamāori* was fully operational, it was limited as to what it could achieve within the timeframe (four courses over one year). There was insufficient scope, for example, to adequately cover the translation of all text-types that come within the general domain referred to as ‘literary and specialised’ in a single course. Similarly, a single course dealing with the theory and ethics of translation afforded little opportunity to contextualize and problematize discussion of theory, or to engage with critical issues relating to the role of translation – and the translator – in a globalized world where the survival of minority languages is increasingly threatened.¹⁹ In view of

¹⁸ Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology and Unitec (Auckland) also offer a certification in liaison interpreting, but not in translation.

¹⁹ For more on the importance of translation (and the role of translators) as a ‘transmissive’ rather than ‘communicative’ activity, see Cronin (2003).

all of this, it seemed to me that it was important to explore, in the context of my own research, those issues that could be fundamental to the design of training programmes for those wishing to translate between Māori and English.

1.6 A note on the title of the thesis

The Māori language portion of the title of this thesis, *Te Tuhirau i Rehu i Ringa*, is an expression that was used by one of the research participants during his discussion of approaches to the translation of sacred and sensitive texts. ‘*Te tuhirau*’ refers to a feather or quill, and ‘*rehu i ringa*’ to the the *kaitiaki* (guardian) of a sacred text whose hand (*ringa*) holds the pen, and whose role is to render the obscure (*rehu*) meaning of the words so that they may be clearly understood.

1.7 Thesis structure

Following this introductory chapter, there is a critical review of selected literature on the theory and practice of translation, including the translation of texts that could be regarded as being sacred and/or sensitive, considered in the light of major changes and developments in ways of thinking about human societies, human artifacts and human communication that have taken place since the beginning of major industrial development in Western societies (*Chapter 2*). Next is a discussion of a series of semi-structured interviews involving a sample of translators (Māori and non-Māori) working between Māori and English, the primary focus of these interviews being to elicit information on how these translators define terms such as ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ when used with reference to texts, and what their beliefs are in relation to the translation of such texts (*Chapter 3*). This is followed by a discussion of think-aloud protocols produced by a smaller sample of translators²⁰ while working on translation tasks involving English and Māori texts that could be regarded as being sacred and/or sensitive in nature (*Chapter 4*). The penultimate chapter explores the beliefs, attitudes and translation practices of the research participants as expressed/revealed in the semi-structured interviews and think-aloud protocols in the context of a number of the

²⁰ This sample was drawn from the larger sample involved in the semi-structured interviews.

issues discussed in the critical literature review. An attempt is made here to (a) highlight any apparent inconsistencies between beliefs and practices, and (b) determine how these translators negotiated the complex terrain of traditional, modern and postmodern thinking and its implications for translation (*Chapter 5*). In the final chapter, the research question is revisited, the main findings of the research project as a whole are outlined and discussed, and a range of recommendations and suggestions arising out of the research findings are proposed (*Chapter 6*).

Chapter 2

A critical review of selected publications on the theory and practice of translation, with specific reference to the translation of sacred and sensitive texts from and into te reo Māori

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, selected literature on translation is critically reviewed, beginning with some relevant context in the form of an attempt to place controversy surrounding translation into a historical context (2.2) and a brief overview of some major changes and developments in approaches to the understanding of language and their impact on translation (2.3). This is followed by discussion of attempts to define ‘translation’ and to specify the roles and functions of translators and of translation (2.4), various approaches to translation (2.5), the concept of the translator as cultural mediator (2.6), issues associated with the translation of imagery, symbolism and metaphor (2.7) and the elusive concept of a unified theory of translation (2.8). The focus then moves to ethical considerations that need to be taken into account in the case of translation and/or research on translation that involves indigenous texts and indigenous peoples (2.9) and a consideration of the ways in which the terms ‘sacred’ and ‘tapu’ have been interpreted (2.10). The next two sections are concerned specifically with the translation of sacred and sensitive texts (2.11) and with the need to reconceptualise the profession of translation (2.12). The chapter ends with some concluding remarks which highlight the fact that there are some discrepancies between contemporary approaches to language and communication within linguistics and philosophy and approaches to translation that have been recommended by translators (2.13).

2.2 From ancient Greece to the global village: The controversy surrounding translation

The Greek Philosopher Socrates (c. 469 – 399 BCE) thought of words as being capable of representing either truth – associated with the divine, or falsity – associated with the ways of mankind (Hoy, 1978, p. 1). This was reflected in

approaches to hermeneutics,²¹ that ancient study of the interpretation of texts (especially of literary and biblical ones) that is claimed to have a mythological association with the Greek god Hermes,²² the mediator between the gods and human beings, who was considered to be both the bearer of knowledge and understanding and a thief and liar (ibid.). Hermeneutics and translation were, and are, closely allied, and that ambivalent attitude towards hermeneutics that is detectable in classical Greek thinking has also been in evidence in much of the literature on translation over time (see, for example, Venuti, 2000, pp. 4-6)

The Rabbinic practitioners of traditional Jewish hermeneutics (from c. 200 CE) could not conceive of their biblical texts as containing anything other than divine truth. For them, therefore, a literal approach to translation was inevitable. However, in dealing with the metaphorical nature of much of the scriptures, they employed a system of exegetical rules in order to uncover the deeper significances that were held to lie behind and within literal meanings (Klein, Blomberg & Hubbard, 1993, pp. 24 & 25). Thus, the belief was that the ‘truth’ within the scriptures could be revealed only by those “few . . . who concern themselves with the spirit, not the letter”, and that only those “with the proper vocation and experience [could] penetrate to this higher meaning that God hides from the common reader” (Grondin, 1994, p. 27).

What we see in the Greek and Rabbinical approaches to language and text is an approach that relates to a *traditional worldview*,²³ according to which language and text were considered to be the expression of thoughts which were themselves impacted on by essential pre-existing truths or realities. These truths or realities were either directly available in the language itself or available through a range of carefully constructed interpretative procedures. There were – and are – different variations of this worldview.²⁴ However, it was subject to major challenge in a number of Western societies during the 17th and 18th centuries as industrialization

²¹ Derived from *hermeneuein* (to explain, interpret or translate).

²² Grondin (1994, p. 22) also notes, however, that many regard the metaphorical link drawn between Hermes and hermeneutics with scepticism.

²³ This is often referred to as a ‘classical’ worldview when applied to ancient European civilization.

²⁴ For a discussion of traditional, modern and postmodern worldviews, see Golec de Zavala & Van Bergh, 2007, pp. 589-90; Gibbs, 2000, pp. 20-27).

began to encroach on traditional social structures and as belief in the power of reason and scientific method and scepticism about religion spread, leading, in the 19th and 20th centuries, to the dominance in the West of a *modern or modernist worldview* which was characterized by a belief in scientific method and adopted a rule-governed approach to language and the search for meanings that were thought to be embedded within texts. In the second half of the 20th century, modernism was itself challenged as belief in the power of rationality and scientific method as applied to the understanding of society waned and as a *postmodern positioning*, one in which meanings began to be regarded as contingent rather than absolute and textually embedded, began to emerge (Golec de Zavala & Van Bergh, pp. 589-90).

As Snell-Hornby (1988, pp. 9 - 13) observes, the age-old dichotomy of ‘word’ (‘literal’ or ‘faithful’) and ‘sense’ (‘paraphrasic’ or ‘free’) has dominated the world of translation for the past two thousand years.²⁵ In fact, this dichotomy has also been at the very core of debate about the nature of human culture and society.

In contemporary times, as Bartrina (2005, p. 180) observes, the proliferation of multimedia technology enables an unprecedented circulation of texts among languages and cultures, throwing translation and interpreting into the spotlight.²⁶ In the early 1990s, according to Gross (2005, p. 8), some 450 million pages were being translated annually in the US, Europe and Japan alone, and the total market size of Language Services²⁷ was estimated as USD\$14.25 billion in 2008, with a projected increase to USD\$25 billion by 2013, and with machine translation being “one of the top trends” (Romaine & Richardson, 2009, p. 2). However, debate and division have continued to characterise the theory and practice of translation. Dismissed throughout much the 20th century²⁸ as representatives of an ‘imprecise’

²⁵ She notes that this dichotomy was closely followed by a preoccupation with ‘the illusion of equivalence’ (Snell-Hornby, 1988, pp. 13-22).

²⁶ See also Littau (1997) and Pym (2010, particularly Ch. 7).

²⁷ The ‘Language Services’ industry is not comprised of translation alone but includes, and distinguishes between: translation; interpretation; localization (where a product or service is adapted to a different language, or to a specific region or country that may have different cultural and linguistic characteristics); internationalisation (where a product or service is prepared so that it can eventually be localized); and supporting technologies (such as language learning and specialist dictionaries) (Romaine and Richardson, 2009, p. 6).

²⁸ This was a time when the modernist ideals of empiricism and rationalism were still predominant.

science, translation theorists began to attempt to strengthen their position by association with an established academic discipline – applied linguistics. In the 1990s, the new discipline of Translation Studies began to emerge from that alliance, its emergence signalling the attempt to free translators from charges of amateurism and improvisation, to secure a place in academic institutions for trainee translators, and to establish a firm research base (Arrojo, 2005, pp. 227-8). By that time, however, both linguistics and applied linguistics had moved away from the positioning as a core scientific discipline that was associated with the heyday of structuralism. An increasing volume of research on sociolinguistics,²⁹ pragmatics³⁰ and discourse analysis³¹ was being produced and, with it, the perception that linguistic communication was much more fluid than had previously been supposed was growing. Linguistics and applied linguistics were aligning themselves more firmly with the postmodernist agenda. Indeed, an increasing interest in electronic modes of communication, and the ways in which they were breaking down barriers between writers/presenters and audiences and leading to forms of co-production, meant that linguists and applied linguists were becoming increasingly interested in post postmodern perspectives, that is, in what Kirby (2006, para. 21) has described as the Internet era of "the new, weightless nowhere of silent autism" (see *Chapter 1*, fn. 11). In this context, it is not surprising to find that Translation Studies, as a new discipline, has not achieved scientific status by its association with linguistics and applied linguistics and continues to struggle to escape the widely-held perception that it is "a peculiar profession . . . associated with failure and frustration" (Arrojo, 2005, pp. 227-8).

2.3 Some major changes and developments in approaches to the understanding of language and their impact on translation

Approaches to language and text were relatively stable in ancient and medieval Europe. Philosophers conceived of external reality as being reflected in thought and of language as being the expression of thought (Crotty, 1998, p. 88). Texts

²⁹ Sociolinguistics analyzes the interplay of language and society, with language as the starting point.

³⁰ Pragmatics is the study of those aspects of meaning that are context-dependent.

³¹ Discourse analysis, which often focuses on complete texts or speech events, involves the analysis of the effect of context on meaning.

were, therefore, considered to be a reflection of thought and, hence, of some external reality. With the development (within the context of modernism) of behaviourism and linguistic structuralism, meaning was increasingly thought to be *directly encoded* in language rather than *reflected through* language. Thus, meaning was thought to reside “not in the largely irrecoverable mental processes of the text’s human author but in the actual words of the text itself” (Klein et al., 1993, p. 429). Within the context of linguistic structuralism,³² human languages were treated as formal systems in which meaning is mediated by system-internal differences. A range of disciplines, including literary criticism, began to adopt a structural perspective, analysing phenomena in terms of systems and rules. There was a search for what were considered to be the ‘deep structures’ underlying human cultures and human cultural artefacts, structures that were believed to remain constant in the face of a multiplicity of surface variations (ibid. pp. 428-9).

It was not long before structuralism within linguistics came under fire from critics for its inherent limitations: its concept of language as being “a stable, unchangeable and totalising structure” (a concept that made language change difficult to accommodate); its focus on structure (morphology, syntax and phonology) at the expense of meaning; its neglect of functional aspects of language and of the apparently random and idiosyncratic nature of ‘situated language use’ (*parole*); and its determined neglect of the role of the speaker/writer (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, p. 10). So far as translation is concerned, one of the most critical issues was structuralism’s focus on single language systems since, for translation, “every problem involve[s] two language systems” (Hatim & Mason, 1990, p. 25). Even so, structuralism within linguistics continued to influence translation theory, with Catford’s (1965) attempt to build a theory of translation in line with the structural paradigm within linguistics emphasising structural contrasts between language systems. Thus, “translation theory bec[ame] a branch of contrastive linguistics and translation problems be[came] a matter of the non-correspondence of certain formal categories in different languages” . . . assumptions about ‘formal correspondence’ lead[ing] to attempts to calculate

³² Linguistic structuralism was first fully articulated in *Cours de linguistique générale* (Saussure, 1916).

probability of equivalence and, beyond that, to the formulation of translation ‘rules’ or ‘laws’ (Hatim & Mason, 1990, p. 26).

Meanwhile, within the British linguistics tradition, the influence of J.R. Firth, a British linguist with a particular interest in Oriental and African languages, was beginning to be felt. Firth’s emphasis on the context-dependent nature of language³³ was particularly in evidence in the development by M. A. K. Halliday of what has come to be known as ‘systemic-functional linguistics’ (see, for example, Halliday, 1977). Within the context of systemic-functional linguistics, language is treated as a social semiotic system, one that has evolved in response to the need to perform a range of functions and one in which choice plays a fundamental role. The increasing interest in meaning and context in British linguistics was one of the factors that eventually led to a serious questioning of structural linguistics. There were, however, many other factors that had a negative impact on structuralism within linguistics. Another was growing dissatisfaction with the capacity of various approaches to semantics within the American tradition of linguistics to adequately accommodate some aspects of meaning.^{34,35} At the same time, structuralism as applied to other areas of human endeavour was also beginning to be questioned, as was that reliance on rules, systems and scientific method that characterized the modernist agenda more generally.

As poststructuralism began to develop, textual meanings were increasingly thought of as being complex, multi-faceted and elusive and language was increasingly thought of as shaping people’s sense of reality.³⁶ With the

³³ Firth (1957, p. 11) noted, for example that “[y]ou shall know a word by the company it keeps”.

³⁴ I refer here, in particular, to interpretive semantics and generative semantics. *Interpretive semantics* was based on the assumption that syntax and semantics were largely autonomous, with the well-formed sentences that were paired with syntactic structures that were generated by syntactic rules being interpreted according to the rules of a separate semantic theory (see, for example, Jackendoff, 1972). *Generative semantics*, on the other hand, was based on the belief that interpretations were generated by the grammar as deep structures and were then transformed into sentences (see, for example, Lakoff (1971) and Postal (1972)).

³⁵ Yet another was increasing dissatisfaction with Chomsky’s (1965) idealized notion of ‘linguistic competence’, which made no reference to language in use.

³⁶ Since around the mid-20th century, philosophers have generally conceived of language as shaping reality (rather than *vice versa*), with the notion of linguistic determinism that was exemplified in what has come to be referred to as the ‘Sapir-Whorf hypothesis’ gaining widespread acceptance. In the words of Sapir, people are “very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. . . . [They] see

development of linguistic philosophy, there was a move away from the positivistic tradition (in which philosophy was regarded as a science) and towards the notion that all philosophical questions are inevitably questions of language (Rorty, 1967, pp. 1-3).³⁷ The emergence of postmodern and poststructuralist thinking (see, for example, Derrida, 1974) in the second half of the 20th century was reinforced by the ‘cultural revolution’ of the 1960s, a series of events which, Lucy (1997, p. 20) contends, marked the end of modernity and ushered in a “postmodern intellectual class”.

In the 1970s, along with other ‘radical’ movements (such as feminism, phenomenology and nihilism), poststructuralism, which seeks to dissolve the rigid distinction between *langue* (language structure) and *parole* (language use) and conceives of meaning as being socially produced, began to have an increasing impact. Within the context of poststructuralism, language is seen “not as one general system of meaning, but as a series of systems or discourses”, within which meanings can and do shift and change (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002, pp. 10-12).

Alongside the development of structuralism, a new movement in literary criticism, referred to as ‘New Criticism’ had emerged in the 1940s and 1950s, a movement that saw the primary focus of literary analysis shift from the author to the specific linguistic features of the text itself. Alongside the development of poststructuralism, a further shift occurred with the emergence in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in the US and Germany, of reader-response theory, a theory that focused on readers’ responses to literary texts rather than the form of the text or the author’s supposed intentions. Particular emphasis was placed on the plurality of potential readings, the notion of meaning as being fixed or ‘true’ in nature being seen as no longer tenable (see, for example, Jauss, 1982; Iser, 1989). In connection with this perspective, Schlick (1967, p. 49) has observed that “[t]here can be no science of meaning, because there can be no set of true propositions about meaning. . . . [In] order to arrive at the meaning of a sentence or of a proposition we must go beyond propositions”.

and hear and otherwise experience very largely as [they] do because the language habits of [their] community predispose certain choices of interpretation (Sapir, 1958, p. 69).

³⁷ The pursuit of truth was replaced by the search for meaning (Schlick, 1967, p. 48).

Also extremely influential in the movement away from a strictly structural approach to the analysis of meaning was the development of speech act theory by the British linguistic philosopher J. L. Austin (1962). Speech act theory focused on the way in which utterances performed functions which could be understood only in terms of the interaction between language and context. In the words of the American philosopher John Searle (1969, p. 16): "The unit of linguistic communication is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol, word, or sentence, . . . but rather the production or issuance of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of a speech act".

Straw and Sadowy (1990, p. 22) argue that approaches to the reading/interpretation of literature, approaches which inevitably impacted on translation, moved through a number of phases from the beginning of the 19th century to the end of the 20th century, these phases echoing more general philosophical movements – from a *transmission phase* (approx.1800-1890) through a *translation phase* (approx.1890-1970s) to an *interactive phase* (approx. 1970s – 1990s) and, finally, the current *transactional and constructionist* phase. The first of these phases (*transmission*), pre-dating linguistic structuralism, focused on what were perceived to be the authors' intentions; the second (*translation*), co-terminous with full-blown linguistic structuralism, focused on the meanings that were to be discovered in texts themselves by virtue of their structure/form and linguistic content, paying little or no attention to author and context.³⁸ The third phase (*interactive*) focused on texts as the medium through which authors and readers engage in a process of intercommunication; the fourth phase (*transactional and constructionist*) treats meaning as being constructed by readers during the act of reading. With reference to the fourth phase, Straw (1990, p. 68) has observed that readers draw on a range of knowledge sources particular to their own culture and worldview during the process of meaning construction, the result being that any number of meanings may be arrived at by different readers of the same text.

³⁸ Associated with this phase were a number of different approaches to the analysis of text developed by Russian formalists in the early part of the 20th century.

What are referred to as ‘phases’ by Straw and Sadowy are not, of course, wholly distinct except in their most extreme manifestations. Nor can they be clearly differentiated chronologically. Nevertheless, they provide us with a useful mnemonic for understanding that general movement from what Crotty (1998, p. 107) refers to as ‘deification of the author’ (*phase 1*) through what he refers to as ‘reification of the text’ (*phase 2*) to what could be referred to as ‘interactional focus’ (*phase 3*) and ‘deification of the reader’ (*phase 4*). It is relevant to observe here that the last of these ‘phases’ appears to be inconsistent with some developments in discourse analysis that focus on the ways in which discourse communities create shared textual understandings (Swales, 1990, pp. 24-27) and the ways in which various types of meaning relation are signalled and signposted in texts (Whaanga, 2006).

The concepts of plurality of textual readings and indeterminacy of meaning which are central to poststructural and postmodern thinking constitute a major challenge to the foundationalist principles of modernity. However, although the culture of modernity may be deemed in contemporary terms to be in crisis (see, for example, Crotty (1998)) it is by no means obsolete. Indeed, as Seidman (1994) observes, modernity, with its universalising assumptions and its celebration of science and social progress, “continues to shape the contours of our lives” notwithstanding a broad social and cultural shift to a ‘postmodern terrain’ (p. 1).

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

Translation and the role of the translator have inspired much debate over the centuries. Various definitions of translation have been proposed, each with its own relevance to a particular focus or emphasis and each with its perceived shortcomings or problems. As Bartrina (2005, p. 180) observes, “all translations have as their starting point certain ideas about meaning – what it is; how it functions” – since meaning is the fundamental issue with which translation is concerned.

Translation has been conceived as: “an activity that aims at conveying the meaning or meanings of a given linguistic discourse from one language to another” (Zaky, 2000, para. 1) and as “the transfer of the meaning of a text . . . from one language to another for a new readership” (Newmark, 1996, p. 5). Definitions such as these imply that meaning is linguistically encoded, residing passively in the text and available to be transferred from one text to another. This notion, while generally consistent with conceptions of language prior to ‘the cultural turn’ in translation of the 1970s, is at odds with more recent developments in the understanding of language. The fact that such definitions persist is, however, arguably the natural consequence of a widespread essentialism that has “dominated our ideas about language and text for the last 2000 years” and continues to do so (Arrojo, 2005, p. 225). Inherent in this essentialist worldview is a belief in, and reliance on “the possibility of forever stable meanings safely kept in language and texts which could transcend history and ideology as well as the psychology of those involved in processing” (ibid.). If, however, we take as our starting point the notion that meaning is socially constructed in accordance with particular beliefs, experiences and worldviews, we must conclude that it is always context-dependent and always contingent, that it can never be permanently ‘fixed’. As Newmark (1996, p. 5) observes:

[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).³⁹

³⁹ While 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.

Another definition of translation, one proposed by Catford (1965, p. 20) is “the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent material in another language (TL)”. Such a definition of translation, like the ones introduced above, presupposes a simple process of ‘code-switching’ and serves to perpetuate the age-old myth of ‘equivalence’ as the ultimate goal of translation, a myth that is, according to Arrojo (2005, p. 226), still prevalent.

Snell-Hornby (1988, p. 2) conceives of translation as “the verbalised expression of the author’s intention as understood by the translator-as-reader, who then recreates this whole for another readership in another culture”. Similarly for Newmark (1988a, p. 5), translation often involves “rendering the meaning of a text into another language in the way that the author intended”. The implication in both cases is that authorial intentions are directly embedded in text. This raises questions relating to the notion of cultural transferability. If texts written in different languages are predicated on different cultural assumptions, such a view of translation is untenable since “the worlds in which the original and its translation are produced are inevitably different worlds” and therefore “exact reproduction is impossible” (Bassnett, 1997, p. 1).

The concept of equivalence seems also to be implicit in Nida’s (2001, p. 67) observation that a translator must engage intimately with text, transforming ‘foreign’ words into concepts that can produce essentially the same message in another language. However, as Gadamer (1975, p. 386) observes:

[N]o one can doubt that the translation of a text, however much the translator may have dwelt with and empathized with his author, cannot be simply a re-awakening of the original process in the writer’s mind; rather it is necessarily a re-creation of the text guided by the way the translator understands what it says. No one can doubt that what we are dealing with here is interpretation, and not simply reproduction.

Gadamer’s reference to ‘interpretation’ and ‘re-creation’ touch on a significant aspect of the translator’s role - that of creativity, an aspect that is highlighted by

Kussmaul (1995, p. 61), who observes that translation involves “first and foremost an interpretive use of language”. Similarly, Tom Roa (2004), in discussing the Māori terms *whakamāori* and *whakapākehā* (generally translated as ‘to translate into Māori’ and ‘to translate into English’ respectively), observes that the notion of creativity is implied in that the prefix *whaka-* involves ‘causing to become’. R. Roa (2003, p. 5) expands on these ideas in her view of translation as:

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 more deeply culturally-embedded a source text is, the more pertinent the concept of translator creativity becomes. Thus, both James (2002, para. 1-3) and Karamanian (2002, para. 5) observe that, in the case of texts that may be categorized as ‘culture bound’, the translator’s task is a particularly complex one. Indeed, according to Kiraly (1995, p. 6), the translator requires cultural skills in addition to cognitive, social and textual ones. Thus, as Tennent (2005, p. xix) notes, there are ethical implications in that translation essentially involves “a practice of importing, manipulating and transforming cultural goods and models”.

Although the task of the translator is clearly a complex, creative and demanding one, involving “a real act of interlinguistic and intercultural communication” (Kiraly, 1995, p. 6), it has been noted by Arrojo (2005, p. 227) that the work of translators has often, in the second half of the 20th century, been portrayed in “derisive clichés”, and translation itself as an activity that “never quite fulfils its intended goal”, one that consistently fails to deliver on its promise of “the original in its almost absolute integrity”.⁴⁰ As Arrojo observes, the notion of translation as being a mostly mechanical activity requiring little more than an appropriate

⁴⁰ Bearing in mind the ways in which postmodernism and poststructuralism have interrogated the concept of textually embedded meanings, it is not, perhaps, surprising to find that translators who aim to represent an original text in translation in ‘its almost absolute integrity’ are often perceived as having failed.

knowledge of the two languages involved is a myth, the natural consequence of misguided and outdated notions of the possibility of ‘accurate’ recovery of ‘stable’ meaning from a text, and the subsequent ‘transportation’ of that meaning to another language (ibid.). Thus Snell-Hornby (1988, pp. 4-5) insists that translation has long been misrepresented as an activity that any lay person with recourse to a handful of foreign languages can master, adding that “most professional translators know their *métier* to be . . . a skill demanding utmost proficiency, specialized knowledge and the sensitivity of an artist”.

It is important to note here that translation is only ever an approximation: it can never be a substitute for the source language and culture. This is clearly indicated by Palmer in the foreword to the original Māori text of Sir Apirana Ngata’s *Ngā Mōteatea* (Ngata, 2004a, p. xiii). Even so, as Raukura Roa (2003, p. 6) observes, translated works may function as a means of making culturally significant material more widely available. Thus, the rationale for Ngata’s translation of Māori *waiata* into English was to provide a foundation for the ongoing study of Māori literary and artistic works (p. 16).

The various functions that translation may perform are broad in scope, ranging from high creativity to virtually secretarial transference, from the highly specialized to the pedestrian (Chaudhuri, 1999, p. 55). Thus, as Newmark (1988a, p. 5) notes, while translation may seem in some instances to involve little more than the communication of a ‘simple’ message⁴¹, it often involves communication of a much more complex nature. He notes, in addition, that one critical function may be *to educate*, as in the case of translations that facilitate “understanding between groups and nations” (p.10). For Even-Zohar (1990, pp. 46-7), yet another critical function may be *to provide developmental exemplars*, as in cases where cultures and their literatures are responsive, through translation, to external influences that lead to internal developments. So far as this thesis is concerned, however, a function referred to by Benjamin (2000, pp. 16-7) is of particular

⁴¹ It must be stated, however, that the process of communication is, from the point of view of a linguist, anything but ‘simple’. Even where the primary aim of the translator is to convey simple, transactional messages in a way that is as close an approximation to the original as possible, there is always a degree of creativity involved.

significance, that is, *ensuring the survival of 'classic' texts over time*, particularly where those texts depend on ancient authority to maintain their status (as, for example, in the case of sacred and/or religious texts).

2.5 Approaches to translation

From its earliest recorded history, the practice of translation has been influenced by the never-ending debate about the translation of words versus the translation of ideas (Gross, 2005, p. 1). Thus, as Crotty (1998, pp. 89-90) observes, the controversial issue of 'literal' versus 'free' translation was manifest in the conflicting views of two early Christian schools of interpretation (circa 150-400 CE.). While both schools (the Alexandrian school and the Antioch school) believed that spiritual texts comprised both literal and spiritual meanings, the Antioch school focused primarily on the former, while the Alexandrian school focused primarily on the latter. Later developments in translation, including 'literalism' versus 'humanism' (Hermans, 1997), 'transference' versus 'componential analysis' (Newmark, 1988) and 'formal equivalence'⁴² versus 'dynamic equivalence' (Nida, 1964), all seem to correspond to the primary 'words versus ideas' dichotomy outlined by Gross (2005).

According to Hermans (1997, p. 14), 'literalism' is "a form of literal or word for word translation". For him, *literalism* embodies, "more than any other form of interlingual processing . . . the dream of translatability as an exact matching of component parts without loss, excess or deviation", whereas *humanism* is, by contrast, "a tradition which brings rhetorical standards as well as grammatical considerations into play" (p. 15). Notwithstanding the fact that literalism is generally now regarded as being an impossible ideal, Newmark (1988, pp. 68-69) has contended that it is still a "legitimate" translation procedure; one that, so long as it "secures referential and pragmatic equivalence to the original", should not be avoided. He notes, however, that in the case of words and ideas that are culturally-embedded, literal translation is not appropriate. In such cases, he proposes (p. 96) either *transference* (which involves transferring certain words from the source text into the translation) or *componential analysis* (seeking components that are

⁴² This concept was later referred to (Nida & Taber (1982)) as 'formal correspondence'.

common to both source and target cultures and adding further components to ensure comprehensibility by the target audience). He notes that although transference can provide the target text with “local colour and atmosphere”, it can inhibit comprehension in the case of those who lack familiarity with the source language and culture⁴³ (ibid.). Newmark provides an example of componential analysis, noting that the meaning of the French ‘maison secondaire’ could be rendered in English by starting with a concept common to both languages (maison/house) and adding ‘distinguishing components’ such as ‘holiday’ and ‘for the wealthy’ – ending up with ‘holiday house for the wealthy’ (ibid.). However, as noted by Tipene (2009, p. 14), a potential drawback of this approach is that it is likely to result in “a translated text that is both clumsy and potentially misleading”.

In terms of Nida’s (2000, p. 129) concept of ‘formal equivalence’, the translator attempts to match elements of the translated text “as closely as possible” to those of the source text - poetry to poetry, sentence to sentence, concept to concept, for example - so that the translated message corresponds, *in both form and content*, to the original. However, as James (2002, para. 1) observes, the extent to which the mode of expression of the original can be approximated in the translation must depend to a large extent on the nature of the languages involved as well as the cultural and linguistic ‘gap’ between them. In such cases, Nida’s solution is to aim not for ‘formal equivalence’ but for ‘dynamic equivalence’, aiming not to match the target language ‘message’ with the source language ‘message’, but rather to achieve an equivalent ‘effect’. Thus, the translator strives for completely natural expression in the target text, enabling the target audience to relate to “modes of behaviour relevant within the context of [their] own culture” (2000, p. 129) rather than insisting that they “understand the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message” (p. 129). It has been noted that this approach seems to be wholly consistent with Nida’s personal Evangelical orientation (Foley, 2009, p. 36; Gentzler, 2001, pp. 45-46).

⁴³ This would, presumably, cover most of the translation’s readership. Otherwise, there would be little point in the translation.

Having outlined a range of possible approaches to translation, Nida (2000, p. 130) observes that there has been a strong trend in translation from the 1950s onwards toward the ‘dynamic’ end of the scale, something that would appear to be inevitable in the case of texts that are culturally-embedded and linguistically complex. Even so, the lack of any genuine specificity associated with what is referred to by Nida as ‘dynamic equivalence’ means that it could be argued that it is a term that tells us more about evangelism than it does about the actual process of translation.

The dichotomies discussed here (‘formal equivalence’ versus ‘dynamic equivalence’, ‘transference’ versus ‘componential analysis’) represent extreme ends of a scale and are unlikely, therefore, to be wholly appropriate in any particular instance. Thus, James (2002, para. 1-3) argues that the approach adopted needs to be based on full consideration of all the translation issues “in each specific case”, taking into account the degree of inevitable translation ‘loss’ and the needs of the putative readership. In the case of what she refers to as ‘culture-bound texts’, James (para. 36-37) argues that what is required is ‘communicative translation’ as recommended by Newmark (1982, pp. 22-3 & 38-44]). However, although Newmark’s description (p. 39) of what he refers to as ‘communicative translation’ seems to be no different from what Nida refers to as ‘dynamic equivalence’ (equivalence of effect), James (2002) interprets the process of ‘communicative translation’ as involving ensuring that the “content and language present in the [source language] context is fully acceptable and comprehensible to the [target language] readership” (para. 37). Furthermore, although James recommends ‘communicative translation’ in the case of ‘culture-bound texts’, Newmark (1988, p. 49) argues that “the more cultural . . . a text, the less is equivalent effect even conceivable *unless the reader is . . . steeped in the SL [source language] culture*” (emphasis added).

‘Gloss translation’, an approach advocated by Nida (2000, p. 129) within the context of formal equivalence, might rather have been considered by James, above, as it aims to produce as close an approximation as possible of the source

text and to render the target text as comprehensible as possible to the target readership, by means of numerous footnotes.

The more closely one examines definitions of terms such as ‘formal equivalence’, ‘dynamic equivalence’, ‘transference’, ‘componential analysis’ and ‘communicative translation’, the more confusing they appear in the context of contemporary understandings of language, culture and communication. At the core of the problem here is the word ‘translation’ itself, a word that emerged out of a traditional worldview, one that was predicated on a belief in the essential transparency of language.

2.6 The concept of translator as cultural mediator

Nida (1964, p. 130) notes that cultural differences may pose greater problems for the translator than lexical differences. Indeed, for Newmark (1988, pp. 94-103), culture plays a central role in his discussion of the dynamics of translation. The cultural complexity involved in translation means that the translator is required to “cross boundaries and enter into new territory” (Bassnett, 1997, p. 11), to act as a cultural mediator between different languages and cultures and, in some cases, different varieties of the same language (Hatim & Munday, 2004, p. 4). Since the problem of how to go about successfully conveying the cultural aspects implicit in a source text to the target readership is the translator’s perennial challenge (James, 2002, para. 1), it follows that it is imperative that the translator be familiar with both the source and target cultures involved (Thriveni, 2002, para. 21), particularly as the degree to which a translator’s cross-cultural mediation may succeed depends to a large extent on his or her understanding of the cultures with which s/he is working (Karamanian, 2002, para. 5). However, in that “[o]ne language cannot express the meanings of another” (Thriveni, 2002, para. 1), translators are inevitably “caught between the need to capture the local colour [of the source text] and the need to be understood by an audience outside the original culture and linguistic situation” (para. 4). Faced with such a dilemma, translators would do well to bear in mind Bassnett’s (1980, p. 23) warning that “impos[ing] the value system of the SL [source language] culture onto the TL [target language] culture” is to venture onto “dangerous ground”.

All of this raises the question of which culture (that associated with the source language or that associated with the target language) should be given priority in the translation process. Karamanian (2002, para. 6) argues that although there is no clear cut answer, the communicative function of the target text must constitute “the dominant criterion”, while Sela-Sheffy (2000, p. 347-8) insists that the “cult of the [source] Text” needs to be reversed. What is clear is that however this question is answered, there will inevitably be differences among translations since, 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. What is important, therefore, is the nature and quality of the transformative act that constitutes the translator’s primary task (Bush, 1996, p. 11).

2.7 Issues associated with the translation of imagery, symbolism and metaphor

Steiner (1998, p. 253) observes that “[n]othing fully expressive . . . which the Muses have touched can be carried over into another tongue without losing its savour and harmony.” In connection with this, it is relevant to note that the literature on translation includes many references to the major difficulties associated with attempts to translate metaphor. Newmark (1988b, pp. 85) notes that metaphor may be found not only at the level of word and idiom but is also characteristic of “nearly all proverbs . . . complete poems . . . and perhaps allegories” and constitutes one of the most complex problems faced by translators (ibid., 1988a, p. 9). That problem, so far as Snell-Hornby (1988, p. 63) is concerned, relates, in particular, to the “language-specific idiosyncrasies” of metaphor. She notes that issues relating to the translation of metaphor cannot be addressed through the application of a set of abstract rules, the critical factors that determine whether a metaphor can or should be translated being its structure and function within the text in which it occurs (ibid. pp. 62-63). Beekman and Callow (1974, pp. 137-141 & 143-150) note that both sensitivity and flexibility are required in translating biblical metaphors, the options available to the translator being to (a) retain the metaphorical term (where the transfer of the image is comprehensible to the target readership), (b) translate the metaphor as a simile

(thus making what was implicit more explicit), (c) combine elements of metaphor, simile and non-figurative language in the translation, or (d) provide a literal translation (to avoid exegetical inaccuracy).

Some recently published books on Māori oral and written histories that include references to metaphorical and/or symbolic language, and their translations into English, do not extend to discussing the *process* employed in those translations.⁴⁴ To a considerable extent, therefore, in approaching *whakataukī* (proverbs), *pepeha* (sayings) and *kupu whakarite* (metaphor),⁴⁵ the translator working between Māori and English must rely on observations made by earlier scholars working between these two languages (e.g. Biggs (1952); Grey (1857); Mead (1969); Ngata (1959)).

Mead (1969, p. 381) observes that in translating the compact language of poetry, the translator often needs to provide a long explanation but that, in order to do so, 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. In his introduction to Ngata’s (1959) collection of *waiata*, Te Hurinui⁴⁶ also regards the inclusion 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” (p. xxi). He 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 (ibid.). Overall, therefore, it would appear that prominent translators who have worked between Māori and English in the past have generally been in favour of ‘gloss translation’. The importance of this is illustrated in Kawharu’s (2008) collection of *pepeha*

⁴⁴ See, for example, Haami (2004); Kawharu (2008); Tau and Anderson (2008);

⁴⁵ The translations into English that are provided in brackets should be regarded as approximations.

⁴⁶ Upon the death of Sir Apirana Ngata, Pei Te Hurinui assumed primary responsibility for the work that Ngata had begun, resulting in the three volume collection *Ngā Mōteatea*. His comments here regarding the use of annotations in translation relate to the convention that was set by Ngata, who, whilst he was still alive, had painstakingly conducted research into the *mōteatea* over many years.

from Taitokerau,⁴⁷ in which the translations⁴⁸ are accompanied by related narratives as well as alternative viewpoints drawn from oral and written sources.

2.8 The elusive concept of a unified theory of translation

In his book *Towards a Science of Translation* Eugene Nida (1964), writing in the heyday of linguistic structuralism, stated that a theory of translation was as necessary to translation as was a theory of grammar to language. Almost four decades later, he argued that theory was over-rated (Nida, 2001, p. 1) and conceded that there was as yet “no generally accepted theory of translation in the technical sense of ‘a coherent set of general propositions used as principles to explain a class of phenomena’” (p. 107),⁴⁹ adding that “most professional translators regularly and consistently violate so many rules laid down by theorists” (p. 1). This suggests that his initial search for a unified theory of translation was abandoned.

For some, the concept of a unified theory of translation has always been untenable. For Venuti (2000, p. 4), the very (interdisciplinary) nature of translation studies presumes multiple translation theories and diverse conceptual views on what may constitute an ‘acceptable’ theory. Of concern to many of those involved in translation, however, is the seemingly unresolvable rift in the field between theory and practice (Bartrina, 2005; Hatim & Mason, 1990; Newmark, 1988; Nida, 2001).

The ambivalent, if not outright hostile attitude that some translators have to translation theory may stem from a perception that theory is, in general, largely alienated from the pragmatic concerns of professional translators (Shreve, 1995, p. xi). Even so, Bartrina (2005, p. 178) sees no way to dispense with theory, viewing it as being intrinsic to the process of translation, since every choice, every judgement made by the translator “reveals a theoretical position” and since

⁴⁷ The northern-most tribal area of Aotearoa/New Zealand

⁴⁸ Jane McRae was the primary translator involved with *Tāhuhu Kōrero* (Kawharu, 2008).

⁴⁹ He did add, however, that there were several ‘theories’ in the broadest sense, that is, sets of principles “that are helpful in understanding the nature of translating or in establishing criteria for evaluating a particular translated text” (Nida, 2001, p. 107).

theoretical understandings can improve the practice of translation, by “increas[ing] the translator’s awareness of methodology” and providing them with the requisite skills to solve specific problems and the theoretical tools to justify the decisions they make.

Over the past few decades, debate about translation has centred on a number of competing dichotomies, such as whether translation should be ‘free’ or ‘literal’, ‘creative’ or ‘servile’, ‘domesticating’ or ‘foreignising’ (see, for example, Gross, 2009; Newmark, 1988; Snell-Hornby 2006; Venuti 2000) and certain key ideas about the nature of language itself that run counter to this dichotomising tendency, one of which is the concept of the fluidity and contingency of meaning (see 2.2 and 2.3 above).

Since the earliest translated texts were religious and/or authoritative in nature and since language was seen as being largely vehicular, a literal approach tended to be favoured (with the translated text being considered to be subordinate to the primary (or original) text). From the beginning of the 1900s, however, the influence of ‘high modernism’, with its experimental approaches to literary form and its concern with technique, saw the translated text being elevated to the same (autonomous) status of the source text (Venuti, 2000, pp. 12-13). It was not, however, until the 1960s and 1970s, influenced by the encroachment of postmodernism and an increasing concern with function and context within linguistics, that the notion of formal equivalence began to be challenged by a notion of dynamic (or pragmatic) equivalence, and not until the 1980s and 1990s that translation theory began to seek to accommodate intercultural dynamics in any coherent way (see, for example, Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990; Hatim & Munday, 2004; Snell-Hornby, 2006; Venuti, 2000). Even so, as Nida (2001, p. 109) maintains, translation theory has continued to be over-preoccupied with designative (denotative) meaning and to focus on the translation of specific genres, particularly literary genres, rather than on text as a whole. This may be largely because any single translation theory that set out to accommodate all of the different dimensions involved in translation would need to be both highly formalized and highly complex (Holmes, 2000, p. 178), something that presents

translation theorists with a formidable problem (Tennent (2005, p. xviii); Pym (2010, p. 4))

Writing in the 1980s, Snell-Hornby (1988, pp. vii-viii & 132-3) argued that what was most needed in the field of translation theory was a re-orientation in thinking towards a more integrated approach, one that considered translation in its entirety. In a more recent work (Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 164), she observes that the new discipline of Translation Studies, having imported much from other disciplines, now needs to export something to them in the interests of “making dialogue . . . among the plurality of languages and cultures in the globalized world of today”. Given the literature on translation, and in particular, the lack of any evidence of a coherent theoretical approach within that body of literature, it seems that further openness to other disciplines is required (Pettersson, 1999, para. 36; Pym, 2010, pp. 148-162) before any genuine reciprocity, such as that proposed by Snell-Hornby, above, would be possible.

2.9 Translation and research on translation that involves indigenous texts and indigenous peoples: Ethical considerations

There is ongoing debate about the validity and ethics of research involving indigenous communities. As noted by L. Smith (1999, pp. 1-2), within the collective memories of those communities is a deep cynicism about “the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized”, and the ways in which community and indigenous rights and values have not been recognised or respected in the research process (p. 118). In light of this, she (p. 173) observes that indigenous communities may legitimately pose the following questions:

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 do so ethically, the same, or similar questions should be asked:

Who is doing the translation? Who owns the text being translated? Why translate? Whose interests will be served by the translation? and Who will benefit from the translation?

A further question must also be asked: Will the translation process result in a significant loss in relation to the integrity of the source text?

In a survey of the guidelines and principles for ethical conduct and ethical research practice developed by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, and those of the Mi'kmaq people of Nova Scotia, Canada, Hudson (2004, pp. 42-47) highlights certain common themes – *respect*, *control* and *reciprocity*:

Respect is concerned with recognition of indigenous peoples as sovereign entities and respect for their cultural knowledge and traditions. Control implies indigenous peoples' control over their involvement in research . . . the extent of their participation . . . and [the right to] negotiate what is acceptable. Reciprocity means ensuring there are mutual benefits . . . realised within indigenous groups in an equitable manner (ibid. p. 47).

In the context of research involving Māori, G. Smith (1992, pp. 8-9) proposes four models by which non-indigenous ⁵⁰ researchers may undertake culturally appropriate research:

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 the 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.

⁵⁰ These models are intended also to provide useful guidelines for the Indigenous researcher.

As noted by Kennedy and Cram (2010, p. 2), however, the creation of ethical principles and frameworks by Indigenous peoples has not necessarily protected them from being ‘researched on’. Thus, it is even more imperative, in their view, that Māori conduct their own research and evaluations, employing ethical principles sourced from their own *tikanga* and *mātauranga*. The Kaupapa Māori research model, a potent framework that has been at the forefront of the indigenous challenges to hegemonic Western research practices (Hudson, 2004, p. ii), provides such an approach.

For G. Smith (1992, pp. 2-3), the essence of Kaupapa Maori research is that it is related to being Māori, is 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.

The characteristics of Kaupapa Māori research are outlined by Irwin (1994, pp. 24-27) as: being ‘culturally safe’, involving the ‘mentorship’ of elders, being culturally relevant and appropriate (as well as rigorous), and being undertaken by a Māori researcher (as opposed to a researcher who happens to be of Māori descent).

What distinguishes Kaupapa Māori and the other indigenous models introduced above is that, beyond merely urging cultural sensitivity and empathy in the research approach, they are designed to ensure that research which relates to indigenous communities has positive outcomes for those communities. Thus Kaupapa Māori is viewed as being not just an epistemology or research method, but inherently about ‘tino rangatiratanga’ or self-determination (Hutchings, 2002, p. 57).

At the heart of the issue of ethically-grounded research is the principle that those who ‘own’ the knowledge being researched should guide the research process and should benefit from it. In line with this principle, concepts of consultation and ‘mentorship’ are considered to be central and in connection with this both Irwin

(1994) and Bishop (1994) have argued for a *whānau*⁵¹ concept in the conduct of research: a ‘whanau of supervisors’ (Irwin, 1994, p. 29) or a ‘research whanau of interest’ (Bishop, 1994, p. 184).

This Kaupapa Māori perspective does not relate to research alone, but may be applied in a wide range of contexts where following cultural ‘ground rules’ (such as respect, community consultation and the sharing of processes and knowledge) is essential (L. Smith, 1999, pp. 184-185). One such context is the activity of translation itself. It follows, therefore, that the discussion of culturally appropriate approaches to research involving indigenous peoples has immediate implications for culturally appropriate translation practices.

Raukura Roa (2003, pp. 3, 17), in undertaking the translation of a series of *mōteatea* for Ngāti Hauā,⁵² sought from the outset to adopt a culturally appropriate translation process that would meet the criteria of Kaupapa Māori research as set out above. The translation was undertaken with the guidance and supervision of a panel of Ngāti Hauā *kaumātua* (elders). Thus, consultation and collaboration formed the core of the approach, with those who ‘owned’ the *mōteatea* (Ngāti Hauā/the *kaumātua* panel) taking the lead role in the consultations. In this way, Ngāti Hauā ‘owned’ the translation process and *tikanga Māori* (such as ‘kanohi ki te kanohi’, ‘kanohi kitea’ and ‘manaaki i te tangata’)⁵³ were integral to the translation process.

2.10 ‘Sacred’ and ‘tapu’

A central area of interest in this thesis is the translation of sacred and sensitive texts from and into Māori. It is therefore important to examine some of the ways in which the words ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ have been, and are used and to consider these usages in the context of Māori language and culture.

⁵¹ Irwin (1994, p. 29) defines *whanau* in this context as being characterised by aroha (respect, compassion), cooperation and collective responsibility.

⁵² An iwi from within the eastern Waikato Tainui region.

⁵³ ‘Kanohi ki te kanohi’ (face-to-face, direct communication); ‘kanohi kitea’ (‘the seen face’, or being seen to be actively involved); and ‘manaaki i te tangata’ (having a respectful and caring manner towards people).

The word ‘sacred’ derives from the Latin *sacar* (holy) and *sacrare* (to consecrate). According to Simms (1997, p. 19), ‘sacred texts’, those that are believed to express “the intentions of The Original Author”, present unique problems of ‘sensitivity’ (p. 21) related to a) the context – of the text itself and/or of the text’s receptor/s – or b) the content. Regarding the latter, it may be that references in the text are taboo, or the text itself is taboo, such as in a case where the author is proscribed (p. 4). He notes, however, that sensitivity in texts is a matter of perception rather than an object reality, and therefore contingent (pp. 4-5).

Although these are concepts that are often associated with organized religions and with the central texts associated with organized religions, such an association is by no means a necessary one in the case of all cultures and/or cultural groups. Thus, while discussion of the translation of sacred and sensitive texts will inevitably include the translation of religious texts such as the *Bible* and the *Qu’ran*, it cannot be confined to such texts (Tipene, 2009, p. 25). In a Māori context, it is important to consider the concept of ‘tapu’. The centrality of *tapu* in Māori ontology can be summed up in the words of the late Pakariki (Paki) Harrison of Ngāti Porou (Haami, 1989):

He tapu te kupu	(Speech is tapu
I heke mai i ngā atua	It descends [to us] from the gods
Ko te tapu he mea herea te tangata	Tapu is the force that binds humanity
ki te atua	to the gods
Te herenga ki a Papatūānuku	And to the earth mother) ⁵⁴

Tapu has a range of senses, all of which are associated with special qualities that call for restriction and/or limited accessibility. Listed below are interpretations of ‘tapu’ that are included in *He Pātaka Kupu*⁵⁵ (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori,

⁵⁴ This interpretation of Matua Paki’s *kōrero* is provided by Jillian Tipene.

⁵⁵ *He Pātaka Kupu* is unique in that it aims to adopt a Māori worldview, actively resisting interpreting Māori words through a European/Pākehā/Christian lens, and designates every *kupu* for which it provides an interpretation to the domain of a particular *atua* or deity, in this case, Tūmataunga, the *atua* of conflict and bloodshed.

2008, pp. 858-9), the first – and currently only – monolingual Māori dictionary intended for adults (with accompanying draft translations by Jillian Tipene):

1. [Tūmatauenga] . . . Kei raro i te mana o ngā atua, o te wāhi ngaro, kei raro rānei i ngā here o te whakapono, e rāhuitia ana, kāore e tika ana kia takahia, kia raweketia (*Something that is under the control of the gods, of the spirit realm, or the obligations of a particular faith or belief, to which access is prohibited and which should not therefore be tampered with*).
2. [Tūmatauenga] . . . Kei tua atu i te kaha o tētahi, kāore e taea (*Something that is beyond the capability of a particular person; that is unattainable*).
3. [Tūmatauenga] . . . E tika ana kia noho (te kōrero) i waenga i ngā tāngata anake kua whakaritea kia mōhio (*Written or spoken information that should, by rights, be kept confidential within a select group*).
4. [Tūmatauenga] . . . Te mana atua me ōna here ka noho i runga i ngā momo mea maha tae noa ki te tangata, ki te takahia, he aituā, he mate rānei ka pā; ka taea hoki te whakanoho mai, te hiki, te whakanoa rānei (*The authority of the gods and its associated restrictions over the many things, including humankind, that come under their protection, which, if trampled upon, could result in accident, illness or even death befalling the perpetrator. This form of tapu may be instilled, lifted, or removed at will*).

According to Barlow (1991, p. 128), *tapu* involves first and foremost the power and influence of the gods. Thus, all ceremonial *karakia* and rituals are expressions of a desire to placate the gods, including rituals to set apart or ‘make tapu’ (*whakatapu*) certain objects or persons; to suspend or render ineffective the tapu of a particular place for a particular purpose (*hiki tapu*); and to ‘lift’ or remove the tapu off a person/s in order that they are no longer under the associated restriction (*whakawātea*) (pp. 128-9).

In contemporary Aotearoa, the word ‘sacred’ is often translated as ‘tapu’ and *vice versa*⁵⁶, an indication of the widespread influence of Christianity. Thus, the late

⁵⁶ See for example Barlow’s *Tikanga Whakaaro* (1991, p. 128), where the heading for the section on ‘tapu’ is translated as ‘sacred, set apart’

Māori Marsden (1992, p. 119), who was both an ordained Anglican minister and a graduate of the *whare wānanga* (traditional house of learning), likens the Māori concept of ‘tapu’ to Jewish concepts that can be translated as ‘sacred’ or ‘holy’, although without the ethical connotations of ‘moral righteousness’ which are implicit in biblical uses of these terms. For Marsden (p. 119), the primary element in the concept of *tapu* is an ‘untouchable quality’. Thus, for example, “[when] a person, place or thing is dedicated to a deity . . . it is set aside or reserved for the sole use of the deity”. That person or object is considered to have been “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”. In this context, the nature of *tapu* is reciprocal. Thus, a *tapu* person may expect, in return for service to the deity, 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).

Traditionally, awareness of *tapu* and the laws associated with *tapu* were assimilated by children as they grew up in Māori communities (Pewhairangi, 1992, p. 10). Those laws had a powerful influence on the regulation of Māori society, particularly as it was believed that any disregard for *tapu* would lead to sickness or even death (Manihera, 1992, p. 9). This belief is still very strong among several *iwi* in contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand (Matiu and Mutu, 2003, p. 159; Mead, 2003, p. 16). Likewise, the *tikanga* associated with *tapu* are still considered in modern-day contexts to be very important, the primary requirement being to show respect for and deference towards people and things that are *tapu* (Mead, 1998, pp. 50-51).

2.11 The translation of sacred and sensitive texts

According to Klein et al. (1993, p. 15), Bible translators must guard against their own contemporary worldview and ideology influencing their rendering of the ‘word of God’ and, in doing so, should practise ‘proper hermeneutics’ and ‘accurate exegesis’. Whatever is precisely intended in this context by ‘proper’ and ‘accurate’, it remains the case, as illustrated in Derrida’s (1985) deconstructionist analysis of the biblical tale of the tower of Babel, that any definitive interpretation

of texts, sacred or otherwise, must be considered utopian at best. This being the case, the advice to biblical translators who remain committed to the Bible by Klein et al. (1993) that they should, notwithstanding the validity of reader response theory, “limit the range of possibilities for interpretation” (p. 139) seems flawed. Abdul-Raof (2005, p. 162) goes further, arguing that as “a linguistic miracle with transcendental meanings that cannot be captured fully by human faculty”, the *Qur'an* is fundamentally untranslatable and any translation of the *Qur'an* must therefore be regarded as “a betrayal, an inferior copy of a prioritized original”. In a similar vein, but coming from a wholly different perspective, Long (2005,) notes that some degree of ‘dislocation’ is bound to occur whenever a text is removed from its original setting and from “all the accompanying referents and associations of memory and cultural context” (p. 5), adding that that which any culture holds to be sacred or holy “resists translation”, the space that any such attempt at translation would occupy being inevitably “already culturally loaded with indigenous referents” (p. 3).

Bartholomew (1998, p. 325) contends that genuine critical engagement with language philosophy, particularly the more diverse, postmodern philosophy of the likes of Derrida, would prevent biblical scholars (and, presumably, others who seek to translate texts that can be regarded as ‘sacred’) from underestimating the significance of ‘translation’ in relation to such texts, that is, it would prevent them from regarding translation as merely the necessary but largely unproblematic act that precedes the *real* task, the task of ‘interpretation’. Steiner (1998, p. 18) has asserted that “any thorough reading of a text out of the preset of one’s own language and literature is [in itself] a manifold act of interpretation”. For Bartholomew (1998, pp. 324-325), assertions such as this highlight the complexities inherent in biblical translation and compel Bible scholars (and others) to reassess “the theological issues at stake in language and interpretation”.

With reference specifically to attitudes towards translation of the *Qur'an*, Green (2005, p. 146) notes the significance of the fact that the word ‘Qur’an’ itself denotes a ‘recitation’, drawing attention to the strong emphasis in Muslim culture on the authority and “epistemological prestige of the unmediated spoken word”

but also noting that the representation of the *Qur'an* in written form itself involves a translation, the semantic content of the sacred text being “irrevocably altered” since, in linguistic terms, “spoken and written languages are always different” (p. 147-148). He concludes that in any continuous process of transmission of sacred teachings over time, semantic, rhetorical and contextual shifts, and the inconsistencies associated with them, are inevitable (p. 150).

With specific reference to Biblical translation, Beekman and Callow (1974, pp. 21-25) outline four possible approaches: *Highly Literal*, *Modified Literal*, *Idiomatic* and *Unduly Free*. Of these, only the ‘modified literal’ and ‘idiomatic’ approaches are deemed to be ‘acceptable’, the ‘highly literal’ approach being considered likely to result in a target text that is unnatural, ambiguous and potentially misleading, and the ‘unduly free’ approach being considered to represent a violation of the original linguistic form of the message. Thus, for Beekman and Callow, ‘highly literal’ and ‘unduly free’ approaches both violate what is, for them, the ultimate goal of biblical translation: ‘dynamic fidelity’, where the linguistic form of the translated text is natural and the transmitted message is clear and meaningful to the intended audience. Of the two ‘acceptable’ approaches, they prefer the ‘idiomatic’ approach, a form, according to them, of ‘dynamic equivalence’ in which the message of the original is conveyed in a linguistic form that is natural to the target language (pp. 21-22). Beekman and Callow (1974) argue that the biblical translator must be guided, above all else, by the following principles of fidelity: fidelity to the *meaning* of the original and fidelity to the *dynamics* of the original. They add (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.

The problem here is the presupposition that the source text has a specific message that is recoverable (“fidelity to the meaning of the original”). Unlike Nida’s (1964, p. 129) concept of ‘dynamic equivalence’ (where the aim is not to match

the target language ‘message’ with the source language ‘message’, but rather to achieve an equivalent ‘effect’), Beekman and Callow’s concept of ‘dynamic fidelity’ is predicated on the assumption that it is possible, in translation, *both* to communicate a specific message *and* to do so in a way that does not distort the specificities of the target language.

The translation of quotidian texts, such as cell phone manuals, is possible to the extent that what is required is very specific information about procedures, procedures that are conducted in the same way irrespective of linguistic and cultural background. The translation of many other text-types is considerably more complex and, arguably, impossible if what is being attempted is the transmission of meanings/messages that are historically and/or culturally-embedded. Some of the recommended approaches to the translation of such texts, particularly texts that could be regarded as sacred and/or sensitive, are compromised either by their reliance on essentially simplistic polar oppositions or by apparently utopian ‘accommodations’. What this suggests is the need for (a) more explicit acknowledgment of the issues concerning language and communication that have been raised within the context of postmodernism, and (b) a greater focus on the real reasons why translation of such texts is attempted in particular instances (i.e. the intended function of the translation – e.g. proselytizing). Armed with such acknowledgment, one possible way forward might be to opt for what has been referred to as ‘gloss translation’, an approach that has been used and/or recommended by a number of translators working between Maori and English (see 2.7 above). There is a sense, however, in which ‘gloss translation’, relying as it does on a series of notes in the target language that are intended to be explanatory, is not strictly translation in the sense in which translation has often been understood. It is, rather, a blend of translation and exegesis (interpretation/commentary), the extent and nature of that exegesis, which may require a considerable amount of research and consultation, being determined by the intended function of the gloss translation. In this context, it is important to note that there may be valid reasons why translation is attempted in the case of historically and/or culturally-embedded texts. Thus, for example, translation may be considered desirable and/or necessary where there has been

discontinuity in the transmission of indigenous languages and where, therefore, texts in these languages that are deemed to be of particular significance would otherwise be unavailable to those for whom these texts form part of their cultural heritage.⁵⁷

2.12 Translation as a profession: The need for reconceptualization

Translation may be understood as “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” (R. Roa, 2003, p. 4). Yet, despite the fact that the practice of translation dates back to antiquity, it is, in its latest incarnation as the interdisciplinary Translation Studies, a relatively new profession, about which understanding is still “tentative, often controversial and fluctuating” (Newmark, 1988, p. xii). Thus Arrojo (2005, p. 239) argues that a reassessment of established ideas about translation is overdue. In her view, if we understand meaning to be an “inevitable product of the individual and the context and the social environment which produce and accept it as legitimate”, and if we understand that individuals, contexts and social groups are themselves “never stable or predictable”, it follows that we must also be prepared to review “all our traditional notions concerning the translator’s craft” (ibid.). This would appear to be particularly important if, as Bassnett and Lefevere (1990, p. 26) assert, translation is at its most elemental level no less than the rewriting of an original text in a way that inevitably reflects the ideology and poetics of the translator, being therefore “one of the most obvious forms of manipulation that we have” and one that may be undertaken in the service of power, or utilized for either a positive or negative effect.

The urgent need for review of traditional notions regarding the translator’s craft becomes particularly evident when some of the more recent statements made by translators about translation are viewed in the light of the changing approaches to

⁵⁷ In connection with this, Cronin (1996) discusses translation as an act of retrieval, and of cultural renewal (p. 136); and R. Roa (2003, p. 16) notes in relation to *Ngā Mōteatea* that the rationale for translating Māori *waiata* into English in the 1930s-50s was to provide a foundation for the ongoing study of Māori literary and artistic works.

social structures and social artefacts (including language) over the past two thousand years or so.

According to Newmark (1982, p. 20), the translator's initial task is "to understand the text". He recommends that a general reading of the source text (to get the 'gist' of it) be followed by a close reading, one that aims to determine, among other things, the author's intention in creating that text. When considered in the light of postmodern and poststructural positioning, the assumptions about textual understanding and authorial intention that appear to underlie Newmark's advice to translators seem simplistic (Tipene, 2009, p. 11). Similarly, Crotty's (1998, p. 91) assertion that skilled hermeneutic enquiry has "the potential to uncover meanings and intentions that are . . . hidden in the text", leading the translator to "an explicit awareness of meanings, and especially assumptions, that the authors themselves would have been unable to articulate" (ibid.) seems to require interrogation. Less problematic are Gutt's (1991, p. 131) contention that the semantic representation of an utterance is "a source of hypotheses about the communicator's intention", providing "communicative clues", and Hatim and Mason's (1997, p. 14) observation that translators make assumptions about texts that reflect "our current understanding of how communication works".

In the current context, it would appear that there can be, in the field of translation, no 'cast-iron rules', no 'absolutes' (Newmark, 1988, p. 21), no 'universals' or 'laws' (Chesterman (2005, p. 206), since translation is "always situation-bound, culture-bound and ideologically bound" and therefore "always particular, contingent" (ibid.).

2.13 Concluding remarks

This literature review has revealed some discrepancies between contemporary approaches to language and communication within linguistics and philosophy and approaches to translation that have been recommended by translators. These discrepancies are particularly significant in the case of the attempted translation of complex culturally-embedded texts, particularly texts that could be regarded as sacred and/or sensitive in nature. One possible way forward, one that is consistent with the approach adopted by a number of translators working between Māori and

English, and one that provides for the type of community involvement recommended by indigenous scholars, is to focus on ‘gloss translation’, that is, a blend of translation and exegesis that can be adapted to meet the differing emphases associated with the many different functions that translation may perform. It remains to be seen **(a)** whether the beliefs about translation held by a sample of contemporary translators working between Māori and English are consistent with such an approach (or, indeed, any of the other approaches to which reference has been made here), **(b)** whether the actual translation practices of a group of these translators are consistent with their stated beliefs about translation (that is, whether what they do is consistent with what they say they believe), and **(c)** where the beliefs and practices of these translators can be located in relation to traditional, modern and postmodern perspectives on language and society. The first of these is the primary focus of *Chapter 3* following.

Chapter 3

Translators' comments on the translation of sacred and sensitive texts

3.1 Introduction

This chapter reports on translators' comments on the translation of sacred and sensitive texts from and into Māori, drawn from a series of semi-structured interviews. A preliminary segment introduces the participating translators and outlines the process undertaken in their selection and in conducting the interviews (3.2). The translators' comments on the characteristics of sacred and sensitive texts are then reported (3.3), followed by their various approaches to the translation of such texts (3.4), accounts of the primary issues they have grappled with (3.5), and how they have attempted to deal with those issues (3.6). An overview of the chapter is then provided (3.7), followed by some concluding remarks (3.8).

3.2 The participants and the interview process

A total of ten translators were interviewed. It was initially intended that all the participants should be trained and/or licensed translators who were acknowledged among their peers as having expertise in translating sacred and sensitive texts from Māori into English and/or English into Māori. In the event, while four of them are licensed translators and interpreters, none of the participating translators had been formally trained in translation. All of them had acquired their expertise through practical application to the task, some consistently over a considerable number of years, and some less consistently and/or over a shorter period. The final selection of the participating translators was, therefore, governed by three factors:

- the recommendations of an established and highly-respected translator of sacred texts from Māori into English and English into Māori;
- the desire to represent a broad diversity of iwi affiliations and perspectives, both male and female; and

- whether or not those who were approached were actually available.

Before any contact was made with prospective participants, ethics approval was sought from Te Kāhui Manutāiko, the Human Research Ethics Committee of *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao* at The University of Waikato (see *Appendix 1*). Once approved, contact was made with the prospective participants by phone, followed up with the provision of an information pack containing a Research Information sheet (*Appendix 2*), a Participant Consent Form (*Appendix 3*) and a copy of the Draft Interview Prompts (*Appendix 4*).

The interviews took place between the months of November 2010 and July 2011, at a date and time and in a location that was nominated by the participants. In some cases the interviews were conducted in the participants' home regions, in their homes; in others, they were conducted at *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao*⁵⁸ at the University of Waikato.

The format of the interviews was intentionally semi-structured and semi-formal. Each interview was preceded by the sharing of light refreshments and easy conversation to put the participant and myself at ease, except on one occasion where the participant indicated, after a brief exchange of pleasantries, that the interview should proceed. The interviews began with *mihimihi* and *karakia* and concluded with a closing *mihi*. Following this, a *koha* was offered to each of the translators as a token of appreciation for their participation.

The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim,⁵⁹ and the transcriptions sent to the participants for verification. The data was analysed thematically, the themes being generally related to the questions that had been put to the participants (see Draft Interview Prompts – *Appendix 4*).

⁵⁸ *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao* (the School of Māori and Pacific Development) is also home to *Te Tūhū Whakamāori*, a specialised postgraduate training programme for translators and interpreters working between Māori and English languages, and *Te Ratonga Whakamāori* (The Māori Translation Service).

⁵⁹ 'Verbatim' generally denotes an 'exact' reproduction. I acknowledge that the transcripts in this case can only be regarded as a 'best effort' to reproduce the material on the aural recording in written form, and not as an authoritative version of the recordings.

In writing up the data for this chapter, I have aimed to provide substantial portions of text from the participants' transcripts, with the intention of allowing their responses to be as 'thick'⁶⁰ or richly contextualised as possible. I have also endeavoured to keep the extracts as close to the form in which they were spoken as possible, with only a minimum of editing, if needed, for sense or clarity. The English-language responses are accompanied by my introductory remarks or comments; in the case of the Māori-language responses, I have attempted, to the best of my ability, to summarise in English what was said. In taking this approach, I acknowledge that the summaries of what was said in Māori are an interpretation, an approximation. The Māori text stands, regardless, with its own *mana*, to be interpreted by readers who are conversant with te reo Māori.

Where Māori words are used in the English text below, they are *italicized* (for a glossary, see pp. xi-xii). In instances where I have deemed it necessary for immediate clarity, a translation is provided in brackets or as a footnote. Readers should be aware, however, that there are dangers associated with this procedure and should regard the bracketed and footnoted translations as nothing more than approximations.

At the end of the account of each participant's views on the meanings of 'sacred', 'sensitive' and 'tapu', a brief authorial synthesis is provided in italics.

The translators who consented to take part in the interview process are introduced below, along with a brief summary of their involvement in translation and why they were selected. Eight of them identified themselves as 'Māori' (according to their various tribal affiliations), and two identified themselves as 'Pākehā', as New Zealanders of European descent.

*Whaea*⁶¹ **Ngāpare (Pare) Hopa** (Waikato Tainui, Tūwharetoa), a *kuia* (female elder) and native-compound bilingual⁶² (Māori/English), is a researcher and

⁶⁰ "Thick description" is a term coined by Geertz (1973) in relation to ethnographic study. It was adapted to translation ("thick translation") by Appiah (2000) in the context of 'thick and situated reading and translation practices' in translating African proverbs.

⁶¹ In my introduction of each of the participants, I have referred to some of them as 'Whaea' or 'Matua'. These terms can be glossed as "Aunty" or "Uncle" respectively, and in this case they are used, as they would be in face-to-face interactions, as a mark of respect. I would not refer to those

former Head of Department of Māori Studies at the University of Auckland. As a consequence of her interest in 19th century Māori manuscripts, she became involved in a three-year research project for the Alexander Turnbull Library, a project that was concerned with translating the Māori-language newspapers of the 19th- and early 20th century. That project culminated in two published anthologies⁶³ and a digitised collection of a portion of the newspapers, known as *Niupepa 1842-1933*, which was later incorporated into the New Zealand Digital Library's (NZDL) online collection, the *Māori Niupepa Project*. In a subsequent project for the Turnbull Library, '*E Mā*': *Ngā Tuhituhinga ki a Makarini*, Hopa and her research team undertook to transcribe and translate into English a series of over 3000⁶⁴ manuscript letters from *The Donald McLean Papers* – a collection that constitutes the largest extant group of 19th-century letters written in Māori (National Library of New Zealand, 2013). I met *Whaea* Pare at an international indigenous conference and was interested to know more about the process undertaken and the issues she and her team of translators faced in their translation of those 19th-century documents.

The late *Matua* **Nātana Takurua** (Ngāti Porou), a licensed translator and interpreter, was a university lecturer in *te reo* Māori and *tikanga* Māori. His translation skills were acquired rather than taught. *Matua* Nātana had been involved in the verification of *Kurānu Tapu*, the Māori language translation of the *Qur'an*, and for that reason I approached him to participate in this research study.

Emeritus Professor *Matua* **Ray Harlow** (Ngāti Pākehā) has an academic background in linguistics, specialising in Polynesian linguistics. He is multilingual – a fluent speaker of Māori, German and French – and studied Latin and Ancient Greek to doctorate level. He is also the author of a number of Māori

who are senior to me in age and social status by their given names alone, as I have done with the younger participants.

⁶² In the context of giving evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal (WAI1040), the term 'native-compound bilingual' was used by Patu Hohepa (2010, pp. 4-5) with reference to himself being a person who has from birth to adulthood been equally fluent in both Māori and English.

⁶³ Curnow, J., Hopa N. and McRae, J. (eds.). (2002). *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! : Discovering history, language and politics in the Māori-language newspapers 1842-1933*; and Curnow, J., Hopa N. and McRae, J. (eds.). (2006) *He pitopito kōrero nō te perehi Māori*.

⁶⁴ Although it is reported on the National Library of New Zealand webpage that the letters written in Māori to Sir Donald McLean number almost 3000, in actuality, according to *Whaea* Pare, the number is "closer to 7000" (Personal communication, November 2010).

language reference works. *Matua* Ray began translating while a foundation board member of *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (The Māori Language Commission) from 1987-1993, during which time he was also involved in the training and examining of translators. His recent translation work has included the verification of *Kurānu Tapu*, an orthographic revision of the *Paipera Tapu* (*Holy Bible*), and the translation of sections of the Anglican Church's *New Zealand Prayer Book* into Māori.

Whaea **Jane McRae** (Ngāti Pākehā), a former university lecturer and honorary research fellow at the University of Auckland, acquired her translation skills during the course of her academic studies from undergraduate to PhD levels, and 'by exemplar'⁶⁵ in her research of the published translations of such scholars as Apirana Ngata, Pei Te Hurinui, Hirini Mead and Agáthe Thornton. *Whaea* Jane is an established freelance translator, particularly of 19th-century Māori manuscripts, and often works in collaboration with New Zealand historians. Her association with *Whaea* Pare Hopa on translation projects over many years led *Whaea* Pare to recommend that I interview *Whaea* Jane in relation to this research study.

Haami Piripi (Te Rarawa), a former CEO of *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* and the current chairperson of *Te Rūnanga o Te Rarawa* (the Te Rarawa tribal council), has had a lifelong interest in the translation of sacred texts. He is currently involved in the translation into English of *The Takou Papers*, a collection of 19th- and early 20th century handwritten manuscripts by Te Rarawa *tohunga* Himiona Kaamira.⁶⁶

Matua **Tom Roa** (Waikato-Maniapoto), a licensed translator and interpreter and highly proficient bilingual, is a senior lecturer in *te reo* Maori and translation and interpreting (Māori/English). Initially a history lecturer, his translation skills

⁶⁵ Jane McRae, personal communication, May 2011

⁶⁶ Himiona Kaamira (1880-1953) – also known as 'Takou' – was a Te Rarawa/Te Aupouri historian and genealogist and a *tohunga* of the Te Rarawa *whare wānanga*. He was a prolific recorder of tribal lore, as well as his own observations of "the life and work of his community in minute detail: the vicissitudes of the weather, which delayed the planting of kumara; the birth of a foal; the days and even hours of his children's births and baptisms . . . instructions for planting, weeding and fishing according to the Maori maramataka (almanac)" (Tate, 2012).

having been acquired largely ‘on-the-job’ over many years. The current director of *Te Ratonga Whakamāori* (The Māori Translation Service) at the University of Waikato, he has been involved in recent years with the translation of *Kurānu Tapu* and *Ngā Kupu Huna o Bahá’u’lláh* (the Māori translation of a portion of the Bahá’í scriptures), as well as the translation into English of a series of *karakia* for his *iwi*. *Matua* Tom was invited to participate due to his extensive experience of translating sacred texts, both from and into Māori.

Te Raukura o te Rangimārie (Raukura) Roa’s (Waikato-Maniapoto) academic background has been focused on te reo Māori and Māori performing arts, and particularly on the study of *mōteatea*. At the time of the interview, Raukura was a post-doctoral fellow and lecturer in *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao* at the University of Waikato. She is currently a Fulbright scholar-in-residence at the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa. Her collaboration with Waikato Tainui tribe Ngāti Hauā on the translation of a series of *mōteatea* (Māori laments) is documented in her 2003 Master’s thesis,⁶⁷ and it was my particular interest in her perspective on that process that prompted me to approach her to participate in this research study.

Matua **Waldo Houia** (Ngāti Porou) is a former senior lecturer in te reo Māori at the University of Waikato. A *kaumatua* (male elder) and native-compound bilingual (Maori/English), he has been a long-time champion of the revitalisation of *te reo* and *tikanga* (Māori language and customs). A licensed translator and interpreter, *Matua* Waldo’s translation skills have also been acquired largely ‘on the job’.

Enoka Murphy (Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Ruapani ki Waikaremoana, Ngāti Rangitihi, Ngāti Kahungunu), a university lecturer in *te reo* Māori, began translating while teaching in a *kura kaupapa Māori*⁶⁸ back in the early days of that movement. Māori-language resources were scarce and Enoka and a colleague spent their lunch breaks translating the English-language books they were

⁶⁷ Roa, T. R. o T. R. (2003). *A critical study of issues relating to the translation of five waiata from Ngāti Hauā*. Raukura’s PhD thesis (2008) explores formulaic patterning in *mōteatea*.

⁶⁸ Immersion Māori-medium primary schools within which Māori philosophies and cultural practices are central.

provided with into Māori, before returning to the classroom to teach. Thus, his translator training was acquired ‘on the job’. Enoka has most recently been involved in the translation of portions of *The Takou Papers*, and I approached him to participate in an interview on the recommendation of a colleague.

Matua Te Wharehuia Milroy (Ngāti Tūhoe), a *kaumatua* and native-compound bilingual (Māori/English), is a widely respected academic⁶⁹ and cultural authority who has for many years been at the forefront of the revitalisation and regeneration of *te reo* and *tikanga* Māori. He is also a licensed translator and interpreter, and it was in acknowledgement of his cultural expertise and experience in the translation of what many regard as sacred texts that I approached *Matua* Wharehuia to participate in this research study.

A note regarding the abbreviated terms adopted for the participants in this research study.

In the remainder of this chapter and the chapters that follow, I adopt an abbreviated version of each of the participants’ names for the sake of brevity and ease of reading. Thus, *Whaea* Ngapare Hopa is represented as ‘**NH**’; Enoka Murphy as ‘**EM**’; *Matua* Ray Harlow as ‘**RH**’; *Matua* Tom Roa as ‘**TR**’; Haami Piripi as ‘**HP**’; *Whaea* Jane McRae as ‘**JM**’; *Matua* Nātana Takurua as ‘**NT**’; Raukura Roa as ‘**RR**’; *Matua* Waldo Houia as ‘**WH**’; and *Matua* Wharehuia Milroy as ‘**WM**’.

3.3 Characteristics of sacred and sensitive texts

For **RH**, a ‘tuhinga tapu’, or sacred text, is any text which is held to be the central doctrine of a particular faith, such as the *Qur’an* is of the Muslim faith, or the *Bible* is of the Christian faith. Thus, he observes that ‘te *Kurānu*’ (the *Qur’an*) is tapu, is sacred, because *it is believed to be so* by Arab peoples, and the ‘*Paipera Tapu*’ (*Holy Bible*) is sacred because *it is believed to be so* by Christians.

⁶⁹ In his time at the University of Waikato, some 23 years, *Matua* Wharehuia was among a group of language specialists who pioneered a model for teaching *te reo* Māori that has served as a blueprint for many other tertiary institutions in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In 2005, he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the University of Waikato.

Likewise, he considers any text that performs the function of a *karakia* or prayer to be a sacred text:

Ko ēnei ‘sacred texts’, tuhinga tapu nei, ko ngā tuhinga kua noho hei tino kaupapa mō tētahi whakapono. Pērā anō i te *Kurānu*. He tapu te *Kurānu*, nō te mea, ko ngā Arapa e mea ana, ‘he tapu’. Pēnā anō te *Paipera Tapu*, he tapu nō te mea e mea ana ngā Karaitiana, ‘he tapu’. Pēnā anō ngā inoi, nō te mea, ko ngā inoi kua whakatakotohia hei wāhi mō te karakia. Katoa ngā kupu kua takoto hei wāhi mō tētahi karakia, he tapu hoki ēnā (Harlow, Appendix 13, pp. 316-7).

He also considers that certain of the Māori texts recorded in the 19th century – texts that have their origins in the oral tradition of the ancient whare wānanga (such as Te Mātorohanga’s⁷⁰ narratives *Te Kauwae-runga* and *Te Kauwae-raro* from *The Lore of the Whare Wananga*), may constitute another form of sacred text. He draws a distinction, however, between what he sees as ‘important’ or ‘significant’ narratives pertaining to knowledge, to the gods, to the creation of the world and all such matters, and ‘other’ narratives whose purpose, he considers, was primarily to entertain. The former, he contends, are *tapu* or sacred in nature, whereas he would hesitate to describe the latter as *tapu* texts:

Engari, kei tua atu anō o tērā, āe, he tapu anō pea ētahi kōrero, pēnā anō i te [*Kauwae-Runga*, *Kauwae-Raro*]. Ngā tuhinga, arā, ngā kōrero i oti te tuhi i tērā atu rautau, ngā kōrero o roto i ngā whare wānanga o neherā, he tapu anō tēnā. Kāore i te mea he tapu katoa ngā tuhinga a ngā mātua tīpuna. Ko ētahi he pūrākau. Hei aha? Hei whakangahau, me kī . . . Kore pea au te kī, ā, he tapu ēnā. Engari, ko ngā tino tuhinga mō te mātauranga, mō ngā atua, mō te hekenga mai o te ao, ēnā momo take, āe, he momo tapu anō tēnā (Harlow, Appendix 13, p. 317).

⁷⁰ Parts I & II of *The lore of the Whare Wānanga, or, Teachings of the Maori college on religion, cosmogony and history* (Te Matorohanga & Pohuhu, 1913).

RH's use of the terms 'sacred text' and 'tuhinga tapu' together at the outset of his interview, suggests that 'tapu' is being used by him as a translation of 'sacred'. His concept of what constitutes those kinds of text relates, in the case of the holy books of a particular faith or religion, to what people believe to be sacred rather than any intrinsic property of the text itself. In the case of 19th century Māori narrative texts, however, he distinguishes those which he considers to be 'tapu' – those pertaining to religious, philosophical or higher esoteric thought, from 'pūrākau' – those which he considers to be 'stories' told primarily to amuse or entertain.

EM recalls that, while translating children's schoolbooks from English into Māori, he distinguished between those he would classify as light-hearted, imaginative stories, or 'pakiwaitara', and those which pertained to legendary characters from Māori mythology, such as the demigod Māui.⁷¹ For him, the main difference is that while *pakiwaitara* are comprised of informal language and themes ('*ōpaki noa*'), the narratives pertaining to Māori mythology, commonly referred to as '*pūrākau*', carry a deeper significance, and thus require a different treatment:

[H]e pukapuka tamariki ēnei, anā, ko te nuinga o ngā pukapuka i whakamāorihia e au he *ōpaki noa*, nē. Kei runga i te ngākau hari, te hinengaro tō, te tō i te hinengaro a te tamaiti ki runga i tētahi kōrero paki nei. Engari, ka tae ana mai ki ētahi pukapuka e hāngai mai ana ki a Māui me āna mahi, ā, ngā pukapuka e kōrero ana mō te taha ki te Māori nei . . . he titiro ki aua pukapuka, he titiro anō ki roto anō i ahau ki taku mōhio ki te pakiwaitara e kōrerotia ana (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 323).

In **EM's** view, the Christian concept of *tapu* and the Māori concept of *tapu* are quite different. Thus, he observes that the *karakia* recited at the beginning of the interview, a non-Christian *karakia* that invoked the guidance of our ancestors in

⁷¹ Māui, a demigod and trickster/hero, is a central figure in traditional Māori narratives.

the spiritual realm and was therefore emblematic of the *mauri*⁷² (life-principle) of those ancestors, was an appropriate preface to a discussion about the translation of *tapu* texts:

[E] mihi atu ana ki a koe mō te āhua ki tō karakia, i rapaina atu e koe te huarahi atu ki ō tāua tīpuna. Ā, nā reira, kei runga i tērā e kite ana au i te tapu e kōrero nei e koe. Inā rā, ko te tapu a te Karaitiana, me te tapu a te Māori, he rerekē. He rerekē noa atu. Nā reira, i haere mai koe, i mau mai anō koe te mauri o ō tātou mātua tīpuna, nā, ka kōrero ana tāua mō te āhua ki te whakamāori, whakapākehā rānei i ngā tuhinga tapu, anā, ka tīmataria i runga i tēnei huarahi e tōtika ana, e tautoko ana, nō reira, tēnā koe (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 323).

In terms of what he considers to be characteristic of a *tapu* text, **EM** recalls an ancient *karakia*, taken from the *Takou Papers*⁷³ that he was given to translate into English. That *karakia*, believed to have been composed and recited by Kupe⁷⁴ on the occasion of boarding a *waka* (canoe) before a major voyage, invoked the Māori deities, the personifications of the oceans, the heavens and the winds, and appealed to them to deliver the *waka* and her occupants safely to their destination:

[K]a tukuna mai . . . tētahi karakia nā Kupe tonu, e ai ki ngā kōrero o tana tupuna a Takou, nē. Tēnei karakia, he ātaahua. . . . [T]e kaupapa ake o tēnei karakia, mō mua iho o te ekenga ki runga i te waka mō te whakawhiti i te moana. Nā reira, he inoi ki ngā atua o te moana, o te rangi, te hau, ērā āhua, ā, kia tau, kia pai ai te puta ki taiātea, nē, ki tuawhenua (Murphy, Appendix 13, pp. 325-6).

⁷² While I have interpreted ‘mauri’ in this context as being emblematic of the life-principle of the ancestors, it is interesting to note that Shirres (1996) discusses ‘karakia mauri’ or ‘life-giving chants’ as a particular type of *karakia*. I do not believe, however, that that sense of ‘mauri’ is relevant in this context.

⁷³ The late 19th century/early 20th century writings of Himiona Kamira, a Te Rarawa scholar and *tohunga* who wrote prolifically (see fn. 66, p. 49).

⁷⁴ In the Northland traditions, Kupe is a Polynesian voyager, contemporary with, but older than, Nukutawhiti, the navigator of the Ngātōkīmatawhaorua canoe and a primary ancestor of the Ngāpuhi people (Simmons, 1976, p. 34).

Considering another *karakia*, one written in English by a Māori woman, that he and a colleague had translated into Māori, **EM** ponders whether, in the process of drawing on their collective ‘storehouse’ of formulaic language in an attempt to encapsulate the ‘wairua’ or essence of the English text, they in fact *instilled* tapu (‘whakatapu’) into the Māori translation that resulted from that process:

Nā māua pea i whakatōngia te tapu ki roto i ērā kōrero, nē. Āe, koinei ētahi āhuatanga hei āta whakaarongia ake. Kei te mata noa iho o ōku whakaaro i tēnei wā. Engari e tino kite ana au, anei, kei te reo Pākehā he momo karakia māua hei whakamāori, ko koe pea kei te whakatō i tētahi tapu ki tērā kōrero nā te tangata i tuhi ki te reo Pākehā, kāore rā i reira i te tuhinga Pākehā. Nāu kē i whakatapu (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 331).

In another instance, **EM** was asked to *whakamāori*⁷⁵ a text written in English, also by a Māori author, that he describes as similar in nature to a *mōteatea*, *karakia* or *tauparapara*. In terms of its themes and the very formal register of language used in the composition, that *karakia* was, in his view, already characteristic of a *tapu* text, in that the use of *te reo ōkawa* (formal, ceremonial language) denotes, for him, the realm of *tapu*:

Āna, kua tuhia e ia he momo, . . . ko te reo o te mōteatea, ko te reo o te karakia, ko te reo o roto mai o te tauparapara, ērā āhuatanga katoa, he tino tātata te āhua o te reo, nē. Nā reira, te mutunga atu o te tuhinga i tonoa mai e ia hei whakamāoritanga atu māku, kāre au i te mōhio mēnā he karakia, he aha rānei, engari, kei te reo ōkawa rawa, nē. Ā, ko te reo ōkawa, kei te kuhu ki tētahi tapu (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 326).

In **EM**’s experience, when a person, male or female, stands to speak in any formal Māori context, they most often employ *te reo ōkawa*. In so doing, they have entered into the realm of *tapu*, which then also involves the risk of retribution from the gods should any transgression of *tapu* occur:

⁷⁵ In a subsequent conversation, **EM** observed that he prefers the expression ‘*whakamāori*’ – ‘to make Māori’, or ‘to render comprehensible to a Māori person’ – to the term ‘translate’.

[K]o . . . te nuinga o tēnei mea te reo ōkawa kei te tū te tangata, wahine mai, tāne mai . . . ki te whakapuaki i aua kōrero . . . Te tūnga o te tangata ki runga ki te whakapuaki haere i ērā momo kōrero, ko ia tērā kei tōna tapu katoa . . . [K]i a au nei, tōku nā titiro, mātakitakitanga atu, otirā, ngā kōrero mai ki a au, ā, kua kuhu koe ki roto ki te tapu. Nē. Ā, nā reira, ngā ture kei runga i tērā āhua: kia tūpato kei whati; ka whati, ka aituā. Nē. (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 327).

EM observes, however, that *tapu* is not something that can be easily defined, but rather is comprised of varying levels or stages: “Inā rā, tēnei mea te tapu, ehara i te mea ‘koia koia’, koinei tōna tīmatanga me tōna otinga, nē. He nui ngā taumata o tēnei mea te tapu” (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 326).

*For **EM**, the characteristics of a tapu text include the use of ‘te reo ōkawa’ – most often found in Māori oratory and in, for example, karakia and mōteatea; and/or references to te wāhi ngaro (the spiritual realm) and the atua (deities, personifications) of the natural Māori world. Tapu also involves the potential risk of retribution from the gods. While he contends that Christian and Māori conceptions of tapu are different, EM is inconclusive as to whether or not (a) the characteristics that denote tapu in a Māori text could, if deemed to be present in an English language text written by a Māori author, also denote tapu; and (b) it is possible to invest a contemporary text written in English with tapu, by means of rendering it in te reo ōkawa (thereby imbuing it with tapu).*

In the context of Māori language texts, **WM** contends that *tapu* cannot function in isolation from *wairua*, and that *wairua* cannot function in isolation from *tapu*, in some form. Thus, he suggests both that *tapu* and *wairua* are interdependent, and also that *tapu* has various manifestations: “Kāore e haere te tapu mehemea kāore he wairua o roto. Kāore hoki te wairua e haere mehemea kāore he tapu o roto – momo tapu” (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 337).

For **WM**, certain characteristics signify a *tapu* text; other characteristics denote a text that *he would deem to be tapu*. An example of the former would be ‘kōrero

tapu’, where the content of a text, or the context in which it originated, requires him to be stringent about keeping it from coming into contact with food or any substance or circumstance that could diminish its *tapu*. Such texts might have been passed down to him by a relative or mentor, and might contain *whakapapa* (genealogies), *karakia*, tribal histories and records of battles. **WM** contends that to engage with *kōrero tapu* that pertains to death or the deceased involves the risk of either denigrating or rousing the *wairua* of those whose spirits have been ‘laid to rest’, and could lead to reprisals. They should not, therefore, be tampered with. Thus, he himself imposes *tapu* upon those texts, rendering them inaccessible:

[K]o ētahi o ngā kōrero, o ngā tuhituhinga o roto, he whakapapa. Nō konā, te nuinga o aua pukapuka o mua, . . . matemate katoa ngā tāngata nō rātou ngā whakapapa. Nā reira, he tūpāpaku ērā. Kāore au e hiahia ki te hahu, ki te tānoanoa i te āhua o rātou kua moe i te moenga roa. Nō konā, kua utaina e au te tapu ki runga i ngā pukapuka (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 332).

Other *kōrero tapu*, those that pertain to the living, to the survival and wellbeing of humanity, such as, for example, *karakia* for bird-snaring or the felling of trees, or for restoring a sick person back to health, do not entail the same risk of reprisals, since they are not used in relation to death or to the harming of another person/s:

He pai ki au . . . te whakamāori i ngā karakia mō te mahi manu, ā, ngā karakia mō te tua rākau, koinei ngā mea . . . he tapu kei roto, engari, ehara i te mea e whara ai koe, nā te mea, kāore koe i te whakamahi i tērā hei . . . patu i tētahi, hei whakahī i tētahi . . . Ahakoa he karakia e kīia ana he tapu ērā karakia, ko te tapu e hoatu ana ki ērā karakia, he tapu mō te whakaora tangata, ehara mō te whakamate tangata (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 352).

Thus **WM** notes that it is important that one does not indiscriminately handle any text without knowing the context of that text, such as where it originated, the purpose for which it was composed, and the reasons why it has been recorded in

writing. To do so, he maintains, could result in some form of retribution upon oneself or upon members of one's family:

[K]ei noho koe ka rāwekeweke ngā kōrero nei, kāore koe e mōhio ki mua, ki muri o aua kōrero rā. I takea mai i hea? He aha te kaupapa i tito ai? He aha i tuhi ai? Ērā āhuatanga katoa. Nā reira, āe, ngā karakia, ka tūpato katoa au; ngā kōrero tūpāpaku, ka tūpato katoa au; ngā whakapapa, kāore au e poka noa ki te haere atu (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 348) . . . ngā karakia, ētahi karakia, kaua e haere atu ki te whāwhā atu. Kei whakamahi ai koe, ko koe tonu te papa o tō mahi. Ko tō whanaunga rānei te papa o tō mahi (pp. 349-50).

In relation to texts that he would deem to be *tapu*, **WM** observes that were he to come across a text, perhaps in a public library, that pertained to him personally, or to his *iwi* or ancestors – *even though that text might not be considered by others to be tapu*, he would be inclined to 'whakatapu' (make *tapu*) the text, thereby restricting access to only the person or group to whom it pertained:

[M]ehemea, ki ahau, ko ētahi o ngā kōrero o roto, ahakoa i haere kē mai i roto i te whare pukapuka Pākehā, i whea rānei, engari ko ngā kōrero o roto, mehemea e pā mai ana ki a au, mōku, mō ōku iwi nei, ā, mō aku mātua tīpuna rānei, nā, ko aua kōrero rā, tērā pea, ki ahau, ka whakatapu ai au, ahakoa ki ētahi kāore i te tapu (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 332).

Conversely, if the contents of a text pertain specifically to a *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* to which he has no *whakapapa* links, he would not attempt to access it because it belongs to someone else, it relates to *their* 'mana', to *their* divinities, and not his. The only time he might consider working with such a text is if those to whom it belonged agreed, and only after the appropriate *karakia* had been conducted with all concerned:

[K]a kite iho ana au i roto i ētahi tuhituhinga i ētahi kōrero, ā, i hāngai noa iho ki tētahi whānau, ki ētahi hapū noa iho rānei, ehara nō ētahi atu, kāre au e whāwhā atu ki era, nō te mea ki ahau, nā rātou, nō rātou, ko ō rātou mana, ko ō rātou atua, ērā mea katoa kei roto i ērā kōrero. Ehara i a au ērā kōrero. Ki te whakaae mai rātou, ā, kua noho mātou ki te karakia i te tuatahi, kātahi anō ka whāwhā atu i ērā kōrero (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 343).

In relation to the historical writings that have been passed down to him by his elders, **WM** notes that he accepts without question their view that those books are *tapu*, because in the Māori society in which his elders grew up the traditional understanding – and fear – of *tapu* was still deeply ingrained. He recalls as a child being cautioned by his elders about things that must not be interfered with or denigrated, and those that could be freely interacted with:

Mehemea nā taku tipuna koroua i tuku iho, ki a au, tōna ao e tapu ana, ngā āhuatanga o tōna ao, nā te mea, i noho Māori kē ia. Kāore ia i noho pēnei i a au nei, e rua aku ao: he ao Māori, he ao Pākehā (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 340) . . . Ehara i te mea i kī mai, ‘He tapu tēnā’, engari, ko āna whakamārama, ka mōhio tonu atu koe, kei te whakatūpato ia i a mātou, kia kaua mātou e poka noa ki te takatakahi i ngā mea whakaaro ana rātou, he tapu. . . . Nā reira, i a au e tamariki ana i noho tonu au i roto i tērā ao o ngā mea kia tūpato mātou, o ngā mea e māmā ana, e pai noa iho ana kia mahi ai mātou (p. 332).

Of the texts that he considers to be ‘kōrero tapu’, those that have originated in the traditional Māori world, particular kinds of content signal to **WM** a text that should not be translated but should be preserved wholly in the Māori language. A text relating, for example, to *whenua* (land) that records significant locations, such as burial sites or places where *taonga* are hidden, would be deemed by him to be a *tapu* text that should remain untranslated and be preserved in the source language,

presumably so that its *tapu* was not diminished and also to protect that knowledge:

Ngā mea e homai ana e rātou o tērā wā, ki a au, he tapu. Mōku tonu, ki a au, he tapu ērā kōrero. Ā, kei te āhua tonu mehemea he kōrero whenua: he aha ngā kōrero o taua whenua rā? Kei hea taua whenua rā? He urupā anō kei taua whenua rā? Kāore au e whakapākehā i ērā kōrero. Kia noho Māori tonu ērā kōrero (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 340).

WM maintains that, having originated in different cultural contexts, English can never capture the *wairua* of Māori language. Thus, he contends that when translating from Māori into English, no matter how the translator may try to encapsulate the essence of the Māori words and expressions in an English language translation, he or she is striving for the impossible. With reference to his earlier contention regarding the interdependence of *tapu* and *wairua*, it follows that an English translation can never have the same degree of *tapu* that the Māori-language source text has. He notes, however, that *a form of tapu* or restriction may still be applicable to some English translations of Māori texts, in the sense that they should not be made use at particular times, or in particular places:

I kī ake nei au, ki a au, ko ngā kupu Māori, kei a rātou anō o rātou nā tapu. Ahakoa pēhea tō tuhi, ahakoa pēhea te whakanikoniko āu i ō kupu Pākehā, e whakamātau ai koe ki te hopu, ki te kapo atu i te wairua Māori o roto, e kore tonu e taea e koe taua wairua Māori rā. Nā te mea, ko ērā kupu Māori i kōhure kē ake i roto i te ahurea Māori. . . . Kua huri mai ki te reo Pākehā, ki a au, kua kore i pērā rawa te tapu, pērā me te reo Māori rā. Āe, he momo tapu kei reira, he whakatūpato kei reira, āwhea koe whakamahi ai ērā kōrero? Ki whea koe whakamahi ai ērā kōrero? Ērā momo tapu kei reira (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 341).

WM's observations here are at odds with the notion, ventured by **EM**, that the characteristics of *tapu* may equally be found to reside in an English language text as a Māori language text. **WM** goes on to note, however, that many of the

historical texts recorded by Māori elders were written in English. While the content of the majority of those texts may not necessarily be what he would classify as 'kōrero tapu', he nevertheless maintains that they should be distinguished from Pākehā texts and kept separate from them. Thus, he believes that they should not reside within the auspices of an alien (*Pākehā*) culture because there may be elements of those texts that are sensitive to Māori and, therefore, *tapu*:

[K]aue e wareware, i te tuhinga a ētahi o ō tātou kaumātua, o tātou tīpuna, i tuhi anō ētahi i roto i te reo Pākehā, ahakoa ki tōku whakaaro, ko ētahi, te nuinga o aua kōrero rā, ehara i te kōrero tapu. Engari, i roto anō i ētahi whakaaro e takoto ana, ki te titiro atu *ahau* ki taua whakaaro rā, tērā pea, ka wehea mai e au i roto i ērā katoa o ngā kōrero Pākehā, nō te mea, ki tōku whakaaro, he wāhi kē anō mō *ēnei* kōrero ki konei kē, nō te mea, kāore e pai kia noho mai i roto i te ahurea o te Pākehā, engari me noho mai ki konei, nō te mea, ki tōku whakaaro, aua kōrero rā, tērā pea, he kōrero . . . e tapu ana (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 333).

WM was predominantly concerned, in his interview, with *tapu* texts in a Māori cultural context and the translation of those texts. He did, however, briefly ponder why the '*Paipera Tapu*' (*Holy Bible*) is considered to be *tapu*. He concluded that its *tapu* was related to the *content* of the book, to the teachings and instructions of Christ within the text, rather than the book itself:

[H]e aha te tapu kei roto i te Paipera? Tērā pea ko te tapu o roto i te *Paipera* ko ngā tohutohu mai a te atua . . . a Ihu Karaiti. Koirā kē pea ngā mea e tapu ana, ko ngā *whakaaro* kei roto i te paipera, ehara ko te pukapuka, engari ko ngā kupu e kawea ana i ngā whakaaro kei roto i te pukapuka (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 345).

WM acknowledges that the nature of *tapu* is such that different people will have differing perspectives on what aspects of a text they consider to be *tapu*. Thus, it is of a matter of personal conviction, or personal perspective, whether a text may

be classified as ‘tapu’ or, rather, as ‘sensitive’, and which aspects of the text should then be restricted, and which parts need not be:

Ka rerekē pea tō whakaaro ki ngā pukapuka ka hoatu ki a koe i ōku whakaaro ka homai ki a au ngā pukapuka rā. . . . Ngā kōrero he rite tonu i hoatu ai ki a koe i ngā kōrero i homai ai ki au, engari ka rerekē pea tāu titiro ki ētahi o ngā kōrero. Pēnei anō i au nei, ka rerekē anō nei tāku titiro ki ngā āhua o ngā kōrero rā. Ko ēhea ngā mea ka whakatapu ai au, ko ēhea ngā mea kāore e whakatapu ai au. Nā reira, tērā pea ko tētahi o ngā āhuatanga o tēnei mea, kei te tangata tonu, me ōna whakaaro, e kite ai mehemea tino tapu, ehara kē noa rānei, . . . e ai ki tāu kupu, he ‘sensitive’ (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 350).

For **WM**, when a text contains ‘sensitive’ information, that is, information that it is deemed should remain confidential, access to the text needs to be restricted. While he himself does not classify those kinds of texts as *tapu*, of primary concern is that, should sensitive information be circulated, the *whakapapa* (genealogical line) of the person to whom the information pertains may be tainted or defiled. Hence a form of *tapu* (‘rāhui’ or restriction) is imposed upon the text so that it is designated as confidential. **WM** distinguishes ‘rāhui’ from the *tapu* associated with *whakapapa*, which he refers to as ‘tapu māori’⁷⁶:

Āe, kei te rāhui koe i ētahi kōrero. Nō te mea, . . . ki te tukuna e au ēnei kōrero kia kōrerotia, ka pēhea ngā whanaunga o te tangata nei? Ka pēhea ana mātua, ana tīpuna? Ki te tukuna au ērā kōrero kia puta, kei te whiua e au ngā paru ki runga i ngā whakapapa o te tangata nei. Nā, ka kite mai koe, ko taku kōrero kia whakatapu, tuatahi, he noho kia *tūmatawhāiti* ngā kōrero, he momo tapu anō tērā. Engari, ko te tapu e kōrero ana au ko te whakapapa o te tangata nei, nā, ki a au, ko te tapu *māori* tērā (Milroy, Appendix 13, pp. 333-4).

⁷⁶ The term ‘māori’ (lowercase ‘m’) in this context can be understood as ‘natural’, ‘native’, or ‘aboriginal’.

While on the one hand **WM** regards texts that refer to *tūpāpaku* (the deceased), such as *whakapapa*, as being *tapu* in the sense of needing to be made inaccessible so that they are not handled carelessly or inappropriately, he is also aware that there is a growing need for some *whakapapa* to be translated, so that younger generations of Māori and future generations who are not fluent in Māori, may have access to their genealogies and histories, to their cultural heritage. Thus, he believes that the time has come for the *tapu* that has been imposed on a great many *whakapapa* texts in the past to be liberated (‘wetewete haere’) in some cases, so that Māori who are living in ignorance of their ancestral links to people, lands and assets may have access to information that relates to their identity and, therefore, their spiritual and emotional wellbeing:

E whakapākehā ana tātou i ngā kōrero o rātou mā, nō te mea, he hiahia nō mātou kia mōhio ā tātou tamariki mokopuna ki ngā kōrero rā: he aha te wairua, he aha rānei te aronga o ngā kōrero rā, kia mōhio ai rātou . . . i ngā kōrero o tō rātou hītori, kia kaua ai rātou e noho kūare noa. . . . pēnei anō i ngā whakapapa nei, ki te whakatapu koe i te whakapapa, ake, ake, ake, kāore e taea te whakamōhio atu i ngā tamariki, ngā mokopuna ko wai rātou, nō hea rātou. Kei whea ō rātou pānga, ki ō rātou whanaunga, ki ō rātou whenua, ki ā rātou rawa i whakarere mai ai e rātou mā, e ngā koroua kuia (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 337).

He cautions, however, that some *whakapapa* texts should *never* be accessed, and would in fact be better off buried. He is referring here to instances, in previous times, where certain *tapu* texts have been ‘tampered with’ by people without the requisite authority or knowledge who have subsequently suffered disability or illness, or even died, as a result:

[Ē]tahi [whakapapa] anō he pai kē ake kia noho noa iho, kia noho tapu tonu, pai kē atu rānei kia tanumia. Nō te mea, mōhio ana au ki ētahi o ngā pukapuka nei, kāore e pai kia whāwhātia, nō te mea, i pā mai ētahi āhuatanga ki ngā tāngata i whāwhā i aua pukapuka i mua. I mate ētahi; i

pāngia ētahi e te mate; i hauā ētahi; ērā momo mea katoa, ka kīia, ‘well, nā te mea ko ngā pukapuka rā’ (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 338).

In summary, WM observes that ‘tapu’ and ‘wairua’ are interdependent, noting that ‘tapu’ has a range of manifestations and may be either intrinsic or imposed. He notes that it is therefore important to understand a text’s history before attempting to engage with it. He would regard a text passed down to him by a relative or mentor, one that might, for example, concern genealogy, tribal history or records of battles, as being tapu. Bearing in mind the deeply ingrained respect for tapu learned in his youth, he would always respect a judgment by those elders that a particular text was tapu. Such a text should not be contaminated (by, for example, contact with food). Where he encountered a text pertaining to the genealogical links of others or to their religious or spiritual beliefs, he would not attempt to access it unless specifically invited to do so and, even then, he would perform appropriate karakia (involving these others) first. Where he encountered a text pertaining to him or his own iwi or ancestors, or where a text concerned death or the deceased, he would impose tapu upon it. In the first case, this would restrict access to those to whom the text pertained; in the second (where it related to death or deceased persons), it would render the text inaccessible, thus avoiding the risk of reprisals. He did note, however, that although some tapu texts should never be accessed and would be better being buried, it was, in some cases, now appropriate to free some genealogical texts from tapu in order to provide Māori who could not otherwise access them with important information pertaining to them. In order to protect the knowledge they contained, WM would not translate any text that originated in the traditional Māori world, and that, for example, contained references to significant locations such as burial sites. He added that although English, having different cultural origins, can never capture the wairua of the Māori language and can never have the same degree of tapu as the original may have had, it is nevertheless the case that an English translation of a Māori text may have a form of tapu that involves restricting its use to particular times and/or places. Furthermore, he believed that a text written in English by Māori, while not being kōrero tapu (tapu in and of itself), should nevertheless be kept separate from other texts in English. While not himself regarding texts written by

people of other cultures in languages other than Māori (e.g. the Bible) as being tapu, WM did note that the issue of whether or not they should be regarded as being ‘sensitive’ and, therefore, whether aspects of them should be restricted (i.e. subject to rāhui), was a matter of personal conviction/perspective.

WH observes that the major difficulty of attempting to articulate any kind of definitive notion of the concept of *tapu* and its characteristics is that there is no single answer, since different individuals and different peoples have varying perspectives in relation to what they consider to be *tapu*:

Ko te mea kē, he aha hoki tēnei mea te tapu? Ko te raruraru, kāore he mea tika, kāore he mea kotahi. Kei te nui ngā tirohanga a tēnā iwi, a tēnā tangata ki tērā kōrero, ‘he aha hoki te tapu?’ (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 417).

In common with **WM**, he is of the view that *tapu* in a contemporary context is very different to the *tapu* of the traditional Māori world, vestiges of which were still in evidence when **WH** was a child growing up in Ruatoria, on the East Coast of New Zealand. At that time, *tapu* was understood to relate to *atua Māori* (the deities or guardians of the natural world) and was respected by a general populace who regarded with awe and fear the *mana* and *tapu* of, for example, Tūmataunga, the *atua* associated with war, and spiritual entities such as *kēhua* and *wairua* (Houia, Appendix 13, pp. 422-3).

Tapu texts were similarly regarded with reverence or fear or both, and were understood to be restricted in terms of who should have access to them. **WH** recounts a number of instances where the manuscript books of certain ancestors have been destroyed, because of the *tapu* of those documents and the conviction that they should not be meddled with. Thus, he recalls a case where the manuscript books of a highly esteemed ancestor, then deceased, were loaded into a cart and flung into the river, purely out of fear of the *tapu* associated with them:

[K]a wehi ia i ngā tuhinga e hia kē nei o ngā pukapuka o [XX]. . . Ka kī mai a Mea, ‘Purua katoatia ērā pukapuka i rō kāta’, ka taria e ia ki te

Waiapu, ka makaia katoatia i roto i te Waiapu. I runga i te wehi ki aua pukapuka, te tangata nei. Ehara nō mātou. Engari ki a ia, ka tapu ērā kōrero, ka whiua e ia. Nā reira, ka kite koe, ko te tirohanga ki te tapu i ērā wā, he rerekē anō ki tēnei rā. . . . [Nā] te mea ko ērā kōrero, ehara mō ngā whatu o te katoa (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 418).

Recounting how, in his childhood, everyday life was regulated by the observance of certain *tikanga* pertaining to the *tapu* of places and things – food should never be taken onto an *urupā* (burial ground); *taonga* (valued personal adornments) should be removed and left at the gate of the *urupā*; nail or hair clippings should always be buried – **WH** observes that those *tikanga* have largely been lost in the contemporary context. Where once the strict observance of such *tikanga*, governed by the fear, even terror, of some form of retribution from spiritual forces, was a necessary form of social control within the close-knit structure of traditional Māori society, adherence to many forms of *tikanga* has gradually been eroded in the modern world:

Ko te kōrero mai hoki ki a mātou, kia haere mātou ki ngā urupā, kaua e mauria he kai, he aha rānei; kia tae koe ki mea, tangohia ō taonga, ka waiho ki te kēti. Ināianei kua kore, engari ērā wā, hopohopo ana te ngākau . . . i ērā mea, i ērā tohutohu. . . . [Ē]rā wā, te wā e tipu tonu mai ana mātou, kei te kite atu au te take, nā te mea, kāore anō te tangata kia pīhau noa, kia patero noa, kua rongohia. Nērā. Nā, i tēnei wā, kua ngaro ērā āhuatanga. Kua kore e noho kōpiri. Ko ngā tikanga o ngā wā o mua, kua ngaro (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 418).

WH recalls that he grew up hearing accounts of certain *kaumātua* (elders) who were able to accomplish feats, such as the felling of a great tree, by the recitation of *karakia* alone. That degree of *mana*, of being able to control and/or manipulate your environment was, he believes, a feature of the world of the “Māori *māori*”⁷⁷ (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 422), presumably a time before the influence of *Pākehā*

⁷⁷ While the term ‘Māori’ (uppercase ‘m’) is understood as the common reference pertaining to Māori people as an ethnic group, the term ‘māori’ (lowercase ‘m’) can be understood as ‘natural’, ‘native’, ‘aboriginal’.

religion and education had taken hold, when Māori still lived at one with the natural and supernatural aspects of their environment. As a result of the gradual erosion of that world by an ongoing process of colonisation and assimilation, what once was considered *tapu* is no longer:

[I] kōrero mai nei ki a au mō te kaha o wētehi o ngā koroua, te mea he rākau, ka makere mai ai te mea. Te karakia kia makere mai ai te mana o te rākau. Ērā momo. . . . [E]ngari, nāwai rā, nāwai rā, i runga i te kore uru mai o ngā tamariki te whaiwhai i aua āhuatanga rā, ka whakangaro atu ngā koroua rā i ā rātou, me ā rātou, nē? Nā . . . te kura pea, nā te āhuatanga o te kura Pākehā, nāwai rā, ka ngaro atu rātou me ērā atu tikanga. . . . Nā rātou tō rātou i whakangaro atu, nā te mea, kua kore rātou e whai mana ki roto i tō rātou iwi tonu. Nē? Nā reira, kua kite rātou, he ao kē. Kua kite rātou, kua uru mai he tikanga kē. Kua kore e tapu . . . (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 422).

What has also been lost, according to **WH**, is a deep understanding of the significance of many Māori terms and concepts – such as, for example, *mauri* and *wairua*, both of which he associates with *tapu*. Hence, they can sometimes be used haphazardly and inappropriately, out of ignorance of their true meaning. Likewise, *karakia* and *waiata* can be used inappropriately, as in a case that **WH** recalls where *karakia* that were composed for use within the context of blessing *waka* (canoes), were mistakenly used in the blessing of an exhibition of artifacts inside a building:

Ka hoki anō taku māhara ki a [XX] i kī, i a rātou i haere ai ki [XX], ngā karakia i mahia e tika ana mō rō whare me ngā tapu taonga, i te mahi kē wētahi ngā karakia waka. Kāre i te pā ki te kaupapa. Ka kite atu koe, koinei te raruraru, kei te hopu noatia atu ērā mea rā . . . [kāre i te tino mārama] ki te hōhonutanga o te mea (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 420).

WH observes that the kinds of Māori text that would be deemed, in English, to be ‘sacred’ would be those that pertain to, and are significant or meaningful to, a

particular *iwi*. That *iwi* and they alone have the jurisdiction to decide who may commit their sacred texts to writing – assuming that they have the required knowledge and understanding to make those decisions:

Ki te kī koe i roto i te [reo] Pākehā . . . ‘he sacred ēnei kōrero Māori’, kei te kī koe, kei te pā ēnei kōrero ki tētahi momo iwi mā rātou rawa e whakaae mai kia tuhia. Nā te mea, kei a rātou te tikanga. Mēhemea rā kei te mōhio rātou (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 423).

For WH, people have diverse perspectives on what they consider to be tapu, there is no definitive view. In his opinion, modern day conceptions of tapu are very different from those that were instilled in him as a child growing up, and the tikanga and beliefs associated with the tapu of the traditional Māori world that were an integral part of an everyday lived reality have largely been lost in a contemporary context. WH’s definition of ‘sacred’ Māori texts are those that pertain to, or are significant or meaningful to a particular iwi, and that iwi should have total control and authority over them and over who may have access to them.

In terms of his concept of what may be regarded as a ‘tuhinga tapu’ (tapu text), **TR** firstly acknowledges the difficulty of articulating the complex concept of *tapu*. In attempting to do so, he posits certain attributes or aspects of *tapu* and their relation to each other: thus, he positions a *tapu* object in proximity to an object that has the attributes of *mana*. For **TR**, the distinction between the two is that the *tapu* object possesses *mana*, an inherent aspect of *tapu*; the *mana* of that *tapu* object, however, is – by virtue of its association with *tapu* – greater than the *mana* of the object that merely possesses *mana*:

Nō reira, ehara i te pātai ngāwari noa, māmā noa te whakautu. Pērā me te ‘sacred text’, the ‘sensitive text’, ērā mea katoa, engari kei reira o taku whakaaro Māori e tere ana, me te mōhio, he tapu tētehi mea, engari ko tētehi mea tua mai o te tapu, he mea whai mana. Ko te rerekē o roto i ēnei kupu, te tapu me te mana, ā, e whai mana ana te mea tapu, engari i ētehi

mea tapu, he mana nui atu i te mea mana noa iho. Aarrgh!! (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 311).

In discussing *tapu* and the *tapu* of written texts, **TR** is careful not to discount the *noa* (mundane, unrestricted) aspect inherent in anything deemed to be *tapu*. He sees it as fundamental that *tapu* and *noa* be understood as complementary and inseparable, rather than as being in binary opposition to each other as they are most often represented. Rather than an object, for example, being either *tapu* or *noa*, **TR** visualises the relationship as a spiral where in certain instances the *tapu* element of that object may be dominant and the *noa* element dormant, while at other times the *noa* element may be dominant and the *tapu* element dormant. Thus, *noa* is conceived of as an aspect of *tapu*, another form of *tapu*, rather than a separate entity in opposition to *tapu*:

Nā, ki taku whakapono, ko te nuinga o te iwi e pōhēhē nei, ko te ‘noa’ tērā, e hāngai tonu atu ana ko te ‘tapu’. Engari, ki taku whakaaro Māori, ko te noa anō he tūmomo tapu . . . anō nei he takarangī, nē, ā, i ētehi wā, ko tētahi mea he tino tapu, i ētahi wā he tino noa. Ā, nō reira, ko taua āhua ki tēnei mea te tapu, te noa rānei o te tūhinga, me tūpato au te aukati i te nui o te noa o tētehi mea, tua atu o te tapu (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 311).

TR discusses a range of characteristics of tapu texts: they may be *kōrero tapu* (tapu narratives); or *kōrero mana/kōrero whai mana* (authoritative, prestigious or influential narratives); or they may be *kōrero wairua/kōrero whai wairua* (narratives of spiritual significance or possessing a spiritual character or presence). He cites two forms of *kōrero tapu* that he has come across in his work: a narrative which is *tapu* by virtue of the fact that it has been given by a god or the gods to humankind, whether directly or by transmission through an intermediary, such as a prophet; and a narrative that has been caused to become *tapu* by a human agent. In the case of the former, its *tapu* status needs no further qualification than that it has come directly from god/the gods. For the latter, however, **TR** explains that in some cases a text may be *tapu* because residing within the words and concepts or themes of that text there is *wairua*, a spiritual

entity that can be felt or perceived by the text's author, and also by whomever is listening to or reading that narrative. That *wairua* is in itself *tapu*, and therefore it must not be violated, but must be preserved:

Me whēnei pea te tīmatatanga: tērā rā ko ētehi kōrero, ki tāku nei titiro, ā, he kōrero tapu nā te atua i homai; tērā rā anō ētehi kōrero he kōrero tapu, nā te *tangata* i tapu ai. . . . Nā, ko te kōrero nā te atua i homai, ka taea te kī, he kōrero tapu nā te atua. Koirā ki ahau, ko ngā kupu nā ngā poropiti i mea, 'He kārere tēnei nā te atua', nō reira, he tapu, i te mea nā te atua i homai. Tērā rā anō ētehi kōrero, he tapu, i te mea kua whakatapua e te tangata. Ehara i te mea, nā te atua i homai, nā *ngā* atua rānei, ā, engari he tapu, i te mea, ko ōna āhuatanga o roto, ko ngā kōrero o roto, ngā whakaaro o roto, he wairua kei reira, ā, ko taua wairua, he tapu. Me te mārama ki te tangata nāna aua kōrero, ki te tangata e whakarongo atu ana, e pānui ana rānei i aua kōrero, e whakarongo atu ana ki aua kōrero. He wairua anō o reira. Nō reira, kia kua rā taua wairua e takahia. Me mau ki taua wairua. Nō reira, kei reira aua tūmomo tapu (T. Roa, Appendix 13, pp. 310-11).

Thus **TR** notes that certain 19th century texts – for example, historical manuscripts that contain detailed accounts of intertribal battles⁷⁸ – are imbued with *mana* due to the nature of their content, which often refers to realms of experience beyond the human realm. **TR** contends that the presence of both *wairua* and *mauri*, which are intrinsic to those kinds of narratives, denotes them as *tapu* texts:

Tērā pea, ka taea ai e ahau te kī, he 'tapu', i te mea, ko ngā take i te kōrerotia. Ehara i te mea he take nō tēnei ao noa iho. Engari he nui te wairua o roto, ā, pērā me tāu nā mahi, tō tuhinga paerua.⁷⁹ Ko ngā kaupapa pērā me ngā pakanga o roto i a Ngāpuhi, ki ahau, he mana, engari he tapu anō o reira, i te mea, i roto i ngā kōrero, tārere tonu ana ko te wairua. He

⁷⁸ Such as the manuscript that was the central focus of the author's MA thesis (see below, fn. 79).

⁷⁹ Jillian Tipene's (2009) Master's thesis, *Mā Muri Ko Mua: An introduction to the issues associated with the translation of the Pene Haare manuscript*.

mauri anō o roto. Ki tāku tohe, ka taea ai te kī, he tapu (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 310).

Mauri and *wairua*, in **TR**'s view, should be regarded as having a similar kind of holistic, complementary relationship as *tapu* and *noa*. All things have *mauri* or life-force, but at certain times the *mauri* may be dominant and at other times dormant. Thus, the *wairua* of a given object may be variously imbued with *mauri-ora* where the life-force is dominant, or *mauri-ngoikore* where the life-force is dormant.

*In summary, for **TR**, a tapu text may be one that is intrinsically tapu, ('nā te atua/ngā atua i hōmai'), or one that is imbued with tapu by a human agent, due to the fact that its content pertains to significant events, or to matters that originate beyond the material realm. He notes, too, the close and complementary association between tapu and noa; and between tapu and mana, wairua and mauri.⁸⁰ In the context of his articulation of the nature of tapu in terms of traditional Māori concepts (wairua, mana and mauri), **TR**'s reference to a singular 'god' (a Pākehā concept) along with the plural 'gods' seems significant. What this seems to indicate is that, when referring in Māori to significant texts belonging to faiths/cultures that originate outside of a traditional Māori context, he is using 'tapu' in the sense of a translation or rough equivalent of 'sacred'.*

*It is interesting to note that **EM**'s notion of the translator instilling tapu into a text in the process of translation could be said to correlate somewhat with **TR**'s description of texts that are imbued with tapu by a human agent, as well as to his description of 'kōrero whai wairua'. The difference, however, and a important one to consider, is that **EM** discusses instilling tapu into a Māori translation of an English source text, while **TR**'s discussion is in the context of Māori source texts.*

NT's views are similar to those of **TR**, regarding the difficulty of articulating the intricacies of *tapu*, and with his conception of *tapu* and *noa* as holistic and complementary. For **NT**, while *tapu* is more *tapu* than *noa* and *noa* is more *noa*

⁸⁰ For further discussion on the relationship between tapu and mana and wairua, see Mead (2003); Marsden (2003) & (1992); Shirres (1979).

than *tapu*, *noa* is not less than or inferior to *tapu*. Indeed, the *noa* state can be ‘caused to become’ *tapu* (whakatapu) just as the *tapu* state can be ‘caused to become’ *noa* (whakanoa) when appropriate, in the interest of the wellbeing and safety of the *iwi* or community:

Anā, ko ngā tuhinga tapu me ngā tuhinga noa, kei te raruraru au i konei. Āe, he uaua māku te wetewete i te tapu me te noa. Aē, he tapu ake te tapu i te noa. Āe, he noa ake te noa i te tapu. Ehara i te mea he noa *iho* te noa i te tapu. Me haere tonu ērā āhuatanga e rua, i te mea, . . . ka taea te whakatapu tētahi mea noa; ka taea te whakanoa tētahi mea tapu. Hei aha? Hei oranga, kia ora ai tātou (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 391).

Thus, a written narrative that may be considered to be *noa* may at another time have been held to be *tapu*. NT is referring here to, for example, historical manuscripts, or ‘taonga tuku iho’. In working with such texts, he believes the translator would be presumptuous to dismiss them as merely *noa* and therefore to approach them with anything less than all due respect and diligence:

Mō te tuhinga noa nei, he wā anō tōna pea, ka noho tapu ai ērā tuhinga, i te mea, he tuhinga tawhito, he taonga tuku iho. Ko wai au ki te kī, ‘He noa noa iho wēnei kōrero. Anei te kupu, hei aha te āta noho, te āta whakaaro me te āta mahi i runga i te wairua?’ (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 391).

NT highlights the fact that the states of ‘tapu’ and ‘noa’, while interdependent, are not stable, fixed entities but, rather, may at times be manipulated – that is, ‘caused to become tapu’ or ‘caused to become noa’ – in order to achieve an effect, such as to benefit the common good. He notes, too, that people’s perceptions of texts being ‘tapu’ and ‘noa’ may change over time.

HP’s involvement with what he considers to be sacred texts began in church, when he was introduced as a child to the translated hymns of his family’s and wider community’s Anglican faith. The allegorical nature of those hymns, translated by earlier Māori scholars in a way that would “bite in your heart”

(Appendix 13, p. 395), elicited an emotional response which he believes led to a deeper understanding of the text.

During his teens, **HP**'s elders, who did not speak English, selected him to accompany them to hearings at the Native Land Court. Thus, his experience of sacred texts was expanded to include the *whakapapa* and tribal histories recorded in the minutes of the Land Court hearings. The learning he acquired from his elders during that time laid the foundation for his coming to regard *whakapapa* as "the most sacred of texts . . . the ultimate in sacredness" (Appendix 13, p. 396), perhaps because traditionally *whakapapa* was the means by which authority over, and rights to land and resources were asserted.

As he grew to adulthood, **HP** immersed himself in Maori theology in order to understand and compose *karakia* and *mihimihi* to support his role as a novice orator on his home *marae*. That study led him to eventually renounce the God of his Anglican faith in favour of 'atua Māori', the Māori gods or custodians of the natural world:

It's just that our . . . Māori pantheon stuff is more *potent*, I think . . . And I remember reading some old books [by] . . . early scholars . . . late eighteen-hundreds, where early Māori had a view on this idea of one atua [Christianity] . . . and it was so inconsistent with their understanding of atua, and tapu. . . . Anyone who has an appreciation of the natural world will understand that it's impossible to work like that [having one god]. There are different atua for different aspects of our planets existence, it's just so simple. . . . it's a much better paradigm within which to see the world (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 398).

Thus, **HP**'s conception of sacred texts ranges from the early Anglican hymns 'written' (translated into Māori) by his *tūpuna* in the mid-late 19th century, to recorded *whakapapa* and oral histories, to traditional Māori *karakia*. Conversely, however, he considers that *any* writings in Māori relating to important or significant issues, whether they be historical or contemporary writings, have a

‘sense of sacredness’ about them, since they have been written for a social or political *purpose*:

There’s not much text that’s not . . . got a sense of sacredness about it . . . if it’s written in Māori. Because, generally, people who are prepared to write in Māori, [it’s] usually for a purpose or reason. And more so as time has gone on, as the [Māori] language has diminished, people have thought to put more important things into Māori (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 406).

HP’s concept of ‘sacred’ texts encompasses (Māori translations of) Anglican hymns, as well as karakia, tribal histories and whakapapa – for him, the ‘most sacred’ of texts. In his contention that all significant writings in Māori have a sense of sacredness about them, HP seems to relate sacredness to the need to respect another person’s philosophical ideas. In this regard, his views are similar to RH’s views of ‘sacredness’.

From her initial involvement with the *Niupepa 1842-1933* project, **NH** has become more acutely aware of the wealth of information contained in the articles and letters recorded in writing by Māori elders of the 19th century. Thus, she considers them to be *taonga tuku iho* (something precious, handed down through generations):

When you have a taonga, it’s not just a stone or a pounamu. Because in that pounamu is the wairua or essence or whatever you want to call it. Or the mauri (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 382) . . . these are things that have been left behind. Crafted . . . whether it’s a korowai or whether it’s a pounamu, . . . crafted, by a living person. And you can’t help but feeling, part of that person is there as well (p. 384).

NH considers that such texts have to be treated as *taonga*, and, therefore, as sacred. In her view, “anything that has a source in the past, and that is the result of someone’s application of his mind or her mind and body, in terms of the pen, makes it a sacred thing” (Appendix 13, p. 382).

In **NH**'s view, bound up in the concept of *taonga tuku iho* is the idea of reciprocity. She refers to French anthropologist Marcel Mauss's 1922 essay, *The Gift*,⁸¹ in which he argues that when someone gives you a gift, they are giving you part of themselves, and that that part must, at some stage, return to the giver (Hopa, Interview, November 2010). Thus, for NH, there are implications for the translator working with *taonga tuku iho*:

Because . . . it has come down to us like a gift . . . for the generations following, to learn, and therefore build that body of knowledge that is all powerful. . . . But the emphasis [is] upon knowledge. And not only on its acquisition but also, and it's part of my definition of 'taonga', not only is the acquisition of knowledge vitally important, but *the obligation to pass it on* (emphasis added) (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 382).

With regard to that obligation of reciprocity, **NH** draws no distinction between esoteric knowledge handed down, and more practical knowledge or everyday 'survival skills'. She considers the articles and letters recorded in the 19th century Māori newspapers, and the letters written by Māori *rangatira* to Donald McLean during the same era to be:

just as precious. And if they can transport you, which they do, into laughter, into deep pathos often . . . I mean those letters are very *human*. . . . It's a bit like Shakespeare: there's hardly any emotion or status that he didn't tackle, . . . The wide range of life as lived then . . . through those decades. And some of them highly political, *highly* statesman-like. . . . You want to read some of Wiremu Tamihana's [writings]. Massive. Awesome. Quite incredible (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 383).

Thus, for NH, 'sacred' relates to 'taonga', to something precious and therefore important. It relates to something crafted in the past, which is imbued with the wairua of the person who created it, and passed down over generations in the

⁸¹ Mauss, M. (1990 [1922]). *The Gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*.

manner of a gift. As such, NH believes that the recipient has a responsibility, indeed an obligation, to ensure that that gift is passed on.

NT considers that the concepts of *tapu* and *noa* have their genesis in *te orokohanga o te ao Māori*, the creation of the natural Māori world. Thus, he regards the oral narratives pertaining to *te orokohanga* to be *tapu*, in that they refer to the pantheon of gods of the natural world. He contends that the *tapu* of those narratives is retained despite them having been written down or even translated:

Ngā kōrero mō te ao, mō ngā whetū, mō te hau, mō ngā kapua, mō ngā rākau, mō te moana, katoa ērā kōrero, he tapu, i te mea, he atua katoa ērā kōrero, ahakoa kua tuhia ērā kōrero, kua whakapākehātia, he tapu tonu (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 387).

HP also draws a correlation between the natural world and *mana* and *tapu*. He recalls how his fascination with *atua Māori* and their awesome power and *mana* eventually led him to renounce his Anglican faith:

The idea of splitting matter and space, that's [what] those old karakia are all about. . . . separating matter and space and creating something, you know. Fantastic! They're using things like lightning and thunder . . . I mean, it's the real deal. Never mind this 'E tō mātou Matua i te rangi'⁸² stuff. . . . 'E kau ki te tai e',⁸³ . . . that's a perfect example . . . Kupe created the rough entrance to the harbor when he left, and burnt it, so that Nukutawhiti would know when he came back where the entrance was, and he'd know the karakia to get in. Well, that's mana. . . . that's real sacredness. And you achieve that sacredness by being one with your pantheon of atua Māori. That's been my experience (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 405).

⁸² The Māori-language version of The Lord's Prayer (*Our Father who art in heaven* . . .).

⁸³ A highly tapu karakia that was invoked to produce a giant wave, upon which the two waka, Ngātōkīmatawhaorua and Māmari, journeyed to Aotearoa (Refer to Kaamira, 1957, p. 230).

NT observes that during his childhood in Ngāti Porou, ‘sacred’ texts were widely considered to be those that came from the *Bible*, while traditional Māori narratives (*pūrākau* and *pakiwaitara*) were referred to as ‘myths’ or ‘legends’⁸⁴ and ‘stories’. In NT’s view, *pūrākau*, such as the narrative about Māui and his great fish, are indeed *tapu*. He concedes, however, that the *tapu* of those narratives has likely been lifted (‘hikina’), that a process of deconsecration has had to occur, in order to render them safe to be used in a modern context:

Engari, ka hoki anō au ki ngā kōrero mō Māui me tana ika. He tapu katoa ērā kōrero. Reira, tipu ake au me tēnei mea ko ngā tuhinga tapu, he mea kite i roto i te Paipera. Engari, ko . . . ngā kōrero tapu ake a te Māori, a tāua te Māori, tērā pea, kua hikina tērā tapu, kia mau tonu ai i ēnei rā, tērā pea. . . . Nōku ake ēnei whakaaro, he tapu ngā kōrero pakiwaitara, ngā kōrero pūrākau. Ki a au nei he tapu rawa (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 386).

Thus, while both NT and HP refer to experiencing the influences of Christianity in their early lives, and both consider narratives pertaining to the Māori gods – as personifications of the natural world – to be significant, NT refers to those narratives as ‘tapu’ (a tapu that is not diminished in the act of being committed to writing or being translated), while HP refers to them as ‘sacred’.

JM is cautious about any attempt to define the characteristics of a sacred or sensitive text:

I’m sort of tentative about what is sacred, what you’re considering a sacred text. . . . I mean, there always seems to be a sort of difference in view of what’s sacred. . . . I’m using the English word here, but assuming you are talking about ‘tapu’, which, again, in a matter of translation we might have a slightly different view. What I think is ‘sacred’ and what you think is ‘tapu’ might be different (McRae, Appendix 13, pp. 365-6).

⁸⁴ One of the effects of colonisation in Aotearoa was the relegation of *pūrākau* and *pakiwaitara* to the realm of ‘myths’ or ‘legends’ or ‘stories’, terms which by definition connote works of fiction (see, for example, Lee (2009); Mikaere (1995)).

She notes, however, that in her experience the inclusion in a text of certain things – such as *karakia*, explanations of *tikanga*, history, references to matters of *tapu* and *noa*, the origins of the universe and humankind, locations of sacred sites, rituals, older records of traditions, cosmology, and *whakataukī* – would generally indicate “material which would be considered sacred to some extent” (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 365), adding the proviso that “some of it would be considered sacred to some people and not sacred to others” (pp. 365-6).

Thus, **JM** considers that, “anything that comes into the area of what I call religious, or even sort of philosophical thinking about the nature of the world, and beliefs, I would call a sacred text in Māori” (p. 366). Certain forms of such things as *waiata* and mythological accounts, however, are more likely to be sacred than some other forms of the same genre, and the distinction, for her, is likely to be in the complexity of the language and the references contained in them:

For example, you can read an account of Rangi and Papa which is very simple and sweet, . . . composed for children. You can read another account which is more complex, has . . . the *karakia* attached to the propping up, you know, of the sky, and has *whakapapa* relating to all the different layers of gods and so forth. And I would think that many people would regard those as *tapu* texts, as opposed to the more generalized accounts . . . I think a lot of *waiata* are amusing and light-hearted, and others . . . a lot of *waiata* *tangi* have very complex references to religious thinking and mythology . . . And I suppose one of the things that makes me think a text is sacred, is its complexity, often. That it is more difficult to understand, because there are more references that might be obscure, there are words used in a different way from when they might be used in a more prosaic text which doesn’t seem to have those characteristics (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 366-7).

While **JM** herself has no sense of sacredness in texts, “because that’s not a religious view of mine” (p. 367), she does acknowledge that other people may and do hold certain texts to be meaningful or significant, and therefore, consider them

to be sacred. Thus, she understands the need, in her role as translator, to be careful with and respectful of those texts:

[T]here's this sort of idea for some people that all *kōrero* *tuku iho* is sacred, to some extent. I would be inclined [to think] that, when people say that, they mean it's *tapu* in the sense of 'special' rather than *tapu* in the sense of some kind of religious wariness and restriction (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 368).

In JM's view, 'sacred' means different things to different people, according to their perspective and beliefs. Her interchangeable use of the terms 'sacred' and 'tapu' – such as in her observation that her view of sacred may not correspond to my view of tapu, and that some people consider kōrero tuku iho to be sacred, and therefore refer to it as 'tapu' – suggests that she considers the one to be somewhat equivalent to, or synonymous with the other, with any distinction being a matter of one's cultural worldview. Her concept of 'sacred' Māori texts includes whakapapa, karakia, religious or philosophical ideas relating to the origins of the universe and humankind, and references to tikanga, history, rituals, or sacred sites. Characteristically composed of a more formal register of language and a metaphorical or poetic style, these kinds of text are, in JM's experience, a great deal more complex and therefore difficult to translate. She distinguishes between 'sacred' texts that have a religious wariness or restriction associated with them ('tapu'), and those sometimes referred to as 'tapu' that she would classify as meaningful or 'special' rather than 'sacred'.

In terms of the characteristics of *tapu*, sacred and sensitive texts, **RR** draws a clear distinction between *tapu* and sacred. For her, *tapu* always denotes some form of *rāhui* or restricted access. Thus, in relation to a series of *mōteatea* that she translated in collaboration with Ngāti Hauā, she does not consider them to be *tapu*, since *waiata*, an expression of the composer's innermost feelings, are intended to be sung to an audience, not to be kept to oneself.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Dr. Aroha Yates-Smith (personal communication, April 2011) notes, however, that some people do place restrictions on the performance of *mōteatea* in certain circumstances or locations. Thus,

[K]o te whakamārama o te ‘tapu’ ko te ‘rāhui’. . . . Ko te tikanga o te mōteatea ko te tū me te waiata kia mōhio ai te ao, kia whakarongo mai te ao ki ō kōrero. Mō ngā mōteatea tangi, he tangi ki te hunga mate. Nō reira, ko ngā kōrero o roto he whakaputa i ngā kare ā-roto o te kaiwaiata, ā, me te whakarangatira i te tangata kua mate. Nō reira, ehara i te mea he tapu. And by ‘tapu’ I mean ‘restricted’. There’s no restrictions on these waiata (R. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 414).

RR’s concept of a sensitive text is something that is similarly restricted, something that “you would want to keep secret”, or about which “only certain people are allowed to know certain things” (Interview, March 2011). Sacred texts have no such restrictions or sensitivities associated with them. They are nevertheless held in the highest esteem as aspects of *mātauranga Māori*⁸⁶ (traditional knowledge), and thus, as *taonga tuku iho*, handed down to humanity from the gods:

I would consider [a sacred text] something precious, something unique, but something that holds our philosophies and our values – and I don’t think that’s necessarily sensitive. . . . it’s probably public knowledge, these sacred aspects of our tikanga, and of Māori values and protocols and practices. And it’s all embedded in mātauranga Māori. And . . . that’s something handed down from the gods. It’s not, ehara i te mea nā te tangata i waihanga, engari he mea i heke iho mai i te ira atua ki te ira tangata (R. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 414).

*For **RR**, ‘sacred’ texts are free of the restrictions imposed on ‘tapu’ or ‘sensitive’ texts, and correspond somewhat to **NH**’s notion of ‘taonga tuku iho’ – something*

some people believe that *mōteatea* should not be sung, for example, in a dining room or in the vicinity of food.

⁸⁶ According to Wiri (2001, p. 25) the term ‘mātauranga Māori’ encompasses, and can be understood as being comprised of or characterised by, the following: “Māori epistemology; the Māori way; the Māori world view; the Māori style of thought; Māori ideology; Māori knowledge base; Māori perspective; to understand or to be acquainted with the Māori world; to be knowledgeable in things Māori; to be a graduate of the Māori schools of learning; Māori tradition and history; Māori experience of history; Māori enlightenment; Māori scholarship; Māori intellectual tradition.”

*precious and significant, which is associated with mātauranga (knowledge), and which is a gift (from the gods) to be disseminated for the benefit of humankind. In this sense, her notion of ‘sacred’ also corresponds to **TR**’s concept of ‘tapu’ as being something god/s given.*

RH’s concept of the characteristics of a sensitive text correspond quite closely to **RR**’s. In his view, there are two ways to interpret *tapu*: either as ‘holy’, that is, relating to a person’s faith, religion or beliefs; or as relating to sensitive information that has an *ārai* (screen or veil) put in place to keep it concealed from the general public. **RH** contends that a text that is characterised as having sensitive content should be kept discrete in order to protect the person or persons to whom that information pertains. The sensitive nature of the text denotes it as a restricted and, therefore, *tapu* text (Harlow, Appendix 13, p. 317).

In **WH**’s opinion, too, a sensitive text is one that should be kept from the general public in order to protect those to whom the contents pertain and their families and descendants, against potential humiliation or hurt:

Tērā pea, ka hoki mai anō ki tēnei mea te ‘sensitive’, nā te mea pea, kei te mōhio aua tāngata kei reira ētahi kōrero mō ētahi o ngā tīpuna, ā, ehara i te kōrero māmā. Ētahi, he haehae. Ētahi he takahi. Ērā momo mea. Kāore rātou e pīrangi . . . kia kitengia e te ao whānui, kei pāmamae wētahi (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 418).

WH describes a responsibility that has been bestowed upon him, as a person of a certain level of maturity and seniority within his extended family: that of a *kaipupuri*, a repository of sensitive information or ‘kōrero tapu’. His role is that of a guardian, a keeper of information that has been entrusted to him to ensure that those to whom sensitive information pertains are not adversely affected by it:

[K]o au kei te pupuri, he nui ngā kōrero kei te pupuri au, . . . kāore anō au kia whakaputa. Nā te mea, kei te mōhio au i whāngaingia mai au ki ērā kōrero hei pupuri māku. Kei te kāinga anō ētahi o te whānau, kāore au e kōrero ana ki a rātou ngā kōrero kei au . . . mō ō rātou mātua. Mō ō rātou

tīpuna rānei. Kei pāmamae. Nē. Koirā te mahi a te pakeke. Me kī, he kaipupuri koe o aua kōrero tapu (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 418).

WH also considers certain narratives that pertain to *ngā atua* (the gods) – such as the accounts of Māui and his grandmother, Mahuika, or Māui and Hinenuitepō⁸⁷ – to be *kōrero tapu*. He notes that, because they sometimes portray situations and behaviour that may be incomprehensible or offensive to those outside the context of Māori culture and there is the potential for Māori culture to be perceived negatively as a result, those narratives may also be classified as sensitive, and, therefore, *tapu*:

[K]ei te pupuringia he kōrero tapu kei te pā ki ngā atua, me ngā pūremutanga. Nē, ka whakaaro ana koe . . . ka kōrero ana koe ‘Māori worldview’, nē, me hoki anō koe, even when I talk about fingernails, he aha i pērā ai? Ko Mahuika tērā. Nā, te tangotanga a Māui . . . nē? Kei te pā kē tērā ki tērā āhuatanga. Ka . . . kōrero koe mō Hinefītama, nāwai rā ko Hinenuitepō. Nā, he ‘sacred’ wērā, engari, ki te Pākehā he ‘myth’ noa iho. Engari, anei tō tātou e kōrero nei i runga te marae, . . . ‘*haere rā ki a Hinenuitepō*’, nē rā? Nā reira, koirā rā ō tātou tirohanga . . . me te pūremu a Tāne ki tana tamāhine tonu, [ērā momo mea]. Now, is that sacred? Mehemea ‘sensitive’ ā tātou kōrero ki te whatu o te Pākehā, nē, ētahi taima, āhua tapu nei. Because it’s sensitive (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 423-4).

A number of the interview participants’ views on the characteristics of a *tapu* text correlate with those of texts that they consider to be sensitive. **RR**, **RH** and **WH** all referred either to sensitive texts as *kōrero tapu*, or talked about the similarly restricted (*rāhui*) nature of both sensitive and *tapu* texts. **WM** noted, however, that, for him, while sensitive texts are restricted, they are not necessarily *tapu*; and **HP**’s view on sensitive texts is at odds with all those discussed above. While, for him, the sensitivity or otherwise of a text relates to the nature of its content, he contends that the very act of having written information down, whether sensitive

⁸⁷ Māui, a demigod and trickster/hero, is a central figure in traditional Māori narratives. Mahuika, the Goddess of Fire, is his grandmother, and Hinenuitepō, the Goddess of Death and the Underworld, is an ancestress of Māui.

or not, presupposes a potential for that information to be exposed in the public domain:

[A]nything that's been put in text, . . . to me it's *captured* . . . and the purpose of the capture is to *reiterate* . . . Otherwise you wouldn't put it in text. And these manuscripts that I'm working on [*The Takou Papers*] ⁸⁸. . . the process we're going through with those begins with the understanding that these texts were written for a reason . . . they weren't written to be buried or put away or forgotten. They were written to be *read* (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 401).

In the context of his definition of what the characteristics of a sacred text might be, however, **HP** considers that the translator has a certain obligation when translating sacred texts to handle all information pertaining to a person or group of persons *sensitively*:

[A] sacred text, I think, is really about people's identity. That's when you have to perhaps be a little bit sensitive. Sacredness derives really from the identity . . . of a person. Well, in the Māori world anyway. From your whakapapa, where tangata, that's where it all comes from. . . . So, you can't trample that. . . . you wouldn't want to deliberately trample . . . people, [their] ideas or . . . their beliefs (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 402).

*For **HP**, then, sacredness relates to a person's or people's identity. Thus, while he appears to be saying, on the one hand, that anything that has been written down is fair game for translation, he is also saying that the translator has an obligation to treat any text that is important or meaningful to a person/people with respect and sensitivity.*

⁸⁸ A collection of 19th- and early 20th century manuscript writings by Himiona Kaamira (Takou) (refer to *Chapter 3*, section 3.2, p. 49).

3.4 Approaches to the translation of sacred and/or sensitive texts

TR notes that his approach to the translation of tapu texts differs from the way he approaches other kinds of text. For ‘government’, ‘legal’ or ‘business’ texts, for example, there is generally a precedent, an established style of translation that is appropriate to and expected for that particular domain. When translating tapu texts however (and here I suggest that his use of ‘tapu’ refers also to ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ texts, as is evident in his references to the *Qur’an* and the Bahá’i scriptures), there is no such precedent. Because *tapu* texts tend to be particularly challenging and problematic, he proceeds with more care and takes a much broader perspective than he would of more general texts. A primary consideration, for him, is to understand the reason why that text is considered to be ‘tapu’:

[H]e whānui kē atu tāku nei titiro ki ngā tuhinga tapu i te tirohanga ki ngā mea, me kī e au i tēnei wā, he ‘noa’. Nō reira, koirā te mea tuatahi. Ko ngā kōrero tapu, he aha te take i tapu ai? . . . kī pai te whakamāori, whakapākehā rānei i ngā tuhinga tapu, i ngā kōrero tapu, kī pai te raruraru. Nō reira, ka āta haere au i roto i ngā whakapākehātanga, whakamāoritanga (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 312).

Another reason that **TR** proceeds more tentatively with tapu/sacred/sensitive texts is in a case where he is conscious of being, as for example with the *Qur’an*, outside of the source culture, with a worldview that is invariably different from that of the source culture. In that case, he is reliant on consultation with and the guidance of his ‘kiriutu’ (client/s). Within that process of consultation, however, he contends that the translator must be prepared to defend those translation choices he feels strongly about and can justify, even though the client may not necessarily agree. In that sense, the process itself must be carefully negotiated:

Ka mutu, i ētehi wā, ka tohe mai, ka tohe atu, ahau me taku kiriutu. Koirā pea, he rerekē taku titiro, he āta haere te mea mō ngā kōrero tapu (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 312).

For **WH**, however, in cases where the translator seeks to translate a text that has its source in a culture outside of his or her own, s/he can only ever have a superficial grasp of the depth of meaning of the original. He notes a proverbial saying in Māori⁸⁹ that asserts that, no matter how few or apparently simple the words may be, there is always a depth of meaning behind those words, and knowledge of the historical and sociological contexts in which the words were uttered is required in order to fully understand them. Hence, he takes the view that non-Māori translators who venture to translate *tapu*/sacred texts are limited by their ability to access or to comprehend that knowledge:

Kei reira anō te raruraru, because kei te whāngai noa ake i ngā mea kei te whāngai i a rātou, it's just the surface. Ki te Māori hoki, iti noa te kupu rā, kei te hōhonutanga. Ā, nā te hōhonutanga rā runga o mōhio mō ētahi o ngā hītori kei te pā pea ki te kupu rā, ki te kaupapa i puta mai rānei aua kupu rā (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 425).

Thus, **WH** observes how difficult it is, as with the translation of the *Qur'an* into Māori, for the cultural outsider to comprehend the degree of sacredness of the *Qur'an*, and its sensitivities (Appendix 13, pp. 425; 428).

NT notes that, for him, an understanding of the concepts, philosophies and customs of the source language and culture is fundamental to the production of a translation that aims to correspond effectively to the source text. Hence when confronted, whilst working on the verification of the Māori translation of the *Qur'an*, with his almost complete ignorance of the source language and culture, he chose not to continue working on the project:

Ki a au nei, ko te mea tuatahi . . . kia mārama ai au ki ngā whakaaro me ngā tikanga o tērā reo, o tērā iwi, kia hāngai tonu ai . . . i te mea, kāore au i te mōhio ki te reo Arapi, me pēhea rā? Kite au i te reo Māori i te taha o te reo Arapi, me pēhea rā? (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 390).

⁸⁹ Rendered by Matua Waldo as '*iti noa te kupu, kei te hōhonutanga*', this proverb is often expressed as '*iti te kupu, nui te kōrero*' ('one word represents a depth of meaning').

According to **RH**, his approach to translating sacred texts is no different from his approach to any other text, in that he believes all texts require of the translator the same high degree of diligence and focus. Likewise, in all cases the translator needs to take into consideration the nature of the text and the intended audience of the translation. In the case, however, of texts that he classifies as being perhaps *more* tapu and *more* authoritative or significant, such as prayers, or bible texts – “ēnei momo tūhinga pēnei i ngā inoi nei me te *Paipera Tapu*, nō te mea, he nui ake pea te tapu, he nui ake pea te mana o te tūhinga” (Harlow, Appendix 13, p. 317) – his translation approach *does* differ, in that he has at his disposal an established resource to assist him. Thus, he is able to utilise the *Paipera Tapu* and *Te Rawiri*⁹⁰ as sources from which to draw samples of phrases, excerpts of text, which can then be adapted or modified to the particular needs of the sacred text that he is working on. For **RH**, the benefits of this approach are two-fold: firstly, the ‘style’ (‘taera’) of the source text is maintained in the translation; and secondly, since the target audience is already familiar with and receptive to the vernacular of the *Paipera Tapu* and *Te Rawiri*, they are more likely to be receptive to the new translation:

[T]aku ahunga ki tēnei momo mahi, he kimi i ngā tauira o mua e hāngai ana, ka taea rānei te paku whakarerekē kia hāngai ai ki ngā kupu o nāianei. Ā, i a au e whakamāori ana i tētahi atu kōrero, kāore au i te pērā. Engari, nō te mea kua noho ko te *Paipera Tapu* me *Te Rāwiri* hei tauira, koinā tētahi wāhanga o taku mahi, he kimikimi, he rapurapu, he rangahau i roto i aua pukapuka, me kore e kitea he tauira. Nō te mea, e rua ngā take: tuatahi, mō te taera, nē; tuarua, nō te mea, mōhio ana au he nui ngā Māori kua waia ki ēnei momo kōrero. Kua waia ki te whakamāoritanga o te *Paipera*. Kua waia hoki ki te *Rāwiri*. Nō reira, ki te whai ngā inoi me ngā whakamāoritanga hou e mahia nei, ki te whai ērā whakamāoritanga i ēnā tauira, ā, ka pai pea ngā kaipānui. Pai ake tā rātou pānui . . . Nō te mea, kei

⁹⁰ The Māori translation of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*, whose full title is ‘*Te Pukapuka Inoi me era atu Tikanga o te Hahi o Ingarangi mo te Minitatanga o ngā Hakarameta o era atu ritenga hoki a te Hahi me nga Waiata ano hoki a Rawiri me te Tikanga mo te Momotu i te Pihopa, i te Piriti, i te Rikona*’, is affectionately known as *Te Rawiri*. It was first published in 1839 (Te Paa, 2006, p. 343).

te mōhio kē ki aua momo whakatakotoranga (Harlow, Appendix 13, p. 318).

While **RH** believes that having a ‘template’ from which to draw excerpts is extremely helpful for modern day translators of the *Bible* and makes the process easier, he contends that they should be viewed as a *tool* and not as a substitute for the translator’s own powers of discernment and deliberation:

Ka māmā ake i reira. Ehara i te mea, kāore he whai whakaaro. Me āta noho te tangata ki te whai whakaaro. Me te kimi i ngā tauira, me te whakahāngai, nē, ehara i te mea ka kapingia katoa ki roto i ngā [tauira]. Kāo. Heoi anō tāku e mea nei, kua noho ētahi tauira, ka taea ētahi paku whakatakotoranga te tiki atu, ētahi whakaaro. . . . ka māmā ake i tērā (Harlow, Appendix 13, p. 321).

He is also of the belief that a ‘word-for-word’ approach is not suitable as it results in a deficient translation:

Kei te mōhio koe, ko te whakamāori i tētahi tuhinga, kāore he pai o te whakamāori ā-kupu, ā-kupu, ā-kupu, nē. Ko te mutunga he kore noa iho (Harlow, Appendix 13, p. 319).

WH also makes reference to the practice of using excerpts from parallel texts in relation to translating sacred texts. Referring to Ngata’s seminal collection of traditional Māori *waiata*, *Ngā Mōteatea*, **WH** notes that in translating the *mōteatea* into English, the subtleties and sensitivities of the Māori source text have often been “couched in a way that’s palatable . . . to the Western mind” (Appendix 13, p. 427), and that in some cases, excerpts taken from “Pākehā . . . esoteric texts, that somewhat equals [the Māori text]” (ibid.) were used in the translations, to enhance the degree of acceptability to the intended audience of that time.

While acknowledging that some translators choose to work with parallel texts, NT's approach is more internal. For him, the words of the text are sometimes less important than what the translator senses inside him or herself in response to that text. He envisages his role as that of a *kaitakawaenga* (intermediary), whose task may involve liaising between the realms of the physical, the spiritual, the emotional or the sacred. Within the purely physical realm, he notes, the task is a relatively simple one, but the words he selects will change in accordance with the realms, or contexts, he is mediating between:

I ētahi wā . . . ehara ko te kupu te mea nui, engari ko tāu e rongō nei i roto i a koe. . . . kāore au i te mōhio pū ki ngā whakaaro o te tangata nāna nei ngā kōrero i tuhi. Ko tāku noa iho, ka noho pea hei kaitakawaenga. Mehemea he kaitakawaenga ahau i te kikokiko, he māmā noa iho te tiki atu i tētahi kupu. Mehemea he kaitakawaenga au i te wairua, ka rerekē anō tērā kupu; i te mauri, ka rerekē anō tērā kupu; i te tapu, ka rerekē anō tērā kupu (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 390).

NT appears, then, to be interpreting what he intuitively or senses emanating from the text – what he regards as the ‘tino’ (essence) of the text, and from within himself – his own personal *tapu*, which he feels impels him to select one particular word or phrase over another. Thus, even while conducting the more mundane aspects of textual analysis – reading through the text, examining its context, investigating the identity of the author, NT is interacting with that internal response to the text from within himself:

Ki a au nei . . . ko ngā whakaaro ka pupū ake i roto i ahau, he aha te tino o ēnei kōrero? He aha taku whakamāoritanga, ā-wairua nei, i ēnei kōrero? E tahi wā, ki a au, hei aha noa iho te kupu tika, te kupu pai. . . . he aha nei te tapu e pupū ake nei i roto i a au, e tuhi ai e au i tēnei kōrero, kaua ko tēnei kōrero? He aha tāku i rongō nei i roto nei, ka ārahina au, he aha te kupu i te whatumanawa, i te wairua, i te mauri, te aha rawa rānei? (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 390).

WM takes a similar view, in that he considers his role in translating tapu texts to be that of a ‘kauwaka’ – an ‘agent’, or ‘medium’ – for the author of the text, and he has no qualms about being the instrument by which the author’s ideas are communicated:

Ko au te kaimahi a te tangata [te kaituhi] a aua kōrero rā. Ko au, ko taku ringa kei te tuhi, nā, ko au te kauwaka mō aua kupu rā. Ehara, ki tērā wā, mehemea nā te wā tērā i tohu, kāore ōku āwangawanga ki te tuhi ngā kōrero o ētahi kē (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 335).

Recalling his discovery, amongst the *Appendixes to the Journals of the House of Representatives* in the University of Waikato library, of a number of texts written in Māori pertaining to 19th century territorial battles, **WM** described feeling compelled to carry the book outside of the library and to copy them into his own notebook. Before doing so, he performed a ‘whakawātea’ (ritual clearing) of the texts in order to be able to then cloak them with a protective *tapu* or restriction. That ritual was intended to appease the *wairua* of whomever the text belonged to – and it was not always possible to know the author’s origin, whether he or she belonged to **WM**’s own iwi or a different iwi altogether, to ensure that that person’s *wairua* would not be in a state of agitation, but could be at peace:

[M]ēmea kei te nanao atu au i ērā kōrero, ka heri mai au ki waho, ka tuhia ki roto i tētahi pukapuka, ko taku mahi tuatahi, he whakawātea i ērā kōrero, nā te mea, ki te whakawātea au, kei te uhi au i te whakaaro tapu ki runga i aua tuhituhi – ahakoa kei roto i te pukapuka Pākehā, engari ko ngā kōrero, nā tētahi rangatira, nā tētahi tangata o te ao Māori, . . . nō Maungatautari nei pea, nō te Taitokerau rānei, nō hea rānei, nō tōku kāinga anō rānei. Ka whakaaro ake au, tērā pea, ki te nanao atu au ki ērā kōrero, ka heria mai au ki roto i tēnei horopaki, kāore i te pai te noho ki roto i tēnei horopaki, kei te whakararuraru au i te moe roa a ngā tāngata, nā rātou tērā. Ō rātou wairua, kāore e tau (Milroy, Appendix 13, pp. 334-5).

In that act of retrieving the Māori text from the obscurity of the Pākehā institution and inscribing it into his notebook, with the intention to render it so as to be available to the descendants of the text's author, **WM** again sees his role as that of an agent or *kaitiaki*. In this case, he is 'te tuhirau i rehu i ringa'⁹¹ – 'tuhirau' being a 'feather' or 'quill', and 'rehu i ringa' referring to the obscure words that, when formed on the paper by the hand of the person with the 'feather' or 'pen', become clear:

[M]ehemea e tuhi ana au i āku kōrero mō ngā uri, o aua tāngata nā rātou aua kōrero rā . . . ko ahau 'te tuhirau i rehu i ringa'. Ko te tuhirau, ki te ao Pākehā, ko te 'feather' i whakamahi ai, he tuhi tērā, ko te rau o te huruhuru manu. Āe, ko te 'rehu i ringa', ko ngā kupu e puta atu ana i taku ringa ki runga i te pepa. Nā, ko te 'rehu i ringa' tērā. He rehu i puta mai i roto i te wā e rehurehu ana, engari, nō te takotoranga, ka pēnei, kua mārama te kitea (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 335).

When contemplating translating a text – and here he uses the term 'whakawhiti' (to convey across) rather than 'whakamāori/whakapākehā' (translate into Māori/Pākehā), whether that be an English text into Māori or Māori into English, **WM** observes that the same considerations apply: Whose words are they? Where do they originate from? When were they uttered/written? In what context were they uttered/written? Is the text tapu, or not? For **WM**, if the text is tapu, he knows that he must tread carefully; if not, he knows that he may interact freely with it:

[M]ō te āhua o ō kōrero nei, ki te whakawhiti atu mai i te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori, mai i te reo Māori ki te reo Pākehā, kei te āhua tonu o ngā: Nā wai ngā kōrero? Nō hea ngā kōrero? He aha te wā i hua mai ai? He aha te horopaki i hua mai ai aua kōrero rā? E whakanoho ai au i te whakaaro, he tapu ēnei/ehara ēnei i te kōrero tapu. E rua ērā āhuatanga: he tapu ēnei kōrero, me tūpato au; ehara ēnei kōrero i te tapu, nā reira, e pai ana, ka taea e au te whāwhā (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 336).

⁹¹ With *Matua* Te Wharehuia Milroy's approval, that expression – 'te tuhirau i rehu i ringa' – has been used in the title of this thesis.

In relation to sensitivity in texts, **WM** emphasises the autonomous, discriminating nature of the translator's role. For him, the translator of *tapu* texts written in Māori must know which aspects of that text *are appropriate to be translated*, and contends that the Māori translator will 'know', will sense (by means of their *wairua*) whether or not a given text or part of a text should be translated, whether there is a benefit to be derived from translating and disseminating that information or whether there is potential risk for people to be humiliated if that information is disclosed:

[M]e mōhio he aha ngā mea ka taea e koe te tango mai – kei roto tonu i a koe. Māu, mā tō wairua tonu e whakaatu ki a koe. . . . ko ētahi wāhanga ka taea e koe te tuhi; ko ētahi wāhanga, ka rongo tonu koe, te *tikanga* rā, he mea Māori koe, ka rongo tonu koe i roto i a koe, 'Oo, kāre e pai, kāore e pai ēnei kia tuhi au i tēnei wā, kia kitea rā anōtia mehemea ki te tuhi au, he oranga ka puta, engari kāore he tangata e whara i taku tuhinga i aua kupu rā, taku whakapākehā i aua kupu rā' (Milroy, Appendix 13, pp. 338-9).

In connection with this, he notes that when translating Māori texts of a *tapu* nature into English, he does not give the full depth of meaning or the 'tino' (essence) of the Māori. This is partly because, as has been noted, he believes that Māori cultural concepts cannot be adequately conveyed in English, and partly because he does not wish necessarily to give away the full, rich complexity of Māori experience. Thus, he selects English words that will give the general meaning, but chooses to conceal the deeper layers of meaning:

[K]i te whakapākehātia e au, kāore e hoatu e au te tino o roto i aua kupu rā ki roto i te reo Pākehā, nō te mea, kāore e taea e au te tino o te reo Māori ki roto i te reo Pākehā. Ka taea ai e au te tiki atu i ētahi kupu Pākehā e āhua *hāngai* ana ki te whakaaro Māori. Ka rata ahau ki ērā kupu nō te mea, ehara i te mea kei te tino whāki ahau he aha te ngako, te matū o roto i aua kupu rā, e puta kē mai ai, ā, te taha Māori tūturu i roto i aua kupu rā.

Ki a au, ka hiahia tonu au ki te huna i te tino o roto i aua kupu rā (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 354).

Moreover, **WM** views it as his responsibility to ensure that Māori intellectual property is protected: “E hiahia ana au kia tapu, nō te mea kāore au e hiahia kia tāhaengia ngā IP o roto i ērā kōrero” (ibid.).

JM does not consider her approach to sacred texts to be any different from her approach to other kinds of text since, for her, the task of the translator is to translate, no matter the nature of the text. The manner in which she *proceeds* with the translation of a sacred text, however, is different in that she takes a lot more care:

I thought about that when I first saw that question, I thought, immediately, no. And then I thought, but it does, because I am more careful about . . . I’m more worried about the meaning, ’cause I think, I know that these texts, one word can refer to a whole *range* of contexts, which make sense of the whole karakia, for example. So, it’s more complex (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 368).

Certainly if the text has been given to her with a proviso that she work under particular conditions or restrictions, such as she was asked to do with the material for Judith Binney’s book on Te Kooti, she would comply with that request: “if it was sacred to them and they wanted me to do it” (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 367).

In **JM**’s view, sacred texts are likely to be more complex, to require more background research and to therefore be more demanding. Thus, she notes that “really the thing that distinguishes a sacred text, for me, is, ‘Ooh, this is going to be difficult’. The meaning may not be immediately clear . . . and how do we fathom it?” (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 367).

Being concerned mostly with historical material, **JM**’s translation work is conducted primarily in a “literature-based, paper-based world of . . . research”

(McRae, Appendix 13, p. 368). Her procedure often involves researching parallel texts to find examples of structures used in similar contexts that can assist her search for meaning. This is particularly the case when translating sacred texts such as *karakia* and *waiata*, which **JM** characterises as ‘formulaic’ and ‘poetic’:

Say I’ve got a *karakia* to translate, I go through and I find other examples of *karakia*, and then you find the formulaic phrasing which is typical of them in several other *karakia* and you realize it’s being used again here, but with those subtle adjustments that’s normal in the oral tradition. So you get a sense from other examples of what is going on here, and then you have to look at the context in which this particular *karakia* is being used. You will also have things involved like, [it] belongs to a particular region, it belongs to a particular *iwi*, it belongs to a particular family even, which might make sense of . . . named people in it. . . . You’ve got to expand your . . . search for meaning out quite broadly (McRae, Appendix 13, pp. 368-9).

Due to having often collaborated as a translator with historians who are working on publications involving historical material, **JM** has developed a practice of producing what she calls a ‘plain’ translation, where the simple sense of the material is conveyed without her necessarily “overloading it with other ideas and contemporary thinking” (Appendix 13, p. 370). Once the historian provides the historical context, the translation can then be elaborated and polished. The result is a translation that retains its simplicity, and leaves space for the collaborator, in this case the historian, to interpret it as they will in the writing of their book. Thus, for **JM**:

[H]ow I translate depends on who I’m translating for. . . . [W]hen I’m doing them as a task for other people, [I’m] trying to add as little as possible *myself*. If I was translating it myself to publish or something, I would put my interpretation on it more clearly, probably. Or through annotations, etcetera (Appendix 13, pp. 370-71).

JM's approach also depends on *the purpose of the translation*. She is aware that her 'plain' translation method can sometimes result in a slightly 'heavy' translated (English) text. She feels, however, that that heaviness serves a purpose, reminding the reader that they are not reading an English text, but a Māori text rendered in English:

I . . . quite like . . . the strangeness of Māori in the English text. I'm not turning it into an English text . . . and one of the examples of this is, people . . . worry about repetitions. And I say, 'But the repetitions are normal in the language, in Māori' . . . there's meaning and purpose to them, so let's not leave them out. And if the English sounds a little clunky . . . in this case, you're reading a text which comes with that in it. But if you were doing it for an audience who just wanted to know what's going on and what it was like, you could lighten it up . . . a bit. I think the purpose of the end translation affects, for me, what I do with it (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 371).

JM acknowledges that there are pros and cons to her 'plain' style of translation. In some cases, for example, she has felt that her translation of a text seems 'a bit flat' in comparison with the same text translated by a native speaker. On closer inspection, however, she has noticed omissions or additions in their translations that do not correspond to the source text. Conversely, she has experienced instances where "what they've put in I *haven't* put in, but it's there [in the source text,] [b]ecause they've got a greater understanding" (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 371). Thus, she notes that a translation produced by a second-language speaker of Māori done in collaboration with a native speaker can often result in a more fully realised work:

[M]ine's a kind of, slightly nervous . . . way. 'Ooh, I *think* this is what it means', but . . . tentative, yes. And this is why often, if you work together with a native speaker, you get a good translation that runs along but still maintains all of [the subtleties in the source text] (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 371).

In **EM**'s experience, too, a collaborative translation approach has been far preferable to working alone on texts that he classifies as *tapu*. With regard to the translation of an ancient *karakia*, he believes that it was the combined efforts of three individual translators, each with their own areas of cultural knowledge and expertise, that produced a final translation that they were all satisfied with. He recalls also feeling very fortunate to have worked collaboratively on the translation of a *karakia* from English into Māori, and in particular, for that person to have been an elder whose expertise and mentorship made the process easier: “Ā, he waimaria tērā tōrua māua, he waimaria anō hoki, he tamaiti, he pakeke” (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 324).

HP observes that he tends to approach the translation of most Māori texts “in a *fairly sacred . . . way* – at least with a respect for the author” (emphasis added, Appendix 13, p. 406), since, for him, any person who has taken the time to write about a significant issue in te reo Māori deserves to be respected. In a case, however, where the writing in a particular text is perceived to be of poor quality, he takes a different view:

Then the linguistics come[s] in to it. You can tell from the linguistics whether a person's a native speaker or not. You can tell from the linguistics whether a person really understands their subject or not. . . . So, it's just a matter of being discerning, I think. And a lot of it is . . . determined by the quality of the language. . . . as well as the credibility of the person, of course (Piripi, Appendix 13, pp. 406-7).

For **HP**, the credibility of the author is a primary consideration. Thus, the first step of his translation process is to ‘authenticate’ the source text. To do this, he looks at such things as: who the author is; where they sit in the *whakapapa*; where they were born; how they grew up; and where they were educated. Once the author's credibility is established, he proceeds to what he refers to as ‘cross-referencing’: What have other people said about that person and their writing? Who were their peers? What were the social circumstances at the time they were

writing? All this research provides important contextual information, helping to create as accurate a picture as possible of the background to the text. (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 403).

In **HP**'s view, only once some sort of historical context is established can the content of a text be understood. The next step in the process involves a thorough reading of the source text, with reference to both dictionaries and historical records, and finally, if necessary, consultation:

I read it, I soak it in, I read it again. Then I go away and I come back and I read it again . . . and I check my understanding of it. I use a lot of dictionaries, a lot of historical information. . . . and then . . . if I'm working and if I feel like I'm not getting it, I'll go and talk to kaumātua and ask them about it (Piripi, Appendix 13, pp. 405-6).

HP believes that, particularly in a Māori context, enlightenment often comes as a result of 'robust' debate. Thus, dialogue and discussion form an important part of the cross-referencing process:

I've seen it happen myself on maraes, many times. Someone will get up and lay a whakapapa down and someone here will say, 'No, that's *completely* wrong. If you go back to dahdahdah, you'll see this person here didn't marry that one, they married this one' . . . Often, you'll find they married both. . . . but . . . what that does is bring enlightenment . . . more information, more knowledge. And the more fierce and, not competitive, but . . . the more *robust* the discussion becomes, the better quality of information is delivered from the discussion. And that's the essence of Māori dialogue, and I think it's the beginning of how you approach [the translation of] a sacred text (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 403).

HP contends, however, that when it comes to 'really sacred' texts, the translator is at that stage working with "pure interpretation. . . . [which] can only be achieved [through] thorough context" (Appendix 13, p. 404). Thus, he maintains that when

translating, for example, ancient *karakia*, background research and textual analysis alone are not sufficient, there being another dimension that comes into play:

[A]ll the research in the world is not going to get you there linguistically. It's got to be in here, in your heart, . . . I don't know about wairua, but I certainly know that if you're not meant to be doing it, you won't achieve it, in terms of translating (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 404).

RR (Interview, March 2011) is unequivocal about how she approaches the translation of sacred texts: “me pono, me tika”. ‘Pono’ in this context (which she relates to the translator’s treatment of the text, the author of the text and the iwi to whom that text belongs) appears to have connotations of ‘sincerity’ and ‘honesty’. ‘Tika’, in this context, seems to have connotations of ‘right’, ‘correct’, ‘appropriate’ and ‘ethical’. These then are her guiding principles for translation, not just of sacred texts, but all kinds of texts:

[M]e pērā mō ngā whakapākehā, whakamāoritanga katoa, ahakoa te aha, ahakoa he mea tapu, ahakoa i rāhuitia, ahakoa he mea whakaputa ki te ao, me pērā. That’s the fundamental, for me, fundamental aspect of translation (R. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 415).

3.5 The primary issues

3.5.1 Historical distance and cultural distance

Within a process that he acknowledges as being fraught with difficulty, **TR** observes that one of the most challenging aspects of translating sacred texts is the treatment of ‘kīwaha’ (colloquial expressions) and ‘kīrehu’ (idioms). While less of a problem in texts of a *noa* (mundane, unrestricted) nature, where the context may generally be more readily understood, the idiomatic expressions of a particular faith or religion are particularly problematic, due to their being historically- and culturally-embedded. Thus, **TR** described the difficulty he had,

while working on *Ko Ngā Kupu Huna o Bahá'u'lláh*,⁹² in attempting to translate the term ‘nightingale’. In his understanding, a nightingale is ‘a bird that sings sweetly’; but he needed to know the particular significance of the nightingale, what it represents or symbolises within the Bahá’í faith. By consulting with his clients, he learned that the nightingale is sacred to the Bahá’í, not just because of the beauty of its song, but because it acts as a messenger between the spirit world and the human realm, carrying messages from God within its songs. Seeking a similar concept within the Māori context, **TR** initially pondered the ‘hōkioi’, a now-extinct bird of ancient lore. The *hōkioi*, however, carries a different connotation: whereas the nightingale is a messenger of joyful tidings from God, the *hōkioi* is held to be an omen, a harbinger of trouble or disaster. Thus, the challenge was to capture accurately in Māori the characteristics of the nightingale where there is no corresponding bird with similar attributes, without resorting to transliteration: “Naitenkeera? Oii!!” (T. Roa, Appendix 13, pp. 312-3).

In **JM**’s experience, the major issue in translating sacred texts, which she characterises as those that deal with ‘the most religious and mythological, philosophical ideas’, has been the problem of meaning. For her, such ‘esoterica’ is not intended to be easily understood, but rather “presupposes that someone’s been very well trained in a tradition which is still to some extent alive, but it’s lost, like all tradition loses things over time” (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 368). Similarly, she notes that ‘poetic’ texts, such as *karakia* and *waiata*, presuppose a specialised knowledge of the tradition and style of composition:

[Y]ou have to know this whole body of knowledge that surrounds it to make it quite clear. So, . . . while on the one hand I don’t have any different method for translating sacred or sensitive texts from any other, in actually how I go about [it], I do have a *hesitancy* about my understanding of it, which is probably greater than other more prosaic and secular texts. I’m more careful, I’m more worried about the meaning, because . . . one word can refer to a whole *range* of contexts, which make sense of the

⁹² The Maori translation of a portion of the scriptures of the Bahá’í faith.

whole *karakia*, for example. So, it's more complex (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 368).

JM observes that familiarity with a particular genre – *mōteatea*, for example – can expedite the translation process. Thus, she notes that acknowledged scholars Apirana Ngata and Pei Te Hurinui, while they became familiar with *mōteatea* in the context of their collection and translation of *waiata* for *Ngā Mōteatea*, were still, where *karakia* were concerned, “quite tentative about meaning” (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 367).

Compounding the problem for contemporary translators and researchers of Māori historical texts is the fact that, unlike “some Greek prayers or Latin texts, where you’ve had several hundred years of people translating them before you and writing articles about them, and so forth” (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 369), there is no established body of resource material available: “You’ve got very little . . . [in the way of] sources to go to” (ibid.).

A dearth of sources to consult with in relation to historical texts is also a major issue for **EM**. Thus, he notes that when translating an ancient *karakia* attributed to Kupe, it took him a number of weeks just to find the meanings of some of the archaic terms, before he could begin the translation:

Koinei tētahi mea nui ki a au, tērā ētahi tuhinga kua whakarerea iho, ko te kaituhi karekau i te ora, karekau rānei i te tino āhei te whakapāpā atu. Ka mutu ko koe me aua kupu rā, ka mutu. Ne? . . . Ā, āhua roa tonu tēnei [karakia a Kupe] i a au, kia aro i a au te tikanga o ngā kōrero Māori i te tuatahi, nā, kia āhei ai te whakapākehā nei. . . . Heoi anō, āhua toru wiki pea i a au ki te kimi i te aronga o ētahi o ngā kōrero. ‘Taihoronukurangi’ tētahi o ngā kupu i āhua raruraru ai au (Murphy, Appendix 13, pp. 324-5).

For **RR**, too, the issue of how to treat archaic words in the source text is the most problematic aspect of translating sacred Māori texts, since they may have multiple meanings and connotations within a given context. Thus, the translator must select

the most appropriate meanings in that particular context, based on the needs of the target audience for that translation, and their level of language proficiency (R. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 415).

Obscurity of meaning, due to a lack of contextual information, has also been a major problem for **NH** in translating historical material. In connection with her experience of translating the “*E Mā*” collection of letters for the Turnbull Library, she observes that in some cases it was extremely difficult to understand some of the references without any knowledge of the background context:

[T]his is a difficulty in translation, . . . you get a letter . . . where he’s telling his story, you know: *I haere au ki Taranaki ki te whakahoki a Taranaki*. And I thought, now what are you talking about? You’re going to Taranaki to take back *what*? Eh. I mean, saying one thing, but it’s loaded! (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 377).

Thus, in many cases, **NH** found that background contextual research was necessary. Due to time and funding constraints, however, the amount of research that could be conducted was very limited. She notes that in some instances the background information she sought would be revealed in one or other of the letters much later on in the process, and she would then be able to go back to the relevant letter with more understanding: “[I]n some cases it’s amazingly difficult to know what our people were talking about, until you get down to letter two hundred and something, hoh!” (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 375).

Within the constraints of the brief for her project, one of **NH**’s favoured modes of research involved consultation with *kaumātua* (elders), those with more specialised knowledge or expertise than her own. A related problem, however, was **NH**’s sensitivity to the demands that many of the *kaumātua* in our communities are already faced with. Thus, she was reluctant at times to impose further on her local *kaumātua* by asking them for help:

[T]hat's not always easy to do, you know, they're busy people. And you don't want to whakahōhā them too often. But that's been the back[up] (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 381).

NH acknowledges that in some cases, however, no amount of background research can bridge the historical distance. Thus she notes that in the case of certain transliterations and obscure historical terms:

[It is] hard to find references to those things . . . 'Purukamu' . . . We've got a list of them. And others like 'pū parera'. Now what kind of gun is that? It may be . . . the way in which the flintcock, whatever that is, is shaped like a duck's bill. . . . [The] problem is, you don't see those [anymore] . . . [And the] old people . . . who would have known . . . they're all gone (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 376).

With regard to translating *mōteatea* in particular, the most difficult thing for RH is the complexity of the language of which they are composed: "Ko taku āwangawanga mō ngā mōteatea, ko te uaua o te reo. Te uaua" (Harlow, Appendix 13, p. 321).

3.5.2 Linguistic/lexical issues

NH and her team encountered a number of lexical issues in the process of transcribing and translating the letters from '*E Mā*' to English. Chief among them were: illegibility; punctuation – or, more often, lack of punctuation; frequent 'liaisons' (joining together) of words, for example, 'kia' instead of 'ki a'; dialectal variations of words, for example 'wenua' rather than 'whenua'; and poetic or cryptic language:

Word punctuation of nearly all of them . . . but . . . others, are punctuated. Breaking up of words that have been joined together. . . . Those are basically . . . the practical things. But also in terms of *sense*. You're trying to get the sense of what the kaumātua [were saying] (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 377).

They were also greatly challenged by not having an existing precedent for establishing certain grammatical conventions within the translated text:

And . . . then he says, *kaua e haere ki te whawhai*. Now, but when you're writing it down, do you put it in direct or indirect speech or what? 'I said this to them'. But then . . . he says what he says: *Kaua koutou haere ki te whawhai*. . . . But when you write it out in translation, do you put those in direct speech marks? . . . Because they go in and out of that. . . . For me, those are the difficulties (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 377).

Some of the letters contained page after page of geographical landmarks delineating a particular tribal territory. In those cases, the translation team was faced with the dilemma of whether to retain them in their entirety, or leave them out and add an annotation for further reference:

You can have a letter, all it contains . . . is a kaumatua or tupuna saying, 'Anei te rohe, from there to there to there to there to there to there'. So it goes on and on and on for miles. [But] . . . do you put all of that in? Or do you [just provide a reference]? (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 378).

3.5.3 The translator's ideology

An area of difficulty that **TR** grappled with in his translation into Māori of the Bahá'í scriptures relates to the translator's ideology: how to retain the integrity of the Bahá'í culturally-embedded references in the Māori translation and resist imposing a Māori worldview onto those references. As an example, he spoke of the challenge of rendering the concept 'Day Star' in Māori. When he looked at the original Arabic word that has been translated into English as 'Day Star', he found that for Arab cultures the 'Day Star' is 'the sun'. But it also has additional attributes that 'the sun' does not have in some other cultures. He considered 'Tama-nui-te-rā', the Māori personification of the sun that also carries connotations of 'ancestor' and 'deity', as a possible translation for 'Day Star', but

realised that that was inappropriate to the Bahá'í worldview. It was important to **TR** in his role as translator that he not subvert the Arab culture and Bahá'í faith:

Kua uru mai te whakakitenga Māori ki roto i taua whakapono nei, nō reira, ki ahau, kāore tērā e tika. Me noho tūturu ki te āhua o te whakapono rā. So, aua hurihurihanga, . . . me te takahurihuri o te whakaaro ki reira. (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 313).

As part of the process of working on the verification of the Māori translation of the *Qur'an*, **TR** studied several of the English language translations and was struck by the major variations in interpretation between them, which he considered was perhaps attributable to varying interpretations by a number of sub-groups within the Muslim faith.⁹³ He therefore sought the advice of his clients as to their particular interpretation of the source text, and was guided by the essence ('wairua') of what they had to say in relation to text:

Heoi anō rā, i roto i tāku whakamāoritanga i te *Kurānu Tapu*, e mōhio ana au, e hia kē nei ngā wehewehenga o roto o taua whakapono. Nō reira, ka homai te whakapākehātanga i te reo Arapiki e āku kiriutu, ka tirohia e au ētehi atu o ngā whakapākehātanga mai. Te nuinga o te wā, he rerekē. . . . he *nui* ngā rerekētanga. Ā, tahi ka pātai atu au, he aha te ia, te ngako, me kī pea, te *wairua* o ngā kōrero a āku kiriutu. Tahi ka whāia ai e au ngā kōreo mai i āku kiriutu (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 312).

A related issue for **TR** was the expectation that, at some point, Māori adherents to the Muslim faith would dispute some aspects of his translation, based on their own interpretations. He felt confident, however, that having been guided by his Muslim clients and their worldview, as was appropriate, he could justify the choices he had made (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 312).

While working on the '*E Mā*' project, **NH** experienced similar concerns to those expressed by **TR**. She worried whether, in the process of adding in punctuation

⁹³ Given the sheer number of translators who have translated the *Qur'an*, the variances noted in the translations may, however, also be attributable to the nature of interpretation itself.

and other such ‘standardising’ conventions that were agreed to be necessary to clarify the sense of the letters, they were in fact subverting the source text by imposing their own interpretation upon it (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 377-8).

EM has no such reservations about imposing his own worldview upon a translation, if, for example, he disagrees with the way in which a Māori narrative has been represented through a Pākehā worldview lens. In the case of a text that has been perceived by Pākehā publishers and/or authors to be a *pakiwaitara* (a light-hearted story) – such as the stories of Māui and his exploits – **EM**, rather than taking the words of the source text into account, would translate it according to his own understanding of the original narrative. Thus, his Māori translation would not necessarily correspond to the Pākehā source text, nor would it be intended to:

He pukapuka tamariki ēnei, anā, ko te nuinga o ngā pukapuka i whakamāorihia e au he ōpaki noa, nē. Kei runga i te ngākau hari, . . . te tō i te hinengaro a te tamaiti ki runga i tētahi kōrero paki nei. Engari, ka tae ana mai ki ētahi pukapuka e hāngai mai ana ki a Māui me āna mahi, ā, ngā pukapuka e kōrero ana mō te taha ki te Māori nei. . . . he titiro kē ki roto i a au, ākene i ētahi wā kua rerekē taku whakamāori ake i ngā kōrero rā, ina kāore pea au i te āta whakaae ki te whakatakoto o te kōrero, ki te whakapaparanga mai rānei o te kōrero, ā, nō reira kua pērā (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 323).

According to **WH**, however, while the translator has a certain responsibility to be aware of and sensitive to the nature of a text and the implications for translation, the impact of his or her ideology upon the translated text is inevitable:

Well . . . to me . . . it’s up to the discretion of the [translator], who must be conscious of: What is tapu? How tapu is tapu? . . . and the sensitivities *related* to it . . . politically, educationally, socially, culturally. . . . [I]f it’s done by a Māori, [they’d] be sensitive to that. If it’s being done by a Pākehā, [they] won’t (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 430).

3.5.4 Te taha wairua – spiritual aspects

In relation to working with *tapu* or highly sacred material, **HP** recalls as a child witnessing the days of preparation undertaken by students who were about to enter a *whakapapa wānanga*. In order to be ready to receive that *tapu* knowledge, it was necessary to remove oneself to some extent from the more mundane or secular aspects of daily life:

[I]t wasn't just, oh, turn up for a whakapapa session . . . you had to go through days beforehand, getting ready, . . . [F]or example, a man couldn't dare change a baby's nappy on the days he's going to a wānanga. . . . [Y]ou've got to get into a bit more of a tapu state, . . . leave the worldly things out and get into a more prepared . . . frame of mind (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 396).

He also recalls being told about a relative who, several decades before, had made the journey to a local *tohunga* for instruction and returned, after three days, a changed man:

My dad told me that when [XX] went to visit with Takou, the old man, in Pawarenga . . . he stayed there for three days, came back and he was a completely different fulla. All this new knowledge, and he did it all in three days. . . . it's like they get a gift. . . . And I think there's some truth to that. So, it's more than just you. There's something else, feeding you and helping you too, if you plug in right (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 397).

NH observes that there are occasions in the translation process, when she is immersed in a particular text, that she finds herself transported in a quite visceral way to the world of that text:

So [the narrator of the text] is talking . . . 'Anei ngā raruraru, kei te maha o ngā iwi e kore mahi' and so on. . . . And . . . it's like, sometimes I even feel physically, that I'm right there by this tupuna writing . . . And I know

what he's writing about, it's here in front of us (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 379).

For **NH**, that sense of being at one with the source text world, or guided in a spiritual sense by the author of the text she is working on is an aspect of the translation of sacred texts that is not often discussed. She contends, however, that it needs to be acknowledged:

I think we need to say that . . . sometimes you have to be in that 'zone', because the assumption is, and here I am a mokopuna . . . thrice removed, [I'm] not *there*, but the tupuna is assuming that you know . . . what's happening outside [y]our kāinga (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 379).

In the approach that **NT** takes to translating texts of a *tapu* or profound nature, he acknowledges – indeed, he believes he is reliant on – the spiritual guidance and protection of forces outside of himself:

Koirā te pai o ēnei mahi ētahi wā, koirā te pai, kei te mōhio koe he kaiārahi i waho atu i a koe, i te tangata, e ārahi ana i a koe . . . e tiaki ana i a koe (Takurua, Appendix 13, pp. 393-4).

WM, when translating a *tapu* text belonging to his own iwi, where he can identify a close kinship link between himself and the author of the text, generally has no reservations about proceeding with that translation, for he trusts that he can draw on the training and mentoring he received from his elders throughout his childhood and youth. He also spoke of an assurance he was given by his primary mentor that, should he make mistakes, those errors will be borne by, and reflect on those who were responsible for his training:

Mehemea ko ngā kōrero nō tōku iwi, ā, ka titiro iho au, nā wai ngā kōrero, ā, ka titiro au ki ōku whakapapa, mehemea e tata ana ōku whakapapa ki taua tangata rā, kei te pai. Nōku anō. Ki te hē au – anei te kōrero a [taku kaiako] . . . 'Ki te hē koe, nāku koe i hē ai.' Nā reira, e noho . . . hāneanea

ana tērā whakaaro ki roto i a au, kāore i te raruraru, kei te hāneanea te noho i roto i a au o tērā kōrero. Nā reira, kei te mōhio ahau . . . kei te ātawhaitia au. Kei te ārahitia au, i roto i aku mea (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 335).

He seems to infer here that he feels (a) constantly supported by the spiritual guidance of his forebears, and (b) a responsibility to strive always to avoid making errors that would reflect badly on his mentors.

When translating a text that is written by someone to whom he has no *whakapapa* links, where he has no knowledge of the text's content or how that text might be regarded, no idea of whose hands it may have passed through or where it may have been kept or stored, however, **WM** is much more cautious. He first conducts a *karakia*; if he feels settled within himself after having performed the *karakia*, he knows he can proceed with the translation. If, however, he feels some apprehension or fear in relation to the text, he will decline to undertake the translation since, in his view, the text itself is communicating to him that he is not 'the right person' to be doing the work:

Ko ētehi pukapuka, ki te homai ki a au ngā pukapuka nei, nā ētahi kē, kāore au e mōhio ki ngā kōrero o roto, kāore au e mōhio ki ngā kōrero e pā ana ki aua pukapuka, nō wai ngā ringaringa i whāwhā, ā, i hea ēnā pukapuka e takoto ana. I reira, kua whakatūpato ahau i ahau . . . Ā, ka haere atu au ki te karakia i te tuatahi. Mehemea au ka whakaaro ake, e pai ana a roto i a au, ka taea ai e au. Engari mehemea . . . kei te āhua wehi a roto i a au, e hopo ana o roto i a au, tērā pea, e kore au e hiahia ki te mahi i taua mahi . . . 'Ko te āhua o roto i ahau, ko te wairua i roto i ahau, kāore i te tau'. . . . Ki a au nei, kei te kī mai te pukapuka ki a au, 'Ehara māu tēnei mahi, engari mā tētahi pea.' (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 334).

Where he declines to undertake the translation of certain *tapu* texts – when he feels that he is not the 'right' person for the task – **WM** notes that he imposes a

kind of restriction ('whakatapu') between himself and the text, and, therefore, the content of the text and the *iwi* or the group to whom it belongs, to ensure that he does not trespass upon those entities:

Nā reira, he momo tapu tērā, he momo whakatapu rānei tērā nāku, i waenganui i a au me te pukapuka, me ngā kōrero o roto i te pukapuka, me ngā tāngata nā rātou te pukapuka. Kia kaua ahau ka poka noa ki te haere atu ki te whāwhā i ngā kōrero rā (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 334).

3.5.5 Compliances and constraints

According to **NT**, there are many pressures upon the translator of *tapu* texts, including constraints relating to deadlines, to funding, and to ethics. In relation to ethics, he notes that an extra constraint on the translator of Māori descent is the consideration of whether or not it is appropriate that s/he translate documents belonging to another *iwi*, particularly texts of a *tapu* or sacred nature: "Mehemea he Māori koe, nō hea koe? Ehara nāu ērā kupu, ērā kōrero" (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 390).

Even the inevitability of death can, in **NT**'s view, constrain translators of *tapu* texts, in the sense that when our *kaumātua* pass away, their storehouse of knowledge goes with them: "[Ē]tahi wā, ko te here anō o te mate. Ka mate atu tētahi, arā kē he kōrero, arā kē he mōhiotanga kua mate atu" (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 391).

NT observes that in most cases his involvement with translating sacred texts has been a matter of his being called upon, as opposed to a voluntary move on his part. He acknowledges, however, that in accepting those requests, he also agreed to all the attendant obligations and difficulties inherent in that task which, while they are not insurmountable, are indeed challenging.

In terms of the issues or difficulties he has encountered in relation to translating sacred and sensitive texts, **RH** notes that a major constraint for him, being of

Pākehā descent although a fluent speaker of Māori, is ‘whakamā’ (shyness or humility). He observes that in every instance of his involvement in the translation of sacred texts into Māori, his expertise has been called upon by someone else. He is adamant, however, that had he not been invited or requested to participate in those projects, he would certainly never have thought to promote himself:

He whakamā nōku. Me i kore pā mai te tono, kua kore au e mahi. Engari, i runga i tā rātou, arā, tā Te Waaka, tā ētahi tono, māku tēnei mahi, kei te whai au i tērā tono. Engari, kua kore rawa e toko ake i roto i ahau te whakaaro, ā, māku tēnei mahi (Harlow, Appendix 13, p. 318).

A major constraint for **EM** in the translation of *karakia* in particular is one that is self-imposed, in that he has great difficulty being satisfied with the translation he produces, or feeling that it is ‘finished’. Hence the process for him becomes a very long one, where he continually changes and strives to improve on his translation:

[T]ēnei mea te karakia, ka roa pea e whakamātau ana te tangata ki te whakapākehā. Ka roa, kātahi *pea* ka ngata tōna ngākau ki tāna i whakapākehā ai. Ki a au, ahakoa he aha taku whakapākehā, kāore tōku ngākau i te *tinu* rata. Ia rā, ia rā, kua taea e koe te hurihuri haere, te tīnītīni haere, te hoatu kē ko tēnei kupu, te hoatu kē ko tēnā kupu. Nē (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 328).

Thus, according to **EM**, on many occasions he might have felt more reassured and less prone to continually revise the translated text if he had recourse to the advice of someone who could have given him an objective assessment of his work:

Mehemea pea au ka hoatu ki tētahi atu, ‘Pēhea ō whakaaro?’, tērā pea ia ka kī, ‘ . . . ka tau kē, boy!’ Engari, ki au, ki ōku whakaaro, ‘Āa, he kupu kē pea, kupu kē pea, kupu kē pea’. Ina rā te otinga o te whakaaro kei te mārama te kite o te whakaaro, ko te mahi nui kē he kimi ake i ngā kupu. Ah, yeah, ia rā, ia rā, kua taea e au te hoatu he kupu kē (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 328).

In relation to funding constraints, **NH** notes that many translation projects are dependent on funds from external agencies to proceed. Successfully securing that funding usually involves being able to justify the project, being able to deliver a particular set of significant ‘outcomes’ and satisfy certain criteria regarding ‘end-users’. There are times, however, when the funding runs out, or the project is disrupted by unforeseen circumstances before it can be fully realised. In the case of ‘*E Mā*’, the initial calculation of the scope of the project was approximately 3000 letters to be transcribed and translated. In reality, however, there are closer to 7000 letters:

[T]here’s only three reels there, mind you that’s about 600 pieces. But . . . what about the rest? So we’ve decided we’ll put it on a stick [flash drive]. And then the [institution] can do with it as they wish. Maybe when they get the webmaster or the money. At least we can say, well, these are our best efforts, within the timeframe (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 380).

An area that **TR** has found problematic in his translation of sacred texts is conflict in the client-translator relationship. He observes that when the clients’ own beliefs and own cultural context are at odds with those of the translator, clashes often arise and are sometimes insurmountable. In his experience, sometimes the clients’ understanding of translation as a simple and straightforward process means that they underestimate the degree of difficulty involved and have unrealistic expectations of the resulting translation. At other times, the client may dispute the translator’s interpretation of a particular word or phrase. According to **TR**, many times he has had to argue his point, to justify his decisions, and to remind his client that he is, after all, a specialist. In one instance, a client from another *iwi* objected to his choice of a particular word because it was not of that client’s own dialect. **TR** was adamant that the word he had used was the most appropriate translation of the word in the source text context. Thus, he contends that while as a translator you must be willing to negotiate a compromise, you must also, at times, stand firm on your decision, even when that results in an impasse and the contract is terminated. (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 314).

Another form of constraint, one that **HP** considers the biggest problem he has ever faced in relation to the translation of sacred texts, is what he refers to as “the ignorance of my own people” (Appendix 13, p. 408), which he maintains is not intended to be derogatory but is an acknowledgement of the effects of three generations of deliberate action to steer Māori away from their traditional knowledge – in short, colonisation:

[That knowledge] doesn’t appear in schools; it doesn’t appear on maraes; it doesn’t appear in churches; it doesn’t appear at hui. . . . I should have grown up with [those narratives], as part of my learning. . . . Not . . . just the written work, but other deeds by our [tūpuna] . . . Why aren’t we educated [about] these things? That’s our identity, and . . . our potential (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 408).

A natural consequence of that ignorance, **HP** maintains, is fear. Thus, he has encountered in the past, and continues to encounter to this day, resistance to some historical writings being accessed or investigated:

And I see this with [certain] papers: ‘Oh, we can’t, they’re too tapu. We don’t even want to *look* at them, they’re too tapu’. And I say to that, ‘Well, nothing’s too tapu for me’. Because tapu is man-made, [and c]an be lifted [or] . . . mitigated, resolved, absolved, whatever, you know? There’s things you can do . . . And people say, ‘Don’t do it’ . . . There’s a kaitiaki associated, for example, with Takou’s work. And that’s the green gecko, kākāriki . . . And of course, round here, if you ever see a green gecko, you go mad. . . . [Y]ou gotta kill it straight away, . . . it’s too much of a bad omen, you know. But, of course, when you look at it, it’s *fear*. And what are we afraid of? . . . [W]e’re afraid to open the door to our knowledge, really is what it is. . . . I say, ‘well it’s just . . . our mātauranga Māori.’ . . . And so it’s like when I was saying earlier, when my old man [and others of his generation] were scared, they said, ‘Oh, atua Māori!’. It’s the same

thing. ‘Don’t pull out this kōrero because it’s too heavy for us’ . . . How come? . . . What’s ‘heavy’? (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 408-9).

Of concern to **NT**, however, is the need for translators to be fully cognisant of the implications of working with archaic and/or esoteric texts, such as ancient *karakia* and their attendant *tapu*. For him, when highly *tapu* texts are tampered with or defiled, even inadvertently through ignorance, by the translator, there may well be consequences. He is referring here to the Māori concept of *utu* or retribution, which was traditionally implemented by means of *mākutū* and *whaiwhaiā* (‘spells’ and ‘charms’)⁹⁴:

Kei te mau tonu tērā mea te utu; te utu Māori ake nei. Ka kōrero au mō te utu, arā kē, te mākutū, te whaiwhaiā, ērā mea katoa. Ngā karakia tawhito nei, i mua i te taenga mai o te Pākehā. . . . Ki te rāwekehia e te kūare, e te tangata kore mōhio . . . [k]a raru, ki ōku whakaaro. Ka utua e te tapu o ērā mea. Ka whati, ka hapa, arā kē atu anō ērā kupu, hei whakamārama. [H]e whati tikanga, me taku kī atu, ko wai ināianei e mātau ana ki ērā āhuatanga o mua noa atu? (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 393).

Thus, **NT** questions the contemporary practice of marrying archaic Māori words to 21st century concepts to create new words and concepts for a modern context, without first having a deep understanding of the genesis of those words and the *tapu* associated with them. For him, it is essential that the *tapu* is removed from certain words, narratives, *mōteatea*, *haka*, and the like, to ensure that our young people, who are often the ones using these new modes of expression, are not exposed to any retributive forces:

Ka pērā anō hoki ki te reo, ngā mahi a Te Taura Whiri, a wai rānei, ‘Anei he kupu tawhito, anei he āhuatanga hou, whakamoea, anā, kua whānau mai he kupu mō ēnei rā.’ He pai tonu tērā, engari, me mōhio ki te pūtake rawa o tērā kupu. Te mea, kei te kōrerotia e ngā tamariki o ēnei rā ngā kupu nei. Kei te pai mehemea kua whakanoatia ērā kupu, mehemea kua

⁹⁴ ‘Spells’ and ‘charms’ in this context carry a connotation of malevolence.

tango mai te tapu, te tino tapu o runga i ērā kupu, i ērā kōrero, i ērā mōteatea, i ērā haka patu tangata, mōteatea whakamomori, rahu . . . Ināianei, kei te haka tātou ki te Kāwanatanga. Engari, ko ngā haka o mua, kāore he Kāwanatanga, ko te mate kē te utu. Koirā tērā haka e kōrero ana mō te mate, ‘Ka Mate!’ (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 393).

EM’s views are consistent with those of **NT** regarding the implications when reciting, narrating or translating texts of a *tapu* nature. He views the ‘laws’ (*ture*) and obligations inherent in any process that invades the realm of *tapu* as a major constraint upon Māori translators in particular, presumably because they are more likely to understand the risk involved in tampering with texts that have associated restrictions, or in misrepresenting or denigrating those texts:

[K]ua kuhu koe ki roto ki te tapu. Nē. Ā, nā reira, ngā ture kei runga i tērā āhua: kia tūpato kei whati; ka whati, ka aituā. Nē. . . . Koinei ngā hereheretanga kei runga i te pokohiwi Māori mō te tū ki te whakapuaki kōrero tapu (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 327).

He therefore views the translator’s personal ethics and an ethical approach to translation in general as crucial in ensuring that any potential harm or misfortune is averted: “[H]e nui ngā matatika, matatika he mea nui, kei tau te toki o aituā ki runga i tō māhunga, mōu i kuhu poka noa ai ki te mahi tētehi mahi, nē” (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 329).

3.5.6 Ethical issues

In terms of an ethical approach to translation, and in the context of a discussion on translating *tapu*/sacred/sensitive texts, **TR** contends that the translator has a primary responsibility to the ‘mātāpuna’, or source of the text. Thus, the translator must first take into account, as far as it is possible to ascertain, the author’s likely intention when that text was originally spoken or written; and then must strive to convey accurately (‘tōtika’) in the translated text what was intended in the source text – to the extent possible: “Tuatahi, ko tā te mātāpuna, tuatahi. Me āta whakaaro e te kaiwhakamāori, ‘He aha tā te mātāpuna i hiahia ai, te wā i

kōrerotia, ā, i tuhi ai rānei aua kōrero?’ Tuarua, me tōtika” (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 314).

In relation to the translation of sacred texts that originate outside of a translator’s own culture (referring to a Māori translator working on the *Qur’an*), **EM** contends that the translator’s primary ethical consideration is to ensure that the project has the full approval of the appropriate authoritative body. **EM**’s conception of this would be something equivalent to a panel of *kaumātua* or elderly, learned people, who would guide the process:

[T]ēnei mea te matatika ki runga i ngā tuinga tapu, mēmea kei te reo Pākehā, . . . kei tētahi atu reo rānei, engari ehara i te reo Māori, ko tōna taketakenga, ā, ko tōna ahunga, tōna kaupapa toto, kāore i te reo Māori, kāore i te hāngai mai ki runga i tō tātou ao, me kī pēnei i te *Kurānu* nei i whakamāoritia rā. Ko te mea nui kia whakaae e tō rātou ohu, e tō rātou taumata kaumātua, he aha anō ake rānei, kia pērāhia e tērā tangata, nē? Koinei te matatika (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 330).

Thus he notes that, as an outsider in terms of his tribal affiliations, he agreed to participate in a collaborative translation of a *karakia* from the *Takou Papers* only because one of the other people involved was a direct descendant of the author. Had he been asked by someone, for example, from outside of the immediate family of that ancestor, he would certainly have declined to do it since, as an outsider, he would be vulnerable to the risk of reprisals:

[M]ēmea kua riro i a au, pēnei i te kōrero nāna, a Takou rā, ehara nāna ake nā, engari he mea tonu ana i ngā kōrero a tana tipuna a Kupe, ka whakawhāriki mai ai ki runga i te pepa, mēmea ehara nā [X], tana mokopuna tonu, ahau i tonu, engari nā tētahi kē, nō ao kē tonu mai o te uri, o te whānau tonu, ā, he tukitukinga matatika rawa atu, ā, e tika ana kia kī atu koe, ‘Kāo’. . . . ‘Ehara au i te tangata tika’ . . . ‘Nō waho anō ahau.’ Ka mutu, ko te huarahi tika, kei te hapū tonu, kei te whānau tonu, koirā kē. Kei waho atu?? Kia tūpato! Nē. Kei te haere mai te ngangara kaitangata,

nē. Nā reira, āe, he nui tēnei mea te matatika (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 330).

EM notes that ‘matatika’, a widely-accepted Māori translation of the term ‘ethics’, is a highly appropriate term for the process that should guide the translation, particularly, of *tapu* texts, since it is partly comprised of ‘tika’ (that which is ‘right’, or ‘correct’, or ‘appropriate’):

[H]e pai . . . te whakamāoritanga i taua kupu ‘ethics’ rā ki te ‘matatika’, i te mea, kei te kimi koe i ngā tika, nē? He aha te tika, arā, te *tikanga* o te āhei o te whakapākehā, o te whakamāori. Nē. Nā reira, i rata ai tōku ngākau ki tēnā kupu Māori mō tēnā kupu Pākehā. He tino hāngai. Ā, nā reira, āe, whakaae ana au ki tērā, ā, he tuakana ngā kaupapa matatika ka kuhu ana te tangata ki te whakapākehā i ngā kōrero ōkawa a te Māori (Murphy, Appendix 13, pp. 330-31).

In connection with this, **WM** notes that while it is not always easy as a translator or researcher to follow the correct protocols in terms of ethical behaviour – conducting background research, interviewing knowledgeable elders regarding the appropriate path to take and what precautions to take – it is nonetheless essential, particularly in relation to *tapu* texts, since it is a path fraught with difficulty and potential risk:

Kāore rātou i haere ki te āta rangahau kōrero . . . kāore i haere pērā, ki te āta uiui i te tangata, kia kite ai ko hea te huarahi hei whāinga mā rātou; ko hea te wāhi kia tūpato. Nā te mea he . . . tara ongaonga, he tātarāmoa ki tērā o ngā huarahi. Engari, me haere kē mā tēnei huarahi (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 364).

An ethical approach to translating texts of a sacred nature from Māori into English is fundamental to **RR**, and must first and foremost be guided and informed by the principles of *tikanga Māori*. Thus, she acknowledges how fortunate she was when involved with the translation of *waiata tawhito* for Ngāti Hauā to work

collaboratively with a committee of Ngāti Hauā elders. Under their guidance, every *hui*, every *wānanga*, every process relating to that translation project adhered to *tikanga Māori* principles from start to finish:

[K]o ngā pukapuka Māori, ko ngā tuhinga Māori e whakapākehātia ana, me pūmau ki ngā tikanga Māori. Nā, i roto i āku mahi whakapākehā i ngā waiata tawhito, i ngā mōteatea o Ngāti Hauā, i mahi tahi au i te taha o ngā kaumātua o Ngāti Hauā. Koirā taku waimarie. Nō reira, nā rātou ahau i ārahi i roto i ngā tikanga Māori. Katoa o ngā hui i whakahaerehia, o ngā wānanga i whakahaerehia, ko ngā tikanga Māori i te kawē, mai i te tīmatanga tae noa ki te mutunga (R. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 416).

RR mentioned two particular aspects of *tikanga Māori* that were important to the process she undertook. Firstly, because she is ‘kanohi kitea’ or ‘a known face’ within her tribal community, those elders had no reservations whatsoever about working with her on the translation of texts that held great significance to them as an *iwi*. Secondly, she considers that any research that is undertaken in a Māori context must benefit the community to which the research pertains. In her case, the translation of *waiata tawhito* for Ngāti Hauā directly benefitted Ngāti Hauā, as was appropriate. Thus, she contends that if the aim of the research is *not* to benefit the community, the question must be asked ‘what then is its purpose?’:

Ko te mea nui hoki, he kanohi kitea au i roto i taku iwi, nō reira, i mōhiotia au e aku kaumātua. Nō reira, kāore rātou i āwangawanga ki te noho ki taku taha. So, yeah, me pūmau ki ngā tikanga Māori; me mahi tahi i te taha o te iwi nō rātou ngā tuhinga; ka mutu, kia mutu rānō, ō mahi rangahau, me whai hua ai tō iwi i ō rangahau. Ki te kore rātou e whai hua, he aha te take? He aha te take? (R. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 416).

As noted by **EM**, in many cases the sources – author, tribe, location – of the historic Māori manuscripts held in our public libraries and archives are not known. For him, that raises issues about the motivations of those who seek to translate those texts into English and their rationale for doing so: “Ngā kōrero e

noho mai nei i te whare pukapuka, he tawhito rawa atu; ngā kōrero kāore koe i te mōhio nā wai. Nā, he aha koe e pīrangi nei ki te whakapākehā i ērā kōrero?? He aha ai??” (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 331).

Thus, **WH** observes that the translators of these kinds of text can be faced with an ethical dilemma: on the one hand, there is an obligation to consult and collaborate with the *iwi* to whom the text belongs; on the other, the appropriate *iwi* may not be known, or, if the *iwi* is known, they may have reservations or be apprehensive about the text being translated because they are not sure what it contains or are ignorant of the protocols surrounding such documents. Thus, while the translator may want very much to reveal the wealth of information contained in the text to the Pākehā world – and, more generally, the non-Māori-speaking Māori world – the rightful custodians of that text may insist that it remain untouched:

The thing is you’ve got to win the trust of . . . the *iwi* that you are translating for (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 427). . . . ka pātai mai koe he aha ai te ohoohe o te ngākau, nā te mea, he kore mōhio tonu nō rātou . . . Kei te kūare. Nā te mea kāore hoki rātou i te mōhio, ka pai ake ki a rātou me waiho. Engari ko koe, kei te pīrangi kē ake kia kitetia atu e te ao Pākehā te ātaahua o aua mea rā (p. 426).

In relation to the dissemination of sacred texts, and given his contention that traditional Māori knowledge and wisdom has been suppressed and denigrated over several generations of colonisation, **HP** has no reservations about such texts being used, for example, for teaching. Indeed, for him, as ‘taonga tuku iho’ they are the birthright of all succeeding Māori generations:

I’m a real advocate for the study of Ngakuru Pene Haare’s⁹⁵ work, both in English and in Māori. . . . that should be part of . . . every Māori student’s curriculum, to study the texts, . . . [because] that’s *us*. That’s really *us*.

⁹⁵ Ngakuru Pene Haare (1858-1950) was a highly-respected Te Rarawa scholar who recorded accounts of many of the battles between Ngāpuhi and other tribes in a handwritten manuscript – *MS 89/116* (1923). He, along with Himiona Kaamira (Takou), was a *tohunga* of the Te Rarawa *whare wānanga*. (For more on Pene Haare see Tipene (2009)).

And it doesn't matter what iwi you are up here, Ngakuru Pene Haare is the man. And we should . . . acknowledge that. And so, I[ve] got no problem with using sacred texts for teaching, . . . for the right people, in the right place, the right time. I'm a great believer in the imparting of knowledge. . . . I've seen so many whakapapa books buried over the years. . . . what a bloody waste. They didn't write it down to be buried, they wrote it down to be remembered (Piripi, Appendix 13, p. 407).

NT's childhood memories of, and associations with *tapu* have had an impact on his view of translation. For him, the *tapu* of the Māori language is greater than that of English. Hence, he prefers translating from English to Māori because he can select Māori words that are appropriate, but that do not have the *tapu* associated with them that some more archaic Māori words have. When translating from Māori into English, however, he notes that he feels a greater sense of responsibility, or obligation, to ensure that the translation is 'tika' or 'correct', because of the esteem in which he holds the Māori language:

Ka kōrero ana mō te tapu, he mea whakamataku i te tamariki ki ōku nei maumahara. Nō reira, tae noa ake ki tēnei wā, ki te tuhi au, ki te whakamāori . . . pai noa iho pea te whakamāori, i te mea, he rerekē te reo Māori, ngā kōrero Māori, ngā tuhinga Māori, . . . he rerekē te reo, he rerekē te, ki a au nei, te tapu o te reo Māori ki tērā o te reo Pākehā, pai noa iho te reo Pākehā ki te whakamāori, i te mea, ka tikina atu e au he kupu Māori kāore pea nei he kupu taputapu rawa . . . Engari, mō te reo Māori, ka tau mai te – ehara i te wehi pea, engari ka tau mai . . . he herenga, . . . Me tika te mahi, i te mea, ko te reo Māori tērā (Takurua, Appendix 13, pp. 387-8).

In approaching texts of a sensitive nature, RH (Appendix 13, p. 319) observes that there are certain ethical considerations for the translator: firstly, is it appropriate for the text to be translated, or not; and secondly, how might the words and concepts within that text – perhaps highly personal or complex or restricted in nature – be expressed in another language.

Thus **EM** concludes that perhaps the most important ethical consideration in relation to translation of *tapu* texts is to determine how, when such a text is translated into another language, the *tapu* of that text might be preserved. He concedes, however, that he personally has no idea: “Nā reira au e whakaaro ai, ko te matatika tino nui pea, mehemea he tuhinga tapu ka tahuritia ki te reo kē, he pēhea te pupuri i taua tapu. Yeah. . . . Kāore i a au te whakautu!” (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 331).

3.6 Translators’ attempts to deal with the primary issues identified

NH recalls that when translating a large collection of 19th century Māori language letters for the ‘*E Mā*’ project, it was necessary to establish a set of guidelines at the outset as to how the various problems and issues identified in the texts would be dealt with. In accordance with the stated aims of the project, it was agreed amongst the translation team that the orthography of the transcriptions and translations would be standardized, with the overall aim being to make the translated text clear and readable, and to stay ‘close to the Māori’ (National Library of New Zealand, 2013):

[W]e said, this is what we’re going to do, [for example,] where it’s very clear it is ‘whenua’ [rather than ‘wenua’] . . . Where it makes sense to punctuate . . . that’s what we did. But we’re saying, someone else reading might punctuate it quite differently, you see (Hopa, Appendix 13, p. 376).

Any difficult sections in the text that could not be immediately resolved were marked with square brackets (‘[]’), on the understanding that the translators would come back to those sections later if time allowed. In this way, progress on the project was not held up unduly. In the main, only very limited research was able to be conducted to inform the translation process, consisting largely of cross-referencing information found in other letters in the series that might help to provide some context for the translations, and, where possible, consultation with *kaumātua* and specialists. In light of these constraints, it was also agreed that the translations of the letters would be regarded as ‘working translations’, that is, provisional (Hopa, Appendix 13, pp. 376; 381).

For **JM**, one aspect of historic Māori texts – many of which are widely regarded to be *tapu* texts – that is enormously helpful to the translator is their formulaic nature: “the same phrasing, the same sort of *style*, is everywhere. So . . . [while] the content of the text differs from area to area . . . the oral tradition is based on that formulaic language” (Appendix 13, p. 372).

Given her ‘literary-based’ approach to translation, and her awareness of the formulaic nature of many Māori historic texts, particularly *karakia* and *waiata*, **JM**’s procedure involves extensive literary research. Thus, she contends that many of the major problems inherent in the translation of sacred Māori texts may be resolved if the translator is committed to a process of exhaustive and ongoing research of existing archival material, in order to build up a body of reference material over time:

[Y]ou can make a lot of headway, and this is what interests me about Ngata and Hurinui, in their introductions to *Ngā Mōteatea*, they keep stressing that . . . you can understand these texts, if you just work your way, as they did . . . through the existing literature, . . . everywhere they went, on marae, they were listening and noting down and they built up this *huge* body of knowledge, and it’s there, but it needs that kind of . . . searching . . . It’s getting to know the background to the text. That is important (McRae, Appendix 13, p. 369).

She notes, however, that such research has its limits and that, in some cases, augmentation is needed in the form of consultation with elders of the relevant *iwi*, who may well be the only available source of a history that is still retained orally:

[Y]ou have to do a lot of exploring, you have to look at a whole range of material . . . I think that I’ve built up enough knowledge of the literature to know where I can go to get help with a lot of these things . . . but they don’t explain them all, by any means, and sometimes I think you’ll [only] get that knowledge from somebody who’s versed in that tradition orally,

now, in the iwi, and nobody else may know, it won't be in the written record (McRae, Appendix 13, pp. 368-9).

In relation to the importance of contextual research, **TR** observes that because, in many cases, a particular word in the source text may have many possible meanings, the translator of sacred texts must be aware of the subtleties of language and context, and be prepared to conduct the necessary background research, in order to most accurately convey the intended meaning of the source text in the translated text. For example, he recalls translating a letter from Te Rauparaha to Bishop Selwyn.⁹⁶ The opening phrase of the letter, 'Ko taku pukapuka tenei ki a koe e hoa', had been rendered by former translators as: 'This is my letter to you, Lord Bishop'.⁹⁷ While the word 'pukapuka' was certainly the correct Māori translation of 'letter' for that era, in **TR**'s view it was not the best word for that particular context. His translation, 'This is my word to you, friend', is based on his understanding that, at the time, Te Rauparaha had not yet learnt to write and so had a scribe who would write for him. Thus, what Te Rauparaha was offering to Bishop Selwyn was his 'word', with all the considerable *mana* and *tapu* that his word carried:

[P]ēnā me te . . . 'pukapuka'. I te wā i a Te Rauparaha mā, ko te 'pukapuka' he reta. Engari, kāore e pai te whakapākehā ki taua kupu noa iho nei, 'he reta'. 'E hoa, ko taku pukapuka tēnei ki a koe'. 'This is my word'; e hara i te reta noa iho. Nō reira, kei reira ko aua rerekētanga 'rauangi' – 'subtle'. Nō reira, me mārama ki aua 'subtleties' (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 315).

Noting that texts of a *tapu* nature often contain obscure or cryptic references, **TR** observes that sometimes, despite having considered all the relevant contextual information as far as it is known to the translator and his or her client, enlightenment remains elusive. Thus, he contends that in some cases, the best the translator can do is to guess at the meaning, based on his/her understanding of the gist of the narrative:

⁹⁶ Circa 1860 (see, for example, Davidson (2011, p. 229)).

⁹⁷ Note the interpretation in those former versions of 'e hoa' ('friend') as 'Lord Bishop'.

Kei ētehi, karekau i te mārama ki a au he aha te aha o te tuhinga mai. Nō reira, i ētehi wā, . . . he ‘guess’ noa iho. Nē. Ā, whai whakaaro ai au i roto i te horopaki e mōhiotia nei e mātou ko āku kiriutu. He pērā rā te āhua, te *ia* o te kōrero, nō reira, kua pērā te whakamāoritanga. Engari, tūturu, he āhua āwangawanga o roto (T. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 314).

One solution to the problem of archaic words that have many potential meanings, according to **RR**, is to provide a ‘gloss translation’. She notes, however, that it is important to firstly consider the target audience for that translation and their level of language proficiency. The language used in the translation can then be pitched at the appropriate level of proficiency, with additional possible meanings and connotations provided in the form of annotations:

[M]e whai whakaaro tuatahi ki te hunga ka pānui i te whakapākehātanga, i te whakamāoritanga rānei. Mehemea ko te hunga he pāpaku te reo, kāre i te nui tō rātou mōhio ki te reo . . . me ngāwari te reo, engari . . . me whakauru i ngā whakamārama kei raro. So, if you’ve got . . . archaic words that have heaps of different meanings and connotations, choose the appropriate meaning or appropriate translation for the target audience, but then below, provide a gloss of all the other different meanings . . . and connotations that *that* word has in *that* context. And has for *that* iwi. And then, if other iwis have variations on that word, provide those as well (R. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 415).

Often, contextual background notes can assist in understanding the meaning of certain archaic expressions. **RR** provides an example of an instance where she used gloss translation in the treatment of the expression, ‘he pae ruahine’, from a particular *mōteatea*. Since ‘Ruahine’ is the name of a mountain range in the Manawatu district of Aotearoa/New Zealand, an easy assumption might be to translate ‘pae ruahine’ as ‘the Ruahine mountain range’. But the deeper, metaphorical meaning of that expression is a woman who has reached the age of a

kuia – a mature age where she is no longer able to bear children, and so her husband has abandoned her – comparing herself to a mountain:

Hei tauira, kei roto i tētahi o ngā mōteatea . . . e whakamahia ana te rerenga, ‘he pae ruahine’. Nā, i whakamahia anō nei ko te ‘pae ruahine’ he pae maunga. Ko ‘Ruahine’ te ingoa o te maunga, [nō reira] he ngāwari ki te whakapākehā, you know, ‘the Ruahine mountain range’. Engari, te whakamārama o raro o taua kupu, kei te whakaritea te wahine i a ia anō ki tētahi maunga kua eke ki te kuiatanga, ki te ruruhitanga, kua kore e taea te whakawhānau tamariki, nō reira, kua mahue ia e tōna hoa. [Nō reira,] kāore i te kōrero mō tētahi ‘mountain range’, kei te kōrero kē mō ia anake, he hōhonu ake. So, i roto i te ‘gloss’, ka whakauru i taua whakamāramatanga (R. Roa, Appendix 13, p. 416).

Thus, by means of a ‘gloss’, the contextual information can be provided to illuminate meaning, without adding an inordinate amount of information to the translated text itself.

EM notes that, for him, the difficulties he has experienced when working in isolation on the translation of texts of a *tapu* nature, and particularly ancient *karakia*, were less problematic when working collaboratively with other translators, each with their own areas of expertise and knowledge. Thus, for the translation of Kupe’s *karakia* from *The Tākou Papers*, he recalls sending off his drafts to his colleagues, who then incorporated his ideas into their own drafts and finally crafted a richer and more accurate (‘hāngai pū’) translation that they were all happy with:

Ā, heoi anō, te mutunga iho, ka riro ko māua tonu ko [XX] hei whakapākehā ake, arā, i whakatakoto nāku i ōku whakaaro, ā, i whakatakoto anō a ia i ōna whakaaro, ka tūhonotia, ā, ko te mutunga iho, ko te whakapākehātanga. . . . Te otinga mai o te kōtuitui i ngā whakaaro, ka oti i a ia, ākene, me [tētahi atu] . . . Nā rāua pea, otirā, nā mātou pea te otinga atu. Anā, he reka, he ātaahua, whakaae ana au, he

whakapākehātanga hāngai pū tonu tērā, te otinga atu, nē (Murphy, Appendix 13, p. 326).

For NT, the solution to the difficulties, issues and constraints encountered in the translation of *tapu* texts may only be found through *wairua*. Thus, he believes it is important to maintain an attitude of goodwill (*wairua pai*), sincerity (*wairua pono*) and right intention (*wairua tika*) during the process of translating such texts. In order to maintain that *wairua*, he employs *karakia*, or otherwise sitting in deep reflection, to connect himself to the spiritual realm and the spiritual guides that can assist him:

Mā te wairua. . . . Mā te aha atu? Mā te wairua pai, mā te wairua pono, mā te wairua tika. . . . Engari mō tēnei mahi: ka noho, ka karakia. Ētahi wā, ka karakia puku nei ki roto i a au anakē. . . . Te mea, ētahi wā, kāore au i te rongo, i te tino rongo i te wairua e kōrero nei au, hei kaiārahi mōku. Ka rapu au i tētahi huarahi, kāore i a au i tērā wā. Ka noho puku au. . . . ētahi wā, ka hoki ngā whakaaro ki a rātou mā. . . . ki ngā wā o mua noa atu . . . Me hono atu ā-wairua nei. He hononga wairua (Takurua, Appendix 13, pp. 391-2).

NT maintains that these spiritual guides can take many forms, since all the features of the natural world carry narratives within them. The important, and challenging thing, he believes, is to create the space to sit and be receptive to what those guides have to impart. For him, if the translator of *tapu* texts is guided by *wairua*, the resulting translation will be worthwhile. If, however, the translator's motivation is more worldly – if, for example, s/he is doing it just for monetary gain, then the translation should not be attempted:

[H]e maha ngā kaiārahi. Ko te mea kē, ko te noho me te whakarongo ki a rātou. Te whakarongo ā-wairua nei . . . ki tā rātou e kōrero nei. . . . Kei te pai tō mahi mehemea kei te whai koe i tā tō wairua e ārahi nei i a koe. Ki te whai noa iho koe i tēnei mahi kia whiwhi pūtea ai, hei aha, waiho ki te

taha. Ahakoa te hiahia o te tinana ki te mahi pērā. Koinei ētahi huarahi noa iho (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 392).

He notes that maintaining, and even accessing that spiritual connection to *wairua* requires focus and commitment: “Ētahi wā, ka ngaro i a au tērā wairua, kāore au e rongo, i te mea, i wāhi kē ōku whakaaro” (Takurua, Interview, December 2010). Thus, he is not inclined to consult with others – with *kaumātua*, for example – in regard to the translation he is working on. For **NT**, discussing the content of the text during the translation process with someone who does not have the same level of spiritual connection or commitment to the text may compromise the *wairua* or *tapu* of that text for which he, as translator, is responsible:

Ko te raruraru mōku ki te whakawhiti kōrero ki ētehi atu mō ngā mahi tapu nei, ka mimiti pea te tapu. Koirā noa iho tāku, kei tūkinotia te wairua, te tapu, te aha rawa rānei, kia oti rawa te mahi, āe, tērā pea, kua wātea au ki te kōrero mō te mahi, engari i te wā e mahi ana au i te mahi, kei roto i āku ringaringa, kei roto i a au tēnei mea te . . . kei au te mana o te tika o tēnei mea. . . . Ehara ko rātou kei te noho, ki te mahi te mahi (Takurua, Appendix 13, p. 392).

In response to ethical issues that arise in the translation of sacred or sensitive texts, **WH** contends that if the translator is truly motivated by a selfless goal of highlighting the achievement of the author who recorded the information, and enabling the author’s descendants to access, through the translation, that information, then the translation process will naturally unfold, and ultimately bear fruit:

That’s a big decision. . . . ko the pātai o ētahi, ‘Should you meddle with it?’ . . . Nā, mehemea kei te pono koe, ka puāwai, it’ll just come. Nā te mea, kei te mahi koe for the right reasons – hei whakanui i ngā mea nā rātou i tuhi. And the families, to make sure that [they have access to it] (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 428).

In terms of translators enlisting the approval of the iwi to whom a particular sacred or sensitive text belongs, **WH** notes that while it is essential to approach

them, the degree of sensitivity once associated with some of those texts has lessened with the passage of time. Therefore, he believes that, with the right attitude – and a combination of strategic flattery, conciliatory comments and humour – the translator can often gain the *iwi*’s trust and support:

And today, I think, you haven’t got the same sensitivities that existed say twenty, thirty years ago. And as the older generations, you see the last bastion of Māoridom passing away, then those sensitivities [go with them]. . . And if you take [the texts] back to the *iwi* and . . . make presentations . . . to them and . . . mirimiringia ngā kaokao . . . you know, ka rata mai rātou (Houia, Appendix 13, p. 427).

For **WM**, however, the ethics involved in the translation of *tapu* or sensitive texts belonging to an *iwi* to which the translator is not affiliated need to be scrupulously observed. Thus he, of Tūhoe descent, recalls having translated a text that he discovered pertaining to Tainui. Being very committed to the view that the tribe concerned must have the last word on that translation’s validity and accuracy, that only Tainui could verify or correct the translation, he subsequently gave it to a prominent Tainui elder to approve:

I ētahi wā, mehemea nō *iwi* kē, ka haere ahau, pēnei ngā kōrero o roto o Tainui nei, kua haere kē au, i te wā e ora tonu ana a Piri Poutapu, i haere au ki a [ia] ki te pātai ki a [ia] mehemea e pai ana. Nē. Whakatūpato katoa au i āku tuhinga, ka kī au, ‘mā Tainui tēnei e whakaū, mā Tainui tēnei e whakatika’ (Milroy, Appendix 13, p. 336).

3.7 Overview of the chapter

In this chapter, the comments of a range of translators in relation to the translation of sacred and sensitive texts have been reported. In general, the participants who elected to speak in English (JM, HP, NH) tended to refer to ‘sacred’ texts, while those who elected to speak in te reo Māori (RH, TR, WM, RR, NT, EM, WH) referred to ‘*tapu*’ texts (‘*tuhinga tapu*’/‘*kōrero tapu*’). Two of this second group (EM, NT) were adamant that Christian conceptions of *tapu* and Māori conceptions

of *tapu* are quite different, and three of them (WH, WM, NT) maintained that the *tapu* of the traditional Māori world and the *tapu* of contemporary times are quite different. One translator (RR) made a very clear distinction between ‘sacred’ (no associated restriction) and ‘tapu’ (restricted) texts, while her conception of ‘sensitive’ texts (those that are to be kept private and, therefore restricted) seemed to relate closely to her conception of ‘tapu’ texts. RH and WH expressed similar views with regard to the restricted nature of both *tapu* and sensitive texts, while for WM, sensitive texts were not necessarily *tapu*, even though they might be restricted. Sacred texts were generally conceived of as being (a) texts that are meaningful to, or believed to be sacred by a particular group; and/or (b) ‘taonga tuku iho’ – texts that have their origin in the past and which are imbued with the *wairua* of the person who crafted them. In relation to the former, JM, RH and HP felt that texts that are held to be sacred by a particular group *must be respected and be handled sensitively* – although for HP, that respect was contingent on the credibility of a text’s author and the authenticity of the text.

In the context of *tapu* texts, NT noted that ‘taonga tuku iho’, which he conceived of as *any* Māori historical manuscript, whether ‘tapu’ or ‘noa’, *must be treated with respect and sensitivity*. Some translators contended that ‘taonga’, having been given as a ‘gift’ or legacy, carry with them a tacit obligation of *reciprocity* (NH) and a duty to *disseminate* that information to future generations (HP, WM).

Tapu texts were conceived of as (a) ‘intrinsically’ *tapu* texts, those relating to the deceased (*whakapapa*, tribal histories) (WM, WH) and those that have been passed down from the ancestors (WM, NT) or from ‘god’ or ‘the gods’ (TR, NT, WH); and (b) those that are ‘deemed to be *tapu*’ (such as those which pertain specifically to a particular group of people, or that contain the *wairua*, *mana* and *mauri* of a person or group of people), which may then be ‘made *tapu*’ (restricted) by a human agent (TR, WM). In relation to the latter, it was noted that the *wairua* associated with those kinds of *tapu* texts *must not be violated but must be preserved, which raises implications for the translator*. Certain *tapu* texts, it was argued, should be preserved in their original language and *not be translated*, while others should *not be tampered with at all* (WM). The views expressed here with

regard to the two kinds of ‘tapu’ texts bore a general resemblance to RR’s distinction between what she referred to as ‘sacred’ texts (*taonga*; relating to *mātauranga Māori*, given by the gods), and ‘tapu’ and ‘sensitive’ texts (those with some form of associated restriction).

Several of the translators (TR, RH, JM, WH, WM, NT) referred to a greater degree of complexity – and therefore difficulty – associated with sacred, *tapu* and sensitive texts, particularly so in the case of source texts that originate from outside of the translator’s own culture/s. Those translators noted that their approaches to such texts differed from their approach to other texts. Some of them referred to utilising parallel texts (JM, WH, RH, NH) and collaboration or consultation with knowledgeable elders, specialists or cultural ‘insiders’ (JM, EM, HP, NH), while others saw their role as more of an ‘intermediary’ or ‘agent’, reliant on their own specialised knowledge and the guidance of the *wairua* associated with that text (NT, WM). These translators felt that such a role could only be fulfilled by someone who understands the historical and sociological contexts of the source text, and is able to discern which aspects of a *tapu* text are appropriate to be translated and which are not – in short, *someone from within the source text culture*. Thus, while translators who have worked in cultural contexts other than their own emphasised a tentative or careful approach (TR, JM, RH) and advocated consultation with those to whom the source text belongs as a means of mitigating cultural and linguistic distance (TR), NT felt that he could not ethically participate in translation tasks where he had no understanding of the source culture, and HP contended that a translator will only successfully achieve his or her goal of translation if he or she is ‘meant to be’ translating that text, if he or she is the ‘right’ person.

References to the need for cultural sensitivity (TR, WH, NT) and ethical responsibility (TR, WH, WM, HP, JM, NH, NT, RH, RR) featured in the translators’ views. For one translator (RR), that ethical responsibility was reflected in her approach (collaborative translation with knowledgeable elders as mentors and *tikanga Māori* as guiding principles) as well as in her personal translation ethos of ‘pono’ and ‘tika’ (‘integrity’ and ‘accuracy’). In general,

however, those ethical obligations were felt most keenly by the translators when involved in translating texts from outside of their own cultural or tribal context.

The primary problem faced by the translators in the translation of sacred, *tapu* and sensitive texts was related to obscurity of meaning due to the complexity of culturally-embedded and esoteric references, compounded, in the case of Māori source texts, by the scarcity of sources, both literary and human, by which meaning could be elucidated. Generally, the translators dealt with those issues by undertaking extensive research, including drawing on parallel texts and consultation or collaboration with knowledgeable ‘insiders’, and in one case (RR) utilising a ‘gloss translation’ approach.

3.8 Conclusion

It can be seen that there are, among the views of the translators expressed here, varying conceptions of what constitutes a ‘sacred’, ‘tapu’ or ‘sensitive’ text, and that those variances are informed to a significant degree by people’s cultural, philosophical and, in some cases, religious perspectives. In the next chapter, I explore the degree to which ‘translator cognition’ – what translators think, know and believe – informs and impacts upon their translation practice.

Chapter 4

Translator cognition and the translation of sacred and sensitive texts: Reporting a series of think-aloud protocols

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a report on the protocols produced in a think-aloud translation exercise by a sample of translators in response to a request that they undertake a translation task whilst attempting to record their thoughts onto a digital recording device. An outline of the think-aloud exercise and its aims is provided (4.2), followed by a summary of the methodology employed in its conduct (4.3), including an overview of the use of think-alouds as a method of eliciting data (4.3.1) and their benefits and limitations (4.3.2). The method of data collection is then described (4.3.3), including some information about the participating translators (4.3.3.1), the selection of texts for translation (4.3.3.2), the conduct of the think-aloud translation task (4.3.3.3), and transcription and analysis of the protocols (4.3.3.4). A report on the think-aloud protocols is then provided (4.4), with each translator's protocols for the translation of the English and then the Māori text being followed by an overview of the main findings (4.5). The chapter closes with some concluding remarks (4.6).

4.2 The think-aloud translation exercise and its aims

A sample of translators, drawn from the group of translators who were interviewed, was requested to undertake a think-aloud translation task. The task required each of them to translate two text segments that could be regarded as being of a sacred and/or sensitive nature – one from English into Māori, the other from Māori into English. The purpose of the exercise was to investigate the ways in which the translators approached an actual translation task involving sacred and/or sensitive texts. The think-aloud recordings were then transcribed and the resulting transcripts, or 'protocols', analysed.

A think-aloud pilot study conducted by Bernardini (1999) investigated the effects of ‘routine’ and ‘non-routine’⁹⁸ task conditions on a number of professional translators who were also teachers of translation. The aim of her study was not to make a comparison between the quality of the translations that the subjects produced (‘between-subject’ analysis), but rather to observe the different processes employed by each individual translator under both ‘routine’ and ‘non-routine conditions’ (‘within-subject’ analysis) (p. 10). The aim of the think-aloud study reported here was similarly to observe *the processes* employed by each translator as s/he performed two translation tasks – one into his or her mother tongue, and one into his or her second language.

The translators were requested to verbalise their thoughts (to ‘think-aloud’) during the translation task, and record them using an audio-recording device with which they were provided. The brief given to the translators was that they should treat the exercise just as they would any translation task that they might undertake, making use of any resources or tools that they might normally use for the purpose of translating a text. They were asked to undertake the task on their own, in a place where they would habitually undertake translation tasks, whether that be their workplace, their home or any other place where they felt comfortable, and at a time or times that suited them within a period of two to three weeks. They were requested to verbalise their thoughts in whichever language felt comfortable to them: Māori, English or a combination of both. No particular audience for the translations was specified in the brief. This omission was deliberate, since the purpose of the think-aloud exercise was to see how the translators would address such issues as the intended audience of the translation in their procedures.

In order that the task should not be too arduous, and in keeping with the aims of the study, it was decided that each of the texts for translation should not exceed 300 words in length, and should be contextualised. The English language text consisted of an extract from *The Book of Mormon*: verses 7 to 11 from Chapter 5, The Book of Jacob (294 words in total) (*Appendix 5*). The Māori language text

⁹⁸ A ‘routine’ task was defined in Bernardini’s study (1999, p. 10) as one where the translator is translating *into* his or her mother-tongue (their daily working condition), and a ‘non-routine’ task as one where they are translating *out of* their mother-tongue.

was an extract from ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ (*Appendix 6*), an ancient composition attributed to Tuhoto-Ariki,⁹⁹ consisting of the first 19 lines of the text (126 words in total). Both texts have previously been translated: *The Book of Mormon* was translated in its entirety into Māori in 1889,¹⁰⁰ and the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*’s 1907 publication of ‘He Waiata-Karakia’, from which the text extract was taken, includes an English translation (*Appendix 7*) as well as explanatory notes¹⁰¹ (included in *Appendix 6*). The translators were provided with the entire text of ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ (eight verses, 135 lines) and the explanatory notes, but with the English translation removed. The *Book of Mormon* extract consisted of verses 7-11 inclusive of Chapter 5, as well as the book and chapter headings (*Appendix 5*). It was provided just as it appears in the book itself, that is, with no Māori translation (for the Māori translation of Jacob, v. 7-11, see *Appendix 8*).

4.2.1 Ethics

As with the interview process in *Chapter 3*, ethics approval was sought for this phase of the research study from ‘Te Kāhui Manutāiko’, the Human Research Ethics Committee of *Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao* (see *Appendix 9*). Once approval was granted, the translators who had participated in the interviews were contacted, initially by phone, to inquire whether they would be willing to receive an information pack (a Research Information Sheet, Participant Consent Form and Think-Aloud Instruction sheet – see below) relating to the think-aloud exercise for consideration.

As the participants were already familiar with the overall aims of the research, my main concern was to clarify for them what was meant by the terms ‘think-aloud’ and ‘think-aloud protocols’.

The Research Information Sheet (*Appendix 10*) provided a summary of the research being undertaken, including an explanation of think-aloud data

⁹⁹ In the introduction to ‘He Oriori mo Tuteremoana’ (a version of ‘He Waiata-karakia’) in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (1948, p. 257), Sir Apirana Ngata, writes “Tekau ma toru nga whakatipuranga mai i a Tuhotoariki ki tenei wa” (*From Tuhotoariki to the present day there are thirteen generations*).

¹⁰⁰ First published, however, as *Ko Te Pukapuka o Moromona*, in 1918.

¹⁰¹ Other published versions of the waiata-karakia appear in *Ngā Mōteatea Pt. III* (under the title ‘He Oriori mō Tu-tere-moana’), with accompanying English translation and annotations (2004b, pp. 2-19); and on the CD collection *He Waiata Onamata: Songs from the Past* (‘He Oriori mō Tuteremoana’), with English translation (Te Reo Rangatira Trust, 1998, pp. 13-18).

elicitation, its significance in relation to translation research, and the expected outcomes of the research. It also specified the time allocation for completion of the translation tasks, and clearly stated the participants' rights throughout the research process.

The Participant Consent Form (*Appendix 11*) was designed to ensure that the participants understood the information they had received, including their rights as a participant (Bowles, 2010, p. 113). It requested them to accept or decline to take part; to indicate whether they wished to remain anonymous or be named in the research; and to commit to completing the task within a mutually agreed timeframe of between two and three weeks.

A Think-Aloud Instructions sheet (*Appendix 12*), consisting of a one page explanation, in plain language, of the think-aloud procedure, was also provided to each participant (Bowles, 2010, pp. 114-116). It informed them that they could express their thoughts in whichever language/s they preferred during the think-aloud task, and that they should make use of any tools or aids that they habitually used when undertaking translation. The instruction sheet also informed participants that the think-aloud task would be preceded by a guided warm-up exercise,¹⁰² designed to familiarise them with the think-aloud procedure and provide them with an opportunity to ask questions of the researcher or to voice any concerns (p. 117).

The warm-up task was pilot-tested in advance of conducting the translation exercise in conditions that mirrored as closely as possible the conditions of the proposed think-aloud procedure, including the provision of think-aloud instructions (*ibid.*, p. 117).

I felt strongly that the sample of translators should ideally include *kaumātua*. I also felt that it was appropriate that the participants undertook the think-aloud exercise in their own 'space', rather than in a totally artificial setting. This, however, created a dilemma. It is one thing, in a Māori cultural context, to ask an

¹⁰² Because for most people 'thinking-aloud' is not a habitual or natural process, clear instructions and some form of training and/or trialling of the process prior to the actual task are recommended (Borg, 2006, p. 222; Bowles, 2010, pp. 114-117).

elder to consent to being interviewed in a context in which they have some idea in advance of the kinds of questions that will be put to them, and in which the interviewer is present to ensure that they are comfortable and are treated respectfully throughout the process.¹⁰³ It is quite another, however, to ask an elder to undertake – unaccompanied – an alien task involving a degree of technological savvy and, essentially, talking to a machine.¹⁰⁴ I felt, therefore, that it was particularly important to adhere as closely as possible to the principles of *tikanga Māori*, as well as to the recommendations in the literature for the conduct of think-aloud research (Bernardini, 1999; Borg, 2006; Defeng Li, 2004; Jääskeläinen, 2000).

4.3 Methodology of the think-aloud translation exercise

4.3.1 An overview of ‘think-alouds’ as a method of eliciting data

The term ‘think-aloud’ has been widely used in language research studies since the 1980s. It refers to a verbal report that is produced by a research participant whilst they undertake a particular task. The practice of using verbal reports as a tool for data collection had its genesis in psychology studies in the early 20th century. The focus of those early studies was the effects of the *researcher’s* verbalisations on participants’ ability to complete a set task.

From the 1950s, however, an ideological shift away from behaviorism¹⁰⁵ saw psychologists begin to turn the focus of their investigations to the cognitive processes of the *participants*, and what the participants’ own verbalisations might reveal about their performance of a task (Bowles, 2010, p. 5). Since then, the use of verbal reports has increased to the point where both ‘concurrent’¹⁰⁶ and

¹⁰³ For an explanation of the need for sensitivity in this regard, see Smith (1999) & Mikaere (1995). Both discuss the devastating effect that Western research as a tool of colonisation has had on Indigenous/Māori peoples, and their subsequent cynicism and distrust of the research process.

¹⁰⁴ I refer here not to the act of translation itself but rather to the technological aspects of the task, and to the fact that they would be undertaking the task in isolation. I was particularly concerned that the older participants might feel anxious about the technical demands of the exercise and therefore not complete it, and/or feel whakamā about not being able to do so.

¹⁰⁵ Behaviorism is based on the belief that all behaviors are acquired through conditioning, and can be measured, trained and changed.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Concurrent’ verbal reports are recorded in real time, in the moment that the participant is thinking them whilst performing the designated task.

‘retrospective’¹⁰⁷ verbal reports are widely accepted as useful sources of data related to participants’ thinking processes whilst performing a specified task (ibid.).

Verbal reports have been used in first language (L1) and second language (L2) research since the 1970s to investigate reading and writing processes. There is some ongoing controversy, however, in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) between those who believe researchers ought to focus only on ‘observable’ data, that is, on what language learners verbalise while undertaking language learning tasks, and those who are convinced that many processes in language learning are not observable and not able to be understood purely on the basis of what a learner says, and that, therefore, researchers should also take into account what that learner *thinks* about what he or she has said (ibid., p. 7).

Since the mid-1980s, verbal reports, or ‘think-alouds’, have also been used in process-oriented translation studies to investigate the translator’s thinking processes whilst engaged in a translation task. Early think-aloud studies in translation were primarily concerned with the analysis of translation strategies. For example, in a study by Lörcher (1986 & 1991), 48 German students of English were asked to produce a spoken translation of a written text while thinking-aloud.¹⁰⁸ The task was complicated by the fact that they were requested not to use dictionaries, with the expectation that a higher degree of problem-solving processes would then be evident in the resulting think-aloud data (Bernardini, 1999, p. 4).

From the 1990s, a discernible shift in translation research interest has occurred, with a movement away from ‘more prescriptive and anecdotal attitudes’ towards a ‘more descriptive, scientific approach’ involving empirical research (Bernardini, 1999, p. 1). The impetus for that shift was a growing belief among translation researchers that what goes on in the mind of the translator is at least as important

¹⁰⁷ ‘Retrospective’ verbal reports are recorded by the participants sometime *after* performing the designated task.

¹⁰⁸ While Lörcher sees the difference between oral and written translation processes as negligible, Toury (1995, p. 235) contends that “there is a real possibility that spoken and written translation do not involve the exact same strategies.”

as the translated text she or he produces (ibid.), something of particular relevance to those involved in the development of translation pedagogy (see, for example, Wakabayashi, 2003; Kiraly, 1995, p. 51; House, 2000, p. 152).

While translation research that utilises think-alouds continues to focus on problem-solving strategies, other aspects of the translator's cognitive processing have been investigated in recent years. They include cognitive planning, decision-making criteria, the focus of conscious attention, affective and attitudinal factors, and the variables between translating with pencil and paper and translating with computers (Defeng Li, 2004, pp. 301-2).

The term 'think-aloud protocols' refers to the transcribed record of the thoughts that have been verbalised during the performance of a set task. 'Good quality' think-aloud protocols will be as *accurate* and as *complete* as possible a representation of the thoughts verbalised by the participant/s in the think-aloud exercise under study (Borg, 2006, p. 220).

4.3.2 Benefits and limitations of think-alouds

The benefits of think-aloud protocols are widely recognised: they offer a means to study introspective processes which are normally covert (Borg, 2006, p. 224). Furthermore, as an 'empirically inductive' method that focuses on what translators actually do in reality, they allow for a departure from the tradition in Translation Studies that has tended to privilege theory over practice (Dechao Li, 2011, p. 112).

There are, however, major concerns about the experimental validity of think-aloud protocols in translation research studies conducted to date (see, for example, Bernardini, 1999; Dechao Li, 2011; Defeng Li, 2004; Tirkkonen-Condit & Jääskeläinen, 2000; Toury, 1991 & 1995). The basis of these concerns is that experimental conditions around the collection of think-aloud protocols in the translation studies context tend to be rather more relaxed than within the domain of the cognitive sciences, where experimental conditions are very rigorously maintained (Bernardini, 1999, p. 8). Being traditionally concerned more with

texts, languages and cultures than the inner workings of the human mind, translation researchers' recent forays into experimentation have often been characterised by inadequate methodological knowledge about experimental research. As a result, some of these studies may "lack the explanatory power required to draw reliable generalisations which are necessary for building viable theories and creating testable hypotheses" (Jääskeläinen, 2000, pp. 71-2). More significantly, the 'laxness' with which methodological issues such as research design, data analysis and reporting are currently being dealt in think-aloud protocols research in translation calls into question the validity of the results obtained from those experiments (Bernardini, 1999, p. 9).

Thus, while think-aloud protocols provide a useful means of examining the cognitive processing of the translator, it is clear that the experimental process by which the data are collected must be carried out with rigour, and that the design of the research must also be trustworthy (Dechao Li, 2011, p. 109). Likewise, while think-alouds can provide rich and informative data relating to various aspects of the translation process, the analysis of that data needs to be systematic and methodologically controlled in order to be valid. Translators, unless they are trained in cognitive psychology, are unlikely to be competent in that kind of analysis (see, for example, Bernardini, 1999, pp. 4 & 8; Jääskeläinen, 2000, pp. 71-2; Kovačič, 2000, pp. 101-2). On the other hand, it has been claimed that since translation is more 'holistic' than psychology and psycholinguistics, the degree of 'atomistic rigour' typically applied to research in those areas may not be appropriate in the case of translation research involving think-aloud protocols (Jääskeläinen, 2000, p. 72).

In terms of the method itself, think-alouds have sometimes been criticised on the grounds that the act of verbalising may itself be 'reactive', that is, may interfere with cognitive processing by imposing an additional processing load on the subject (Bowles, 2010, pp. 14-15; Toury, 1991, pp. 60-62 & 1995, pp. 234-238; Wakabayashi, 2000, p. 62). However, in their classic work on verbalisation as data, Ericsson & Simon (1985, pp. 78-80) claim that concurrent verbalisations of

‘thoughts *per se*’¹⁰⁹ will be largely non-reactive, providing a fairly accurate reflection of the subject’s cognitive processes (while slowing processing only slightly), but that they will be more reactive (still slowing processing only slightly but potentially interfering with cognitive processing) where they include explanations or justifications. It seems prudent, therefore, to treat reactivity as ‘multi-dimensional’, having the potential to be either positive (improving task performance) or negative (hindering task performance) (Bowles, 2010, p. 137).

It is important to note that Ericsson and Simon’s classic ‘model’ is specific to the domain of cognitive psychology, where the tasks investigated tend to be well-defined and characterised by “correct procedures and correct answers . . . [often] carried out in monolingual and monocultural settings” (Jääskeläinen, 2011, p. 18). Conversely, translation is more idiosyncratic, requiring translators to draw on a range of “cultural, encyclopedic, domain-specific and strategic knowledge”, the storage and encoding of which we yet understand very little (*ibid.* pp. 17 & 19).

Other factors highlighted as potentially impacting on the outcome of think-alouds in translation research include ‘automaticity’ and ‘affective factors’. Think-alouds can reveal *consciously* processed information which is retrievable from short-term memory. Automated cognitive processes, however, do not enter the short-term memory and we are not conscious of them (O’Brien, 2011, p. 2). In a think-aloud situation, automaticity refers to the propensity for highly-skilled or professional translators to verbalise less than novice translators because their cognitive processing style has become more ‘automatised’ through practice and experience (Bernardini, 2010, p. 2). Researchers should be aware of such possibilities and take them into account when analysing the protocols produced in a study, particularly where ‘between-subject’ analyses are involved (such as, for example, between professional translators and novice or student translators).

¹⁰⁹ The terms ‘thoughts *per se*’, or ‘non-metacognitive’ refer to straight verbalisations of the subject’s thoughts when produced with no justification or explanation included. Where justifications or explanations are included, the verbalisations are referred to as ‘metacognitive’ (Bowles, 2010, p. 14).

Affective factors have also been found to influence the outcomes of think-aloud protocols. These include: the extent of the subject's involvement in a given task; the subject's self-confidence; the degree to which the subject feels relaxed in the environment where the study is undertaken; and whether the translation task is 'routine' (into their 'mother tongue') or 'non-routine' (into a second language) (Bernardini, 1999, p. 2). Additionally, participants 'vary significantly' in terms of their innate aptitude for thinking-aloud, and may tend to explain their thoughts to the researcher rather than to simply verbalise their thoughts in the moment (Borg, 2006, p. 224). Consequently, more recent think-aloud protocol studies in translation have employed a 'within-subject' rather than 'between-subject' design, in an effort to "limit the biasing effect of individual differences" among participants (Bernardini, 1999, p. 17).

With regard to the degree to which a subject is comfortable verbalising, it has been noted that 'thinking-aloud' is not a natural behaviour for most people, and that some form of demonstration and/or training is advisable prior to the study proper to ensure that the participant understands the technique (Borg, 2006, pp. 222-223; Bowles, 2010, pp. 114-117; O'Brien, 2011, p. 2).

Overall, the idiosyncratic nature of the translation process itself, combined with the distinctive differences in the cognitive environments of individual subjects, means that it is advisable to regard think-alouds as having 'different functions under different circumstances' rather than as a 'one-size-fits-all' method (Bowles, 2010, p. 137). Furthermore, the protocols obtained in think-aloud translation studies should be carefully evaluated, since the affective factors discussed above may influence the results 'in unpredictable ways' (Bernardini, 1999, p. 7).

4.3.3 Method of data collection

4.3.3.1 The participating translators

Five of the ten translators whose interviews provided the data for *Chapter 3* of this study agreed to participate in the think-aloud translation exercise. They are:

Matua Ray Harlow (**RH**), Whaea Jane McRae (**JM**), Matua Tom Roa (**TR**), Matua Te Wharehuia Milroy (**WM**), and Enoka Murphy (**EM**).¹¹⁰

4.3.3.2 Selection of the texts for translation

The selection of suitable texts for this section of the study, undertaken by myself and my research supervisors, was problematic. First, it was important that they be of a nature that could be considered to be sacred and/or *tapu* and/or sensitive. In fact, for the purposes of this process- rather than product-oriented study, the texts chosen would need ideally to be *maximally* ‘sacred’, and/or *maximally* ‘tapu’ and/or *maximally* ‘sensitive’.

As discussed in *Chapter 3*, whether a text is considered to be sacred, sensitive or *tapu* depends upon the worldview and cultural orientation of the observer. Even so, the interviews conducted as part of this study revealed that, in general, the participants regarded the ‘holy’ books of a particular faith or religion to be sacred and Māori *karakia* and narratives dealing with esoteric matters to be sacred and/or *tapu*. Thus, a *karakia tawhito* (ancient incantation) for the Māori text for translation into English, and a ‘biblical’ text for the English text for translation into Māori seemed to be suitable choices.

The Book of Mormon was considered to be a suitable text, and particularly appropriate because none of the participating translators are members of the Mormon faith. Subtitled ‘Another Testament of Jesus Christ’, the *Book of Mormon* is described in its introduction as “a volume of holy scripture comparable to the Bible”, which is “a record of God’s dealings with the ancient inhabitants of the Americas and contains the fulness of the everlasting gospel” (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1981). A colleague who is a practicing Mormon and who is active in the church was consulted. He suggested a passage from the Book of Jacob, Chapter 5. His recommendation was based on the allegorical nature of

¹¹⁰ I had hoped to have the cultural knowledge and expertise of kaumātua – at least one koroua and one kuia – represented within the sample of translators for this study. While WM, a koroua, did agree to participate, the kuia who was invited to take part was unable to do so, due to illness.

the text, which he believed would appeal to a Māori love of narrative, but also be challenging due to its cultural specificity. The passage proposed for the English text was from the Book of Jacob, Chapter 5, verses 7-11 inclusive (*Appendix 5*).

In seeking a suitable Māori text for the translation into English, permission was sought to use a *karakia tawhito* which is part of a private manuscript collection and is therefore not widely known. After some deliberation amongst the guardians of that collection, however, the request was declined on the grounds that it was felt there was insufficient representation of females, and particularly *kuia* (elderly females) among the proposed translators. Given the nature and status of that text, and the fact that none of the translators in the sample are affiliated to the tribal groups to which the text belongs, it was perhaps unsurprising that the request was declined.

A colleague then suggested a text with which he was familiar, an ancient *waiata-karakia* attributed to Tuhoto-Ariki of the Te Arawa tribe, which was published in 1907 in an issue of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (The Polynesian Society, 1907, pp. 43-60) under the English title ‘An Ancient Maori Poem’. The text is published along with a translation (‘and paraphrase’) into English by G. H. Davies and J. H. Pope, and accompanied by some explanatory notes by H. T. Whatahoro, also translated by George Davies. That same colleague proposed that lines 1 to 19 of Tuhoto-Ariki’s composition, denoted in the text as Verse 1,¹¹¹ should comprise the Māori text for the think-aloud translation task. In his opinion, that portion of text, although brief, would be challenging due to the number of esoteric and obscure references within.

4.3.3.3 The think-aloud translation exercise procedure

Each of the participating translators was treated separately. In each case, I met with them at their home or workplace, at a time that suited them. The session began with a brief reiteration of the purpose of the study, a demonstration of the

¹¹¹ In both the *JPS* and *Ngā Mōteatea* versions, ‘He Waiata-karakia’ is laid out in ‘verses’ and for the sake of clarity I refer to the text and its ‘verses’. However, I feel it is important to note that Tuhoto-Ariki’s composition is an oral text that has been recorded in written form by someone other than the original composer, and has therefore, in that process, undergone a translation (see Green (2005) in *Chapter 2* (2.11), pp. 39-40).

operation of the audio-recording devices¹¹² that they would be using during the translation task, and an introduction to the warm-up task.

For the warm-up task, six photographic images which were deliberately cryptic and/or emotive in nature were laid out face-down in front of the translator, who was asked to turn the images over one at a time and to verbalise whatever thoughts came to him or her while looking at the image. They were then asked to select the image that most appealed to them and create a caption or slogan for that image, simultaneously verbalising their thoughts.¹¹³

Both during and after the warm-up exercise, the translator was given the opportunity to ask questions or voice any concerns. Once we were both satisfied that the think-aloud technique was understood, the translator was given the two text extracts for translation in hard-copy format, with the option to have them in electronic format if they wished. The date for collection of the completed think-aloud sound files was agreed, and the translator was left to complete the task in his or her own time, on the understanding that I could be contacted by cell phone at any time if concerns arose during the procedure.

After the agreed time had elapsed – or earlier if the translator contacted me to say the work had been completed – I collected the recorded sound files. At that time, a *koha* was given to the translator as an act of reciprocity and to express my thanks for their participation.

4.3.3.4 Transcription and analysis of the think-aloud protocols

The participants' think-aloud recordings were transcribed 'verbatim'.¹¹⁴ Coding was kept to a minimum, indicating such features as: significant pauses [. . . .]; intonation, such as 'rising' or emphasis [*italicised*]; paralinguistic features, such

¹¹² Duplicate recorders were supplied and the participants were requested to utilise both simultaneously, as a precaution against malfunction in one of the recorders.

¹¹³ Initially, I had designed, and piloted, the warm-up task to involve a brief captioning task with photographic images, followed by a brief translation task using a sample of text (one verse, consisting of three lines, taken from the Book of Jacob but not from the section from which the text extract for the task proper was selected). In the warm-up task with the first translator (TR), however, it became quickly evident that the task needed to be less complicated (see fn. 116), and the format was adjusted for the subsequent translators so that it consisted only of the task involving the photographic images.

¹¹⁴ 'Verbatim' generally denotes an 'exact' reproduction. I acknowledge that the transcripts in this case can only be regarded as a 'best effort' to reproduce the material on the aural recording in written form, and not as an authoritative version of the recordings.

as laughing or sighing [(noted in brackets)]; unclear verbalisation [(indistinct)]; fast reading [fastreadingasiflikethis]; and any relevant sound effects, such as turning of pages [(noted in brackets)] (Bernardini, 1999, p. 13). Periodically, and for my own cross-referencing purposes, I also inserted time markers in the text [(08:47)]. The resulting transcriptions, or protocols, were submitted to the relevant translators for their approval.

The data was then analysed, according to the predominant themes that emerged from initial readings of the protocols, as well as from the interview data (*Chapter 3*). The observations made by researchers in the think-aloud literature, regarding the need to allow for potential variances in the data relating to automaticity and/or affective factors, as well as the idiosyncratic nature of the technique itself, were taken into account during analysis of the protocols, as were the divergent levels of experience, training and language and cultural competency of the individuals involved. In addition, a concerted effort was made to keep the focus of the analysis on the individuals' *procedures* as they negotiated the two diverse texts, rather than on the *product* of their efforts.

In writing up the data, brief excerpts from the translators' protocols that correspond to the relevant themes are presented. Where those excerpts are in Māori, a translation¹¹⁵ is provided.

4.4 Reporting the think-aloud protocols

4.4.1 TR: Think-Aloud Protocols

4.4.1.1 *Book of Mormon* translation

TR's protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation consist of two sessions: the first is the recording of his warm-up exercise¹¹⁶, 12 minutes in duration (Tom

¹¹⁵ All English translations of the Māori language responses in this section are provided by Jillian Tipene.

¹¹⁶ The think-aloud produced by TR in his warm-up in relation to the brief translation task was (unexpectedly) extensive and informative, and I realised that the purpose of the warm-up had been exceeded (refer to fn. 113, p. 142). The warm-up task was subsequently adjusted for the other translators, but, due to the richness of the data obtained in TR's warm-up and the overall brevity of his think-alouds in the task proper, the warm-up protocols were included in the data analysis.

Roa, Think-aloud Protocols, Warm-up Exercise, November 2011 – Transcript 1, *Appendix 14*), and the second records his actual translation task, 20 minutes in duration (Tom Roa, Think-aloud Protocols, November 2011 – Transcript 2, *Appendix 15*). His warm-up exercise protocols have been included here because of the richness of the data that was produced, and because they provide important context for the subsequent protocols produced during the actual translation task. **TR**'s protocols for the *Book of Mormon* text record a draft translation of the entire text extract, rendered orally. They are distinguished by their brevity and conciseness.

Nature of the source text

TR makes clear references to what he considers the nature of the source text to be:

[T]here's a usage in the English of this . . . almost biblical text (*Appendix 15*, lines 72-3).

[A]nd that this is a sacred text (*Appendix 15*, line 39).

I te mea . . . he tuhinga tapu [Because . . . it is a sacred text] (*Appendix 14*, line 44).

Context

He refers to the need for contextual information, including information about the author and his/her intended audience, as a starting point in the translation process. He would also determine whether the source text was part of a more extensive text:

The . . . first process is to read through the whole of the . . . text that's in front of me, and then, what I might normally do is find the text, from the *Book of Mormon* or wherever it came from, and . . . try to get a background about where this writer contextualises him- or herself, and . . . other items of background, like something about the writer, something about how come that person came to write this piece, and then, thinking about the audience . . . for whom it's intended in the source text (*Appendix 14*, lines 5-11).

I would also look at the . . . the chapter and the verses in their contexts, just as a general overview and a general understanding of the material (Appendix 15, lines 19-21).

[I]f this is . . . to be just a . . . very brief interpretation . . . then I do it differently, like I just start on the words, say, well, this is *a* brief interpretation. But if I'm doing a translation then I try to make sure that I've . . . followed all the signals . . . not just in . . . the words themselves, but the contexts, the discourse. So, having all of those kinds of backgrounders, I start on the translation (Appendix 14, lines 21-6).

Consultation

TR refers to the need to consult clients (*kiriutu/kiritaki*), regarding the background contexts of the text and the audience for whom the translation is intended, and also those with 'insider' knowledge:

Ā, ko tētehi wāhanga kua whaia ai e au, ā, ki ēnei tūmomo whakamāoritanga, ka hui i te taha o ngā kiritaki, ngā kiriutu, ā, me te patapatai, ā, ki te, ā, te horopaki o te kōrero, ki tā rātou e mōhio rā rātou [One practice that I have maintained when conducting these kinds of translations is to meet with the client and interview them about their understandings of the text and its context] (Appendix 14, lines 46-8).

Part of my process also is to ask the client . . . who do they in turn view the work for . . . is it for a group of children, is it for a group of adults who are already Mormon, and so would have other understandings of the . . . background contexts (Appendix 14, lines 11-14).

For example, I would ask a person of the . . . Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints about the *Book of Mormon*, its backgrounds (Appendix 15, lines 5-7).

[A]s I look through it, I would jot down or note unusual . . . vocabulary or phrasings – unusual to *me* – and again talk with a person of the Mormon faith about what their understanding of those phrasings are (Appendix 15, lines 21-4).

Text-based information sources

For **TR**, these include dictionaries and, where relevant, existing translations:

I don't know this word 'cumber'. So, I also look it up (Appendix 15, lines 25-6)

I would also have . . . searched out to see if the *Book of Mormon* has a Māori translation which perhaps I can refer to (Appendix 15, lines 79-80).

Language/style of the source text

TR makes several references to linguistic aspects of the text:

I . . . make a point of being very careful with the style, with the register (Appendix 15, lines 38-9).

[T]here [is] a usage in the English of this . . . almost biblical text: 'Unto his servant', 'It grieveth me that', 'Whithersoever I will', etcetera, 'bring them hither unto me', . . . 'wherefore', etcetera, etcetera (Appendix 15, lines 72-5).

Intended meanings

He refers to the 'wairua' of the source text, which for him relates to the message that the text's author intends for the audience:

[I]f I start with the words themselves, then I feel that . . . I'm missing the wairua . . . what is the message that the source writer is trying to convey to his or her readers, and then . . . how is that message from English best expressed in Māori (Appendix 14, lines 17-21).

[I] read through the whole text in English, to check through that I have an understanding of what is intended by the source author, and the various contexts (Appendix 15, lines 3-5).

Inclusion and omission

Here, **TR** proposes to omit a particular phrase that he feels is redundant in the target text, but rethinks that decision after taking the ‘signaling’ in the text into consideration:

In this translation . . . in the last clause, ‘and we will cast them into the fire that they may be burned’, I haven’t translated ‘that they may be burned’. And the reason that I haven’t translated it is that, in the Māori, well even in the English, ‘that they may be burned’ is clearly understood, if you throw something into the fire it will burn. . . . maybe I should say, *Ka whiua atu kia pau katoa ki te ahi*. . . . [T]he signalling . . . of those sequences in the language need to be given proper attention (Appendix 15, lines 47-54).

Nature of the translation

TR’s aim is always a translation that is natural and acceptable to the receiving culture. Another priority, however, in the case of this particular sacred text, is to maintain the style and register of the source text in the translation:

[I] consider firstly the type of register, the style . . . that’s expected of this, even before the meaning (Appendix 14, lines 15-6).

I look at . . . each phrase, and again the context of that phrase, and try to fit the Māori . . . to its culture, . . . the . . . ideal of a translation to me is that it doesn’t *look* like a translation, it looks as if it has come from that culture, but its messages are totally congruent with the culture (Appendix 15, lines 28-32).

I . . . make a point of being very careful with the style, with the register, and that this is a sacred text . . . in English, . . . he tapu anō ki te reo Māori; he tapu anō te reo . . . Māori, ā, kia tau ai taua tapu ki te reo Pākehā [it is also a sacred text in the Māori language; if it is a sacred text in Māori, so too should that sacredness be present in the English (translation)] (Appendix 15, lines 38-41).

As I reflect on this, I've made a lot of usage of 'ai' . . . [in] . . . trying to ensure that that style in English is reflected by a formality of style in Māori (Appendix 15, lines 71-6).

TR's use of the Waikato Tainui dialect was evident in his translation, with 'ana' (his/her/its) rendered as 'ngana'. He also translated 'servant' as 'hāwini', a transliteration of the English, rather than the ubiquitous 'pononga':

[M]e tiaki e au . . . **ngana** pakiaka kia kaua ia e mate ai [emphasis added] (Appendix 15, line 70).

[M]e te kī ki tana **hāwini** [emphasis added] (Appendix 15, lines 44; 65; 69).

Final checking for accuracy and/or 'wairua'

Having completed a first draft, **TR** would habitually proceed to check the accuracy of his work, and whether or not the *wairua* of the source text has been conveyed in the translation:

Ka mutu tērā tuhituhi, ka hoki anō au, me te pātai i roto i a au, kua pēwhea rā taku mahi, he tika te pātōtō? He tika te whakatakoto? He tika te kupu? he tika ngā tikanga? He tika te, ah, te whakamāori, he mārama, ah, ki te, te hunga ka pānui mai ēnei kōrero? Ā, . . . kua mau te wairua o te kōrero? Ā, me pēwhea rānei e au te whakatika i taku whakamāoritanga, kia tau rānō te wairua o taua kōrero nei. I te mea, . . . he tuhinga tapu, me tapu rānō te reo . . . he tuhinga tapu . . . o te reo Pākehā, me tapu rānō te tuhinga ki te reo Māori, ā, ki taua rehita [When I've finished the writing, I go back over it, asking myself: is the typing accurate? The grammar? Is it going to be clear to the people reading it? Has the wairua of the text been captured? If not, how could I improve my translation to ensure that it is invested with the wairua of the (source) text? Being a sacred text, the language needs to reflect that. For a sacred text in English, the translation into Māori should be just as sacred, to that same degree of formality] (Appendix 14, lines 39-46).

Other considerations

For **TR**, other considerations include whether the source text is itself a translation:

So the English is a translation of the original language which came from the Hebrew (Appendix 15, lines 16-17).

4.4.1.2 TR: ‘He Waiata-Karakia’

TR moved directly from the *Book of Mormon* translation task on to the Māori text for translation. His protocols for ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ (Tom Roa, Think-aloud Protocols, November 2011 – Transcript 3, *Appendix 16*) are also distinguished by their brevity at a little under 13 minutes in length. The orally rendered draft translation undertaken by **TR** in this instance was curtailed, and at the conclusion of his protocols the translation is incomplete.

Nature of the source text

TR has had a prior association with ‘He Waiata-Karakia’, which he considers to be a sacred text:

I’m familiar with it, and know also of the . . . translation provided for it (Appendix 16, lines 10-11).

I believe this is a sacred text (Appendix 16, line 24).

[A] key ingredient is the . . . sacred nature of the text (Appendix 16, lines 44-5).

Context

While a certain amount of contextual information was provided with the text, **TR** wanted to know more, particularly about the author’s background and ‘status’:

[T]he background to this is given, . . . although there are . . . other questions that I’d tend to ask about the author and the circumstances of the birth of the grand-nephew, . . . and of course . . . Tuhoto-Ariki’s status amongst the iwi (Appendix 16, lines 1-5).

TR also referred to looking for and making use of semantic relational signals that could assist in making sense of the Māori text:

[T]here's . . . an expectation in the first language that there would be . . . terms and phrasings which would signal certain . . . relationships . . . I would use those as much as I could (Appendix 16, lines 6-8).

Consultation

Consultation with those to whom the source text belongs, those who know firsthand the history and significance of the composition, forms an integral part of **TR**'s procedure:

I had . . . done a similar exercise with this very piece, consulted with . . . people of Kurahaupō, . . . not just of Kurahaupō, but also of Te Arawa . . . some of whom claim Tuhoto-Ariki as . . . a tupuna [ancestor] of theirs (Appendix 16, lines 12-14).

Text-based information sources

TR refers to using dictionaries to help clarify meanings:

[S]ome of these terms are . . . unfamiliar . . . so I would look some of them up in a number of dictionaries, and then try to give a sense of the Māori (Appendix 16, lines 22-3).

Language/style of the source text

Although he makes very few direct references to the style of the text, the following give some indication of his view of its complexity and style:

‘Huaki-pouri’ . . . brings about an image of . . . the passage way . . . the birth passage. But ‘te pae o Huaki-pouri’ is . . . some might describe it as a barrier-way . . . but . . . I’d . . . consider the many meanings of ‘pae’, and . . . the English would need to reflect all those various meanings – metaphorical, poetic (Appendix 16, lines 25-33).

‘Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi i te one i Kurawaka, i tātaia ai te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi. Ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia . . .’
So, some of these . . . terms are . . . unfamiliar (Appendix 16, lines 19-22).

Intended meanings

His comment in the previous section, that “the English would need to reflect all [the] various [metaphorical] meanings” of the one expression, ‘pae’ (Appendix 16, lines 29-30) indicates that, for **TR**, ‘meaning’ is not a linguistically encoded phenomenon, but is context dependent.

Inclusion and omission

No inclusions or omissions were recorded in the protocols for ‘He Waiata-Karakia’.

Nature of the translation

TR refers to the translation needing to ‘reflect’ the various metaphorical and ‘poetic’ meanings of the source text. In relation to sacred and sensitive texts, a primary consideration for him is that the nature of the source text – its style and register – be maintained in the translation:

So, the use of ‘thee’, ‘thy’, ‘thine’, ‘thou’, etcetera, is . . . an important option. ‘Nau mai e Tama’: *Welcome, Son*. I might include: *Welcome, o Son*. I would not use *Welcome, my boy*, because that takes it to a . . . different register (Appendix 16, lines 45-8).

I would make that a very rough draft, and then go through it again, and consider . . . once again, the audience for whom the translation is intended. And . . . a key ingredient is . . . the sacred nature of the text (Appendix 16, lines 41-5).

Final checking for accuracy and/or ‘wairua’

No reference to final checking was recorded in these protocols. It could be presumed, however, that a similar process to that outlined in the protocols for the

Book of Mormon text – checking for accuracy and intelligibility, and also whether the *wairua* of the source text has been conveyed – would also have been undertaken in this case.

Other considerations

No other considerations of note were recorded in these protocols.

4.4.2 RH: Think-Aloud Protocols

4.4.2.1 *Book of Mormon* translation

RH's translation of the *Book of Mormon* text extract was completed in two sessions, the first of just under 18 minutes in duration and the second of just under 25 minutes (Ray Harlow, Think-aloud Protocols, October 2011 – Transcripts 1 & 2, see *Appendix 17*). **RH**'s protocols record his draft translation of the text, and he also submitted a typed translation (*Appendix 18*).

Nature of the source text

For **RH**, the *Book of Mormon* text is seen in terms of its similarity to the *Bible* (King James Version)¹¹⁷:

[H]ighly imitative of the authorised version of the *Bible* (*Appendix 17*(1), lines 2-3).

[E]xpressions . . . which are associated with biblical language (*Appendix 17*(1), lines 6-7).

Context

RH refers to issues arising as a result of his lack of familiarity with the background context of the source text:

Now, this raises an interesting question already, and I don't know how people treat this, I don't know what the church's view of this [is], is the book written *by* somebody called Mormon . . . or is it a book *about*

¹¹⁷ Ray Harlow, personal communication, April 17, 2013.

Mormon? . . . Same thing applies to the actual book within it, which is ‘Te Pukapuka’, again . . . ‘*of Jacob*’, so I’m going to put ‘o’ assuming this is more *about Jacob* than actually *by Jacob* (Appendix 17(1), lines 41-47).

[O]ne would need of course to know a lot more about the book to perhaps make that decision (Appendix 17(1), lines 51-2).

Of course, leaving the bits I’ve mentioned just now as not determinable for the moment, but a full knowledge of the whole *Book of Mormon* would . . . help to distinguish between those two ideas (Appendix 17(1), lines 55-8).

Consultation

No reference to consultation was recorded in these protocols.

Text-based information sources

RH refers to utilising and cross-referencing a range of text-based sources, including dictionaries and concordances, internet software, and the online Māori translation of the *Bible*:

[T]he tools here would therefore be, not just the standard dictionaries . . . *Williams* [and] online *Ngata*, but an online version of the *Māori Bible* . . . available at Bible Gateway.com, . . . which allows you to search by verse, . . . but in order to navigate that, I would need a concordance or some way of searching the English Bible, and as it turns out I’ve got that on my iPhone, through software called Olive Tree . . . And it contains . . . various texts of the *Bible*, but also a search machine (Appendix 17(1), lines 8-17).

[O]ne should always, having looked up something in, say, *Ngata*, always go back to look at *Williams*, to see if they look as though they fit (Appendix 17(1), lines 117-8).

Language/style of the source text

He observes that the language of the source text is dated and somewhat formulaic, in the style of the (King James Version) *Bible*:

[I]t's written in a version of English which is highly imitative of the authorised version of the Bible (Appendix 17(1), lines 2-3).

[F]or instance there's talk here of a vineyard, wild olive trees, servants and so on, expressions like 'it came to pass', and 'behold' and so on, which are associated with biblical language (Appendix 17(1), lines 5-7).

'It grieveth me that I should lose this tree'. . . . now, 'grieveth' of course is one of these old-fashioned forms (Appendix 17(1), lines 67-9).

'[W]herefore that perhaps I might preserve the roots thereof that they perish not, that I might preserve them unto myself . . . I have done this thing'. Pretty awful English (Appendix 17(2), lines 96-8).

Well, this sort of thing is very reminiscent of what goes on in Psalm . . . 50 (Appendix 17(2), lines 100-1).

'Nā' in the Māori Bible correlating to 'Behold'. It's after all just a sort of expletive . . . it doesn't mean something like 'Well, look at this!', it's not as lexically content-full as that. . . . 'It came to pass' means no more than, 'that's what happened next'. It translates a particular Hebrew expression I happen to know, which is pretty content-less, it's a stylistic thing (Appendix 17(1), lines 29-39).

Intended meanings

RH refers to inferring the meaning intended by the author from the text's context:

What he actually says is: 'It grieveth me that I should lose this tree'. . . . what it means is, he doesn't want to lose the tree . . . So I'm going to treat this more as 'I will be sorry *if* I lose the tree', and what does it mean to lose a tree? The tree's still there. 'Lose the tree' would be the tree dying (Appendix 17(1), lines 67-72).

I think it's easier actually to be explicit at this point, where the English says 'in the stead thereof' – in other words, 'where they were', so I've put 'I've attached them to the place of the ones that have been plucked off' (Appendix 17(2), lines 67-70).

Inclusion and omission

A number of inclusions and omissions were made during **RH**'s translation procedure:

‘[T]hese new shoots’, *ēnei* . . . I’m not going to bother with ‘tender’ again this time, just ‘new’, *ēnei manga hou, ā, ka honoa* . . .’ (Appendix 17(2), lines 53-5).

I’d better put in ‘the tree’, probably last here, *te rākau* . . . probably is intelligible without, but it makes it clearer I think (Appendix 17(2), lines 146-7).

He translated references to the ‘master’ of the vineyard and to the ‘Lord’ of the vineyard as ‘rangatira’ throughout¹¹⁸:

‘**Master**’ I’ll call ‘**rangatira**’, this tends to be used in modern Māori . . . as well as for its more traditional one [emphasis added] (Appendix 17(1), lines 63-4)

‘[I]t was achieved by . . . the **Lord** of the vineyard, what the **Lord** of the vineyard said. So, something like: *Ka tutuki i te pononga a te rangatira o te mārawāina tā te rangatira o te mārawāina i whakahau ai* [emphasis added] (Appendix 17(2), lines 86-9).

In a separate typewritten translation of the *Book of Mormon* text extract, which **RH** submitted along with his sound files (*Appendix 18*), the wording of the translation is largely as rendered in the protocols reported here, but punctuation – commas, inverted commas, new line breaks, full stops and capitalisations – has been added.

Nature of the translation

RH's translation procedure involves researching how phrasings and idioms in the *Book of Mormon* text have been expressed in the existing Māori translation of the *Bible*, and importing or adapting them into his translation:

¹¹⁸ According to the typed translation submitted by **RH** at the time of submitting his soundfiles (*Appendix 18*), in rendering ‘Lord’ as ‘rangatira’ he omitted capitalization of the ‘r’.

[A]nd so what I would do in trying to translate this would be, where possible, and where easy to do, to look for parallel items and so on from the existing *Bible* translation (Appendix 17(1), lines 3-5).

[T]he first thing I want to do is establish what is the word used in the *Māori Bible* for ‘vineyard’, and it turns out to be ‘mārawāina’, so I would use that throughout. Before I even try and put pen to paper, I’m going to see what the normal translation in the *Māori Bible* is for ideas such as ‘behold’ and ‘it came to pass’ (Appendix 17(1), lines 17-21).

The word for ‘chapter’ in the Bible is ‘upoko’, and the word ‘whiti’ is used for ‘verses’, so we’ve now got the heading (Appendix 17(1), lines 53-4).

RH refers at times to following the construction of the English, even though the resulting translation does not sound natural to him:

Well there’s certainly a lot of repetitive stuff . . . here, the English repeats the expression ‘the Lord of the vineyard’, so I’m going to do that in the Māori as well. It’s probably a bit stilted in both languages . . . So, something like: *Ka tutuki i te pononga a te rangatira o te mārawāina tā te rangatira o te mārawāina i whakahau ai* - bit wordy, but there you go (Appendix 17(2), lines 82-9).

At other times, choices he makes are based on his own idea of what makes sense in the context of the text, or what will make the target text clear to the receiving audience:

I’m going to use ‘ngaki’ for this, because that’s the *sense* (Appendix 17(2), line 119).

[P]robably is intelligible without, but it makes it clearer I think (Appendix 17(2), line 147).

Final checking for accuracy and/or ‘wairua’

There is no reference in the protocols to final checking or refinement. In the written translation submitted by **RH** (*Appendix 18*), however, it is evident that a process of refinement has occurred – presumably after the session was concluded – which was not recorded in the think-aloud data.

Other considerations

RH also makes specific reference to a grammatical ‘rule’ in Māori:

I’m going to use the ‘ka . . . ai’ construction that you can use for two, for the second or subsequent command in a string. So . . . *ka mau mai ai ki ahau* (*Appendix 17(1)*, lines 99-101).

4.4.2.2 ‘He Waiata-Karakia’

RH’s translation of Tuhoto-Ariki’s ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text was completed in one session of just under 18 minutes in length (Ray Harlow, Think-aloud Protocols, October 2011 – Transcript 3, *Appendix 19*). His protocols contain a draft translation of the entire text extract. No written translation was submitted in this case.

Nature of the source text

RH refers to the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text as a ‘traditional song’ and to the difficulty associated with translation of those kinds of texts, due to the nature of the contents:

I’m about to have a go at translating a short passage from a mōteatea, traditional song (*Appendix 19*, lines 1-2).

‘I’ve always . . . avoided getting involved with [Māori] songs because I find them very very difficult, but . . . I’ll have a go (*Appendix 19*, lines 9-10).

Now this . . . is a type of song of which I’m not familiar. In fact, it . . . looks more like . . . an ‘oriori’ . . . [or] ‘lullaby’, [which] . . . usually contains a great deal of reference to ancient history, mythology . . . it’s a

kind of instruction to the child . . . an identity for the child, and so on (Appendix 19, lines 15-20).

Context

He refers to struggling to comprehend the meaning of obscure references with little background contextual knowledge of the text and the purpose for which it was composed:

Well, there are three items, ‘pūtoto’ here, um, in *Williams* [dictionary]: . . . ‘bloody’ or ‘raw’; . . . ‘a horn for sounding’; and . . . ‘a particular bird’, well, of these only birds really can ‘gather’, I’d say. But I’ll just check the note . . . No, in fact, . . . whoever’s written these notes has taken the ‘pūtoto’ here to be the ‘blood’ one (Appendix 19, lines 44-50).

The note says . . . ‘This is a vexing child, that is, he thrusts his foot through his mother’s passage, or his hand, doing this to assert his sacredness’. I don’t myself see that in here, but the idea is . . . this is the extending of the umbilical cord, with the notion of grasp in it (Appendix 19, lines 96-9).

‘Rauru-a-marua-aitu’, we’re told that this signifies . . . a stillborn child. Um, it seems rather odd here, I don’t know really what to make of that at all . . . the child itself is not stillborn (Appendix 19, lines 100-2).

Consultation

No consultation was referred to, nor undertaken as part of the translation procedure.

Text-based information sources

Text-based information sources that RH refers to using include dictionaries, the notes provided with the source text, and *Ngā Mōteatea*:

Resources I probably will be using in the course of this are . . . the *Williams* dictionary of course but also, because it is a type of traditional song, cross-referencing to . . . the Ngata/Te Hurinui volumes [*Ngā Mōteatea*] will possibly be useful (Appendix 19, lines 2-5).

[T]he text I've been given is provided with some notes . . . which I'll be making use of as well (Appendix 19, lines 7-9).

[A] couple of words that I'll need to check in the dictionary . . . what the sense of 'tātai' in this section is (Appendix 19, lines 36-8).

[P]roceeding again, with the help, very much, of the dictionary and of the notes, the next nine lines seem to be about the stages of birth and formation (Appendix 19, lines 73-4).

[F]irst reaction to 'ka whakawhetū', is . . . to 'make himself into a star'; to 'become a star'. But in fact the dictionary . . . has a more general sense than that . . . 'wakeful; sleepless' (Appendix 19, lines 76-9).

On discovering a translated version of Tuhoto-Ariki's composition in *Ngā Mōteatea*,¹¹⁹ **RH** is adamant that his work should not be influenced by the existing translation:

Now, it turns out that this song actually *is* in the Ngata edition, but I will certainly . . . be trying *not* to look at Te Hurinui's translation in guiding me here, I'll try and do this from scratch (Appendix 19, lines 20-3).

Language/style of the source text

RH refers to personifications, lack of punctuation and obscure references in the source text:

[T]he first few lines look pretty straightforward, and . . . relate to the child's birth. . . . there is only one thing really which is not all that clear to me, and that's . . . who 'Huaki-pouri' . . . might be. . . . [It] is marked here as a proper name . . . so, if this is a personification of the first opening of the woman's . . . you know, birth canal, etcetera (Appendix 19, lines 23-31).

So, the first section, even though there's no punctuation, seems to go as far as . . . [Line] 10 (Appendix 19, lines 54-5).

¹¹⁹ Song 201, 'He oriori mō Tu-tere-moana' (Ngata, 2004b, pp. 2-19). (See also Ngata (1948)).

I'll see whether 'rauru-marua-aitu' occurs elsewhere No, only here, and this is the sort of reason why I've always tried to avoid involvement with mōteatea, for me they are just . . . far too difficult for what knowledge I have of culture and reference and so on (Appendix 19, lines 109-12).

Intended meanings

No references to intended meaning/s were recorded in these protocols.

Inclusion and omission

RH makes no additions or omissions during his procedure.

Nature of the translation

In terms of his translation, **RH**'s aim is not to attempt to reflect the poetic nature of the source text, but rather to provide a simple clarification of the information contained in the source text:

[Pei Te Hurinui's] translations . . . tend to . . . try to be very poetic and archaising, I won't be trying to do that at all. It'll be a matter of . . . really, just . . . providing maybe what we could regard as key to the Māori text (Appendix 19, lines 13-15).

Many of the obscure source text references and personifications were transferred to the translation without being translated:

So I'm just going to have to leave that last one as a name (Appendix 19, lines 112-3).

'[H]uaki-pouri' is not in *Williams* 'Huaki-pouri' as a name, obviously occurs here . . . and only here, in *Ngā Mōteatea*. So, I'll have to . . . leave it as is (Appendix 19, lines 31-3).

Final checking for accuracy and/or 'wairua'

No incidence of checking or refinement was recorded in the protocols.

Other considerations

There were no other considerations of note in these protocols.

4.4.3 EM: Think-Aloud Protocols

4.4.3.1 *Book of Mormon* translation

EM completed his translation task for the *Book of Mormon* text extract in 3 sessions: the first of 2 minutes in duration, the second, 11 minutes and the third, 15 minutes (Enoka Murphy, Think-aloud Protocols, February 2012 – Transcripts 1, 2 & 3, *Appendix 20*). His protocols contain an orally rendered draft translation of the *Book of Mormon* text extract.

Nature of the source text

EM makes only one (indirect) reference to the nature of the source text. Having rendered ‘master’ as ‘rangatira’ in the first verse, he notes that he has translated ‘Lord’ in the second verse – a reference to that same ‘master’ – with the term ‘atua’ (‘god’).¹²⁰ His choice of ‘atua’ here rather than, for example, ‘ariki’ (‘chief’/‘leader’/‘Lord’/‘lord’/‘master’), seems significant and suggests that he has interpreted ‘the Lord of the vineyard’¹²¹ as an allegorical reference to ‘God’:

[T]e kupu i whakamahia atu e ahau mō te ‘master’ nei ko te ‘rangatira’. Tae mai ki te whiti tuarua, arā, [Verse 8], kua hurihia te kupu ‘master’ ki te ‘Lord’, kua . . . atuatia e ahau [The word I have used for ‘master’ is ‘rangatira’. But when I’ve come to Verse 8, where ‘master’ becomes ‘Lord’, I’ve deified it]. (*Appendix 20(2)*, lines 45-8).

Context

In his translation of the source text’s heading, **EM** does not distinguish between the terms ‘tuakana’ (older brother of a male) and ‘teina’ (younger brother of a

¹²⁰ It is unclear whether ‘atua’ as used here relates to a Māori conception of ‘god’ (e.g. divinity, ‘deity’, ‘demon’, ‘supernatural being’) or to the Christian conception of ‘God’.

¹²¹ Chapter 5 of the Book of Jacob in the *Book of Mormon* is an allegory, based on ‘The Parable of the Olive Tree’.

male), which suggests that he is not familiar with the background context of the source text:

Tēnei au ka titiro ake ā ki te *Pukapuka Mōmona*, arā, te Pukapuka a Hākopa, te tuakana teina a Nīwhai [I'm looking at the *Book of Mormon*, that is, the Book of Jacob, the older younger brother of Nephi] (Appendix 20(1), lines 1-2).

Consultation

He proposes to consult a colleague in relation to the Māori translation of an English term:

‘[Y]oung branches’ . . . Ākuanei kua pātai au tāku whanaunga, i tipu rā i te ngahere, ākene kei a ia tētahi kupu mō tēnei [Shortly I'll ask my relative. He's grown up in the bush, maybe he'll know a word for this] (Appendix 20(3), lines 7-9).

Text-based information sources

EM refers to using dictionaries during his translation procedure:

[K]o tētahi tikiare pai . . . ko te *Reo Tupu*, tuatahi; tuarua, ko te *Wakareo* . . . ngā tikiare pai [Firstly, *Reo Tupu*, and then *Wakareo* . . . they're both good dictionaries] (Appendix 20(2), lines 1-2).

[T]ahi au ka kite i te tikanga o te kupu ‘graft’ nei, waimaria i āta titiro! I te mea kua rerekē atu i tāku i whakaaro tuatahi ai [I've just found the meaning of ‘graft’. Lucky I looked it up, because it's different to what I first thought!] (Appendix 20(2), lines 64-5).

He notes, however, that because checking the meanings of numerous possible words in the dictionary is time-consuming, he prefers to utilise words that he already knows:

[K]āore au i āta kite i te tikanga . . . i roto i te kupu, ā, me āta kuhu ki a *Wiremu*, ki a wai ake ki te kimi ake he aha he ‘kaikawau’ ai. Ā, he ara roa tērā, nō reira ka noho ai au . . . ki te kupu nei, ki ‘kokoti’ [I couldn’t deduce the meaning from the word itself, I’d have to search through the *Williams* dictionary or another one, to find out what a ‘kaikawau’ is. But that would be time consuming, so I’ll go with this word ‘kokoti’ (Appendix 20(3), lines 77-9).

Language/style of the source text

Comprehension of some of the English source text expressions and their meanings, particularly the more archaic terms, proved to be challenging for him:

‘[I]n the stead thereof’ Kei te āhua raru au i te tikanga o tērā kōrero [I’m a bit perplexed as to what that means] (Appendix 20(3), lines 49-50).
‘[W]hithersoever’, ā, me tiro anō e au te āta tikanga o tērā kupu, kia pai taku whakamāori, ā, i tērā kupu [I need to have another look at the actual meaning of that word, so that my rendering of it is accurate](Appendix 20(2), lines 60-1).

Intended meanings

EM refers to striving to articulate in Māori what he felt was intended by the source text:

Ā, nā reira me noho iho au ki te whakaaro ake me pēwhea . . . tēnei kōrero e whakamāori *hāngai* tonu ki tā ngā kupu Pākehā e kī ake nei [So I need to think about how to ensure that this translation corresponds to what the English is actually saying] (Appendix 20(2), lines 43-4).

Inclusion and omission

Choosing not to translate repetitions in the source text word for word, **EM** instead translates *the sense* of the sentence:

And it came to pass that the servant of the lord of the vineyard did according to the word of the lord of the vineyard. . . . Alright. . . . *Ā, nāwai rā, ka hāpaia ngā kupu a te rangatira o te mārawāina e tana pononga, ā, ka tūhonohonotia e ia ngā peka, ā, o te rākau ōriwa* [In due course, the lord of the vineyard's wishes were upheld by his servant, and he grafted in the branches of the olive tree] (Appendix 20(3), lines 54-8).

Nature of the translation

EM refers to merely producing a basic draft (oral) translation. He notes that had he undertaken to produce a written translation, he would have been more inclined to take time to polish his work:

Ā, ko te huarahi whakamāori noho i tēnei whiti, ā, he whakamāori kau i taku e titiro nei. Pēnā au i noho ki te āta tuhi i tērā whakamāori, hei konā au kua tahuri au ki te whakahāngaingai haere ki tāku . . . i pīrangi ai [The translation method for this verse was just to simply render into Māori what I'm looking at. If I'd set out to do a proper *written* version of my translation, then I would have refined it more to my liking] (Appendix 20(2), lines 25-8).

With that in mind, he defers any checking of words whose meaning he is unsure about in favour of the adequate word that comes to mind:

Kei te nui ngā kupu e taea rā mō te kupu 'perish' nei, heoi anō, 'pirau noa' pea tētahi kupu pai, kāore e kore he kupu pai kē atu [There are many words that could be suitable for 'perish', but 'pirau noa' might do. No doubt there are better words] (Appendix 20(3), lines 88-9).

EM's extensive use of the particle 'ai' in his Māori language translation (see excerpts below) may have been an attempt to reflect the style of the source text language, although he has not referred to aiming to do that. It appears not to have been a conscious decision:

Nā, ka kitea rā e te rangatira o te mārawāina, ā, ka kīia iho ai tana pononga, ā, e mate ana au te ngaronga . . . ā, o tēnei rākau. Ā, ka mutu, haere kakato ai koe i ngā manga, ā . . . o . . . tētahi rākau ōriwa, ka whakahoki mai ai ki a au. . . . Ā, mā tāua e kato iho ngā peka e tāmatemate ana . . . ka porowhiua ki roto ki te ahi, pungarehu ai [emphasis added] (Appendix 20(2), lines 21-5).

Ka kī ai iho te rangatira- atua rānei, te rangatira me kī . . . [emphasis added] (Appendix 20(2), line 52);

kāwhakina ai e au ngā peka māhuri, ka tūhonohonotia ai e au [emphasis added] (Appendix 20(3), lines 19-20);

kia puritia ai e ahau ngā taketake [emphasis added] (Appendix 20(3), line 91).

Final checking for accuracy and/or ‘wairua’

During his procedure, **EM** refers to not being entirely happy with aspects of his translation. He notes that were his brief to actually produce a written translation, he would follow up his draft with a rigorous process of revision:

Kāore au i te mōhio mehemea taku ngākau i te āta rata ki tērā, ā, engari, ā, ka haere tonu [I’m not sure that I’m altogether happy with that (translation), but I’ll press on] (Appendix 20(3), lines 35-6).

[M]ehemea ko tāku mahi ake nei i tēnei kua āta tuhia e au, kua hokia, kua hokia, kua hokia, kia pai, kia rata ki taku ngākau, kātahi ka āta oti i a au [If this had been done for myself, I would have written it properly, and gone over and over it, making improvements until I was satisfied with it. Then I’d finish it off] (Appendix 20(3), lines 95-7).

Other considerations

Before beginning the translation task, **EM** refers to feeling doubt about his competency:

Ōku whakaaro, i te tirohanga atu . . . ki ēnei kōrero, ā, tuatahi, e āwangawanga ake . . . mēmea rānei e taea e au . . . tērā tuatahi. Ā, he āhua

āmaimai . . . i te korenga pea i āta pakeke āku pūkenga ki tēnei mahi nei nā
[What I’m thinking as I look at this text is, firstly, anxious about whether I
can do it. I’m a bit nervous that perhaps my skills are not sufficiently
honed for this particular task] (Appendix 20(1), lines 4-6).

4.4.3.2 ‘He Waiata-Karakia’

EM began the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ task directly after finishing the *Book of Mormon* task. His protocols (Enoka Murphy, Think-Aloud Protocols, February 2012 –Transcripts 4, 5 & 6, *Appendix 21*) comprise three brief sessions: the first of approximately 6 minutes duration and the remaining two of four minutes and just under seven minutes, respectively, in duration. **EM** began an orally rendered draft translation of this text extract, but did not complete it.

Nature of the source text

EM makes an indirect reference to the nature of the source text:

Ah, interesting that . . . it is being called a poem . . . it would seem to be
clearly a karakia (Appendix 21(4), lines 20-1).

Context

While he does not refer explicitly to consideration of the context, **EM**’s prior knowledge of the text and its function provides a degree of context for his translation:

Tēnei karakia, he karakia kua kite noa anō ahau i roto i ngā tau. Mō aku tamariki ake nei, ahh, i te whānautanga mai, he karakia pēnei i tēnei te takinga atu. Engari, tīkina atu ko te mea āhua māmā . . . Engari, tērā anō te karakia o mua iho, ā, ngā karakia anō hoki o muri, engari, ko te whakarāpōpototanga tērā. Āaa, tēnei karakia nei nā [I’ve come across this particular karakia over the years. At the births of my own children a similar karakia was recited, but it was simpler, an extract. . . . There was another karakia that went before and others that came after, but that was the abridged version (of) this very karakia (Appendix 21(5), lines 5-11).

Consultation

EM refers to consulting with others and/or seeking out collaborators:

This is . . . quite challenging. . . . I really am struggling with this. . . . And I'm not quite too sure about . . . whether . . . by *myself* I can do it (Appendix 21(6), lines 25-8).

And so what I would do if . . . I had to . . . translate this, I would team up, or go and consult others . . . that are more experienced than I at this work, and I would sit down and . . . try and do it with someone else (Appendix 21(6), lines 28-32).

Text-based information sources

He also refers to utilising the explanatory notes to check his understanding of esoteric terms:

[M]e āta titiro au, me haere au ki ngā whakamārama, kia tino hāngai ai, ā, taku whakamārama haere, ā, i tēnei korero [I need to check, I'd better go to the notes, so that my interpretation of this text is accurate] (Appendix 21(4), lines 18-19).

Language/style of the source text

In his protocols, **EM** refers only indirectly to the style – and complexity – of the text. He recalls having studied the waiata-karakia in an academic paper some years before, and implies that he is finding the text challenging:

Tēnei karakia nei, he mea wānanga e mātou hoki . . . i roto i te pepa . . . *Ngā Hāhi o te Wairua me Ngā Hāhi Māori*. Ā, nā, ko tēnei karakia nei nā tētahi o ngā karakia i wānangahia e mātou [This was one of the karakia we analysed for a (university) paper relating to spirituality and Māori religion] (Appendix 21(5), lines 22-5).

[E]hara au e noho au te tohunga whakapākehā, heoti noa. Me hoki mai anō au . . . ki te wānanga haere i tēnei . . . a tētahi wā anō [I'm not by any means an expert translator (into English). I'm going to have to come back

and continue pondering this . . . at another time] (Appendix 21(5), lines 30-2).

He also refers to the inadequacy of one English word to convey the meaning of a complex Māori reference:

Now, ki te . . . hāngai pea te whakapākehā kei te ‘ahuru mōwai’[for the English to correspond to the Māori ‘āhuru mōwai’] another word needs to be added to ‘womb’] (Appendix 21(4), lines 4-5).

Intended meanings

EM’s own knowledge of the birth process enables him to understand some of the esoteric references in the text:

‘Huaki-pouri’, ko te puapua tēnā . . . tino mārama au ki tēnei kōrero ‘ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri’ [that’s the vulva . . . I know exactly what ‘ka taka te pae . . .’ means], see the baby’s just been born and . . . the womb closes . . . But, it’s really the *channel*, the birthing channel . . . *As the birthing channel closes, this, indeed, is the man-making house of Tāne-nui-a-rangi* (Appendix 21(4), lines 10-14).

Inclusion and omission

In some instances, EM’s translation makes explicit what is, for him, implicit in the source text:

‘I te one i Kurawaka [From the lands of Kurawaka]’ *From the **sacred** lands of Kurawaka . . . From the **sacred** lands of Kurawaka, where . . . the . . . **sacred** . . . prestige of woman, was endowed* [emphasis added] (Appendix 21(6), lines 5-9).

Nature of the translation

EM acknowledges that he is struggling with the task, and that ideally he would tackle it in collaboration with others:

I'm a little bit stuck on this and [I'm] stuck on . . . te āhua ki te whakatakoto ki te reo Pākehā, ah, ēnei kōrero [the ability to express in English what the (Māori) text is saying] (Appendix 21(6), lines 12-14).

I'm starting to see that . . . I may not be able to do this to a . . . Yeah, kei te āhua raruraru au . . . i tēnei [I'm struggling a bit with this] (Appendix 21(6), lines 9-11).

And so what I would do if . . . I had to . . . translate this, I would. . . try and do it with someone else. And then I think that . . . just the conversation and exchange of ideas, that we would come up with a pretty good translation to this (Appendix 21(6), lines 28-34).

Final checking for accuracy and/or 'wairua'

No reference was made in the protocols for this task to final checking, however **EM** did refer in the protocols for the *Book of Mormon* task to an ideal process of 'rigorous' checking. Presumably, had he gone on to complete the translation, whether in collaboration with others or not, he would have applied a similarly rigorous process to his translation of 'He Waiata-Karakia'.

Other considerations

EM made several references to his English language competence:

I'm gonna have to have a good think about this, mō te pēhea, mō te whai kupu Pākehā *hāngai* [how to find English words that corresepond (to the Māori)]. And I'm not even sure if I possess that (Appendix 21(6), lines 18-20).

Āe, ā, kei te kitea ehara au e noho au te tohunga whakapākehā [Yes, it will be pretty obvious I'm no expert at translating into English] (Appendix 21(5), lines 30-1).

4.4.4 WM: Think-Aloud Protocols

4.4.4.1 Book of Mormon

WM's protocols for the *Book of Mormon* task (Wharehuia Milroy, Think-aloud Protocols, December 2011 – Transcripts 1 & 2, *Appendix 22*) comprise two

sessions. The first session, 8½ minutes in duration, involves his analysis of the text and the second, almost 38 minutes in length, involves his translation (typed up on his computer) of the text – a partial translation consisting of verses 7-9 inclusive. WM's protocols record that his procedure was interrupted. It was not resumed.

Nature of the source text

WM refers directly to the nature of the source text being a *paipera* (bible):

[H]e nui, ki au, ngā korero mō te ahi me te wai kei roto i te paipera, ahakoa ia ko te paipera a ngā Mōmona, ko te paipera rānei a ētehi atu . . hāhi [To me, there's many references to fire and water in the bible, whether that may be the Mormon bible or the bible of another religion (Appendix 22(1), lines 22-4).

Context

Observations he makes about the text suggest that **WM** is not familiar with the *Book of Mormon* or its background context:

[K]āore au e mōhio mehemea he tuakana, he taina rānei nō Nīwhai [I'm not sure whether Nephi's brother is older or younger (Appendix 22(1), lines 2-3).

[K]āore hoki e kitea iho ana ēnei kōrero i roto i ngā paipera a te hāhi Mihinare, e *au*, kāore i kitea he aha. Koinei te mate o te tangata kore whakapono pea [Nor have I personally come across this story in the Anglican bibles, not a thing. Maybe that's the affliction of the non-believer] (Appendix 22(2), lines 91-3).

He refers to readily identifying with the thoughts and actions of the protagonist of the text, 'the master of the vineyard', and to inferring meaning from his own experience, as well as from the text itself:

[K]o au e pēnei ana nā, he tangata whakatō huarākau ahau, ahakoa he aha te huarākau, ka kimihia e au he wāhi hei whakatō māku. Nā e titiro ake ana ahau ki ngā kupu nei, ā, ka kite ake ahau i te āhua o ngā whakaaro o te tangata nei [I’m like him, I’m a grower of fruit. No matter what kind of fruit it is, I’ll find a place to plant it. Now, as I’m looking at these words, I’m getting a glimpse of the nature of this (protagonist’s) thoughts] (Appendix 22(1), lines 5-7).

[H]e pērā hoki ōku whakaaro, ka pouri katoa au mehemea ka kite atu au i āku rākau e ngoikore haere ana nā te mea kua pā mai tētahi mate ki aua rākau rā. Ā, kua kakama au ki te haere ki te tiki i ētahi rongoā [That’s just how I think, I’m devastated if I see that my trees are wasting away because they’ve been infected by a disease. I race off to get some form of treatment] (Appendix 22(1), lines 40-3).

Ohhh, ka taka ko mārama ki a au . . . Me tau iho ana au ki . . . ēnei kōrero, te āhua nei kei te hono atu ngā peka o te ōriwa . . ki te take o te wāina. . kia taea ai te whakatō ōriwa anō [Oh, the penny’s just dropped . . . I need to get a handle on this, it looks like the branch of the olive is being grafted to the base of the grapevine, so that the olive can proliferate] (Appendix 22(2), lines 67-9).

Consultation

No reference to consultation is recorded in the protocols.

Text-based information sources

WM makes no reference in the protocols to using online tools. He refers to not having a bible. He is also reluctant to consult a dictionary, his preference being to call instead on the formidable Māori lexicon stored in his memory:

[K]āore hoki ōku paipera [I don’t have a bible] (Appendix 22(2), line 91).
‘Young and tender branches’ . . . Pēhea he kōrero . . . kia tika ai te takoto i roto i te reo Māori? Young, tender . . . Me pēnei pea: *Te maha o ngā peka* Ākene kua mate au ki te haere ki . . . te tango kupu mai māku i te . . . papakupu . . . o ngā peka rauangi nei [‘Young and tender branches’ . .

What's a phrase that will accurately express that in Māori? . . . *Te maha o ngā peka* . . . I might have to concede to retrieving a word from the dictionary . . . *o ngā peka rauangi nei*] (Appendix 22(2), lines 49-52).

Kua wareware i a au . . . te kupu Māori . . . 'main branch' . . . *Ka whatiwhati i ngā* . . . – me pēhea – . . . *ngā kaupeka* . . . *kua tīmata nei, e . . . maroke haere?* 'Wither away'? 'Maroke haere' . . . ehara i te mea kua pirau . . . he aha tētahi kōrero? . . . 'Kua matiti haere?' . . . 'kua komeme haere' pea. . . . 'Kua tīmata te . . . riorio haere', koinā tētahi o ngā kupu e māhara ake au, 'riorio haere' [I've forgotten the Māori word . . . 'main branch' . . . *Ka whatiwhati i ngā* – what? – *ngā kaupeka* . . . *kua maroke haere?* . . . it's not that they've rotted . . . what's the expression? 'Matiti haere'? . . . 'komeme haere' maybe? . . . 'riorio haere', that's one of the expressions I remember, 'riorio haere'] (Appendix 22(2), lines 21-9).

Language/style of the source text

WM refers to the complexity of the source text's linguistic features, and to the need for the translator to be both thorough and cautious in his or her approach:

Ko te āhua o te takoto o ngā kupu, me āhua tūpato tonu te titiro a te tangata ki te whakatakoto o ngā kupu Pākehā nei [It's the way it's worded, one must take quite a cautious approach to the way the English is phrased (Appendix 22(1), lines 10-11).

[H]āunga ia te whakamāori, ko au tonu e whai atu i ngā kōrero i a au e titiro ana ki ngā kupu, kei te titiro kē au ki te āhua o te *takoto* o ngā kupu, me te rerekē o te takoto mai i te whakatakoto Pākehā o ēnei rā [Aside from the translation, what I tend to do is when I'm looking at the words, I'm actually looking at the *phrasing*, and how it differs from modern English grammar] (Appendix 22(1), lines 49-52).

Ā, he aha te tikanga o tērā kōrero? 'Whithersoever'. Kātahi rā! [What does that mean? 'Whithersoever'. Crikey!] (Appendix 22(2), lines 35-36).

[K]āore au e mōhio he aha te 'cumber' [I don't know what 'cumber' is] (Appendix 22(2), line 112).

Engari ki te āta pānuitia e te tangata, ka kitea ake, ā, he māramatanga anō kei roto [But if a person reads it closely, they'll see there are other meanings and significances discernible in the text] (Appendix 22(1), lines 52-3).

Intended meanings

WM refers to being able, because of his experience of parallel events in his own life, to have an understanding of the 'wairua' of the protagonist, and to being able, through close, careful reading, to pick up on underlying meanings in the source text:

Ā, otirā, koinei te wairua kei roto i te tangata nei ki tāku mātakitaki ake [Now, that's the motivation driving this person, to my perception] (Appendix 22(1), lines 48-9).

Engari ki te āta pānuitia e te tangata, ka kitea ake, ā, he māramatanga anō kei roto, ka waia ana koe ki te pānui i tēnei momo whakatakoto o te reo Ingarihi, ah, e taea ana te whaiwhai haere te wairua o roto [But if it is read closely, it becomes apparent that there are deeper meanings in the text, and as you become accustomed to the grammatical style of the English, it is possible to pick up on the underlying meaning] (Appendix 22(1), lines 52-5).

He notes, however, that understanding the motivation of the characters and/or the meanings in the narrative itself is no guarantee of being able to convey that meaning in translation:

Heoi anō, kāre au e mōhio mehemea ka mau i a au, mā roto atu . . . i te reo Māori [I don't know, however, whether I will capture (the deeper meaning of the source text) in the Māori language] (Appendix 22(1), lines 55-6).

Inclusion and omission

WM made several additions to the translation, in order to make more explicit what he felt was implicit in the source text, and/or to ensure that the Māori text was clear and natural to the reader:

Otirā kāore he āwangawanga mehe ia ka pirau te more o te, o te rākau . .
[typing] . . *matua . . arā, te ōriwa-* me taku mōhio kāore ēnei kupu i roto
engari . . . koinei te wairua o ngā kōrero nei [and I know that those words
are not in (the source text) but that’s the gist of it] (Appendix 22(2), lines
87-90).

[K]a hono atu ai ki ngā wāhi e hiahia ana ahau ki te āpiti atu. ‘O te
rākau’- me pērā ai au taku kōrero, ahakoa kāore i *reira* te kōrero e mau ai
[‘Of the tree’ – my translation had better have that, even though it’s not
there (in the source text)] (Appendix 22(2), lines 64-6).

Kāore ēnei kupu i *reira* engari kia mārama ai te takoto o ngā kōrero Māori
nei [These words aren’t (in the source text), but the Māori needs to make
grammatical sense] (Appendix 22(2), lines 99-100).

WM also made changes in the punctuation so that the Māori translation would
read more naturally, but with the caveat that the *wairua* of the source text should
not be compromised by those adjustments:

[M]e whakaoti ake au pea te reo Māori i konei, ahakoa kāore te reo
Pākehā i te takoto pērā mai, ā, ehara i te mea ka ngaro te wairua o ngā
kōrero [Perhaps I should end the Māori there, even though that isn’t the
way the English is structured. It’s not as though the wairua of the (source)
text will be lost] (Appendix 22(2), lines 17-19).

Kātahi ka kī . . . te ariki o . . . te mārawāina rā Me wehe ake nei, ka
hoatu he . . . pū matua . . I mua i te pū matua me hoatu he tohu kōrero
[That should be separated, and given a capital letter . . In front of the
capital letter there should be quotation marks] (Appendix 22(2), lines 45-
6).

Nature of the translation

For **WM**, an understanding of the underlying intention or purpose of the source text was critical. With regard to the translation itself, he was concerned to ensure that the target text would be comprehensible and natural to a Māori audience:

[K]o te whakamāoritanga o tēnei mea, me āta pānui rawa anō, kia kite atu ai tōnā tino pūtake [The translation of this text requires that the text be read and re-read carefully, in order to discover its real basis] (Appendix 22(2), lines 83-4).

[E]ngari kia mārama ai te takoto o ngā kōrero Māori nei [But the Māori version has to be expressed clearly] (Appendix 22(2), line 100).

Nō konā, . . . kei te whakaaro Māori kē hoki au i ēnei kōrero, ‘And behold’ [I’m taking a distinctly Māori perspective on this expression] (Appendix 22(2), lines 39-40).

Final checking for accuracy and/or ‘wairua’

According to **WM**’s protocols, no final checking was undertaken in this case.

Other considerations

A further consideration for **WM** is *authenticity*: whether or not the *Book of Mormon* text is itself a translation of a translation of the original:

[Ā]e rānei kei te whai tūturu i te reo Hīperu i tuhi ai ēnei kōrero i te tuatahi, nā ngā Mōmona rānei i tango tonu mai i roto i ā rātou nā whakapākehātanga o ngā kupu a ngā Hūrae? [Is the text a faithful rendition of the Hebrew in which it was originally written, or have the Mormons adapted it from their English translation of the Jewish text?] (Appendix 22(1), lines 12-14).

4.4.4.2 ‘He Waiata-Karakia’

WM’s protocols for the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ translation (Wharehuia Milroy, Think-Aloud Protocols, December 2011 – Transcripts 3 & 4, *Appendix 23*) consist of two sessions: one of 51 minutes duration, and a brief session of just under 2

minutes. The conditions of this think-aloud exercise were different from the conditions under which all of the other protocols were collected in the following ways. Firstly, I was present during the session.¹²² Any interaction between myself and the subject, however, was minimal. Secondly, the translation procedure undertaken by the participant in this case consisted of an analysis, entirely oral, of the source text, that is, **WM** did not actually undertake a translation of the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text extract, but elected instead to devote the entire think-aloud session to a comprehensive discussion and contextualisation of the text and its references.

Nature of the source text

WM refers to the source text being intrinsically Māori, archaic, complex and spiritual in nature, and invested with *tapu*:

[H]e reo nō te ao tawhito o te Māori [A dialect belonging to the ancient Māori world] (Appendix 23(3), line 3).

Kei te mārama kē ahau . . . ko te āhua tēnei o te hanganga mai . . . [o] te pēpi, ā, me ngā āhuatanga o tōna whakakikokikotanga i roto i te kōpū o tana whaea, ā, me tētahi wāhi nui tonu ki te taha wairua o roto o taua whakakikokikotanga [I already understand that this is about the formation of the baby and the nature of its development within its mother’s womb. Of great significance, too, is the spiritual dimension inherent in that process] (Appendix 23(3), lines 8-14).

Ā ko ngā kupu ēnei i waihangatia ai e tōna kaitito e ai ki tāna titiro, me te whakanoho hoki . . . e ia o ngā tapu, o ngā hōhonutanga o roto i tēnei karakia . . . [(This karakia) was created by the composer according to his perspective on (its subject matter). It has also been invested with tapu and profundity by him] (Appendix 23(3), lines 18-20).

¹²² When I arrived at the agreed time on the appointed day to collect the soundfiles, WM informed me that he had completed his *Book of Mormon* translation but had not yet begun the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ translation. He proposed that he should attend to it then and there, and that I should sit with him throughout the process.

[K]āore au i te hiahia ki te whakarite ēnei kupu ki ngā kōrero o roto i te *Paipera* [It's not my intention to liken the events in this text to the narrative in the (Christian) *Bible*] (Appendix 23(3), lines 149-50).

Context

He is familiar with the text and therefore has an understanding of its background context. However, the nature of its references and subject matter raises, for him, a number of questions relating to the purpose of the text and its intended audience:

[A]tu i ngā tohi, i ngā pure o roto i . . . *tēnei* waiata-karakia, he aha atu ngā mahi a te kupu nei, a ngā kupu nei. Āe rānei, he kupu he whakareretanga iho ki roto i ngā whare wānanga? Āe rānei, he kupu ārahi i te whānau, i te hapū, i te iwi, i roto i te āhua o te whānautanga mai o tēnei mea te tamariki, me te tohi o tēnei mea te tamariki, . . . he aha ngā mahi a te waiata-karakia nei, hei ārahi i ngā whānau me te . . . tamaiti ki tōna whakatutukitanga i ngā wawata, i ngā . . . āki, i ngā whakahau a ngā kupu o roto i te karakia nei [Beyond its obvious purpose as a 'tohi' and 'pure',¹²³ what is its wider application and relevance? Is it a legacy of knowledge from within the traditional schools of learning and sacred lore? Does it serve a purpose beyond being merely guidelines for the whānau/hapū/iwi in respect of the ceremonial birthing and dedication of infants, or instructions to help the child succeed in realising the aspirations set for him or her by the whānau/hapū/iwi?](Appendix 23(3), lines 33-40).

[Ē]tahi atu whakaaro e toko ake ana i roto i a au mō te āhua o ēnei kupu, he aha te mahi a ēnei kupu. Ki a wai? Mō wai rānei- e mōhiotia ana *mō* wai, engari mō wai *atu* ngā kupu nei, *mā* wai? [Other thoughts come to mind regarding the nature of these references. To whom are they directed? And whom else are they for, or rather, who are they for *ultimately*?] (Appendix 23(3), lines 30-3).

¹²³ A ceremony for removing tapu, in this case the tapu attendant in the birth process.

He refers also to specific contextual knowledge that he believes would be needed in order to translate the *waiata-karakia*:

[K]a titiro iho ki ngā kupu nei me taku whakaaro ake, ā, ko te tangata māna e whakamārama ēnei kupu, he tangata me mōhio ki te āhua mai i te whakatōkanga o te . . . tōhua e te wai-tātea a Tāne ki tōna ira. Mai i taua wā ka tīmata te hanga mai o tēnei mea o te tamaiti i roto i te . . . where tangata [I look at these references and in my opinion, the person venturing to interpret them would need to have a sound knowledge of the process of human conception. From the moment the formation of the child in the womb begins] (Appendix 23(3), lines 14-18).

Consultation

WM declared that he would not seek to consult with others regarding his translation of the text:

[I] runga i tērā āhuatanga, me ōku whakaaro ake ki te āhua o te takoto mai o ngā kupu nei, kāre ahau e whaiwhai atu i ngā whakamārama mai a ētahi kē atu, engari ka whaiwhai au i *tāku* e hiahia ana au ki te whai, nō te mea, ko au kei te rongo i ētahi o ngā whakahau a ngā kupu nei, he rerekē pea taku rongo i ngā whakahau o roto i ngā kupu nei i a ētahi e titiro iho ana, e rongo ana rānei ō rātou taringa ki ngā kupu [Because (it's subjective), and because of my own ideas about the nature of the references, I wouldn't pursue anyone else's interpretation. I'd follow my own instincts, because my understanding of it and another person's understanding of it may be quite different] (Appendix 23(3), lines 57-62).

[K]o ētahi pea ka whakaāe, ko ētahi kāore pea e whakaāe ki ōku whakaaro, engari, kāore e rerekē ake ōku whakaaro [Some may agree with my view, some may not, but I'm not going to change my stance on it] (Appendix 23(3), lines 334-5).

Text-based information sources

WM is adamant that he will not look at any existing English translation during his translation of the text:

[K]āore au e pīrangi ki te titiro i ngā kupu Pākehā, kei riro mā ngā kupu Pākehā ahau e whakakōtiti atu ki tētahi huarahi kē [I don't want to look at any English vocabulary, in case it sets me off on a different path] (Appendix 23(3), lines 341-2).

[K]āre tonu au e tino hiahia kia riro mā ngā kupu Pākehā au e ārahi haere, nō te mea, ka whai kē au i tā te Pākehā kupu e whakatakoto mai ana, kāre au i te whakatakoto i tā te *Māori* kupu e kī mai ana ki a au, . . . tōku e mōhio ana, ki aua kupu Māori rā [I do not want to allow the English words to guide (my translation), because if I follow what the English words dictate I'll be neglecting the directive of the *Māori* words, of my own knowledge and understandings of the Māori] (Appendix 23(4), lines 11-14).

His reference to possibly being sidetracked by an English translation seems to be based on his belief that the Pākehā perspective on, for example, 'god' is very different from the Māori perspective:

[P]ai ana nāku, engari me mōhio koe ki te titiro a te *Māori* ki tēnei mea ki te atua. Ngā atua o te ao Māori, hāunga ia te atua Karaitiana. Engari, pēhea tō titiro ki ngā atua Māori nei? . . . ki te hē tō mahi, he aha ngā whakawhiu ki runga i a koe a aua atua rā? Ki te tika tō mahi, he aha ngā painga ka homai e . . . aua atua rānei? [That's fine with me, but you must understand the *Māori* perspective on 'god', distinct from the Christian concept of god. What is your perspective on the Māori gods? What misfortune might be visited upon you by those atua if you do the wrong thing? Or if you do the right thing, what benefits would be bestowed upon you?] (Appendix 23(4), lines 5-10).

Language/style of the source text

WM refers to complexities and deeper significances of the references in the text:

[E] mōhio ana anō au i roto i te takoto ētahi o ngā kupu nei, ehara i te mea ko ēnei kupu . . . he kupu i noho toka noa iho, koirā anake tō rātou nā whakamāramatanga [I know also, from the way some of these words are phrased, that they do not have one fixed or definitive meaning] (Appendix 23(3), lines 28-30).

He kura katoa . . . ngā tamariki nei. He kura katoa ēnei whakaaro [These [newborn] children are precious. These concepts are also just as precious] (Appendix 23(3), line 99).

[K]o te ara namunamu nei, ko te wāhi e puta mai ai, engari he aha te tohu ki a au o te ara namunamu. Ko te ‘ara namunamu’, ko ngā kōpāpātanga o te wā e tangata ai koe [The ‘ara namunamu’ is the place where (the baby) emerges, but what does ‘ara namunamu’ symbolise, to me? It represents the difficulties, the struggles you will face in your lifetime] (Appendix 23(3), lines 298-300).

[E]hara i te mea he ‘pō’ pēnei: ‘*a te ahiahi ake nei ka pō*’, engari . . . ko te kore e taea . . . e tōu hinengaro te whātoro atu ki waho atu o ngā mea e rongono ana koe, e kite ana koe, e whakaaro ana koe . . . Nā reira, kei te noho pōuri tonu, kei te noho kūare tonu koe ki taua āhuetanga rā, koirā ki au ‘te pō’ [This isn’t referring to ‘darkness’ as in ‘afternoon will give way to darkness’, but to the inability of your mind to extend beyond what you can immediately feel, see and sense . . . So that you are in a state of utter blindness and ignorance to that situation. That’s what ‘te pō’ means to me (in that context)] (Appendix 23(3), lines 158-62).

Intended meanings

For **WM**, the meanings of the phrases in the source text are complex, and he has his own ideas on what they are intended to convey:

Ko te ao Māori tērā, ki a au, he pēnei te āhua o . . . te ao Māori, . . . i te kōrero te *Māori*. I roto i ngā kupu ‘kia mihi atu au’ he *mīharotanga* kei

roto – ‘Haaa, kua oti te tamaiti nei ki te whakatinana mai i te tūtakitanga . . . o te wai-tātea rāua ko te tōhua ki a rāua’ [To me, that’s a quintessentially *Māori* expression, the way *we* speak. Encapsulated in those words there is an awe, and respect for the miracle of conception and birth generally – ‘Haaa, this child is the living embodiment of the mingling of the male essence and female essence’] (Appendix 23(3), lines 91-4).

‘Nau mai e Tama’. He manako kei roto i te kaikarakia . . . ki a au, koinei ōku whakaaro . . . he mīharotanga, kua homai tēnei, tēnei *taonga*, tēnei kura [There is a grace within the person who recites the karakia – that’s how I see it – there’s a marvelling at this precious taonga that has been given] (Appendix 23(3), lines 95-8).

‘E tama e i!’ . . . e pēnei ana i te mea nei: ‘Aiiiii, taku mokopuna, taku tamaiti kua whānau mai!!’ Arā. Pērā noa iho te mea nei [It’s like saying: ‘Aiiiii, my precious, longed-for grandchild has finally come into the world!’ It means something like that] (Appendix 23(3), lines 319-21).

Inclusion and omission

No inclusions or omissions were recorded in these protocols.

Nature of the translation

WM refers to having his own take on the composition – the ideas and concepts contained within it, and the composer’s intention/purpose in composing it – distinct from those of any other translators:

[A]hakoā ngā whakapākehātanga a ētahi atu, ko au anō e whakaaro ana, kei au anō *ōku* whakaaro, he aha te wairua e whāia ana e te kaitito o tēnei waiata-karakia [Regardless of other people’s interpretations, I have my own ideas and opinions as to the sense of what the composer of this waiata-karakia was pursuing] (Appendix 23(3), lines 6-8).

‘[I] roto i te āhuru mōwai’: koirā tāku whakamāoritanga mehemea koe e mōhio ana he aha te ‘sanctum’, ko te ‘sanctum’ ko te wāhi tapu o ngā wāhi tapu katoa, engari, i roto i taua tapu rā, tētahi rangimārietanga mutunga kore. Kāore he kino e uru atu ana ki reira [That’s my translation for ‘āhuru

mōwai’, ‘sanctum’ . . . the most tapu of all places, a place of ultimate peace, where nothing evil or corrupt may enter] (Appendix 23(3), lines 122-6).

[K]oirā taku titiro, ko te karapinepinetanga o te pūtoto tērā, kua oti mai te tamaiti rā. Koinei ngā mea ka tuhi ai au ki roto i aku whakamāoritanga, aku whakapākehātanga rānei [That’s my understanding, that’s what that refers to, the formation of the child is complete. And these are the things I would express in the translation] (Appendix 23(3), lines 231-3).

[K]a titiro ake au, ka mea au ki a au anō: Wharehuia, mehemea ko koe i roto i te ao nei, he aha ngā whakaaro e whakamahi ana koe? He aha ngā whakaaro e mōhio ana koe? He aha te wāhi māori i roto i a koe, e kapohia mai ana e ngā kupu nei? E tōia atu ai koe ki roto i tōna wairua e tika ana hei whainga māu? Ā, koia tēnei ko ngā mea e kite iho ana au i roto i ngā kupu nei [When I look (at the words), I say to myself: . . . if it was you in that (source text) world, what ideas would you be using? What things would you know? What innate part of your self would be captured by these words and drawn by their wairua towards a correct understanding? That’s what I’m seeing within these words] (Appendix 23(3), lines 336-41).

Final checking for accuracy and/or ‘wairua’

No process of final checking was recorded in these protocols.

Other considerations

A further consideration for **WM** is the authority of the composer, and whether or not Tuhoto-Ariki was solely responsible for the composition:

Engari koinei taku whakapae i roto i a au, kāore a Tuhoto-ariki i mōhio noa iho, engari mā te kōrerorero ngātahi, mā te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro ka mōhio ia me pēhea’ [But that’s my contention, Tuhoto-Ariki by himself couldn’t have known. Only through consultation and collaboration (with the women who specialised in childbirth) would he have known what goes on in that process] (Appendix 23(3), lines 317-9).

Ko taku whakapae, arā atu ngā tāngata, nā rātou ētahi o ngā whakaaro i mōhio ai a Tuhoto-ariki me pēhea te whakatakoto i ana kupu, ka tahi. Tuarua, mehemea hoki kāore i *hāngai* ki te mōhio o ngā wāhine ki ēnei āhuatanga katoa, e kore pea e taea tēnei waiata te whakaora ake [My contention is that, firstly, it was through other people’s input that Tuhoto-Ariki knew how to write what he wrote. Secondly, if the words of the waiata-karakia had not corresponded to the specialised knowledge of those women experts, then it might not have been able to effect the safe delivery (of the baby)] (Appendix 23(3), lines 329-33).

He also refers to the preparation he would normally undertake with a text of this nature. However, he did not in this particular case, due to that fact that he was already familiar with the text; there was no restriction attached to the text; and it has already been widely available to the public:

[K]ua nui te whāwhātanga a te tangata [It has been well and truly handled by a lot of people] (Appendix 23(3), lines 364-5).

Engari . . . mehemea tauhou ana au, kāo. Ka noho au ki te takutaku i aku whakaaro i te tuatahi, ā, e whakawātea i a au, kātahi au . . . ka whāwhā [But if this was the first time I’d come across it, no. I’d take the time to perform a ritual karakia first, to ‘clear’ myself, then I’d be able to proceed] (Appendix 23(3), lines 382-4).

4.4.5 JM: Think-Aloud Protocols

4.4.5.1 ‘He Waiata-Karakia’

JM completed her think-aloud translation task in three sessions, each approximately one hour in length (Jane McRae, Think-Aloud Protocols, November 2011 – Transcripts 1, 2 & 3, *Appendix 24*). Her protocols contain a draft translation (which was typed up on a computer) of the entire text extract.

Nature of the source text

JM does not refer to the text as a ‘sacred text’. She does, however, note certain characteristics in the text – *whakapapa*, *karakia*, archaic place names, esoteric concepts and personifications, and also the specialised knowledge that would be needed in order to make sense of complex references in a ‘difficult’ text:

[A] classic text (Appendix 24(2), lines 4-5).

Gives whakapapa . . . So, it *looks* like one of the waiata types that are in *Ngā Mōteatea* . . . Lots of references to places, presumably in Hawaiki . . . possibly lots of concepts . . . all those older terms and esoteric things that will need a bit of research . . . lots of names . . . that will need some research (Appendix 24(1), lines 3-9).

It presupposes lots of knowledge about the origins . . . the gods; the acquisition of their skills and . . . qualities (Appendix 24(1), lines 271-2).

So . . . is the whole waiata a *karakia* to the *unborn* child? (Appendix 24(2), lines 193-4).

[S]ee if I can make sense of what is a difficult [text] (Appendix 24(1), line 11).

Context

An ongoing process of research and contextualising form the basis of **JM**’s translation procedure. She refers to the importance of having an understanding of the background, cultural and biological contexts of the source text, as well as its internal context:

I wonder where all this is *from* . . . the Whatahoro papers maybe in the Turnbull?¹²⁴ George Davies’ translation, is that just a translation of the notes? . . . Is this whole thing, in fact, in *Ngā Mōteatea*? (Appendix 24(1), lines 16-18).

Well, Ngata says that the fourth verse is a *tohi* rite for the child . . . I’m going to read all of Ngata, and read a bit more of *Te Whare Kohanga* and

¹²⁴ The Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand (also known as the National Library).

Maori Religion and Mythology, and . . . see if I can't find out a bit more about these . . . concepts (Appendix 24(2), lines 194-8).

Whatahoro says that the first verse is a *karakia*. So this is helping to *promote* the birth of the child (Appendix 24(2), lines 188-9).

Wonder if we looked at another verse whether we'd see what's happening there, in the second verse (Appendix 24(2), lines 149-50).

Let's just look at [verse] two . . . so, here is he coming to the *real* world, perhaps . . . various stages of his development. So, this *first* verse is really the formation of him in the womb, and 'ka kōkiri tama i a ia ki te ao tūroa' and *out* into the world (Appendix 24(1), lines 169-82).

I've also got Best's *Whare Kohanga* and his *Maori Religion and Mythology* and I think what I'm going to try and do is, find out the meanings of these terms, what they mean in *Ngā Mōteatea*, and any other information from Best and see if I can get a full understanding of them (Appendix 24(2), lines 6-9).

Anyhow, I don't think I will want to do any more on this until I've really read through all those . . . references, so I've got a better idea, and . . . had a really good look at the whole waiata as it is in *Ngā Mōteatea* (Appendix 24(2), lines 256-8).

Consultation

No references to consultation are recorded in the protocols.

Text-based information sources

JM refers to using text-based sources of information, including the explanatory notes, existing translations of the text, dictionaries and a number of relevant works of literature, to help clarify the meanings of references in the text:

[T]here's some notes, [by] Whatahoro, and a translation by George Davies . . . Oh, that's really useful! Okay, so these . . . notes . . . won't help necessarily to find a nice translation, but they're really helpful (Appendix 24(1), lines 11-14).

I'll see if I can make sense of the phrases from the notes that are here, and then go to *Ngā Mōteatea*. . . . if it's in *Ngā Mōteatea* it will be useful for meaning, but one has to do the translation oneself I guess (Appendix 24(1), lines 20-22).

What's this 'Te Hiringa-matua', is it a name? Is it a personification? Is it the original parent or something? . . . Mmm, okay have a look at the notes (Appendix 24(1), lines 40-2).

['K]unenga', what's 'kunenga' exactly? Where's *Williams* (dictionary)? (Appendix 24(1), lines 24-5).

I need the concordance from *Ngā Mōteatea*, look up some of these words, see how they're used in different songs (Appendix 24(1), lines 155-6).

I think I need to read Best's *Whare Kōhanga*, heaps of things, to understand what's going on here (Appendix 24(1), lines 129-30).

I have to look up . . . what is a 'huaki-pouri', who would have that, where would I find that? I'm gonna look at Best's *Māori Religion and Mythology* 2, and I need to look at . . . all these terms, how they're used in *Ngā Mōteatea* (Appendix 24(1), lines 192-5).

So that's what I think I need to do next, is to do some reading about those origins and perhaps look at *Ngā Mōteatea* version . . . and look at anything, *JPS*¹²⁵ material, that might . . . illuminate it. See if [i]t's translated elsewhere (Appendix 24(1), lines 275-8).

Language/style of the source text

JM refers to the difficulty of understanding many of the complex references and concepts in the text:

I need to know what 'āhuru mōwai' is. 'Āhuru' – 'shelter', I suppose. . . . 'Mōwai' . . . 'moist; calm of sea; solitary'. I guess 'āhuru mōwai' is probably an idiomatic phrase (Appendix 24(1), lines 27-9).

This is difficult. I don't know what these concepts mean, really . . . is this 'Te Puhi-ariki' here regarded as the first woman born? Or is she a tupuna of Tū-tere-moana? (Appendix 24(1), lines 88-90).

¹²⁵ The *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.

These terms are extremely difficult, to understand and translate. ‘Te Puhi-
ariki’; ‘Hiringa-tipua’; okay, I’m just going to call it *that* at the moment . .
. the question is, whether you would actually leave them as
personifications, as names like that, or whether you would find an
equivalent in English (Appendix 24(1), lines 98-102).

[S]ee if I can understand some of that phrasing which [is] bound to be
formulaic (Appendix 24(1), lines 278-9)

And now these lines are problematic: ‘I tataia ai . .’ and, *Ngā Mōteatea* has
‘tātaia’, long ‘ah’ here, ‘Te Puhi-ariki, Te Hiringa-matua’, well I think that
these terms need to be lower-case. I think I’d make better sense of them if
it was ‘te puhi-ariki’ – I kept thinking that was the name of a person
(Appendix 24(2), lines 24-7).

[T]hat was the house of – this is tricky – *Tane-nui-a-rangi, built on the
sand at Kurawaka*; ‘i tātaia ai’ from which came – I assume this is a line of
genealogy – ‘i tātaia ai Te Puhi-ariki’ – Oh. What’s this ‘Te Hiringa-
matua’, is it a name? Is it a personification? Is it the original parent or
something? (Appendix 24(1), lines 37-41).

Now, ‘Koia hōkai Rauru-nui, hōkai Rauru-whiwhia’ – I don’t think these
are names as such, there’s no . . . personal article in front of them
(Appendix 24(3), lines 58-9).

She also contemplates the possible significance of ‘reference switching’¹²⁶
in the text:

‘Nau mai e tama’ That’s a vocative but what happens when it gets
further on, ‘ka whakawhetu tama i a ia’, that’s, that’s talking in the third
person about tama. It’s only the first address and the last address, ‘e Tama,
e i’, that ‘*Oh son*’. In between, it’s a reference to *any* child. Or, is it?
(Appendix 24(2), lines 102-5).

¹²⁶ ‘Reference switching’ refers to switching from one (expected) syntactic, semantic or rhetorical mode to another (unexpected) mode, and may involve pronominal reference, tense, definiteness, number and gender (Hatim & Mason, 1997, p. 112).

Intended meanings

For **JM**, a process of cross-referencing a range of text-based information sources to contextualise the source text allows her to make tentative assumptions about the intended meanings of the references:

So ['Huaki-pouri'] I think is a traditional reference to that image of light and dark, it's so common in the waiata. Actually, Ngata refers to it as 'a loss of virginity'. I don't know whether that's more modern but . . . I think that dark . . . suggests that the screen of Huaki-pouri falls, clears the way, light comes in, child is conceived. And I think that 'Huaki-pouri' must also refer to the womb (Appendix 24(3), lines 5-9).

That's what Ngata has, but I don't know about that, I can't get 'horahora' and 'spirit', something to do with the 'rua' is the 'pukenga', 'source of knowledge'; the 'rua' is the 'horahora', it seems to me the dissemination of knowledge, but I don't know, it's a query (Appendix 24(3), lines 23-6).

From the dwelling, so this is why Ngata uses 'abode' here, and a 'house' is not quite right, because you're talking about a nest really, 'dwelling' or the 'nest' created by Tane-nui-a-rangi on the sand at Kurawaka (Appendix 24(3), lines 85-7).

Inclusion and omission

As her draft translation progresses, **JM** refers more frequently to making creative choices: adding in punctuation and capitalisation of proper nouns, playing with line-breaks, and treating nominal shifts¹²⁷ in the text:

There's . . . something about the punctuation here, I think I'd have to change that somehow. 'I tātaia ai, te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi.' I'm going to change the punctuation here, in the Māori (Appendix 24(1), lines 207-10).

I think there's a full stop after 'mōwai' – 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tane-nui-a-rangi i te one i Kurawaka, comma,

¹²⁷ Abdul-Raof (2001) discusses 'nominal shifts' in the context of translating the *Qur'an*; and Hatim & Mason (1997, pp. 112-125) discuss 'pronominal reference switching' in relation to Qur'anic translation and 'tense switching' in relation to Biblical translation.

i tātaia ai te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua’ – I’d have that upcase ‘te’ myself – ‘matua’, comma, ‘Te Hiringa-tipua’, comma, uppcase, Te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi, full stop (Appendix 24(1), lines 212-6).

I’d bring those lines together – ‘Ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia ki roto te whare wāhi-awa’ (Appendix 24(1), lines 218-9).

‘Ka mārō Tama’ - uppcase in this, but *lowercase* in Ngata (Appendix 24(2), line 174).

And, what about the line-breaks? I need to look up Bruce’s¹²⁸ ‘rule of eight’¹²⁹ or just take them as- Ngata is the same in line 1, . . . changes breaks in the, Ngata’s are different . . . So, line-breaks have to be decided as well, in the English. Query for those (Appendix 24(2), lines 182-5).

Oh son, ‘of mine’ I’m going to add, perhaps that was a little bit pushing the translation a bit far, but hmm . . okay (Appendix 24(3), lines 32-4).

‘Nau mai e tama’ - suppose I put that with a capital ‘T’ . . . I think I prefer it like th[at] (Appendix 24(3), lines 39-40).

Now, since I’ve made those changes I think I need to transcribe the Māori, and think about line-breaks – transcribe the Māori and put in some punctuation . . . I think you have to sing this to know where the line-breaks come (Appendix 24(3), lines 34-8).

Second line, second person . . . here it drops to third [person] . . . So, here you’d have to decide what are you going to do with the child, are you going to . . . shift from second-person to third-person here, and just talk about the child[?] (Appendix 24(2), lines 105-18).

Nature of the translation

JM’s approach is strongly research-based, drawing on a broad range of literary sources, including parallel texts and existing translations, to provide context and clarify meaning. Initially, she refers to producing a rough draft translation, followed by a process of refining:

¹²⁸ Bruce Biggs (1917-2000) was regarded as ‘the most important figure in academic Māori Studies in the 20th century’ in Aotearoa/New Zealand. At Auckland University, he wrote the pioneering textbooks for the study of Māori language and literature, and trained the people who would go on to head Māori Studies programmes in other New Zealand universities (Pawley, 2000).

¹²⁹ Bruce Biggs’ ‘rule of eight’ proposes that if long vowels are counted as two and short vowels as one, there are just eight vowels to each half line of text in Māori poetry (McLean, 1996).

[W]ell I have to decide what sort of translation I want . . . [I]n the first instance I'll go for understanding the terms and getting them in some sort of English, and then, the next stage I'll look at some *refinement* and the kind of language I *want*, but at the moment . . . I'm going to go for the meaning of these terms (Appendix 24(2), lines 10-14).

Later in her procedure, **JM** refers to aiming at a poetic 'retranslation', but striving for a more modern rendering:

I'm doing a retranslation of a classic text (Appendix 24(2), lines 4-5).

But then there has to be some sort of decision about how to make it, in *some* way . . . poetic, and *modern* (Appendix 24(2), lines 210-11).

Ngata and Hurinui have 'Just like the stars, oh son'. . . . 'Ka whakawhetū tama i a ia', *and so . . . forms as a star*, don't know what to do with that image, but I'd quite like to keep . . . some sort of imagery like that (Appendix 24(2), line 54-6).

She decides, however, that in order to clarify the meanings of complex references in the source text, she will need to add footnotes:

So, it's going to be another *version* of the waiata, trying to get it perhaps more *simply* expressed, perhaps more . . . modern, whatever that means; more *clarity* as to actually what's going *on* here, and . . . perhaps that could only come with the footnotes (Appendix 24(2), lines 249-52).

[I]f you could find just simple nouns for te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua, te Hiringa-tupua, as qualities that . . . are essential for the formation of a child, then . . . you wouldn't need to footnote them . . . But could you *do* that, is the question (Appendix 24(2), lines 252-5).

So those could be left as personifications, and footnotes given for what . . . they mean (Appendix 24(1), lines 238-9).

And I think that, because . . . they're names one after another after another, as in a whakapapa, I think they should *stay* like that, as if chanted in a

whakapapa, and then the explanation of the meanings of those names has to be given (Appendix 24(3), lines 151-4).

Don't know about whether I need to say something about 'whakawhetū tama', although it's quite a nice image, and I think perhaps it would be quite good to make the point, yes, that 'Māori traditionally suggest the eyes formed first' . . . maybe make that more explicit in the text: *Now . . . the eyes of the boy . . . like a star and acquiring knowledge and spirit. Now moves the boy* . . What about that? (Appendix 24(3), lines 203-9).

'Kurawaka', do we need to have that place-name literally? . . . what *does* it mean literally? 'Kurawaka': 'Crimson Bowl'; 'kurawaka': 'container for something precious' . . . [D]oes 'kurawaka' also mean the womb in effect, from which woman was born, perhaps? . . . 'Precious container', that should go in the note (Appendix 24(3), lines 240-4).

So the boy propels himself into the long-standing world, Oh son!' . . . 'e i'. What about 'son of mine'? Is that going too far? (Appendix 24(1), lines 253-5).

Meaningless syllables at the end of the line of waiata – do we have to translate them? . . . *Oh son, e i*. Why can't we just leave them as they are, 'e i'? (Appendix 24(3), lines 79-81).

By the end of her protocols, **JM** reassesses the aim of her translation, taking into account the complexity of the text, who she perceives the target audience to be, and how best to render the text clearly for that audience:

I think I'm trying to make the English very *simple* . . and . . understandable, and I'm going to rely on . . . footnotes to explain the personifications, and the . . . underlying references, you can't avoid it I don't think. . . . [I]f I keep the text fairly spare and pretty close to the Māori, but leave anything . . . that has to be explained by tradition in a footnote, then I've got a clearish text, and I don't think there's any way of avoiding that, given the terseness of the language, given that it presupposes the knowledge of so much . . . you can't get all *that* out of the text in a translation, unless you happen to have an audience who were

really well-versed in the tradition, [and that's going to] be a bit unlikely (Appendix 24(3), lines 138-47).

Final checking for accuracy and/or 'wairua'

Her concluding comments, concerned with what is left still to do in order to fine-tune and polish her translation, suggest that, for her, the translation is never 'finished', that there are always refinements and improvements to be made:

Knowledge and spirit. Will that do? . . . 'Rua-i-te-horahora', I need some more information about that (Appendix 24(3), lines 168-70).

I'm not sure 'sphere' is right actually . . . don't know about that 'but', *But Son goes steadily ahead*, he's not a life-less boy, making a comparison . . . 'Ka mārō tama'; 'ka kōkiri tama' . . . So I should try to keep those the same . . . 'Son' goes steadily ahead, along the narrow path to the outer world. 'Son' thrusts in to the long-standing world. Oh Son of mine. I really don't need those 'ands' (Appendix 24(3), lines 276-87).

So, what remains: I need to . . . *still* look at the line-breaks; write out the footnotes; clarify the meanings of the 'Hiringa' and 'Rua-i-te-horahora'; . . . the line-breaks in Māori . . . have to be looked at . . . Okay. Getting clearer (Appendix 24(3), lines 290-3).

Other considerations

Deliberating over the criteria by which she might establish line-breaks, **JM** refers to a theory/rule proposed by Bruce Biggs that identifies a pattern of eight syllables per half line in mōteatea/Māori poetry:

So . . . the line-breaks have to be done. How am I going to do this? I need to probably look at Bruce's 'rule of eight', but I don't know whether it applies to karakia as well (Appendix 24(3), lines 63-5).

4.5 Overview of the issues raised

Approaches to the task

Each of the five translators involved in the think-aloud translation exercise was given the same written instructions, and each was familiarised with the think-

aloud technique by means of the same warm-up task.¹³⁰ Despite that, the translators' interpretations of what was required of them in the fulfilment of the task were varied. Some produced complete draft translations for the texts they undertook (RH, JM) and some completed their translations of one text but not the other (TR, EM, WM). Some rendered their translations orally (TR, EM) and some typed them up with the aid of a computer (WM, JM, RH), while one (RH) actually submitted a hard copy of his typed translation of the *Book of Mormon* text extract (but not of 'He Watata-Karakia'). Some of the translators verbalised just their thoughts (JM), while others (TR, RH) tended to describe what they 'would normally do', or explain or justify choices they made (TR, EM, RH, MW) in addition to verbalising their thoughts.

As indicated in the review of literature on the use of think-alouds in translation research at the beginning of this chapter, such variations in interpretation of the task would seem to be characteristic of protocol-based research, which is susceptible to variances in individual cognitive environments and personalities, individual aptitude for verbalising, and the degree to which affective factors¹³¹ have impacted upon them.

Approaches to translation: General

The approaches to translation exhibited in the think-aloud protocols were different in a number of ways. The more experienced translators (JM, TR, WM) tended to have similar approaches that focused on similar concerns, such as the importance of thorough reading and contextualising of the source text. In this respect they differed markedly from the approaches and concerns of their less-experienced counterparts. Of the translators who undertook to translate both texts (TR, WM, EM, RH), those who are regarded as more highly-proficient in Māori language and culture (TR, EM, WM) tended to treat the translation of the Māori text differently than they did the translation of the English text. Of the two translators who are less highly-proficient in Māori language and culture (RH, JM), the one who undertook both translations (RH) also treated each text differently,

¹³⁰ Aside from TR, as explained in fns. 113 (p. 142) & 116 (p. 143).

¹³¹ These include: the translator's involvement in the task; his/her self-confidence; whether s/he feels comfortable; and whether the task is 'routine' or 'non-routine'.

employing different approaches from those of the culturally more-proficient translators.

Approaches to translation related to different levels of experience

As was noted in the section that served as an introduction to the participating translators in *Chapter 3* (3.2), none of them have had any formal training in translation. Of the five who took part in the think-aloud translation exercise, two are licensed translators¹³² (TR, WM) and three are unlicensed (EM, JM, RH). In terms of experience, three of them are considered to have extensive translation experience (TR, JM, WM): two (TR, JM) in a predominantly (but not exclusively) ‘professional’ context, being commissioned by clients to work to a contracted deadline, for an agreed fee; the other (WM) in a predominantly (but not exclusively) ‘cultural’ context – being called upon as an authority on Māori language, culture and history to undertake translation projects at community and national levels. The other two translators (EM, RH) are less experienced in the sense that while having also worked at translation over a number of years, they have done so sporadically, and/or within a particular genre.

Contextual issues featured as a primary consideration in the protocols of the three more-experienced translators. For the two less-experienced translators, context was a peripheral consideration, although it featured more in the protocols of the less-experienced translator with high-proficiency in Māori language and culture (EM) *in relation to the Māori text*.

The protocols produced by two of the three more-experienced translators of the group (TR, JM) were distinguishable from those of the other translators in that they exhibited traits that reflect a high level of translation experience. One (TR), a licensed translator and university lecturer who is highly proficient in Māori language and culture and who teaches Māori and translation and interpreting, addressed contextual issues, the nature and status of the source text, discursal and pragmatic features of the source text, and ethical issues. His protocols were also *notably more concise* than those of the others, which seems likely to indicate

¹³² Both TR and WM are licensed translators and interpreters.

a higher degree of automaticity in his thought processes. The approach of the second translator (JM), a second-language speaker of Māori who specialises in translating historical Māori texts into English, involved extensive researching and cross-referencing, consideration of contextual and pragmatic issues, as well as ethical issues (particularly with regard to declining to undertake the translation task that she considered to be beyond the bounds of her professional competency). Her protocols were *significantly longer* than those of the other translators – that is, she spent considerably more time on the translation task than the others, due to the extensive research undertaken as part of her procedure.

The protocols of the third of the more experienced translators (WM), a native speaker and acknowledged authority on Māori language and culture, were also distinguishable from those of the other translators, in that he referred a great deal to *his own personal experience and world knowledge* in relation to the events in both the source texts.

Of the two less experienced translators, the one who is more highly proficient in Māori language and culture (EM) took into account the *poetic style of the source text* in his translation of the Māori text into English, while his approach to the English text emphasised more his sense of *the message of the source text* and the perceived *needs of the target audience*: a translation that would be ‘clear’ and ‘natural’. The other (RH), a Pākehā (of European descent) who is a fluent speaker of Māori and whose experience of translation is primarily of the biblical genre, utilised an approach in his translation of the English text into Māori by which the *biblical style of the source text could be maintained*, while his rendering of the Māori text into English was essentially *a form of literal translation*.

Approaches to translation related to different cultural or linguistic backgrounds

Different cultural perspectives in relation to translation approach were also detectable in the protocols. For two of the highly proficient Māori speakers, both of whom are regarded as having considerable cultural knowledge and expertise (TR, WM), the authority and status of the author and the authenticity of the source

text were important considerations. Both also referred to the *wairua* (spiritual essence) of the text as an important aspect to be considered in the translation procedure. The other translators did not refer to either of those considerations.

Generally speaking, the approaches of the translators who are highly-proficient Māori speakers when translating ‘non-routinely’ (from Māori into English) emphasised *the poetic style of the source text*, while the two second-language speakers of Māori tended, when translating ‘routinely’, that is from Māori into English, to have a *broadly more literal approach*. It should be noted, however, that the more experienced of those two translators (JM), having initially aimed for a poetic translation of the Māori text, re-oriented her approach during the procedure and aimed for *a more literal form of translation with explanatory glosses* after taking into consideration what she perceived to be the nature and function of the text and the likely needs of the target audience.

The eldest participant (WM) – an acknowledged authority on Māori language and culture and a licensed translator and interpreter – had distinctly different approaches to the two texts. His entire procedure for the Māori text was centred on *interpreting references in the text in context*, and *from a specifically Māori perspective*. For the English translation into Māori, having no familiarity with the source text context, he drew strongly on *his own life experiences* that corresponded to events in the source text narrative. His approach to both texts was also distinct from the other translators in terms of his reluctance to refer to dictionaries or other text-based information sources, and his refusal to consult with or be influenced by other translators or ‘authorities’. He preferred instead to draw on *his own world knowledge and cultural expertise*.

All of the four translators who undertook the English translation into Māori (*Book of Mormon*) were concerned that their translations should be comprehensible or acceptable to the target audience, but took divergent approaches to achieving that end. RH, a translator whose prior experience is primarily of biblical translation, addressed the issue by *searching out and importing terms from existing Māori Bible translations* to ensure that his translation maintained the biblical style he felt

was expected by the likely audience. Two other translators (EM, WM), both proficient in Māori language and culture, strove to render their translations *naturally and comprehensibly*, making additions where necessary. The fourth translator (TR), highly proficient in Māori language and culture and with extensive experience of translating sacred and sensitive texts, aimed at a *natural, comprehensible translation that also sought to maintain the style and register of the source text*.

Two of the translators' approaches included consultation, although for different reasons. For the less experienced translator (EM), consultation was a means to access a colleague's or mentor's expertise or opinion; for the more experienced translator (TR), consultation was less related to seeking assistance than about acknowledging that he was, in the case of the *Book of Mormon*, outside the source culture, and in the case of 'He Waiata-karakia', outside the tribal jurisdiction of the text. Thus, consultation was, for him, more related to ethical conduct.

Both of the second language speakers of te reo Māori (JM, RH), undertook to translate the Māori text into English, a 'routine' task, and both produced draft translations. For the translation of the English text into Māori, a 'non-routine' task, one (RH) produced a draft translation, while the other (JM) declined to undertake the task. Of the three highly-proficient speakers of Māori (TR, WM, EM) who undertook the English translation into Māori ('routine'), all three produced draft translations; for the Māori translation into English ('non-routine'), none of them produced a complete translation. Of those three, one (EM) noted that his English language competency was the main contributing factor.

How the actual attempts relate to what participants said they did in the case of translation generally during the interviews

TR's think-aloud translation procedure involved consideration of the various contexts and discourses of the source text, and the use of both dictionaries and existing translations. In this regard, his procedure corresponded to what he had outlined in his interview. Certain aspects of his think-aloud procedure, however – his noting that his ideal translation is one that is natural to and totally congruent with the receiving culture, and also that his objective was to maintain the style and

register of the source text in the translation – were *not* addressed in his interview. Another aspect of his procedure that was not addressed in his interview, nor spoken about in his protocols, was the extent to which his world knowledge – an apparently tacit trait – was involved in the procedure.

In **WM**'s interview, he noted the importance of familiarity with the source text context and of determining the source text's authenticity/status. In his think-aloud protocols, he dedicated time to contextualising each of the two texts before attempting to translate them – to an extensive degree in relation to the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text. He noted, in relation to that text, that being Māori himself, having a Māori worldview, enabled him to have a deeper understanding of the source text references. He approached the archaic English terms in the *Book of Mormon* text with caution, and consciously strove to render them naturally and comprehensibly into Māori, making additions where necessary. That approach seems consistent with the terms he used in his interview for the process of 'translation': 'whakawhiti' ('to convey across') and 'whakamārama' ('to make or cause to become clear'), rather than 'whakamāori/whakapākehā' ('to translate into Māori/English'). An aspect discussed at length in **WM**'s interview that was not directly addressed nor directly evident in his protocols was his role as a spiritual intermediary (*kauwaka*). Another significant aspect of his translation procedure, which was evident in his protocols but not addressed in his interview, was the very large extent to which he drew upon his own personal experiences and world knowledge.

In his think-aloud protocols, **EM**'s only reference to a particular translation approach for the English text was aiming to provide a translation that would be clear and natural to the target audience. This seems consistent with the conception of 'translation' as 'whakamārama' ('to make or cause to become clear'), expressed in his interview. He was constrained, however, in his efforts to 'make clear' the contents of the Māori text, as well as reflect its poetic style, by a lack of confidence in his English language proficiency. The collaborative translation approach he contemplated as a solution was consistent with what he had proposed in his interview as a means of mitigating feelings of self-doubt related to his

inexperience as a translator. Aspects of his think-aloud procedure that were *not* referred to in his interview were the importance of a thorough process of evaluation of the translation, and the degree to which his own world knowledge and personal experience came into play in the translation process (particularly in relation to the Māori translation into English).

RH noted in his interview that the translator's approach must take into account the nature of the text to be translated and the intended audience of that translation. In his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* text, **RH** clearly had both in mind when he utilised imported phrases from a parallel text in a bid to maintain the style of the source text, thereby ensuring its acceptability to the target audience. He sometimes translated the sense of the source text, and at other times rendered the linguistic form of the text literally, even though it sounded unnatural to him. This seemed at odds with the view expressed in his interview, regarding the futility of 'word-for-word' or 'literal' approaches to translation. In his translation of the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text, **RH** relied on dictionary definitions of complex, culturally-embedded concepts and transferred untranslated source text references into his translation. In this regard, while taking the nature of the Māori source text into account, he appeared to take less account of the needs of the potential audience.

What **JM** did in her think-aloud protocols corresponded closely to the main points discussed in her interview: the need for extensive research and cross-referencing of a range of literature, including existing translations and parallel texts; and consideration of the function of the translation and the needs of its potential audience. She had noted, in her interview, the difficulty associated with translating poetry due to the fact that one word can have numerous meanings, depending on the context. Her solution to the difficulty she encountered during her procedure for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text was the provision of a 'gloss translation'. The one aspect that she referred to in her interview that was not evident in her think-aloud protocols was consultation with knowledgeable elders; the aspect of **JM**'s translation procedure that was evident in her protocols but which was not referred to in her interview was the extensive degree to which her own world knowledge was utilised.

4.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the think-aloud protocols of a sample of translators has been reported. It has been shown that each of the translators' practice is informed to a significant degree by their cultural worldviews and philosophical and religious perspectives, and that factors such as their level of experience, training, cultural and language proficiency, as well as their world knowledge, all influence the ways in which they approach translation and the decisions that they make during the translation procedure.

In the next chapter, the consistency of what the translators do *in theory* – what they say or believe they do, as expressed in their interviews (*Chapter 3*), and what they do *in reality*, as demonstrated in their think-aloud protocols (*Chapter 4*) will be discussed in relation to the issues that emerged from the literature review (*Chapter 2*) relating to the translation of texts that could be regarded as being sacred and sensitive.

Chapter 5

Translator Cognition and the Translation of Sacred and Sensitive texts: A discussion of the interviews and TAPs

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the issues pertaining specifically to the translation of sacred and sensitive texts that emerged from the participants' interviews (*Chapter 3*) and think-aloud protocols (*Chapter 4*) will be discussed in relation to the main points identified in the literature review (*Chapter 2*). The content of the chapter is organised as follows: the identification and discussion of the issues (5.2), followed by conclusions (5.3).

5.2 The issues

5.2.1 Preparing to translate: The spiritual dimension

Four of the translators (HP, TR, EM, WM), all of them highly-proficient in Māori language and culture, referred in their interviews to preparing the way for either (a) a discussion of the nature of *tapu* (in the context of the translation of *tapu*/sacred/sensitive texts), or (b) the translation itself. HP referred to the sense of commitment and mental preparedness required in order to ready oneself to enter into the realm of *tapu*, indicating that there would be a need to withdraw from the more profane aspects of everyday life and adopt a 'more *tapu* frame of mind'. Two of the translators (TR, EM) believed that *karakia* – traditional Māori *karakia* as opposed to Christian-influenced ones – were an appropriate preface to any discussion of the nature of *tapu* because they served as a means of connecting to 'te wāhi ngaro' (the spiritual realm), the 'source' of that *tapu*. For WM, *karakia* were deemed to be essential when contemplating the translation of a text about which he had no prior knowledge, both in terms of protecting himself and also discerning whether or not the text is *tapu*, and whether or not he is the right person to undertake the translation.

In a Māori cultural context, *karakia* play a pivotal role in preparing the way for any activity, event or ritual, particularly so when that activity involves *tapu* and *wairua*. The think-aloud protocols of all the translators were devoid, however, of any evidence of *karakia* being conducted in relation to either of the texts, whether in a preparatory role or as a part of the actual translation procedure. When WM was subsequently asked about not having performed a *karakia* before commencing his translation procedure for ‘He Waiata-Karakia’, he explained that he was already familiar with the text and knew that it has been accessed widely (that is, there is no restriction associated with the text). Both TR and EM also referred to a prior familiarity with the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text. It may be, therefore, that they too did not consider it necessary to conduct *karakia*. A major consideration, however, is that the artificial context within which the think-aloud exercise was conducted may have been perceived as one in which the usual attention to cultural practices was not required.

5.2.2 Drawing upon relevant personal experience

NT, WH, HP and WM all referred in their interviews to being raised in an environment where the values and *tikanga* of the traditional Māori world, particularly regarding the nature of *tapu*, were both potent and relevant.¹³³ They acknowledged the extent to which their childhood experiences, and the teachings they received from elders as they were groomed for leadership roles within their communities, had influenced their beliefs and attitudes towards *tapu* and things that were considered to be sacred, and, by extension, towards their translation of *tapu* or sacred texts. NT, HP and WH also noted the ways in which Christianity had impacted upon Māori cultural perspectives and practices.

In the think-aloud protocols, it was evident that each of the translators drew on their own beliefs, cultural and world knowledge and also, in some cases, their own personal experiences in order to make sense of the source text. Thus, RH drew

¹³³ WM, HP, NT and WH all indicated in their interviews that perspectives regarding *tapu* have changed over time, implying that *tapu* in the present time, in 21st century Aotearoa/New Zealand, does not have the degree of potency and relevance that it did in former times, such as their elders’ generations and prior to that.

upon his knowledge of Hebrew, biblical references and the biblical genre in the *Book of Mormon* translation; EM recalled having recited an abridged version of ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ at the births of his children; JM’s translation of ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ was informed by her understanding of the anatomical aspects of the birth process and also her extensive experience of translating poetic Māori texts, such as *mōteatea* and *whakataukī*; TR’s experience of the cultural sensitivities and constraints involved in translating other cultures’ holy texts informed his approach to the *Book of Mormon* text; WM’s cultural knowledge was invaluable to his treatment of the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text, and so on.

In particular, WM’s protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation demonstrated the degree to which he drew upon his own personal experiences. He observed, during his initial analysis, that he had very little contextual knowledge of the source text. His process of making meaning involved identifying himself with the protagonist of the narrative (‘the Lord of the vineyard’), and relating his own personal experience as a grower of fruit trees to corresponding events and actions within the narrative.

5.2.3 Drawing upon resources

5.2.3.1 Dictionaries, parallel texts and historical records

Six of the ten translators interviewed referred to utilising text-based information sources as aids when translating texts that they considered to be sacred or sensitive, including dictionaries (RH, JM, TR, EM, HP), parallel texts (JM, RH, HP, NH, WH), and historical records (JM, HP, NH). Three of the other four translators (WM, WH, RR), did not refer to using such aids in their procedures, while the fourth (NT) noted that he did not subscribe to the practice of borrowing from parallel texts since, for him, the role of the translator when dealing with *tapu* texts (that of a *kaitakawaenga* or intermediary) involved his own interpretation of the text.

Of the five translators who produced the think-aloud protocols (TR, EM, WM, JM, RH), four (TR, EM, JM, RH) referred to utilising text-based information

sources of a type or types that were generally consistent with what they outlined in their interviews. Most notably among them, JM's protocols recorded her use of the broadest range of literature, as well as structured intervals where she set off specifically to conduct research before returning to the translation task.

The fifth translator in the sample (WM) eschewed any reference to text-based information sources. He actively resisted using a dictionary in his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation, preferring to rely instead on his own knowledge and what he could infer from the text. In his protocols for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text, he remarked that he would never refer to English language resources since they were likely to misrepresent the Māori, a stance that is consistent with the assertion made in his interview that English can never capture the wairua of the Māori language.¹³⁴

5.2.3.2 Other translations

TR, JM and RH referred in their interviews to seeking out and making use of existing translations of a text that they were translating. Both WM and NT, however, refused to pursue that avenue of research. They preferred to rely on their own interpretations of the source text because they considered that others' interpretations, having been informed by a particular time, worldview and set of circumstances, would inevitably be different from their own.

The think-aloud protocols of TR, JM and RH contained references to seeking out and/or making use of existing translations as an aid to translation. Notably, however, while RH did utilise an existing translation in his treatment of the *Book of Mormon* text, he determined not to do so in relation to 'He Waiata-Karakia' since he did not wish to emulate the 'archaising' and 'poetic' style of that translation (by Pei Te Hurinui).

¹³⁴ This point of view is shared by Palmer (2004, p. xiii) in the foreword to *Ngā Mōteatea*: "No matter how brilliant the translation, how apt the phrase or vivid the image, the English version is no substitute for the original Māori."

It is relevant to note here that the comments in RH's interview were made in the context of biblical translation, in which his utilisation of parallel texts is understood as an aid to preserving the style of the source text in the translation, rather than as a general aid to comprehending meaning.

Throughout his protocols for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' translation, WM said on several occasions that he was pursuing his own interpretation of the text, and would disregard the opinions or interpretations of others. This stance, distinct from that of the other four translators, is consistent with comments made in his interview to the effect that different people interpret the same text in different ways, just as different people have varying perspectives on what they consider to be *tapu*.

5.2.3.3 Human resources

Seven of the translators (NH, HP, JM, TR, RR, EM, WH) referred in their interviews to consultation with human sources. For EM and RR, consultation and collaboration with elders in a mentoring relationship had been a significant feature of translation procedures they had undertaken, particularly in the case of RR as a rangatahi (young person) engaging with tribal *taonga*. For NH, TR, HP, WH and JM, consultation with knowledgeable *kaumātua* was referred to as a further avenue of research. Whereas for TR and WH, consultation was most likely to occur in the initial stages of research, for NH, JM and HP it was generally considered only after other avenues had been exhausted. NH noted that she was reluctant to impose too much on *kaumātua* in this way since they were busy people, while JM observed that in cases where no written record exists, consultation with living repositories may indeed be the *only* way to gain insight into the context of certain sacred or *tapu* texts, and WH noted that the translator – particularly one who is an outsider – sometimes needed to employ strategic flattery or respectful persistence in order to gain the confidence of an informant. The views expressed here highlight the fact that consulting with human sources in a Māori cultural context is not necessarily straightforward and is often dependent

on having established networks and relationships – or indeed *whakapapa* links – with *kaumātua* upon whom you can call.¹³⁵

The comments in TR's interview were distinct from those of the other translators in that he alone referred to consultation with his *kiriutu* (clients), particularly in the context of being outside the culture of the source text and the client being potentially, in that case, the 'cultural expert' and/or custodian of the text. RH's comments in his interview were also distinct from those of the others in that he did not refer at all to consultation with human sources.

WM and NT, as has been discussed in relation to the use of text-based information sources and existing translations, were reluctant to consult with others because they felt that others' interpretations/perspectives would inevitably be different from their own, and because they viewed their intermediary role in the translation of *tapu* texts as a responsibility that they alone were charged with. Thus, they eschewed any form of consultation, to the extent that NT noted he would sometimes leave a section or phrase untranslated if he could not intuit its meaning, rather than consult with someone else.

By contrast with that approach, NH referred in her interview to a form of consultation that was distinct from that employed by any of the other translators: the posting of provisional translations of sacred texts in an online forum where they were available for members of the public to critique and/or augment with additional information.¹³⁶

The protocols of the five translators who took part in the think-aloud translation exercise were generally consistent with what they had said in their interviews regarding consultation. Those who had not referred to, or who were opposed to consultation did not propose to undertake any consultation, while those who had

¹³⁵ Refer to the guidelines associated with a Kaupapa Māori approach to research (*Chapter 2* (2.9).

¹³⁶ Ngata (2004a, p. xxii) employed a similar method, publishing individual *mōteatea* in the Māori-language newspapers of the time (1920s-40s) in the hope that people who had knowledge pertaining to the composer or contextual information about the composition would come forward to dispute, confirm or supplement the scant knowledge he had about the texts.

cited consultation as a useful or critical element in the translation of sacred and sensitive texts, *did* propose to do so, with one exception (JM). Although she acknowledged the limitations of literary research and advocated consultation with Māori repositories as an extension of her research process, JM did not refer at all in her protocols to undertaking consultation as part of her procedure.

5.2.4 Meaning and Interpretation

Each of the ten translators made references in their interviews to the contingent nature of meaning, whether they were referring to a translation approach that was centered on providing provisional (‘working’) translations (NH), or the fact that words can be interpreted in so many ways (RR, HP, JM) or are bound to be interpreted differently by different people (HP, WH, WM, TR). Likewise, for HP, it was more important to ‘get the sense’ of a text than to ‘get every word perfect’. Some of the translators referred to ‘literal’ or ‘word-for-word’ translation, but not as a viable approach to translating ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ texts: WH and RH noted that there is no point or benefit to a ‘literal’ approach; JM and NH argued that ‘literal’ translation tends ‘not [to] make much sense’; while HP contended that it is ‘not really possible’ to achieve. All of the participating translators either stated or implied that meaning is dependent on context, referring to: the need to consider the subtleties of meaning in context (TR); the challenging nature of rendering metaphorical or obscure references with complex contextual meanings into the target language (RR, EM, RH); and the depth and range of meaning behind a single word (WH, JM, RR, NH).

EM referred to the difficulty of translating obscure references with no recourse to the relevant background context of those terms, while both NT and WH contended that some Māori terms and concepts are not translatable into English. While WM did not refer directly in his interview to the treatment of metaphor and personification, he did contend (as did NT and HP), that any translation into English of Māori metaphorical references could only ever be an approximation, due to the disparity in origins of the two languages.

The views expressed in the protocols of the five translators who took part in the think-aloud translation task were generally consistent with those expressed in their interviews. TR noted that the meanings of certain references in the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text were complex and multi-dimensional (‘metaphorical, poetic’), and that all those subtleties of meaning would need to be reflected in the English translation. He did not, however, elaborate on *how* that could be achieved. He referred to needing to take into account the ‘semantic relational signals, discourses and contexts’ of the *Book of Mormon* text in his consideration of its meaning, and also to relying on his client/s or other cultural ‘insiders’ to advise him with regard to the meaning of culturally-embedded terms. TR also referred, in relation to the *Book of Mormon*, to reading through the source text to ensure that he had an understanding of ‘what was intended by the source author’.

In his *Book of Mormon* protocols, EM had no apparent difficulty producing suitable phrases in Māori from his own vocabulary to translate archaic English references, such as ‘It came to pass’ and ‘Behold’, using a dictionary to clarify the meaning of more prosaic terms with which he was unfamiliar. For the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ translation, he noted that his inability to convey his understanding of complex metaphorical Māori references in an English translation was due to a lack of competence in English, rather than a difficulty with interpretation of meaning. While EM did not refer explicitly to context in his protocols for either of the two texts, it was nonetheless evident that his familiarity with the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text and its cultural context and his own knowledge of the actual birthing process were utilised in his translation procedure for that text.

RH and JM both referred throughout their protocols to ‘making sense’ of the source text, and both made decisions based on their view of ‘what made sense’. RH’s *Book of Mormon* protocols were inconsistent with that view in one instance, however, when, although acknowledging that it sounded ‘stilted’, he translated the English literally into Māori. In relation to the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text, RH noted that because of a relatively limited knowledge of Māori culture and reference he had always avoided translating *mōteatea*. While that statement implies an

acknowledgement of the importance of context to meaning, RH nonetheless attempted the translation of the text – perhaps feeling compelled to do so in order to fulfil the requirements of the think-aloud exercise. His procedure involved drawing on dictionary definitions to treat metaphorical references in the text, and transferring personifications directly from the source text into the translation, with no clarification of their meaning. In JM’s protocols for the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ translation, she too left personifications untranslated, but provided footnotes to clarify the various potential meanings of those references gleaned from extensive research and cross-referencing.

During WM’s procedure for the *Book of Mormon* translation, about which he knew very little of the background context, he tended to infer meaning from the text itself, noting that careful and repeated reading of the archaic English enabled him to discern underlying meanings and significances in the text. He was clearly also drawing on his own personal experience of similar events to those portrayed in the source text in order to make sense of it.

WM maintained, throughout the protocols for both texts, that decisions he made were based on his own perceptions and his own understandings. His *Book of Mormon* protocols included additions and alterations which were intended to make explicit what he understood to be implicit in the source text, and he determined that his rendering of archaic English expressions, such as ‘Behold’, would be filtered through a distinctly Māori worldview. With regard to ‘He Waiata-Karakia’, although he did not undertake a translation *per se*, WM’s protocols demonstrated that, for him, the background context was integral to meaning, and informed his understanding of the metaphorical references and personifications in the text.

5.2.5 Purpose/function and audience (including the ‘Paymaster’/commissioner)

In the interviews, eight of the ten translators (RR, JM, EM, WH, NH, HP, TR, WM) referred to considering the purpose or function of the *translation* and its intended or potential audience, while one (RH) referred to considering the nature

of the *source text* and the likely needs of the potential audience of the translation, but not the purpose or function of the translation. JM noted that her translation approach depended on what she was translating and for whom, adding that she took the purpose of the translation into consideration. HP, too, observed that he tailored his translation according to the purpose of the translation and its intended audience. In cases where the source text originated from outside of his own cultural context, TR referred to relying on his client/the commissioner of the translation to clarify for him the purpose of the translation and who the intended audience might be. In the context of translating *tapu* and sensitive texts, WM advised that the translator must always consider: the purpose of the translation; for whom it is intended; and who will benefit from the translation. One translator (NT) did not refer in his interview to considering the function or purpose of the translation, nor the needs of the potential audience.

TR's think-aloud protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation were somewhat consistent with what he had said in his interview, referring to consulting with his clients as to whom they considered the *target audience* to be, and aiming to produce a translation that would be 'totally congruent with the culture' of that audience. For the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text, however, TR noted that he would consider the *nature of the source text* and its intended audience in his translation.

Both JM's and EM's protocols were consistent with what they had said in their interviews. RH's protocols were also consistent with his interview in that no consideration of the purpose or function of either translation was mentioned. In relation to the needs of the audience of the translation, his *Book of Mormon* protocols were consistent with the content of his interview, in that they were primarily concerned with producing a translation that conformed to a familiar, acceptable (biblical) style he felt was expected by the audience. By contrast, his 'He Waiata-Karakia' protocols were inconsistent, in that, by transferring obscure references/personifications into the translation, he appeared not to have fully considered the needs of his potential audience.

In relation to his translation of the *Book of Mormon* text, WM's protocols were generally consistent with what he had said in his interview. While he did not refer directly to the function of the translation or its audience, he did acknowledge the biblical/allegorical nature of the source text, making additions and omissions that were intended to render the translation clearer and more comprehensible, and rendering archaic English terms in a distinctly Māori vernacular – presumably for the benefit of its likely audience. With regard to the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text, he acknowledged that he had prior knowledge of the source text and its function, but did not refer directly to the function of the translation or its intended audience. In that regard, his protocols for 'He Waiata-Karakia' were inconsistent with what he had outlined in his interview.¹³⁷

5.2.6 Historical perspectives

The predominant issue referred to by almost all of the translators in their interviews as problematic in the translation of texts of a 'sacred' nature, was the treatment of archaic, obscure terms and concepts. They all, with the exception of RH, acknowledged the importance of understanding the context within which those terms were being used at the time they were recorded, and that background/historical research needed to be undertaken. They also, with the exception of WM, acknowledged that in some cases research alone was not sufficient to resolve the issue, and that consultation with knowledgeable elders was necessary. In connection with this, NH noted that, often, the knowledgeable people who could have provided such information were no longer living.

JM observed that sacred Māori texts of a certain genre, such as *waiata* and *karakia*, presuppose a specialised kind of knowledge. For the translator, familiarity with the particular genre was an asset to translation and was possible to attain, over time, through committed research.

¹³⁷ That omission may, in this case, have been due to the fact that his protocols were predominantly concerned with a discussion of the *context* of the text, rather than the actual translation of it.

NT and JM both noted that translators need to be aware that the meanings of some Māori words and concepts have changed over time due to modern influences, including Christianity, while WH referred to people's understandings of *tapu* having also changed over time.¹³⁸ WH noted, too, that the status of 'sensitive' or 'tapu' texts sometimes changed over time (that, is, became no longer sensitive or tapu), as the people to whom the sensitivity pertained, or those who initially imposed restrictions upon the text, passed away.

RH did not refer in his interview to obscure and archaic references as problematic. Rather, he expressed his hope that any notion of modernising the vernacular of the *Māori Bible* would be abandoned since he sees it as a valuable repository of rich and figurative language for present-day scholars of te reo Māori.

The 'He Waiata-Karakia' text epitomises the very kinds of obscure references and concepts that JM referred to in her interview as problematic. The translation procedure recorded in her protocols, which involved extensive research of literature sources, including parallel texts and existing translations, was largely consistent with the approach she outlined in her interview.

RH's protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation were consistent with his interview, in that he dealt with obscure and archaic references by searching out and importing parallel phrases from an existing translation. In his protocols for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text, a text that falls outside of his habitual area of translating, RH chose not to utilise an existing translation and appeared to find the rendering of archaic, esoteric references into English more challenging.

TR's procedure for the treatment of archaic and/or obscure terms in the think-aloud translation task involved consulting dictionaries and existing translations. It also involved consulting, in the case of the *Book of Mormon* text, those who had commissioned the translation as well as people from within the Mormon

¹³⁸ In the context of bible translation, Klein et al (1993, pp. 12-16) consider 'distance' – of time, of culture and of language – to be the major difficulty faced by modern day translators/interpreters. They note that Bible scholars need to be aware of the changes in social, cultural, political and religious perspectives that have inevitably occurred over time, and how those changes would have impacted on successive transmissions of texts.

community, and in the case of 'He Waiata-Karakia', the custodians of that text or those to whom the text belonged.

In EM's protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation, he determined that his translation of the text would only be a draft or 'gist' translation, eschewing any consideration of the background/historical context of the text, and rendering 'just what he was looking at' into Māori. That approach was inconsistent with references in his interview to the importance of being familiar with the background context of the source text in order to connect his *wairua* to that time and place. Those comments were made, however, with specific reference to *tapu* texts in a Māori cultural context, which the *Book of Mormon* is clearly not. In his protocols for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' translation, it was clear that he had some prior knowledge of the background of the text, and that he was familiar to some extent with its historical context. That knowledge alone was not sufficient, however, to assist him in rendering a translation of the entire text extract.

WM's translation procedure for the *Book of Mormon* text was inconsistent with what he had outlined in his interview. Having minimal knowledge of the source text and its background/historical context, he proceeded, not to research that context but, rather, to relate similar events in his own personal experience to the events depicted in the source text. He appeared, in that process, to make no concession to the distance – in terms of time, location and culture – that is an inevitable characteristic of such texts.¹³⁹ The views expressed in WM's interview were, however, made specifically in relation to the translation of *Māori source texts of a tapu or sensitive nature*, and were generally consistent with the procedure outlined in his protocols for the Māori source text ('He Waiata-Karakia'), which were dedicated to contextualising the source text terms and

¹³⁹ In relation to the Māori oral tradition, Te Paa (2006, p. 343) notes Canon Hone Kaa's observation that in the recitation of traditional compositions, the orator or singer takes on the moments/actions/events of the composer's life that are portrayed in the composition *as their own*, with no real concern for any historical distance between the world of the composer and their own. In the context of early contact between Mormon missionaries and Māori in New Zealand (c. 1854), Midgley (1999, para. 7, 17, 18, 22) notes that Māori were particularly drawn to the narrative sections of the *Book of Mormon*, and tended when reading it to focus on the ways in which events depicted in the text were similar to events in their own history, and their own current situation.

references, in the way that he believed that they would have been understood in their original context.

5.2.7 Cultural perspectives

In her interview, NH referred to her conception of sacred texts as ‘taonga tuku iho’, knowledge that has been bequeathed to subsequent generations in the manner of a gift. Inherent in her cultural understanding of gift-giving is the concept of reciprocity, and the obligation, associated with the attaining of knowledge, to pass that knowledge on. NH’s understandings of those concepts informed her perspective on the translation of sacred texts. HP and WM also referred to the dissemination of knowledge to successive generations as an obligation, noting that texts of a ‘sacred’ and ‘tapu’ nature often contained information that was key to younger generations of Māori’s understanding of their identity, kinship affiliations and, more generally, their cultural survival and well-being. The management of that dissemination – to the right people, at the right time, in the appropriate forum – was the responsibility of the designated *kaitiaki* or custodian/s of the text in question.

Having been raised in a Māori community where his experience of ‘sacred’ texts included, on the one hand, richly allegorical Anglican hymns, and on the other, tribal histories and whakapapa, HP was of the belief that all peoples and their languages needed to be treated with respect, and translators needed to be sensitive, so as not to trample on other peoples’ beliefs. In relation to the translation of Māori ‘sacred’ texts, he contended that any author who had written in *te reo* Māori – most often, in his view, a politically motivated act – should be respected. That respect was contingent, however, on the author’s credibility as well as linguistic skill. Establishing the credentials of the author – his or her authority or status, and therefore credibility – and the authenticity of the text were primary considerations referred to in HP’s interview.

JM observed that while she does not personally have a religious view that entails considering certain kinds of text to be sacred, she does respect other people’s views in that regard. Thus she is careful with any text that she is asked to translate

that may be considered to be sacred, and is sensitive to any special instructions or restrictions that the custodians might wish to impose upon the procedure.

Believing that it was essential for a translator to be familiar with the source text culture, NT noted that a lack of familiarity with the Arabic language and culture meant that he felt he could not engage with the verification of the *Kurānu Tapu* translation. Thus he confined himself to translating only between Māori and English.

TR, of all the translators, had the most experience of translating ‘tapu’/‘sacred’ texts belonging to groups from outside of his own cultural context. The conception of ‘sacred’ texts expressed in his interview – those that have been ‘given by *a* god or *the* gods’ via a prophet or intermediary – accommodated both monotheistic (Islamic, Christian, Mormon and other) and polytheistic (Māori and other) perspectives. Chief among the issues TR encountered while translating other cultures’ sacred texts were the translatability of culturally-embedded items, particularly between Muslim and Māori cultures, and clashes with *kiriutu* (clients), who, in his opinion, often underestimated the complex nature of the task and the specialised nature of the translator’s skill. In relation to the former, TR recommended referring always to the source text context, and consultation with both his clients and people from within the source text culture/faith. In relation to the latter, he believed that the translator had to be prepared to back his/her own professional judgement, and to know the point at which he/she was no longer prepared to compromise.

WH referred in his interview to having been raised in an environment where traditional Māori values and *tikanga* were still prevalent, but where the influences of Christianity had also taken hold. For him, ‘sacred’ texts were those that pertained specifically to, and were significant to a particular iwi, and that iwi should have total authority over them. ‘Sensitive’ texts were governed by the admonition, ‘he toto kei runga, kia kaua e rere te toto’ (‘there is blood at stake, let no one or no thing cause that blood to be spilt’). Thus he noted that sensitive

information or texts were usually entrusted to a ‘kaipupuri’,¹⁴⁰ who would discern when and if that information should ever be disclosed. The term ‘sensitive’ could also relate to Christian perspectives on standards of morality in Māori society in the 19th and early 20th centuries, when what was considered natural and inoffensive to Māori had sometimes been highly offensive to Pākehā. In this context, *pūrākau* (narratives) and *mōteatea* (traditional laments) were often ‘sanitised’ in translation to render them more palatable to the Pākehā audience.¹⁴¹

EM maintained that Christian conceptions of *tapu* and Māori conceptions of *tapu* are quite different. That view extended to the divergent perspectives of Pākehā and Māori on texts, such as *pūrākau* (narratives, which are considered by some to be sacred and others to be ‘stories’).¹⁴² Thus he recalled translating English versions of *pūrākau* into Māori, and creatively reworking the narrative so that his translation corresponded to his own cultural worldview.

WM observed that he had grown up in an environment where traditional concepts and *tikanga* were still active regulators of social behaviour. Whereas WH, NT and HP referred to those traditional values and customs having been infiltrated to varying degrees by Christianity, WM contended that, due to its remote location, his tribal territory of Tūhoe/Te Urewera was less impacted by Pākehā/Christian influences than other parts of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Thus, while both he and WH acknowledged that their views and beliefs were inevitably formed in a more bi-cultural environment than those of their *kaumātua* (elders), WM maintained that his upbringing under the tutelage of his elders had strongly influenced his perspective on ‘tapu’ texts – those that were potentially dangerous¹⁴³ and should be left alone, or could be engaged with only once the appropriate rituals had been carried out; and ‘sensitive’ texts – those that were to be kept strictly confidential, because disclosing their contents could cause humiliation to the person concerned or denigrate their *whakapapa* (genealogical lineage).

¹⁴⁰ An elder whose responsibility it was to safeguard sensitive information.

¹⁴¹ For more on the sanitised translation of *pūrākau*, refer to Lee (2009, pp. 6-7); and of the Anglican Bible, refer to Te Paa (2006, p. 345).

¹⁴² *Pūrākau* are commonly referred to as ‘myths’.

¹⁴³ Refer to Marsden, 1992, pp. 119-121; Manihera, 1992, p. 9; Walker, 1990, p. 68.

WM and NT referred to their roles in the translation of *tapu* texts in terms of being an agent ('kauwaka' (WM)) or intermediary ('kaitakawaenga' (NT)), and noted that within that role, the translator was reliant on his or her own knowledge of culture, of *tikanga* and protocols, and of spiritual safeguarding mechanisms to navigate what was, for them, a potentially hazardous path.

WM also noted that, depending on the situation and the text, he would sometimes elect to translate a *tapu* Māori text into English in such a way that the deeper, more complex meaning of the text was withheld, in order to safeguard Māori/Tūhoe intellectual property and guard against the appropriation and/or commodification of their cultural *taonga*.¹⁴⁴

In RH's interview, he observed that the only real issue he has had to deal with in relation to translating sacred texts into Māori is his being Pākehā. Thus, he noted that he has never sought to promote himself as a candidate for translating sacred texts into Māori, but when asked by a highly respected Māori member of the Anglican clergy to do so, he has obliged.

Some of the translators (HP, NT, WH, WM, RR, TR) referred in their interviews to the ethical responsibilities incumbent on translators in relation to the translation of 'sacred', 'tapu' and 'sensitive' texts, such as: disseminating knowledge that could benefit others (NH, HP, WM), and withholding/safeguarding knowledge that could be hurtful or damaging (WH, WM); adhering to the guiding principles of *tikanga* Māori, seeking the guidance and mentoring of *kaumātua*, and ensuring that the translation would be of direct benefit to the *iwi*/community to whom the source text belongs (RR).

WM noted that it was important to assess the benefit to others that would result from the translation of a *tapu* text before proceeding to disclose the contents. He

¹⁴⁴ From a traditional Māori perspective, Māori intellectual property was tribally 'owned', and that ownership related to whakapapa. A person had the right to claim ownership of a particular waiata or narrative because they had kinship connections to it (Garlick, 1998, p. 62). The idea that tribal knowledge/taonga could be commercialised and thereby lose its tapu, its potency, was abhorrent to Māori (King, 1975, p. 7).

would have to be convinced that the benefits were greater (for example, being critical to those people's understanding of their culture and identity) than any potential harm or distress that could result from the disclosure.

For HP, NT and WH, the ethics of translating 'sacred' and 'tapu' texts came down to ethnicity. They contended that translation of those kinds of text should not be undertaken by anyone outside of the culture out of which they emerged. For HP, that included competence in the source culture language. Thus, he believed that a person should not undertake to translate a Māori text unless he or she was proficient in the Māori language. Nor should someone of Māori ethnicity undertake to translate the *Qur'an* unless he or she was proficient in the Arabic language.¹⁴⁵ WH also believed that sacred Muslim texts should be translated by Muslims, and sacred Māori texts by Māori, since cultural outsiders would not be as attuned to the sensitivities in a text as someone who is inside the faith/culture.

In TR's view, the ethical responsibilities incumbent on translators who *do* undertake to work in cultural contexts other than their own include working under the guidance and direction of the commissioning body from within the source text culture, and actively resisting any tendency to subvert the source text culture or otherwise impose one's own cultural worldview upon the translation. Thus, his personal ethics of accuracy ('me tōtika'), according to the understandings communicated by the source text/source culture/via the client or 'insider' ('ko tā te mātāpuna'), were also paramount in that context.

RH observed in his interview that he had not yet had an opportunity to formally translate Māori sacred texts into English. In his think-aloud protocols for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' translation, he noted that he had always avoided translating *mōteatea* in particular because of the difficulty associated with the metaphorical and poetic style of those kinds of texts given what he perceived as his relatively

¹⁴⁵ In relation to that view, HP (Interview, January 2011) recalled Sir James Henare's contention that it is impossible to impart the true depth of knowledge in any language other than that in which it is intended to be communicated. (Sir James Henare (1911-1989) was a highly respected Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Hine community leader and was widely considered to be an elder statesman of Māoridom (McConnell & McConnell, 2012)).

‘limited knowledge of culture and reference’. It was evident from his protocols that the translation of the Māori text proved to be more challenging for him than the translation of the English text..

JM’s think-aloud protocols were generally consistent with the cultural perspectives expressed in her interview, in that she was both careful and respectful in her treatment of the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text. The fact that she did not seek to consult with knowledgeable elders in relation to that translation was the only inconsistency between her protocols and her interview. Although not recorded in either her protocols or her interview, JM took a firm ethical stance with regard to translating texts from outside the bounds of her cultural skill-base (JM, Personal communication, November 2011), declining to undertake the *Book of Mormon* translation on that basis.

TR’s references to cultural perspectives in his interview were primarily related to his translation of the sacred texts of other cultures/faiths into Māori, and his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation were generally consistent with what he said in his interview. He was familiar with the background context of the text, and noted that he would consult with ‘people of the faith’ regarding any terms and phrases that he was not familiar with. In his ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ protocols, however, his primary considerations were the status or authority of the source text author and the purpose for which the text was composed, neither of which was mentioned in his interview.

The views expressed in WM’s interview relating to the ethical standards that need to be observed when translating outside of one’s own tribal context (the need sometimes to translate in such a way as to safeguard one’s intellectual property, and the role of the translator of *tapu* texts as that of a *kauwaka*), related to translating Māori texts of a *tapu* nature into English. His conception of the translator as *kauwaka* did not appear to be referred to in relation to English language source texts. In his *Book of Mormon* protocols, WM referred to being able to discern the *wairua* of the protagonist by relating his own experience of similar events to those depicted in the narrative, and to follow the *wairua* of the

text by carefully reading and re-reading the archaic English until its deeper meaning became evident. The references to ‘wairua’ in both these cases do not, however, seem to correspond to what he had outlined in his interview with regard to the role of the *kauwaka* as *an agent for the source text or the author* of that text, since no reference has been made at any stage to the author/s of the text and/or their authority. The use of the term in these cases seems, rather, to have the sense, in the former, of ‘the motivation underpinning’ the protagonist’s actions, and, in the latter, of the ‘deeper meaning’ of the text.¹⁴⁶ Certainly, the ethical obligations that he highlighted in relation to translating tapu texts belonging to another *iwi* were not evident in his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* text.¹⁴⁷

The cultural perspectives expressed in WM’s protocols for the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ translation were generally consistent with what was said in his interview with respect to his assertion that he would not consult existing translations and other text-based information sources that were written in English. The fact that his protocols focus predominantly on contextualising the source text and do not extend to an actual translation means, however, that there was scant evidence of what WM actually would have done within that procedure.

With the exception of TR, the ethical responsibility of consulting with and/or being guided by those to whom the text belongs was not demonstrated in the protocols of any of the translators, for either of the two texts. Despite ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ being a published text and, therefore, widely accessible, TR referred to consulting the *iwi* to whom Tuhoto-Ariki’s composition belongs, whereas WM, EM, RH and JM did not. In the case of the *Book of Mormon* text, aside from JM who declined to undertake the translation on ethical and professional grounds, only TR referred to consulting with and being guided by the understandings of members of the Mormon faith with regard to their sacred text. WM, EM and RH did not make any such reference.

¹⁴⁶ In these contexts, the term ‘wairua’ can also be understood as ‘underpin’ and ‘essence’ respectively. Thus I translated them in WM’s protocols (see *Chapter 4, (4.4.4.1)* p. 173) as ‘the motivation driving this person’ and ‘the underlying meaning’.

¹⁴⁷ His view of the *Holy Bible* being a text that is widely accessible and not, therefore, restricted, may have some relevance to his perception of and approach to the *Book of Mormon*.

5.2.7.1 Spiritual aspects

Three translators (NT, TR, EM) referred in their interviews to the necessity and/or relevance of *karakia* in a context involving *tapu* texts or persons, and/or where the associated *wairua* of the text or person could be felt or sensed. For TR, respecting the *wairua* of the source text and doing his best to convey that *wairua* in translation was a priority; for NT, the *wairua* of the source text was conceived as a ‘kaiārahi’ (guardian or guiding influence), and he maintained his connection with that *wairua* throughout the translation procedure by means of *karakia* or deep reflection; while EM noted that his being able to connect *his wairua* to the world of the source text was contingent on his familiarity with the source text context.

In connection with being ‘guided’, NH referred to experiencing instances, during the course of her translation procedure, where she had the sense of being ‘transported’ to the world of the source text and its author, and contended that those kinds of experiences, while seldom talked about, needed to be acknowledged as a routine aspect of the process of translating ‘sacred’ texts.

NT and WM both referred to their role as translators of *tapu* texts in terms of being an intermediary (‘kaitakawaenga’) or agent (‘kauwaka’) whose job it was to interpret (‘whakamārama’) the meaning of the source text. Given the cultural complexity involved in translation, the translator is inevitably cast in the role of cultural mediator (see *Chapter 2* (2.6)). The views expressed by NT and WM, however, refer to mediation of a spiritual nature that is specific to their cultural beliefs, and related to the perspectives expressed in their interviews on the nature of *tapu* and *wairua* (*Chapter 3* (3.3)).

HP noted that he does not undertake lightly the translation of texts that he considers to be *tapu* but exercises caution because it involves ‘opening a door’ to the spiritual realm and therefore to the potential risks associated with that act. NT referred to the translator needing to maintain an attitude of ‘goodwill, integrity and right intention’ as a kind of personal ethic during the translation of *tapu* texts. In relation to the translation of *tapu* texts such as ancient *karakia*, WM and HP

also believed that the translator's heart had to be in the 'right' place, they had to be the 'right' person in order to successfully – or safely – achieve the translation. The implication here is that the 'wrong' person or a person with ulterior (selfish or mercenary) motives would either not receive the spiritual guidance needed to negotiate the task, or would provoke some form of retribution.

While JM and RH referred in their interviews to taking a particularly careful or tentative approach to translating texts that they or others considered to be sacred or *tapu*, that hesitancy was attributed to the difficulty of 'fathoming meaning' rather than to any perceived spiritual or religious aspect of the translation process.

Of those who took part in the think-aloud translation task, two of the translators' protocols (TR, WM) contained references to spiritual aspects in their translation procedures. TR referred specifically to striving to capture the *wairua* of the source text in his translation of both texts. He aimed to achieve that transmission by maintaining, to the extent possible, the style and register of the source text in his translation. WM referred, in relation to the *Book of Mormon* (English) text, to being able to understand the *wairua* of the text's protagonist; and in relation to the 'He Waiata-Karakia' (Māori) text, to having his own views regarding the *wairua* that the source text author was aiming to convey when he composed the text, and also the intensely spiritual nature of the source text context, which involved the instilling of *wairua* and *mauri* into the new-born child by the *tohunga* (highly skilled 'priest').

The comments highlighted here from the think-aloud protocols appear to be consistent with assertions made by both TR and WM in their interviews regarding the interrelated nature of *tapu*, *wairua* and *mauri*, and also with NH's conception of 'taonga' – texts that have been crafted in the past, and which are imbued with the *wairua* of the person (author/composer) who crafted them.

5.2.8 Translation type

The type of translation advocated by RR in her interview in relation to 'sacred' texts that contain archaic references was a '*gloss translation*', that is, a translation

accompanied by footnotes which are intended to convey the multiplicity of possible connotations of culturally-embedded terms in the source text. When working in conjunction with an historian on historical Māori texts, JM would generally provide a '*plain translation*', one that stayed close to the language of the source text, and endeavour not to complicate or embellish it with contemporary thinking. When translating independently, however, she might sometimes produce a '*gloss translation*', depending on the translation brief and the intended audience. She sometimes deliberately retained Māori terms and grammatical conventions in the English translation ('*transference*') so that the audience was reminded of the fact that it was a translation of the Māori and 'not an English text'. TR did not refer to any particular type of translation in relation to 'sacred' and 'sensitive' texts, noting that his procedure was dependent on the brief provided by the commissioner of the translation/his client and what they required. Nor did NT refer in his interview to a particular type of translation in relation to *tapu* texts, observing simply that his intermediary role involved interpreting the deeper meanings and significances ('te tino') of the source text, and communicating them to the target audience. WM made no reference to any particular type of translation of *tapu* texts, but regarded his role as that of an 'agent' of the source text. HP observed that he was more concerned with conveying the message of the source text in his translation than the linguistic form (*target text oriented*), and EM noted that when translating *karakia*, the style of the translation was important, with each line flowing naturally and rhythmically from the previous line. In relation to his translation of biblical texts, RH referred to striving to maintain the style of the source text in his translation ('*formal correspondence*').

Whereas TR did not refer to any particular type of translation in his interview, he noted in his *Book of Mormon* protocols that his 'ideal' translation aims to be 'natural', with its messages being 'totally congruent with its [target] culture' ('*idiomatic*'). A predominant aim referred to in his protocols for the translation of both texts, one that was not referred to at all in his interview, was attempting to ensure that the style and register of the source text were maintained in the translation ('*formal correspondence*'). In combination, these two aims correspond to Beekman and Callow's concept of '*dynamic fidelity*'.

In her protocols for the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ translation, JM initially set out to produce a translation of the source text that was ‘modern’ and ‘poetic’. On consideration of the nature of the text and the purpose and likely audience of the translation, however, she proceeded instead to produce a translation that stayed close to the Māori, retaining cultural elements of the source text in the translation, and adding footnotes to give relevant contextual information and explain possible connotations (*‘gloss translation’*). JM’s protocols were therefore consistent with what she had said in her interview, both with regard to making decisions about the type of translation based on the likely needs of the potential audience, and also with regard to deliberately retaining Māori source text references in the translation.

RH’s protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation were consistent with what he said in his interview, in that he adapted phrases imported from an existing (*Māori Bible*) translation in an attempt to replicate the biblical style that he considered was expected by readers of the translation (*‘formal correspondence’*). In his protocols for the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text, he aimed instead to produce a basic draft translation that would provide what was ‘key to the Māori text’. In executing that approach, culturally-embedded source text references were transferred into the translation (*‘transference’*). In this regard, his protocols for the Māori translation into English were not consistent with what was said in his interview.

EM did not refer directly in his interview to a type of translation in relation to translating ‘sacred’ or ‘tapu’ texts, but did refer, in the context of collaborating with an elder on the translation of a *karakia* from English into Māori, to striving to ensure that the style of the source text was conveyed in the translation. In his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation, EM undertook an orally-rendered draft translation in which his primary emphasis was on striving to render the translation as naturally and comprehensibly as possible for the target audience (Beekman & Callow’s *‘idiomatic’* approach). Thus his protocols in this instance were inconsistent with what he said in his interview. In his translation of the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text, his protocols indicate that he attempted to emulate the style

of the source text (*'formal correspondence'*), which is consistent with what he observed in his interview.

WM's protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation were consistent with what was outlined in his interview in terms of contextualisation of the source text narrative and eschewing any reference to text-based information sources. He aimed to produce a translation that would be natural and comprehensible to the intended audience (*'idiomatic'*), and displayed considerable creativity in his procedure, avoiding using the same translation for a given reference that was used multiple times in the source text, searching each time for a new term that was specific to the relevant context.¹⁴⁸ His protocols for 'He Waiata-Karakia' did not extend to an actual translation of the text, but rather demonstrated WM's extensive cultural knowledge in terms of his understanding of the source text references. In those same protocols, he referred to asking himself how he would think/behave/respond if he himself were living in the source text world – something that had not been referred to at all in his interview and which seems at odds with his conception of the translator as an agent (*'kauwaka'*) of the wairua of the source text.

5.2.9 Trained vs. untrained translators

As noted in the introduction to *Chapter 4*, none of the translators who participated in this study has received a complete, formal training in translation. Four of them are licensed translators and interpreters (TR, NT, WH, WM); one (WM) is an acknowledged authority on Māori language and culture, particularly Tūhoe language and culture; three (JM, WM, EM) have completed university papers on translation (that do not, however, lead to a specific translator license); and one (TR) has taught a postgraduate training course on translation and interpreting in a Māori context. Three of them (TR, JM, WM) have extensive experience of

¹⁴⁸ Nida (2003, p. 73) regards 'word worship' – the propensity for Bible translators to render a given term in the same way throughout the translation of a text with no consideration of the relevant context pertaining to each usage – as "the greatest obstacle to effective translating of religious texts", as it most often results in distorting the meaning of the original and rendering the resulting translation unnaturally.

translating: two of them (TR, JM) in a predominantly ‘professional’¹⁴⁹ capacity, and one (WM) in a predominantly ‘cultural’¹⁵⁰ context.

It is relevant to note that while all the translators had experience of translating texts that they conceived of as ‘sacred’ or ‘tapu’, those texts belonged to diverse genres, including historical manuscripts, correspondence, narratives, *karakia*, prayers, *mōteatea*, *whakapapa*, and religious texts.

In the protocols in general, the more experienced translators (TR, WM, JM) were more concerned with context – the context of the source text, the importance of context to meaning – than were the less-experienced translators. Of the three more experienced translators, the two who translate predominantly in a ‘professional’ capacity (TR, JM) referred to using, in researching that context, a broad range of text-based information sources and consultation with human sources – particularly, in the case of TR, the client or commissioner of the translation. The third of them (WM), who translates predominantly in a ‘cultural’ capacity, eschewed reference to text-based information sources or consultation with human sources. He viewed his role as that of an agent or intermediary, whose own unique interpretation of the source text was informed by his knowledge of Māori *tikanga*, protocols, and spiritual safeguards. These three more experienced translators also exhibited more marked creativity in their procedures than the less experienced translators.

In the protocols of the two less experienced translators who took part in the think-aloud translation task (EM, RH), contextual issues did not appear to be taken into consideration in any major way in the case of either of the two texts.

TR’s protocols were notably more concise than those of the other translators, something that could be attributable to a level of ‘automaticity’ that is to be expected of a translator of his level of experience. Conversely, JM’s protocols

¹⁴⁹ Defined in *Chapter 4* (4.5, p. 194) as having extensive experience of being commissioned by clients to produce translations to a contracted deadline, for an agreed fee.

¹⁵⁰ Defined in *Chapter 4* (4.5, p. 194) as having extensive experience of being called upon as an authority on Māori language, culture and history to undertake translation projects at community and national levels.

were notably more extensive than those of the others translators, and appeared to reflect the extensive nature of her research-based translation approach, and to demonstrate a natural aptitude for and comfort with the think-aloud technique.

Accustomed to working with sacred texts from outside their own cultural context, both TR and JM adhered strongly to their own conceptions of ethical standards. JM noted that although she herself does not subscribe to the belief that a text is sacred because it represents an expression of religious beliefs, she respects the fact that such texts are considered by others to be sacred and believes therefore that they must be treated with respect, care and sensitivity. Another aspect of her ethical stance was demonstrated by her decision not to undertake translation into Māori of the English text. TR strove to maintain his personal translation ethic – ‘ko tā te mātāpuna’ (always according to the source), and ‘me tōtika’ (accuracy) – by consulting with, and being guided by the commissioners of the translation (his clients) or other insiders of the source text culture/faith, and by consciously guarding against any tendency on his part to subvert the source text culture in the process of translation.

In his interview, WM discussed ethics in terms of the translator who is outside of the source text culture needing to observe certain ethical standards, including seeking the consent of those to whom the text belongs and also having the translation verified by them. In his protocols for the *Book of Mormon*, however, WM did not propose to consult with or be guided by people of the Mormon faith. In fact, his translation of that text drew strongly upon a Māori cultural worldview. Nor did he propose to consult with the tribal group to whom ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ is attributed. In the case of the latter, however, those ethical protocols had possibly already been observed during a prior encounter with the text (which he referred to in his think-aloud protocols).

It was noted in the interviews of the less experienced translators, that ‘ethics’ in relation to the translation of ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ texts involved *respect* – for ‘taonga’ (NH); for writings in the Māori language (HP); and for the writings and languages of other peoples (HP, WH). In the case of texts written in Māori

however, that respect was contingent on the credibility and linguistic prowess of the author in question (HP). Other references made by the less experienced translators in relation to ethics included:

- adhering to tikanga Māori principles; ensuring that the *iwi* or group to whom the text belongs guides and mentors the translation process; and ensuring that the translation of their *taonga* is of direct benefit to them (RR)
- being familiar with the source text culture (NT)
- taking it seriously and being ‘tika’ (as accurate as possible) (EM)
- the tensions associated with being a Pākehā involved in translating sacred texts into Māori (RH)

TR’s insistence that the style and register of the source text should be reflected in the translation, thereby transmitting the ‘wairua’ of the source text/author, is consistent with his personal ethic (‘always according to the source’), and also with the observation made in his interview that when there is *wairua* (and, therefore, *tapu*) present in a text it must not be denigrated but must be conveyed in the translation. Although not verbalised in either his interview or his protocols, there is a suggestion here that in fact TR’s conception of his role as translator of sacred texts is akin to that of a spiritual intermediary between the source text and the translation.

Both TR and WM noted issues relating to translatability in their interviews – in relation to the cultural and linguistic distance between Arabic and Māori (TR), and the cultural and linguistic distance between Māori and English (WM). Three of the less experienced translators also referred to the issue of translatability, with NT and WH contending that some Māori terms and concepts are not translatable into English; and RH pondering, in relation to texts of a ‘sensitive’ nature, not only whether they *ought* to be translated, but whether or not it was *possible* to translate them into another language.

There were no explicit references in any of the think-aloud protocols to issues of translatability. However, the lengths to which WM went to clarify the connotations and associations of numerous complex, obscure references in the Māori text ('He Waiata-Karakia') served to indicate a high level of difficulty involved in translating those references into English. That level of difficulty could well be the reason why none the three Māori translators (two of whom are highly proficient bilinguals, the other being highly proficient in te reo Māori) actually translated the text in its entirety within the timeframe.

5.2.10 Māori vs. non-Māori translators

Two of the translators who participated in the research study identified themselves as Pākehā (of European descent). The remaining eight participants identified as Māori and/or according to their particular tribal affiliations.

With regard to preparing the way for the translation of texts of a 'sacred', 'tapu' or 'sensitive' nature, three of the translators, all Māori, referred in their interviews to the appropriateness of *karakia* to a process that necessarily involves 'te wāhi ngaro' (the spiritual realm) (TR, EM, WM), and/or to using *karakia* to ensure their spiritual safety and to help them to discern whether or not to proceed with a translation of that text (WM). HP, also Māori, referred to a traditional perspective regarding the process of readying oneself mentally to engage with sacred ideas/teachings/texts. HP and EM also noted that undertaking to engage with sacred or tapu knowledge/texts must be taken seriously and required a committed attitude.

Neither of the two non-Māori translators (JM, RH) referred to the need for any particular type of preparation, spiritual or otherwise, in relation to the translation of 'sacred' texts.

Specific cultural perspectives were more evident in the interviews and protocols of the Māori translators than the non-Māori translators. The Māori translators tended to refer to the translation of Māori texts of a 'sacred' or 'tapu' or

‘sensitive’ nature in terms of a responsibility or obligation – to be as accurate as possible (NT, RR, TR), to disseminate knowledge (HP, NH, WM); to discern what aspects of a *tapu* text should be disclosed and what aspects should be withheld (WM, WH); to protect *whakapapa* and intellectual property (WH, WM), and also as a potentially hazardous undertaking (NT, WH, WM). The Māori translators were also distinct in their conception of the translator as not just a cultural mediator but as a spiritual intermediary (NT, WM, TR, EM).

Three of the Māori translators (NT, HP, WH) contended that the translation of ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ texts should only be undertaken by a person from within the source text culture, since familiarity with the culture, its forms of expression and manner of thought were deemed to be essential (NT, HP, WH), and would enable them to be more sensitive to sensitivities in the text (WH).

With one exception (NH), all the Māori translators in the study referred in their interviews to ethics as a consideration in relation to the translation of ‘sacred’, ‘tapu’ and, particularly, ‘sensitive’ texts. WM, NT, WH and HP made references to how the cultural training they had acquired with regard to *tapu* and the consequences of any transgression of, or disregard for *tapu*, had influenced their perspectives on ethical approaches to translating texts of a *tapu* nature. WM referred to seeking permission from the appropriate *kaitiaki* when translating texts that belong to a group to whom one does not belong; while NT would decline to translate a text that belonged to a tribal group/faith/culture to which he did not himself belong. RR, EM, WH and TR, on the other hand, all referred to consultation with those to whom the source text belongs as a fundamental requirement for translators who translate outside of their own cultural context, or within their own cultural context but outside of their own tribal context. RR’s ethical standards required that the translation procedure be guided by the principles of *tikanga Māori*, as well as by certain tenets which correspond to those

generally associated with a *Kaupapa Māori* research approach¹⁵¹ (see *Chapter 2* (2.9)).

Ethical considerations were also referred to by the non-Māori translators (RH and JM). JM noted in her interview that she is respectful of any restrictions or conditions of confidentiality imposed upon a text by those to whom the text belongs; and RH maintained that he would never presume to undertake a translation into Māori unless he was invited to do so by an authoritative person from within the source text culture.

According to their think-aloud protocols, the Māori translators (TR, WM, EM) tended to treat their translations of the Māori text ('He Waiata-Karakia') differently from their translations of the English text (*Book of Mormon*). For TR and WM, the status and authority of the author/composer of the Māori text, and the authenticity of the text itself, were primary considerations. With regard to the English text, however, while they were concerned with the authenticity of the text – whether or not it was a translation of the original Hebrew or a translation of a translation – they did not refer to the authority of the author/s.

In connection with this issue, Te Paa (2006, p. 343) notes that traditionally the authority of a text's author was integral to Māori conceptions of the authenticity of that text:

As people of an oral tradition, nineteenth-century Māori determined the authenticity of someone's words according to the status and authority of the speaker. The greater the status of the speaker, the greater the respect they were accorded. . . . For spoken words to have meaning, therefore, they had to be attributed to a person of authority.

¹⁵¹ This requires, among other things, that any research conducted must have direct relevance to and be of benefit to the iwi or any social group to whom the research pertains, and must be conducted in collaboration with the elders of that iwi or group.

The fact that neither TR or WM referred to the authority of the *Book of Mormon*'s author/s, despite having acknowledged, at least in TR's case, its 'sacred' status, seems significant and could suggest that they considered the *Book of Mormon* text to be less authoritative than the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text.

In their translations of the Māori text into English, two of the Māori translators (WM, EM) tended to emphasise the poetic style of the *source text*. In their translations of the English text into Māori, however, they tended to emphasise the importance of attempting full comprehensibility so far as the *target audience* is concerned.

TR's protocols were distinct from those of the other translators (both Māori and non-Māori) in that he attempted, for both the *Book of Mormon* and 'He Waiata-karakia' texts, to reflect the style and register of the source text in the translation *as well as have it be fully natural and comprehensible to the target audience*. While he managed an approximation of that goal in his translation of the English text into Māori, he did not, as noted above, complete his translation of the Māori text into English. TR's preoccupation with style and register appear to have been related to his concern for the *wairua* of the source text. Both TR and WM were concerned, for both texts, that the *wairua* of the source text should be conveyed in the translation.

The non-Māori translator who undertook to translate both texts (RH), also treated the two texts differently, but not in the same way as the Māori translators. For the English text, he utilised a practice that he customarily uses in bible translation as a way of seeking to maintain an acceptable biblical style in his translation. He did not, however, utilise this same technique for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text, aiming in that case to 'clarify what was key to the (Māori) text'. In the case of the other non-Māori translator (JM), every literary resource at her disposal was utilised in her rendering of the Māori text into English.

Two of the Māori translators (EM, TR) conducted their translation procedures for both the texts entirely orally. The third (WM) conducted the contextualising of

both texts orally, before proceeding with a written translation for the English text. Since he did not proceed to an actual translation of the Māori text, it would be pure speculation as to whether, had he proceeded, he would have produced a written translation as he did for the English text, or whether there was some reason why he might have wished to avoid translating the text.

5.2.11 Translation into Māori and into English: Differences

As noted in the previous section, two of the Māori translators who produced think-aloud protocols (WM, TR, EM) tended to treat the Māori text ('He Waiata-Karakia') differently from the way in which they treated the English text (*Book of Mormon*). That difference was centred on a consideration of the authority of the author/composer that was only applied to the Māori text (WM, TR); and the approach, which tended for the Māori text to be broadly *source text oriented*, and for the English text, to be broadly *target audience oriented* (WM, EM).

TR (Māori), as noted, was the only translator of the five who applied a similar translation approach to both the Māori and English texts, aiming in both cases to maintain the style and register of the source text in the translation *and* to render the translation as naturally and comprehensibly as possible.

Because JM (non-Māori) undertook only the translation (from Māori into English/'routine') that she considered to be within her professional capability, there is no data relating to the translation of the English text into Māori, and no way, therefore, of comparing her translation approaches to the two texts. Her approach to the translation of the Māori text into English involved (like those of the Māori translators TR, EM and WM) attempting to maintain as much as possible the poetic style of the source text. JM, however, also paid careful attention to the likely needs of the potential audience, and was the only translator who proposed a solution (the provision of explanatory 'glosses') to the problem of comprehensibility that tends to result when a source text oriented/'formal correspondence' translation approach is adopted.

As noted earlier, the three Māori translators (TR, WM, EM) all produced draft translations into Māori of the English text ('routine') but did not complete their translations into English of the Māori text ('non-routine'). Apart from EM, who identified his difficulty as relating to his perceived lack of competency in English, no explanations for this were evident in the protocols.

It was observed in the interviews of four of the Māori translators (NT, WM, EM, RR) that they felt there was more pressure upon them when translating a Māori source text that they considered to be *tapu*: more of a responsibility to ensure that their motivation was 'pono' (sincere), that their work was 'tika' (as accurate as possible), and that the *tapu* of the text was not violated or denigrated. They also contended that the essence of the Māori language could never be adequately conveyed in English. Constraints of this nature may have contributed to the fact that none of the three Māori translators produced a complete translation into English of the Māori text.

5.2.12 Consistency and Inconsistency

In their interviews, three of the translators (TR, EM, WM) referred to *karakia* in relation to preparing the way for the translation of *tapu* texts. In the think-aloud protocols of these three translators, however, none of them in fact utilised *karakia* as part of, or as a precursor to their procedures. All three referred in their 'He Waiata-Karakia' protocols to having prior knowledge of the text, and it could be surmised that they did not see a need for ritual *karakia* to be conducted in that case. Nor were *karakia* evident in those translators' protocols for the *Book of Mormon* text, despite two of the three translators (EM, WM) not being familiar with the background context of the text. Clearly, however, the *Book of Mormon* originates outside of a Māori cultural context, and invoking the protection and guidance of Māori deities may not therefore have been deemed to be appropriate.

With regard to drawing upon resources in the translation of sacred texts, RH referred in his interview to adapting phrases from parallel texts and existing translations as part of his procedure. In the protocols for the *Book of Mormon*

translation, that approach was clearly demonstrated. In the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ protocols, however, he chose not to consult an existing translation that came to hand. RH was the only translator to submit a typewritten translation – of the *Book of Mormon* text – with his think-aloud recordings. While no process of checking for accuracy or revision was evident in his protocols for that text, it was evident that the typewritten translation had been revised. No written translation was submitted for the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text; nor, according to his protocols for that text, had any revision or checking for accuracy been undertaken.

JM referred in her interview to drawing upon a range of text-based, as well as human sources of information. She noted that consultation with human sources – such as living repositories of the oral tradition – was usually undertaken only when her literature-based research had not yielded the information she needed. In her protocols for ‘He Waiata-Karakia’, despite there being some aspects of the text that remained problematic after she had exhausted a range of text-based sources of information, JM did not undertake, nor propose to undertake, consultation with a human source/s.

TR also noted in his interview that when translating texts that belong to a culture other than his own, he consults with his clients regarding their view of the purpose or function of the translation and its prospective audience. His protocols for the *Book of Mormon* text were consistent with what he said in his interview. In the protocols for the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text, however, he did not address the purpose or function of the translation, focusing instead on *the nature of the source text* and *the potential audience of the translation*. TR was the only translator involved in the think-aloud translation exercise that recorded his translation procedure for both texts¹⁵² in a different language from that he had used in his interview. Thus, he referred in his interview (Māori) to ‘tapu’ texts, and in his protocols (English) to ‘sacred’ texts.

EM discussed taking the purpose or function of the translation and its audience into consideration in his interview, and his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* text

¹⁵² With the exception of his protocols for the warm-up exercise, which were recorded in Māori.

are consistent with that. In his 'He Waiata-Karakia' protocols, however, he did not take the potential audience into consideration and focused more on the nature of the source text than the purpose/function of the translation. While he also referred in his interview to the importance of context in relation to determining the meaning of archaic and obscure terms and references, his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* made no reference to context, but rather to translating 'just what was in front of him'.

In his interview, RH referred to taking into consideration the nature of the source text and the audience of the translation. That was consistent with his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation, but inconsistent in the case of the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text.

In relation to historical distance in the translation of 'tapu' texts, WM observed that meaning is dependent on the context in which those texts were originally written or spoken. In his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* text, however, he made no reference to the source text context, proceeding instead to draw upon personal experiences that, for him, correlated to the events and actions taking place in the source text narrative. In this respect, his approach corresponded to one that he outlined in his protocols for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text, relating to asking himself what he would think or do/how he would respond if he were in the source text world.

For RH, archaic words were not problematic in relation to the translation of biblical texts, due to his approach of researching and importing words and phrases from a vast collection of parallel texts. He opted not to utilise that same approach, however, in his translation of 'He Waiata-Karakia', a text that is comprised almost completely of archaic and obscure references. RH also referred in his interview to striving to maintain the biblical style of the source text in order to ensure that the audience's expectations were met. In his protocols for the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text, however, the aim of his draft translation was *not* to emulate the style of the source text, nor did he appear to give full consideration to the likely needs of the audience.

In relation to cultural perspectives, EM observed in his interview that in the process of translating an English language *karakia* into the formal ceremonial register of Māori language (*reo ōkawa*), he had instilled *tapu* into the translation. In his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* translation (a narrative text from a culture/faith outside his own), however, that approach was not applied. He also referred in his interview to needing to know the source text context *in order to connect his wairua to that world/place/time*, a perspective that hints at the kind of intermediary role that WM and NT discussed in their interviews. He did not, however, attempt to establish any kind of background context in his procedure for the *Book of Mormon* translation.

TR noted in his interview that the type of translation he employed depended on the translation brief. In his protocols for both texts, however, he had clear intentions to proceed in accordance with his ‘ideal’ of translation (one that is natural to the target audience, and totally congruent with the target culture) and also to emulate the style and register of the source text.

EM’s only reference to a specific type of translation in his interview was in relation to translating a *karakia*-like text from English into Māori. He maintained in that instance that the translation must be consistent with the style of the *source text*, with a fluid, rhythmical flow from one line to the next. In his protocols for the *Book of Mormon* text, he undertook to produce an orally-rendered basic draft translation that was concerned primarily with *the needs of the potential audience*. While inconsistent with the approach outlined in his interview, it is relevant to note that the *Book of Mormon* text is of a different genre altogether.

5.2.13 Direct/indirect recognition/acknowledgment/acceptance of ‘sacred’ or ‘tapu’ status of texts and/or of their ‘sensitive’ nature

TR referred directly to both texts as ‘sacred’ texts. Of the *Book of Mormon* text, he noted that the sacred nature of the source text should be reflected in its translation, indicating that that was what he strove to do. In relation to the ‘He

Waiata-Karakia' text, he referred to 'the sacred nature of the text' as a key consideration in his translation approach.

EM referred indirectly to the nature of both texts, noting that in his rendering of the term 'Lord' (*Book of Mormon*) he had deified ('atuatia') the protagonist, thus implying that he understood 'the Lord of the vineyard' to be an allegorical reference to 'God'). In relation to 'He Waiata-Karakia', he noted that the text was clearly, in his view, a *karakia* rather than a poem.

RH also referred indirectly to the status of the two texts. He likened 'He Waiata-Karakia' to an *oriori*, a style of *mōteatea* which corresponds to characteristics that he outlined in his interview as being indicative of a sacred text. His view of the *Book of Mormon* – that it was 'imitative' of the 'authorised' bible – suggests that he may have considered it to be of a lesser status than the bible with which he is familiar.

WM referred to the *Book of Mormon* text as a 'paipera' (bible), thereby seemingly acknowledging, as he had in his interview in relation to the '*Paipera Tapu*', the *tapu* nature of its content rather than its being *tapu* in and of itself. He characterised the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text as archaic and imbued with *tapu* and profundity, attributes which correspond to conceptions of *kōrero tapu* expressed in his interview.

While JM did not refer directly to 'He Waiata-Karakia' as a sacred text, she noted certain characteristics in its contents (*whakapapa*, esoteric concepts and archaic references) as well as its genre (a *karakia*, presupposing specialised knowledge about the origins, the gods and their attributes) that corresponded to what was outlined in her interview as being characteristic of a text that would be considered to be sacred by some people.

All of the translators who commented on 'sensitive' texts in their interviews characterised them as texts that needed to be kept confidential or restricted in terms of who had access to them, due to the potential for hurt or humiliation to

fall upon the person, or family of the person, to whom the text pertained. None of the five translators who took part in the think-aloud translation exercise, however, referred to either of the texts as being sensitive in nature.

5.3 Conclusions

An examination of the interviews and think-aloud protocols in combination suggests that, for the translators involved, the terms ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ are relative terms, terms that are used in relation to an individual and community perspective rather than as ways of describing particular qualities of texts. Thus, a text was not regarded as being in and of itself ‘sacred’. Rather, it was treated as being sacred if it represented an expression of any aspect of a religion, irrespective of whether or not the translator shared the religious beliefs that motivated the creation of that text. Neither was a text regarded as being in and of itself ‘sensitive’, although it might contain information that was *deemed to be* potentially defamatory or hurtful. The terms ‘sensitive’ and ‘sensitivity’ were used with reference to (a) the feelings and attitudes of individuals and communities, and (b) the qualities of, or attitude adopted by the translator. So far as these participants are concerned, sensitivity involves respect for others – for their languages, their cultures, and all of those things that are precious to them (including their religious and spiritual beliefs). It therefore includes recognition and understanding of the need, in the translation process, to avoid the possibility of causing offence and/or emotional distress to others, and, in some cases, to respect the need or desire for confidentiality.

What we see in the use of these terms by these translators is, I believe, a peculiarly postmodern positioning, one that focuses primarily on perspective rather than on any absolute concept of truth or reality. ‘Tapu’, on the other hand, did seem to be regarded by the Māori translators as something transcending perspective, a quality of texts themselves that requires an approach that goes beyond sensitivity, respect and/or cultural mediation. For the Māori translators, the translator’s role in the case of texts deemed to be tapu was seen as being that of a spiritual intermediary. In such cases, the translator was seen as having the

responsibility of ensuring that the *wairua* (spiritual essence) of the text was respected and, to the best of their ability, conveyed in the translation. The translator of texts deemed to be *tapu* was also considered to have responsibility for determining the aspects of the text that were appropriate to be disclosed – and when and to whom – and those that must not be communicated. Thus, in relation to *tapu* texts, we see in the Māori translators' approaches a traditional or pre-modern positioning.

In terms of their views on the translation process, all of the participants expressed beliefs about the translation process which were largely structuralist in orientation, referring to the importance of respecting the cultural context out of which texts emerge; of attempting to reflect in the translation the meanings deemed to reside in the source texts by virtue of the intentions of their authors; and the belief that meanings are largely recoverable through careful attention to the language of the source text combined with historical and cultural research and understanding and, in some cases, consultation with those deemed to have insider knowledge. However, not all the translators adhered to those views and beliefs in practice.

There were some clear discrepancies between what some of the participants claimed in their interviews and what they did in practice. Thus, for example, with the exception of TR and EM, none of the participants referred in their think-aloud protocols to the desirability of consulting with, or seeking permission or guidance from those with insider knowledge (and, hence, greater understanding). In addition, although the interviewees stressed the importance of context and of ethical considerations in translating *tapu* texts and/or texts deemed to be sacred in nature, such considerations were not always in evidence in the think-aloud protocols. Similarly, although the *purpose* of the translation emerged as an important consideration in the interviews, very little reference was made to it in the think-aloud protocols. Furthermore, there were some major differences in some of the participants' treatment of each of the two texts. Thus, for example, although one of the non-Māori translators went to considerable effort to find an appropriate style and register in the case of his translation of the English text into

Māori, he did not attempt to do so in translating the Māori text into English, and, while two of the Māori translators acknowledged the authority of the author of the Māori text, they failed to do so in the case of the English text. It may be, of course, that some of this can be attributed to the artificial nature of the think-aloud exercise. It seems unlikely, however, that all of it can be related to that artificiality.

Chapter 6

Conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further research

6.1 Introduction

Since the early decades of the 20th century, there have been a number of major changes and developments in ways of thinking about and analysing human behaviour, including human learning, culture, communication and social organization. The belief in the power of scientific rationality that characterized the Enlightenment was still very much in evidence at the beginning of the 20th century. The first half of that century represented a high point in the development of structural, rule-governed approaches to the analysis and understanding of human behaviour and human artifacts. Within psychology, behaviourism, according to which thoughts and feelings as well as actions are described scientifically without reference to mental states, was the dominant paradigm (see, for example, Watson, 1913). Structuralism within linguistics, first fully articulated in *Cours de linguistique générale* (Saussure, 1916), treated human languages as formal systems in which meaning is mediated by system-internal differences. Behaviourism and linguistic structuralism are natural allies. In combination, they led to approaches to translation that were predicated on the assumption that literal translation was not only a possible, but also a desirable aim. In the middle of the 20th century, behaviourism and structuralism began to be challenged. In the late 1950s, Chomsky (1959), in a review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior*, launched a major attack on behaviourist approaches to first language acquisition and summoned in a new era in which the importance of linguistic creativity was emphasized. However, in spite of its challenge to linguistic behaviourism, Chomsky's approach remained essentially structuralist in orientation, his notion of 'linguistic competence' making no reference to language in use.

Influenced in a general sense by the development of poststructuralist thinking (see, for example, Derrida, 1974) but, more specifically, by the thinking of

philosophers such as Austin (1962) and Searle (1969; 1975) in the area of speech act theory and Firth (1930; 1937)¹⁵³ in the field of ethnography, an increasing volume of research on sociolinguistics, pragmatics and the wider field of discourse analysis began to appear. This research, which highlighted the critical role of the reader in interpreting text, began to undermine confidence in the concept of literal translation, something that was of particular significance in the context of the translation of religious tracts and other texts with which individuals or groups associated properties that required particularly sensitive treatment by translators and potential translators.

For Indigenous peoples, particularly those whose languages and cultures are under threat and/or have suffered from discontinuity of transmission, this can give rise to particularly complex problems. It seemed to me that addressing these problems was not only significant in itself but also had the potential to impact in a positive way on approaches to translation more generally. As my own particular interests are in translation and in Māori language and culture, I decided to approach these problems largely through translator cognition, focusing on the attitudes and approaches of those involved in translating from Māori (a local, Indigenous language) into English (an international language) and *vice versa* to the definition and translation of ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ texts. The research involved a series of interviews and think-aloud translation protocols, the overall aim being to attempt, with reference to the participants involved, to answer the following tripartite research question:

How do a sample of contemporary translators (both Māori and non-Māori) who are involved in the translation of texts from Māori into English and/or English into Māori define the terms ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ as applied to texts; how do they approach the translation of texts that might be regarded as sacred and/or sensitive in nature; and to what extent do their definitions and translation processes reflect the changing views on the theory and practice of translation that have accompanied the advance of postmodernism and post-structuralism?

¹⁵³ Firth made an important distinction between idealized rules of social behaviour (social structure) and the ways in which societies actually behaved (social organization).

6.2 Defining the terms ‘sacred’, ‘sensitive’ and ‘tapu’

The term ‘sacred’ was used by the participants in this study to refer to texts that are concerned with an aspect or aspects of the religious beliefs of any group, irrespective of whether or not they shared these beliefs, and also to refer to texts that are particularly significant or meaningful to a particular group.

The term ‘sensitive’, rather than being perceived as a quality of the text itself, was used with reference to the nature of the content of a text, that content being potentially harmful or damaging in certain respects. ‘Sensitive’ was also used with reference to an attitude adopted by, or approach taken by the translator, being roughly synonymous with ‘respectful’, that is, an attitude or approach that demonstrates respect for the source text and its cultural context.

Both Māori and the non-Māori participants used the term ‘tapu’, which is a concept emerging out of Māori culture. This term was used in different ways in different contexts during the interviews. Participants (both Māori and non-Māori) who spoke in Māori during their interview used the term ‘tapu’ (a common Māori translation for ‘sacred’), in some instances, as a substitute for ‘sacred’. Thus, for example, a non-Māori participant who spoke in Māori used the term ‘tapu’ throughout his interview to refer to texts such as the *Qur’an* and the Bible, also referring to both Anglican prayers and traditional Māori *karakia* as ‘tapu’. Participants who spoke in English nevertheless sometimes used the term ‘tapu’, appearing to use it interchangeably with ‘sacred’. It was necessary, therefore, in attempting to determine whether these interviewees did, in fact, discriminate between ‘sacred’ and ‘tapu’, to make reference to definitions they had themselves provided and the contexts in which they used the words during their interviews.

Although some participants, both Māori and non-Māori, used ‘tapu’ and ‘sacred’ as if they were roughly equivalent, some of the Māori participants used ‘tapu’ differently and with reference to more traditional concepts. For them, a *tapu* text is one that has an associated *restriction* or *restrictions*, due to the fact that it is (a) concerned with the spirit realm and/or (b) comes under the authority and control of the gods. A text may also be ‘made tapu’ by a person with the requisite skills,

in order that knowledge of its contents be restricted. In some cases, that text would then become wholly inaccessible; in others, access would be restricted to a select group. Because of the restrictions that can be associated with a *tapu* text, there is a potential danger associated with ‘tampering’ with it without the appropriate safeguards (*karakia*) or authority. Although *tapu* could be ‘lifted’ (ritually removed), making wider access possible, particular skills and expertise were required in order to do so. For the Māori translators, even after a text’s *tapu* has been lifted, special care needs to be exercised in order to ensure that the *wairua* (spiritual essence) of the text and its author/s is not violated, and is conveyed in any translation.

What we see in the use of the terms ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ by the participants in this study is, I believe, a peculiarly postmodern positioning, one that focuses primarily on perspective rather than on any absolute concept of truth or reality. ‘Tapu’, on the other hand, did seem to be generally regarded by the Māori participants as something transcending perspective, a quality of texts themselves. Their definitions of *tapu* were largely consistent with a traditional, pre-modern perspective. Thus, the Māori participants in this study seemed able to move without difficulty between a largely pre-modern, concretized concept of reality (applied to certain texts in Māori) and the more contingent, relative and highly individualized view that is characteristic of postmodernism (applied to texts in English and more quotidian texts in Māori which are not constrained by the obligations associated with *tapu*). This split perception seemed likely to have significant implications for their views of, and approaches to translation.

6.3 Participant views on the nature of translation

A total of ten translators participated in the semi-structured interviews. Eight of them identified as Māori – *Matua* Tom Roa (TR), *Matua* Waldo Houia (WH), *Whaea* Ngapare Hopa (NH), *Matua* Te Wharehuia Milroy (WM), *Matua* Nātana Takurua (NT), Enoka Murphy (EM), Haami Piripi (HP) and Raukura Roa (RR); and two as Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) – *Whaea* Jane McRae (JM) and *Matua* Ray Harlow (RH).

The views of the participants (both Māori and non-Māori) on the nature of the translation process, as expressed in a series of interviews, were largely consistent. All of them referred, either directly or indirectly, to the need to understand and respect the cultural norms and assumptions associated with the source text and to take careful account of the needs and interests of the intended audience of the translation. All of them stated or implied that meaning was dependent on context, and therefore considered it important to have a detailed understanding of the history, language and culture out of which the source text emerged and/or to conduct as much research as possible. All of the participants referred in their interviews to obscurity of meaning – to colloquial/idiomatic/obscure/archaic/metaphorical/culturally-embedded references – as the major difficulty they encountered in the translation of sacred, *tapu* and sensitive texts. This was compounded, in the case of Māori source texts, by the dearth of sources to which they could refer for clarification.

Several of the participants (TR, RH, JM, WH, WM, NT, HP) referred to the translation of ‘sacred’, ‘tapu’ and ‘sensitive’ texts being particularly complex and demanding, and therefore requiring a different approach – more careful, tentative and/or sensitive – from other more prosaic texts. For some, this different approach involved collaboration or consultation with cultural specialists (JM, EM, HP, NH, RR) or cultural ‘insiders’, particularly in contexts where the translator is an ‘outsider’ (TR). For others, it involved *avoiding* consultation and relying solely on one’s own cultural knowledge and the guidance of the *wairua* associated with the source text (a spiritual intermediary role) (NT, WM). It was believed by some of the participants (NT, WH, HP) that only a translator from within the source text culture would be sufficiently cognisant of, and sensitive to the full depth of meaning conveyed by the source text. Moreover, that person had to be the ‘right’ person – one with integrity, who was doing it for the right (selfless) reasons (HP). The matter of whether or not one was the ‘right’ person was determined between oneself and one’s spiritual guides, through *karakia* (WM) or self-reflection (NT).

All the participants referred as well to the importance of an ethical approach to the translation of sacred, *tapu* and sensitive texts, particularly when the translator is

not a member of the culture/faith to which the text belongs. For one in particular (RR), an ethical approach involved full collaboration with the *iwi* to whom the source text belonged (if it was a Māori text), within a process guided by the principles of *tikanga Māori*. For another (TR), it involved being guided by a personal ethic of ‘kia tōtika’ (accuracy) and ‘ko tā te mātāpuna’ (according to the source (culture)), as well as by the directives of his *kiriutu* or clients. The two *koroua* (male elders) involved in the study (WM, WH) referred to the role of Māori elders as ‘kaipupuri’, those who are charged with safeguarding sensitive texts in order to protect people against hurt or humiliation (WM,WH), or to protect intellectual property (WM).

Although their definitions of ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ were largely postmodern in orientation – referring more to perspective and positioning than to qualities inherent in the texts themselves – the participants’ descriptions of the aims and objectives of translation and of the processes involved were largely oriented towards a modernist, structuralist perspective – with one exception. For the Māori participants, a ‘tapu’ text was said to require of the translator a particular responsibility: to ensure that the ‘wairua’, or spiritual essence, of the text is respected and communicated. The translator of texts deemed to be ‘tapu’, or to have been ‘tapu’ at some point, was also considered by the Māori participants to have a responsibility to determine which aspects of the text are appropriate to disclose – and when and to whom – and which must not be communicated.

A consideration of these views introduces a third component into the mix. With the exception of the Maori participants’ definition of, and approach to texts deemed to be ‘tapu’ (which was largely pre-modern in orientation and included the belief that some textual meanings were available only to those for whom the uncovering of these meanings was appropriate), all of the participants expressed beliefs about the translation process which were largely structuralist in orientation (emphasizing the importance of attempting to reflect, in translated texts, the meanings deemed to reside in the source texts by virtue of the intentions of their authors). These meanings were deemed to be recoverable through careful attention to the language of the source text combined with historical and cultural research

(providing an appropriate context for the uncovering of these meanings) and, in some cases, consultation with those deemed to have insider knowledge. In one respect, that is, heavy reliance on co-text (surrounding text) and context in uncovering meanings, these views, though largely informed by a structural perspective, included aspects of postmodern positioning. This does not mean, however, that they reflected a post-structural positioning. With one exception (NT), all of the participants appeared to believe that meaning resided in texts and could be uncovered rather than being highly personal and contingent.

6.4 Participants' translation of sacred and/or sensitive texts as reflected in their think-aloud protocols

Five of the interview participants took part in the think-aloud translation task (TR, RH, JM, WM and EM). They were each asked to translate two brief text extracts (less than 300 words in length): one English language text to be translated into Māori, and one Māori language text to be translated into English. The English text consisted of an extract from *The Book of Mormon*: verses 7 to 11 from Chapter 5, The Book of Jacob (*Appendix 5*), and the Māori text was an extract (the first 19 lines) from 'He Waiata-Karakia', a composition by Tuhoto-Ariki (*Appendix 6*).

None of the participants translated both short texts in their entirety. The non-Māori participants had indicated that they lacked the cultural knowledge and understanding required to translate the Māori text into English. Even so, both attempted on this occasion to do so. In dealing with complex, metaphoric source text references, RH's approach was to transfer the Māori terms directly into the translation (transference). JM's procedure involved expending considerable effort towards coming to terms with those references, and indicating that although there seemed no way of rendering what she perceived to be their full meanings in the translation, explanations could be provided in footnotes (gloss translation).

Of the three Māori participants, one (WM) gave an extensive explanation (in Māori) of the Māori text but did not attempt to translate it. There seemed to me to be a number of possible reasons for this. It may have been, for example, that his

recorded contextualisation of the text (just under 53 minutes in duration) was intended as a precursor to translation, but that there was inadequate time to complete the task. On the other hand, he may have felt reluctant to translate the text into English, having stated in his interview that were he to translate a ‘tapu’ text, he would do so in such a way as to give only the gist, and not disclose the ‘substance’ of the text.

I decided to contact WM, to ask him whether he would be prepared to comment on his reason/s for not attempting a translation. His response was that he had preferred not to translate the ‘He Waiata-Karakia’ text into English because he knew that he could offer only an interpretation of Tuhoto-Ariki’s composition, an interpretation rooted in a particular time and worldview (his own). He had not wished to impose that interpretation upon the text.

The other two Māori translators produced orally rendered draft translations into English of part of the Māori text – six of the nineteen lines in one case (EM), eight in the other (TR), something that appears to reinforce EM’s own claim to have found the task of translating Māori into English particularly demanding in view of his greater competence in Māori. Given the concise nature of TR’s protocols, a single remark (‘Whew!’) at the conclusion of his brief attempt at translating the Māori text into English seems significant, and may perhaps be taken as an indication that he, too, found the task challenging, despite being highly proficient in both Māori and English.

One of the non-Māori participants (RH) produced a complete typed translation of the English text into Māori; the other (JM) declined to undertake the translation, indicating that she believed that she lacked the skills to do so. Two of the Māori translators (TR and EM) produced an orally rendered translation of all five verses; the other one (WM) produced a typed translation of three of the five verses.¹⁵⁴ Two of the translators (RH, EM) appeared generally uncomfortable at times with the translation process: EM when translating non-routinely (into English); and RH when translating outside his habitual genre (biblical) and target language (Māori)

¹⁵⁴ WM’s protocols suggest that time constraints were the main reason that he did not translate all five verses.

With one exception (those of TR), the think aloud protocols appeared to highlight some major differences between what the participants said they believed were important considerations in the translation process, particularly in the case of texts requiring particular sensitivity, and what they actually did when confronted with the translation tasks. RH referred during his interview to the benefits of utilising parallel texts/existing translations, particularly in relation to archaic metaphorical terms. While that strategy assisted him in his translation of the English text into Māori, in translating the Māori text into English, he chose not to utilise an existing translation that was available, relying instead on dictionaries and textual notes. RH referred also to ethical considerations relating to the translatability of culturally embedded references, and the appropriateness or not of translating texts of a sensitive nature. In translating the English text into Māori, while he utilised existing translations of the Bible and his own understanding of the Bible, he did not investigate the specific nature of the religious tradition out of which the source text emerged. Similarly, although EM referred to dictionaries and consulted a colleague in translating the English text into Māori, his approach focused primarily on the words in front of him rather than on the religious and allegorical nature of the text.

Of the two participants who seemed equally at ease in both languages and the cultures associated with them (WM and TR), only one (TR), reflected in his think-aloud protocols all of those considerations to which he referred in his interview. A university lecturer of history, *te reo* Māori and the theory and practice of translation, his approach appeared to be more fully automated than that of any of the others, in the manner referred to in the think-aloud literature as being typical of very experienced translators. He also appeared to carefully balance his perception of the need for historical accuracy against the needs and interests of the intended audience of the translation and of the clients. He also made repeated references to the need to take full account of what he perceived to be the sacred nature of both texts (in terms of their expression of the religious beliefs of particular communities) and, therefore, the particular requirement for sensitive treatment. TR's approach was largely modernist and structuralist in orientation, his primary concern being to uncover what he conceived to be the authors'

intentions. Furthermore, he insisted on the importance of attempting to reflect, in the translation, the style and register of the source texts, while at the same time striving to provide a translation that was ‘totally congruent’ with the receiving culture. Even so, he was clearly influenced by developments in discourse analysis, paying careful attention to co-text in interpreting individual sentences and referring repeatedly to the importance of taking account of textual cohesion.

Closest to TR’s approach was that of JM, with its concern for historical accuracy and the purpose/function of the source text. Her approach differed from that of TR, however, in that she preferred to attempt to produce a translation that was not only poetic, but also ‘modern’ rather than one that was intended to reflect the style and register of the source text. Even so, her concern to convey as much of what she perceived to be the source text’s meaning as accurately as possible was reflected in her preference for a ‘gloss translation’ in which complex metaphoric references would be explained in notes.

WM’s approach appeared, at first sight, to be more reflective of a post-structural and postmodern orientation than that of any of the others. Although he made reference in his interview to the need for contextual research and consultation, he relied, in the case of both texts, entirely on his own knowledge and understanding rather than on source references or on the views of others. In the case of the Māori text, that personal knowledge and understanding was, however, clearly influenced by a formidable intellectual grasp of historical and cultural information and familiarity with the source text. In the case of the English text, WM referred extensively to his personal experience of growth and cultivation. In both cases, he repeatedly insisted that his interpretation was not necessarily one that would be shared by others. This approach may indicate a cultural propensity towards seeking, through identification with the characters and events in a narrative, some underlying allegorical message¹⁵⁵ rather than an explicit orientation towards a postmodernist, post-structuralist perspective. Even if this is the case, it is a perspective that appears to be wholly consistent with post-structural and postmodern positioning.

¹⁵⁵ Refer to fn. 139 (*Chapter 5, (5.2.6)*, p. 213).

WM's response when asked why he had not translated the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text was that he had not wished to impose an interpretation (Tūhoe) rooted in a particular time and place upon Tuhoto-Ariki's ancient composition, a text that he appeared to hold in very high esteem. This seems to indicate a difference between his approach to the Māori text and the English one, where he had no hesitation about imposing his worldview upon the *Book of Mormon* text, a significant text belonging to another culture. Although he had no qualms about giving his own interpretation of the 'He Waiata-Karakia' text in an extensive verbal explanation, he apparently felt constrained by some cultural, ethical, or, perhaps, spiritual restriction when it came to imposing that interpretation upon the Māori text in a definitive, written, form. What this suggests to me is that, despite the surface appearance of a postmodern positioning, WM's positioning *in the case of the Māori text* may, in fact, have been more complex, incorporating aspects of both postmodern and traditional worldviews.

Each of the five participants involved in the think aloud translation protocols adopted a rather different approach – from the highly interpretive, autonomous and individualistic approach of WM (which may be indicative of a postmodern, post-structural positioning) through to the more structured and highly referenced approach of TR (appearing to reflect a modernist/structuralist positioning).

6.5 Revisiting the research question: An overview

How do a sample of contemporary translators (both Māori and non-Māori) who are involved in the translation of texts from Māori into English and/or English into Māori define the terms 'sacred' and 'sensitive' as applied to texts; how do they approach the translation of texts that might be regarded as sacred and/or sensitive in nature; and to what extent do their definitions and translation processes reflect the changing views on the theory and practice of translation that have accompanied the advance of postmodernism and post-structuralism?

Although all of the participants in this research project defined the terms ‘sacred’ and ‘sensitive’ in ways that were largely reflective of a postmodern perspective, the Māori participants defined the term ‘tapu’ in a way that was largely pre-modern in orientation, believing that such texts needed to be treated in particular ways, ways that took full account of their ‘wairua’ or spiritual essence. The views about the translation process expressed in interviews were largely modernist and structuralist in orientation, as were, except in one case (WM), the actual translation processes, as evidenced in the think-aloud protocols of those involved in the translation tasks. Furthermore, although all of the translators who took part in the interviews had very clear views on how the translation process should be conducted,¹⁵⁶ only one of them (TR) did not depart in some respects from their beliefs about the processes involved in translation when engaged in the think-aloud translation exercise.

In the absence of any clear agreement about translation theory in the literature (see *Chapter 2*), and at a time when pre-modern, modern and postmodern positioning and structuralist and post-structuralist perspectives vie for acceptance, each of the participants in this research project appears to have found his or her own way of traversing the complex terrain of translation practice, sometimes appearing to adhere simultaneously to very different sets of beliefs and world views, and sometimes expressing views about translation that were not fully in evidence in the actual process of translation.

What this suggests is the need, in training translators, to introduce them, in an explicit way, to all of those theories about human language and communication that can impinge upon translation, thus creating a context in which they are able to make critically informed decisions about how they will proceed in particular instances, why they will proceed in these ways, and what is required in order to ensure that their beliefs about translation are in accord with their actual translation practice. This is likely to be particularly important in the case of those involved in translating between international languages such as English and more local,

¹⁵⁶ Processes that involved extensive references to information sources of various kinds (human and textual) and careful attention to the possible sensitivities of the ‘owners’ of the texts and the needs of the potential audience of the translation.

Indigenous languages such as Māori. For translators whose frames of reference are largely informed by modern and postmodern perspectives, translating texts that emerge out of a more traditional, pre-modern positioning can be particularly challenging.

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Appendices

(See attached CD-Rom)

Appendix 1: Application for ethics approval (for Semi-structured Interviews)
**- Te Kāhui Manutāiko: Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao (School of Māori and
Pacific Development) Human Research Ethics Committee**

**COPY FOR YOUR
INFORMATION**

SMPD HREC
Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone: 64-7-838 4737
Fax: 64-7-838 4742
E-mail:
awekotuku@waikato.ac.nz



**Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao
(School of Maori and Pacific Development)**

**Application for
Human Research Ethics Committee Approval 2010**

Before applying for approval applicants must familiarise themselves with the Ethical Conduct in Human Research and Related Activities Regulations 2008 in the University Calendar.

This form is to be completed by staff and students doing research **prior to** the collection of any data. If no people are involved in the research as participants, completing this form is unnecessary. Applications should also be made for research which re-analyses individual data which was collected for another purpose.

Upon completion of this form please forward to the Reception at SMPD. Occasionally further information will be requested. Upon approval of this research project, a signed copy will be returned to you for your records. If the research method is amended in any way from that which has been approved, the Application for Ethical Approval from the Human Research Committee must be resubmitted, noting the change.

The SMPD Human Research Ethics Committee is establishing procedures for reviewing the ethical appropriateness of proposed research particularly as it affects Māori and indigenous peoples. The Codes of Ethics of a number of academic groups have been used for guidance.

PERSONAL DETAILS

Name of Applicant: Jillian Tipene

Address: 124A Nixon Street, Hamilton East, Hamilton 3216.

Phone: 027 257 8595

Email: jillian.tipene@gmail.com

Please notify the Convenor of any changes of address.

Alternative Contact details: Emily Scholes

Ph: 07 866 8697

Email/fax: _____

Ethnicity: Māori

Male / Female (Please circle)

(d) How will participants be debriefed about the deception?

Applicant's Signature: _____

Date: 27/04/10.

Supervisor's/Lecturer's Approval

Staff members carry full responsibility at all times for the ethical appropriateness of all graduate and undergraduate research under their supervision, even when this research has been submitted for ethical review.

I have read the ethical review, and in my opinion, this research is ethically sound. I consider that this student has the necessary background and experience to carry out this research ethically under my supervision.

Supervisor's/Lecturer's Name: WINIFRED CROMBIE

Supervisor's/Lecturer's Signature: _____

Department: Dean's Office

Date: 27/4/2010

SMPD Human Ethics Committee Approval

Name: TE AWEKOTUKU

Signature: Te Awekotuku

Department: Rangahau

Date: 05/05/10

Name: Darryl Campbell

Signature: Darryl Campbell

Department: Rangahau

Date: 05/05/10

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Department: _____

Date: / /

Appendix 2: Research Information Sheet – Semi-structured Interviews

Te Aka Reo

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

The University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105

Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone +64 7 838 4737

www.waikato.ac.nz



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Information Sheet

Part A: Information for participants

Research topic: *Translating sacred and sensitive texts from te reo Māori and into te reo Māori: Pushing the boundaries of established theoretical and methodological paradigms.*

Researcher: Jillian Tipene (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu), Doctoral research student

Contact: Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao/The School of Māori and Pacific Development,
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato/The University of Waikato,
P.O.Box 3105, Hamilton.

Phone: (Mob) 027 257 8595

(Work) 07 838 4737?

Email: jillian.tipene@gmail.com

The Research: This doctoral research project looks at the translation of sacred and sensitive texts from te reo Māori and into te reo Māori. The aim of the research is to explore the issues and problems associated with the translation of sacred and sensitive texts, from te reo Māori and into te reo Māori, the different approaches and methods that a range of translators have employed in attempting to resolve these issues, and whether or not existing translation theories and methodologies can adequately accommodate these issues.

As part of the research, a sample of experienced and/or qualified translators who have translated sacred and/or sensitive texts from te reo Māori or into te reo Māori will be invited to participate in semi-structured interviews. The length of these interviews is expected to be approximately one hour and will not exceed 2 hours.

The interviews will be conducted in a location and at a time that is agreeable and convenient to each the interviewees, between the dates of **30 October 2010 and 30 March 2011**. Interviews will be conducted in the medium each participant is most comfortable with – te reo Māori, English, or bilingually.

Outcomes of the research: The research findings will form the basis of the researcher's doctoral thesis, and also for articles for general publication. Information gathered in the interviews will inform a chapter on translators' comments (from the interviews as well as from published articles, notes and textual glosses) on the translation of sacred and sensitive texts from te reo Māori and into te reo Māori.

Te Aka Reo

Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao

The University of Waikato

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

A summary of the findings of the completed research will be provided to each of the participants.

Confidentiality: Participants' confidentiality will be given the highest priority. Each interviewee will be asked to indicate on a participant consent form whether they wish to be identified in the research, or whether they prefer to remain anonymous by choosing their own pseudonym.

Part B: Declaration to Participants

1. Individuals participating in this study will not be identified in any publication/dissemination of this research without their explicit consent.
2. All information collected during conversation/interviews will be viewed only by the researcher and her supervisors if requested, and **will remain strictly confidential**.
3. All participants in the study have the right, among other things, to:
 - Complete and total confidentiality.
 - Refuse to answer any particular question.
 - Withdraw from the study at any point, if they choose to do so, up to the time of submission.
 - Ask any further questions about the study that may occur to them during their participation.
 - Be given a summary of the findings of the study when it is concluded.
4. The participants in this study have been selected on the basis of their known expertise and experience of translating sacred and/or sensitive texts from te reo Māori and/or into te reo Māori, and their willingness and availability to participate.

Researcher's Name: Jillian Tipene

Researcher's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Chief Supervisor of the research: Associate Professor Winifred Crombie

Phone: 07 838 4929

Email: crombie@waikato.ac.nz

Additional Supervisory Panel:

Name: Professor Aroha Yates-Smith **Phone:** 07 838 4750 **Email:** arohays@waikato.ac.nz

Name: Dr. Hemi Whaanga **Phone:** 07 8384765 **Email:** hemi@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix 3: Participant Consent Form – Semi-structured Interviews

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THE UNIVERSITY OF

WAIKATO

Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Participant Consent Form

For participants in semi-structured interviews to be conducted as part of Jillian Tipene's doctoral research, the topic of which is *Translating sacred and/or sensitive texts from te reo Māori and into te reo Māori: Pushing the boundaries of established theoretical and methodological paradigms*.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: (Home) _____ **(Work)** _____ **(Mob)** _____

Email: _____

Please tick the appropriate boxes and/or delete any statements that do not apply:

☐ I have read and understood the attached Research Information Sheet pertaining to Jillian Tipene's doctoral research study, **including my rights as a participant**.

☐ I agree to participate in the study as an interviewee.

☐ I consent to the use of a recording device during the course of the interview.

☐ I consent to being identified by name in any publication/dissemination of the research

OR

☐ I agree to participate in the research, but wish to remain anonymous by using a pseudonym.

My preference is for the interview to be conducted in the medium of:

☐ te reo Māori ☐ English ☐ bilingually

My preferred location, date and time for the interview is:

Participant's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix 4: Interview Prompts for Semi-structured Interviews



Interview Prompts for Semi-structured Interviews.

1. Whakamāramatia mai koa ngā mahi kua whakaurua nei koe hei kaiwhakamāori/kaiwhakapākehā o ngā tuhituhinga, o ngā pukapuka e whakaarohia nei (e koe, e tētehi atu rānei) he 'tapu' / he 'rauangiāngi' rānei.
(Can you talk about your involvement with translating texts that are held to be 'sacred' and/or 'sensitive').
2. Ki ōu whakaaro, he aha ngā tino tohu o te puka e kiia nei he tuhinga tapu? He tuhinga rauangiāngi? He aha ngā āhuatanga ake o ēnei momo tuhinga?
(In your opinion, what constitutes a 'sacred' text? A 'sensitive' text? What would you say are the characteristics of these sorts of text?)
3. Whakamāramatia mai koa tāu nā ahunga ki te whakamāori/whakapākehā i te tuhinga e ai ki tōu whakaaro he tapu, he rauangiāngi tōna āhua?
(How do you approach the translation of a text that you classify as sacred or sensitive?)
4. He rerekē tāu ahunga whakamāori/whakapākehā ki aua momo tuhinga i ētahi atu momo tuhinga? He aha te rerekē mēnā e pērā ana?
(Does your approach or method of translating sacred or sensitive texts differ from your approach to other texts? If so, how?)
5. Ki tō mōhio, he aha ngā tino take, ngā taero rānei e whakataute nei i te kaiwhakamāori/kaiwhakapākehā o ēnei momo tuhinga?
(In your experience, what are the major issues or problems that have arisen when translating texts of a sacred or sensitive nature?)
6. Pēhea ai te whakatau i ēnei aupikinga?
(How are these issues to be resolved?)
7. He whakaaro anō ōu mō te taha matatika e pā ana ki te whakamāoritanga/whakapākehātanga o ēnei momo tuhinga?
(Do you have anything to say about ethics in relation to the translation of sacred and sensitive texts?)

Appendix 5: Book of Mormon Text Extract

The Book of Mormon

The Book of Jacob: the Brother of Nephi

Chapter 5, Verses 7-11

7 And it came to pass that the master of the vineyard saw it, and he said unto his servant: It grieveth me that I should lose this tree; wherefore, go and pluck the branches from a wild olive tree, and bring them hither unto me; and we will pluck off those main branches which are beginning to wither away, and we will cast them into the fire that they may be burned.

8 And behold, saith the Lord of the vineyard, I take away many of these young and tender branches, and I will graft them whithersoever I will; and it mattereth not that if it so be that the root of this tree will perish, I may preserve the fruit thereof unto myself; wherefore, I will take these young and tender branches, and I will graft them whithersoever I will.

9 Take thou the branches of the wild olive tree, and graft them in, in the stead thereof; and these which I have plucked off I will cast into the fire and burn them, that they may not cumber the ground of my vineyard.

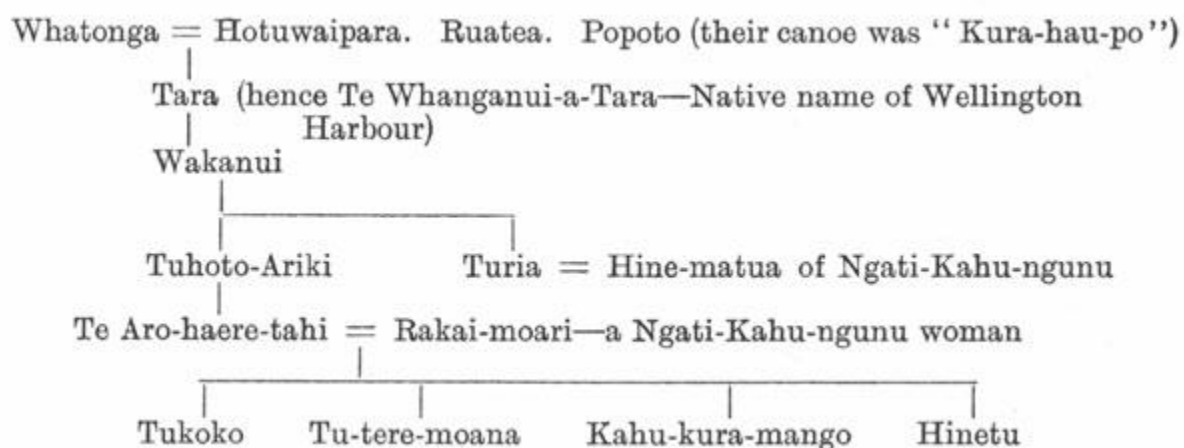
10 And it came to pass that the servant of the Lord of the vineyard did according to the word of the Lord of the vineyard, and grafted in the branches of the wild olive tree.

11 And the Lord of the vineyard caused that it should be digged about, and pruned, and nourished, saying unto his servant: It grieveth me that I should lose this tree; wherefore, that perhaps I might preserve the roots thereof that they perish not, that I might preserve them unto myself, I have done this thing.

***Appendix 6: He Waiata-Karakia* Text Extract**

AN ANCIENT MAORI POEM. By Tuhoto-Ariki.

This *karakia* was composed by Tuhoto-Ariki on the birth of his grand-nephew Tu-tere-moana, 14 generations ago, dating from Tuhoto-Ariki.



In order to define the date of this poem, the above portion of a genealogical table is given:—
The “Kura-hau-po” canoe arrived in New Zealand from Tahiti with the “Fleet” *circa* 1350.—
(Ed.)

HE WAIATA-KARAKIA.

I.
Nau mai E Tama! kia mihi atu au,
I hara mai ra koe i te kunenga mai
O te tangata i roto i te ahuru mowai,
Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare
5 Hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi
I te one i Kurawaka i tataia ai
Te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua
Te Hiringa-tipua te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi,
Ka karapinepine te putoto i a ia

10 Ki roto te whare wahi-awa
Ka whakawhetu tama i a ia
Ka riro mai a Rua-i-te-pukenga, a Rua—
I-te-horahora, ka hokai tama i a ia
Koia hokai Rauru-nui, koia hokai Rauru-whiwhia,
15 Koia hokai Rauru-a-marua-aituⁱ.
Ka maro Tama
I te ara namunamu ki tai ao,
Ka kokiri tama i a ia ki te ao turoa,
E Tama e i!

II.

20 Hara mai E Tama! whakaputa i a koe
Ki runga te turanga matua
Marama te ata i Ururangi
Marama te ata i Taketake nui o Rangi,
Ka whakawhenua nga Hiringa i konei E Tama!
25 Hara mai e mau to ringa ki te kete tua-uri
Ki te kete tua-tea ki te kete aronui i pikitia e Tane-nui-a-rangi
I te ara tauwhaiti i te Pu-motomoto o Tikitiki-o-rangi
I karangatia e Tane-nui-a-rangi ki a Huru-te-arangi
I noho i a Tonganui-kaea, nana ko Parawera-nui
30 Ka noho i a Tawhiri-matea ka tukua mai
Tana whanau Titi-para-uri, Titi-matangi-nui
Titi-mata-kaka, ka tangi mai te hau mapu
Ka tangi mai te roro-hau, ka eketia nga rangi
Ngahuru ma rua i kona.
35 E Tama e, i!

III.

Hara mai, E Tama! i te ara ka takoto i a Tane-matua
Kia whakangungu koe ki nga rakau matarua na
Tu-mata-uenga, ko nga rakau tena i patua
Ai tini o Whiro i te Pae-rangi, ka heke i Taheke-roa
40 Koia e kume nei ki te po-tangotango
Ki te po-whawha o whaka-rua-aumoko
E ngunguru ra i Rarohenga, ka waiho nei
Hei hoa riri mo tini o Tane-matua i te ao turoa,
I konei, E Tama! ka whakamau atu ki te Pito ururangi,
45 Ki a Tu-mata-kaka ki a Tu-mata-tawera, ki a Tu-mata-huki,
Ki a Tu-mata-rauwiri,
Hei whakamau i te pona whakahoro kai
Na Hine-titama, ka waiho hei tohu ki a Tane-matua
Ka whakaoti te pu manawa o Tane i konei
50 E Tama e i!

IV.

Hara mai E Tama! puritia i te aka matua
Kia whitirere ake ko te Kauwae-runga ko te Kauwae-roa
Kia tawhia, kia tamaua, kia ita i roto a Rua
I te pukenga, a Rua i te horahora, a Rua
55 I te wanawana a Rua-matua, taketake o Tane.
Nau mai e Tu-tere-moana kia areare o taringa ki te whakarongo,
Ko nga taringa o Rongomai-tahanui, o Rongomai-taharangi—
O Tupai whakarongo wananga, ka taketake i konei
Ki Tipuaki-o-rangi ka rere mai Poutu i te rangi
60 Ka whakaawhi i a Puke-hau-one, ka hoka
Hine-rau-wharangi i konei i a ia, kia taha mai
Ahuahu ahua te Puke-nui, ahua te Puke-whakaki,
Nau, E Rongo-marae-roa! koia te ngahuru tikotiko-iere
Te marua-roa o te matahi o te tau

65 Te putunga o te hinu.
E Tama e i!

V.

Wakarongo mai E Tama! kotahi tonu te hiringa i kake ai
Tane ki Tikitiki-o-rangi, ko te hiringa i te mahara, ka kitea i
Reira ko Io matua-te-kore-anake, i a ia te Toi-ariki
70 Te Toi-urutapu, te Toi-ururangi, te Toi-uru-ora,
Ka whakaputa Tane i a ia ki te wai-tohi
Na Pukao-rangi, na Oho-mai-rangi te wai whakaata
Na Hine-kau-orohia, kau-orohia nga Rangi-tuhaha,
Ka karangatia Tane ki te paepae tapu i a Rehua
75 I te hikumutu o Rangi, ka turuturu i konei te
Tawhito-rangi, te tawhito-uenuku te tawhito-atua,
Ka rawe Tane i te hiringa matua, i te hiringa
Taketake ki te ao marama, ka waiho hei ara mo
Te tini o whakarauika nei.
80 E Tama e i!

VI.

Hara mai E Tama! whakapau to mahara
Ko nga mahara o Tane-matua i tokona ai nga rangi
Ngahuru ma rua, kia tuhaha, kia tangi te piere
Kia tangi te wanawana, kia tangi te ihiihi
85 I konei E Tama! ka toro te akaaka-rangi, ka toro
Te akaaka-whenua, ka tupea ki te wehe-nuku-rangi
Ki te wehe-nuku-atea, ka takoto te urunga tapu-mowai
Ka whakahoro ki roto i te whare pukaka nui
Kia Rongomai-taha, ki a Rongo-mai-tuwaho
90 Ki a Rongomai-whakateka ka hoaia e Tane-matua
Ki te Iho-taketake na Tuhae-pawa na Io-matua—
Te-kore koia pou-takeke, koia pou-takiki
Ka kapua i konei te toi-ora ki te wheuriuri e
Hine-titama.
95 E Tama e i!

VII.

Hara mai E Tama! e piki ki runga o Hikurangi,
O Aorangi, he ingoa ia no Hawaiki mai i
Tawhiti-nui na o kau (matua) i tapa, e huri to aroaro
Ki Parawera-nui, ki Tahu-makakanui,
100 Ko te ara tena i whakaterea mai ai o tipuna,
E te Kauika-Tangaroa te uranga tapu o Pai-kea,
Ka takoto i konei te ara moana ki Harua-tai,
Ka tupea ki muri ko tai whakahuka, ka
Takoto te ara o Kahu-kura ki uta, ka tupatia
105 Ki a Hine-ma-kohu-rangi, ka patua i konei te
Ihinga-moana, te wharenga-moana, ka takiritia
Te takapau whakahaere, ka takoto i
Runga i a Hine-korito, i a

Hine-kotea, i a Hine-makehu, ka whakapau te
110 Ngakau i konei ki te tuawhenua, ka
Rawe i te ingoa ko Aotea-roa, ka tangi te
Mapu wai-ora i konei.
E Tama e i!

VIII.

Hara mai E Tama! e huri to aroaro ki
115 Te uranga mai o te ra, ki Turanganui-a-Rua
Ki Whangara; e hara i konei, he ingoa
Whakahua no Hawaiki nui a Rua-matua
Ka waiho nei hei papa mo te kakano
Korau, a Ira-nui, hei papa mo te kumara
120 I maua mai e Tiunga-rangi, e Haronga-
Rangi, ka waiho nei hei mana mo Mahu
Ki Marae-atea, tenei e Tama te whakarongo
Ake nei ki te hau mai o te korero
Na Tuwahi-awa te manu whakataui
125 I mau mai i runga i a Tokomaru
Parea ake ki muri i a koe, he atua
Korero ahiahi, kotahi tonu, E Tama! te
Tiaki whenua ko te Kura-nui te manu
A Rua-kapanga i tahuna e to tipuna
130 E Tamatea ki te ahi-tawhito, ki te
Ahi tipua, ki te ahi na Mahuika
Na Maui i whakaputa ki te ao
Ka mate i Wharehuhi o Reporoa
134 Te rere te morehu.
E Tama e i!

NOTES.

By H. T. Whatahoro.

Translation by George H. Davies.

(The numbers refer to the lines in the original Maori poem).

2. *Te Kunenga mai o te tangata*:—Signifies the embryonic stage of man's formation.

3. *I roto i te ahuru-mowai*:—Signifies the womb, that being the place where no harm can reach the child.

4. *Ka taka te pae o huaki-pouri*:—Signifies that before the womb has conceived, a barrier is fixed, sacred it is; on conception her girlhood ceases, motherhood begins.

5. *Ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi*:—Signifies the first woman made by Tane-nui-a-rangi.

6. *I te one i Kurawaka*:—Signifies that the first woman was made on Te Puke-o-Papa-o-Tuanuku, which Puke is called the soil at Kurawaka.

7. *Tataia ai te Puhi-ariki*:—Signifies that now commences the bestowal of god-like *mana* to that woman who was first formed by Tane—because that through woman man was to be born into this world. *Te Hiringa-matua*:—Signifies that woman first formed was decreed by Tane to be the mother of man, who was to be born in this world.

8. *Te Hiringa-tipua*:—Signifies that Tane endowed that woman who was made by him with sacred *mana*. *Te hiringa-tawhito-rangi*:—Signifies that the god-like *mana* of forming man, that is a child, was bestowed on this first woman.

9. *Ka karapinepine te putoto i a ia ki roto i te whare wahi-awa*.—Signifies the ingathering of blood to the place where the embryonic child is formed into a man-like shape, that *wahi-awa* being the placenta, that is the place where the child is, and the vehicle that enables him to have a satisfactory exit from his mother.

11. *Ka whakawhetu tama i a ia*:—The child acquires shape within its mother, first the eyes, then the bones, the marrow; after that sinews, then flesh; after that blood, the heart, the liver, lungs, the stomach and bowels.

12. *Ka riro mai a Rua i te pukenga, a Rua i te horahora*:—Signifies the child's form within its mother is now complete, and the child is endowed with full knowledge.

13. *Ka hokai tama i a ia*:—Signifies that the child being endowed with all knowledge (see 12) he commences to stretch out his legs, his hands, his head, and his tongue, within his mouth.

14. *Koia hokai Rauru-nui*:—Signifies a well developed healthy child when formed from his mother.

15. *Koia hokai Rauru-whiwhia*:—Signifies a vexing child, that is, he thrusts his foot through his mother's passage, or his hand, doing this to assert his sacredness. *Koia hoki Rauru-maruitu*:—Signifies a still born child.

17. *Ka maro tama i te ara namunamu ki tai ao*:—Signifies the passing of the child through its mother's *namu*, passage, to the outer world.

20. *Whakaputa i a koe ki runga te turanga matua, marama te ata i uru rangi, marama te ata, Taketake-nui-o-Rangi*:—This signifies an injunction to the newly born child, after the purifying ceremony and baptism that he must stand very high in the best of knowledge, vigorous thought, patience, courage and in skill with reference to agriculture, house building, the erection of fortified *pas*, warfare and all other worldly occupation.

24. *Ka whakawhenua nga hiringa i konei e tama*:—Signifies that all thoughts, knowledge, and wisdom, as set forth in No. 20, have now become established in this world and are absolutely unmovable by any influence whatever, unmovable even if a god tried to move it.

25. *Hara mai, e mau to ringa ki te kete tua-uri, ki te kete tua-tea, ki te kete aronui*:—These three are the *wananga* (occult science) of knowledge of the prayers to the gods, the *wananga*

of wisdom; of all evil that arises in the evil thoughts of man; secondly and thirdly, the *wananga* of the knowledge of all good works which emanate from good wise man.

27. *Te ara tau whaiti i te Pu-motomoto*:—Signifies the path by which Tane climbed up to Heaven, to Io, to the supreme god of Tikitiki-o-rangi (the highest heaven), the known name of that part of Heaven where the parent Io, the Great God dwells; the path which Tane climbed was by seating himself on a whirlwind; then Tane reached the doorway of that Highest Heaven, Te Pu-motomoto, being the name of the doorway.

32. *Ka tangi mai te Hau Mapu, ka tangi mai te Roro Hau*:—These *Hau- Mapu* and *Roro-Hau* are both whirl winds, being the winds by which Tane ascended to fetch the three kits of the *wananga* mentioned in No. 25. *Wananga* refers itself to the highest form of Maori genealogic, historical, or ritualistic recital, of which *kauwhau* is the more familiar term. *Wananga* embraces those lengthly recitals which, including fabulous genealogies, treat of the origin of all fabulous phenomena, including man himself, such recitals were delivered in the *whare wananga*.—H. M. Stowell.

38. *Nga rakau matarua a Tu-mata-uenga*:—Signifies that Tane-matua brought the *wananga* of evil and contest, which were accepted by the progeny of Rangi and Papa. That was the reason why they were discomfited when they fought at Paeroa and were dispersed into different localities, some to Heaven, some to the sea, some to the mainland (some to an infernal region?), and in divers directions. This is why peace has never been made in connection with this war down to the present day.

39. *Tahekeroa* (the long downward slide):—This is the path to the infernal regions. In this place, Te Reinga, is no light, not even the smallest appearance of light beams through that awful gloom. Such is the darkness of that lower world. Rua-ai-moko and Whiro are the gods of that place, Te Reinga.

40 *Te Po-tangotango te po-whawha o whaka-Ruaumoko*:—The darkness that may be felt, the groping darkness of whaka-Ruaumoko—Ruaumoko being the god who presides in that place, the Reinga; he and Whiro, with their companions, being offsprings of Papa and Rangi, who wage (eternal) warfare against the offspring of Tane in this world, hence man dies and goes thence to Te Reinga (place of departed spirits) where those evil gods are.

42. *Rarohenga*:—Another name for Te Reinga.

44. *Te Pito Ururangi*:—A portion of the *wananga* prayers connected with the *kete Tuauri* (Note 25, see *kete Tuauri*) which *karakia* was offered by Hine-ti-tama, the daughter of Tane and Hine-hau-one, who was the woman formed from the one at Kurawaka, (Note 5 and 6). It was that daughter of the first woman and Tane, Hine-ti-tama by name, who offered -56 up that prayer whereby the Adam's apple was formed in Tane's throat, and all his descendants, with the exception of the females, who have none, the reason being because her father lay with her as his wife, hence her anger, and it was a token of Tane's sin against her.

51. *Puritia te aka matua*:—This means the child's instruction in the eight *wananga* of the prayer of the gods, and the *wananga* of the prayer warfare, and the conduct of warfare.

52. *Te Kauwae runga te Kauwae raro*:—This is the *wananga* of the Heavenly gods and also that of the Earthly gods.

53. *Kia tawhia kia tamaua kia ita i roto*:—These are, that all the works (instruction) received in the *wananga* houses on the application thereof by the child, as youth taught by the *tohunga* instructors, no matter what subject the child may have been schooled in, to be all retained.

54 *A Rua i te Pukenga, a Rua i te Horahora, a Rua i te wanawana. a Rua mutua Taketake o Tane*:—These are descriptive of the young man's faculties. *Rua i te pukenga*—shown adaptability, quickness, respectively power to grasp all things. *Rua i te horahora*—expansion of the faculties by human agency, instruction. *Rua i te wanawana* means his own innate perceptive faculties that have emanated from within himself. *Rua-matua-taketake* means the thoughts have now taken firm hold, there is no forgetfulness of knowledge, that he has been instructed in, it will never be lost or forgotten, whether gods or man.

56. *Tu-tere-moana*:—This is the child for whom this *karakia* was composed.

59. *Poutu-i te rangi*:—This is the name of a constellation in the heavens; when seen the elders commence to plant the *kumara* crop in the land, to earth up the hills, clear the weeds. *Puke-hau-one* is the hill in which the *kumara* seed was planted. *Ka hoka Hine-rau-wharangi i konei*, the leaves of the *kumara* begin to grow. *Rongo-maraeroa* is the *kumara* god. Hence the *Ngahuru-tiko-tiko-iere, te marua roa o te matahi o te tau*—the month for harvesting the *kumara*, storing it in the *rua*, and other food such as *paua*, eel dried, fish dried, birds preserved in calabashes are put in the *whata*; this is called the harvest time, when food is plenty, when there is much food. Excreta also are plentiful.

68. *Tikitiki o rangi*:—The last of the heavens, also known as *Te Toi-o-nga-rangi*, the summit of the heavens. *Te Hiringa i te mahara*:—This is intense inspiration enabling one to accomplish some great deed or to procure something, as when Tane was emboldened to climb up to the *Tiki-tiki-o rangi*, to procure the *wananga*, being impelled by his *whakaaro nui* he was enabled to procure that *wananga*

69. *Io-matua-te-kore-anake i a te Toi Ariki*:—This refers to god-attributes, and god-power. *Te Toi-Urutapu* means the sacred power enabling man to do god-like works, exercise god-like *mana* or a chief's *mana*. *Te Toi Uru-rangi*:—This was the power possessed by Tane, enabling him to enter the gates of Heaven. *Te Toi Uru-roa* is the vitality of man possessed by him till his old age, one phase of it is the preservation of Tane when climbing up *Tikitiki-o-rangi* and returning in safety to this world.

71. *Te Wai-tohi*:—The water where Tane was baptised at *Tikitiki-o-rangi*; that is, freed from *tapu* as the Maori says.

75. *Ka turuturu i konei te tawhito rangi*:—This is the beneficent work of the sun, of the moon, the stars, the winds, the mists, the clouds and the rain on the the earth causing food, trees and the plants of the earth to grow, and all things in this world to bear fruit, and water to be on the earth's surface. *Te tawhito Uenuku*:—The rainbow, also called *Kahukura* and a bow; the said *Uenuku* indicates rough weather, good weather, makes known the death to the sick, tells of war parties, and all important events are manifested by the said *Uenuku* from time to time. *Te Tawhito Atua* signifies the thoughts of *Io-Matua-te-kore-anake*, his works and his wishes that he is pleased that man should do.

77. *Ka rawe Tane ki te Hiringa mama*:—Signifies that Tane has become possessed of all good works for him to do in this world. *Te hiringa taketake ki te ao marama*:—Signifies

good works and all good administration whatever of a permanent character unalterable by this world, which are and be for the good and benefit of all things of this world.

82. *I tokona ai nga rangi ngahuru ma rua*:—The elders of former times said that there were twelve Heavens, and that Tane propped up those Heavens, making each separate and distinct from the other, each in its own appointed place, that is why they are distant, each Heaven separate.

83. *Kia tangi te piere kia tangi te wanawana kia tangi te ihiihi*:—These three all mean that one Heaven is higher than another, nothing can climb up from one to the other, such are all the twelve Heavens, which is in one Heaven fears? that of another Heaven, such are all the Heavns.

85. *Ka toro te akaaka rangi, ka toro te akaaka whenua*:—These two signify that benefits are ever being produced by all that is in Heaven, the sun, the moon, the stars, the clouds, the winds, the mists and the rain, and so with the things of the Earth, which are full of mutual benefit whether water, rock, soil, trees, plants, animals or fish, this is the meaning of this.

86. *Ka tupea ki te wehe nuku rangi, ki te wehe nuku Atea*:—A portion of the *karakia* known to the Maori *Tohunga* of former times, being a portion of the incantation used when Rangi and Papa were rent asunder, whereby all things in Heaven and earth were benefited.

87. *Takoto i te urunga tapu-mowai*:—When Rangi was disjoined from Papa-tu-a-nuku, the things pertaining to Rangi become distinct from those pertaining to Earth; and all that we now see became absolutely unalterable from the time when Rangi was disjoined; the sun, the moon, the winds, the clouds, the mists, the rain, the snow; summer, winter each follows its accustomed course; trees and herbage, grass; cattle, fish, man—each species follows, all are unalterable. That is the meaning of the words in line 87.

88. *Ka whakahoro ki roto i te whare Puhakanui*:—Signifies this world, the abode of all evil in this world; hence the *whare Puhakanui*.

89. *Rongomai taha; Rongomai-tuwaho, Rongomai-whakateka*:—These are the three gods administering the affairs of this world; they have the control of all evil.

90 *Ka hoaia e Tane ki te Iho-taketake na Tuhae-pawa na Io-matua-te-kore*:—Tuhae-pawa is a god inferior to Io-matua-te-kore.

91. *Ko ia Ihotaketake*:—Signifies the prayers of the superior gods with regard to subjects that such gods desire.

92. *Koia Fou-taketake, koia Pou-takiki*:—These two are parts of the prayer used by Tane and Tupai when they disjoined Rangi from Papa. These words were used in order that Rangi might remain permanently where he had been placed, and to render it impossible for him to descend therefrom; unmovable by any god whatever after having been so placed.

93. *Ka kapua te toiora i konei ki te wheuriuri e Hine-titama*:—This signifies that Hine-titama was the offspring of Tane and Hine-Hauone, the first woman, (see Note 44). The daughter of Tane-nui-a-rangi separated herself through grief because her father had taken her to wife (see page 1) that woman dissolved into cold air, hence death came upon man.

Ka puritia mai e taua wahine te Toi-ora:—That woman retained the human spirit; hence it is that the spirit lives, even so the Maori says; that woman when in this world was known as Hine-titama; when she passed away to the Reinga her name was changed to Hine-nui-te-po. When Maui, accompanied by his friends Patatai, Pitaka and Tiwahawaha went to kill Hine-nui-i-te-po death became permanent, and has continued down to the present; the spirit, however, escapes him (death).

96. *Ko Hikurangi ko Aorangi:*—These are the names of lands in Hawaiki from which the elders named mountains here in remembrance of mountains in Hawaiki. (Both are to be found in Tahiti Island.—Editor.)

98. *E huri te aroaro ki Parawera-nui:*—This is the name of a mighty southerly tempest, which is called Parawera-nui; Tahu-makaka-nui is a mighty north-westerly wind; these are the winds that brought the canoes of the ancestors hither from Hawaiki.

101. *Te Kauika Tangaroa:*—This signifies whales, called Pakake by the Maoris. *Te Urunga Tapu o Paikea:*—Is a sacred word used by the ancestors in their prayers when these refer to whales. The word *Paikea* is a name for whales, in number more than 1, 2, 3, up to 100, say 1000 or more. *Te ara moana:* If a canoe travels on the sea its wake in the sea is Harua-tai.

103. *Ka tupea ki muri ko tai whakahuka:*—Means that when the canoe goes quickly through the water, the froth of the sea at the bow and on the paddles is seen; the froth of the sea is left as the canoe proceeds.

104. *Kahu-kura:*—The bow as seen in the Heaven, which Maoris used to consider a god.

105. *Tupatia ki a Hine-makohurangi:*—This signifies that when the canoe came from Hawaiki the stern was protected as a barrier against the wind, being protected by fog. Hence Hine-makohu-rangi:—Short word is *kohu*.

106. *Ka patua i konei te Ihenga moana, te wharenga moana:*—These signify the sea waves which died down for lack of wind, the violence of the wind being arrested by the fog, hence there were no waves.

107. *Ka takiritia te takapau whakahaere:*—These are the incantations of the *Tohungas* who were on board of those canoes of former time, which ceased on the *Tohunga's* seeing that he was keeping his course.

108. *Ka takoto i runga i a Hine-kori, a Hine-kitea i a Hine-makehu:*—These three were whales whom the *Tohungas* by their incantations summoned to come and support the canoes. These whales came and clung to either side of the canoe; if there were four of such whales, two would be on one side and two on the other, and carry the canoe whither it was going. These are the names of the whales that bore up Takitimu—Hine-korito, Hine-kitea and Hine-makehu.

111. *Ka rawe te ingoa o Aotearoa:*—This signifies the joy felt by the people on the canoe who had voyaged so far across the sea, on their getting sight of this land Aotearoa. Hence the appropriate name Aotearoa.

112. *Ka tangi te mapu wai-ora*:—This signifies the great joy felt on reaching *terra firma* with the full knowledge that they were saved.

115. *Ko Turanga-nui, ko Whangara*:—These are names given by the elders, names of the lands occupied by them at Hawaiki, and given in remembrance of their permanent names there.

119. Iranui was a sister of Kahu-ngunu, son of Tamatea of Hawaiki. The girls had a longing for *korau* to eat, that is why they procured seed of it.

120. On Iranui's arrival at Turanga she sowed her plot of ground with *korau*, hence the saying:—"A plot in which to plant *korau* seed." *Ko Turanga-nui ko Haronga-rangi*:—These two are birds whose names, so the elders say, are those given; these birds were sent from Hawaiki to bring *kumara* seed to Aotearoa.

122. *Marae-atea*:—This signifies that when Mahu made a *kumara* feast formerly in honour of some tribes, he through that liberality became famous amongst the tribes of Turanga-nui. The fame reached other places and implied his *mana* among the people, hence that saying, the *mana* of Mahu is freehandedness.

124. *Ko Tu-wahi-awa*:—That person made a false statement, saying that he brought the dedicated (? deified) bird on the Tokomaru canoe from Hawaiki, Te Manu Whakatau being the name of the bird called the Moa. A person who was of the same canoe heard of this, and showed that the statement made by the man was false.

127. *Kotahi tonu e tama te tiaki whenua ko te Kuranui*:—This is to show that what they saw on their arrival in this island was that bird the Kuranui, that being the bird's permanent name. "Moa" was a name that came from the *pakeha*. When the Maoris were asked by *pakehas* if there were "any more" of these large birds, these Maoris said amongst themselves: "Surely 'Moa' is the name of this bird in the country from which these *pakehas* come." (This explanation about the origin of the word Moa, will not do; for it is found in old Maori songs several hundred years old.—Editor.)

129. Ruakapanga was the first man who saw the moa, hence the name: Ruakapanga's bird. (Probably Mr. Davies' informant has got somewhat adrift here. For the story of Rua-kapanga, see Mr. Best's "Wai-kare-moana," and also another version in the (as yet unpublished) "History of the Taranaki Coast."—Ed.)

130. *Te ahi tahito, te ahi tipua, te ahi na Mahuika*:—Signifies fire descended from the gods above, a sacred fire obtained by Mahuika. Now, Mahuika was an ancestor of Maui's. Maui brought the fire, asking that it should be given to him; hence fire was obtained for this world. On Tamatea's arrival, he set fire to this island, the fire burnt so fiercely that the moa ran into the lagoons for safety, and sank therein. Hence the expression, perished or died in the Reporoa swamp.

1 *Tane* may be considered the male principle.

2 *Tapu*, as an adjective, means *sacred*; not always good; set apart, defiled.

- 3 So far as instinct may induce him to use powers acquired.
- 4 *Tapu*.
- 5 *Wananga*:—Occult knowledge, *i.e.*, the knowledge of hidden mysteries.
- 6 *Io te kore anake*:—The best interpretation of this attribute is to be found in Tregear's comparative Dictionary. See *Kore*:—"The Primal Power of the Cosmos, the void or negation, yet containing the potentiality of all things afterwards to come."
- 7 *Whiro* appears from the Moriori point of view to have been the one who in the *reinga* seized and held the spirits of the dead, hence apparently the dead associated with his name; but he did not appear as with the Maori in the conspicuous rôle of god of theft or thieves.—(A. Shand.) It is that view that is here applied.
- 8 The reference is to Adam's apple—a development peculiar to men.
- 9 The constellation Ursa Major, probably.
- 10 The *korau* is the *Cyathea medullaris*—a large tree fern; the young shoots of it were eaten in old Maori times. As the text shows, the Maoris believe that it came here by the first canoe. (We rather question this, for the tree-fern called *korau* (properly *mamaku*) is not found outside New Zealand. Probably *korau*, the wild cabbage, is meant.—Ed.)
- 11 "*Tuwahia*" for *Tuwahiaroa*
- 12 Puke is literally mound or mount, it is the classic mount of love, *i.e.*, the mount immediately above the female *tore*, called by the anatomist *mons veneris*.—H. M. Stowell.

ⁱ Aitu'. Short for Aitupawa, the god of disaster and death.

Maru. A god of the same kind. The two names are sometimes combined as 'Maruaitu'.

(From Ngā Mōteatea Vol 1, p. 16: *He Tangi mō te Kuruotemarama* (Te Arawa) nā Tiaki Tomika).

***Appendix 7: English Translation of He Waiata-Karakia, v. 1 (Journal of the
Polynesian Society, 1907)***

THE POEM.

Come hither, O my Son, I would thee greet;
Approach from Man's own secret, first abode!
Secure in darkness deep and genial warmth
Thou wast, till opened burst the barrier dark,
5 Disclosing workshop of creative power
And sex, by Tane-nui-a-rangi made
From earth of Kurawaka. Thus was formed,
By mighty occult power, a noble maid
To be great Tane's spouse, and mother of

10 The human race;—For Tane's will it was
That man should have such might as he did wield,
That Man's companion, too, should hold large sway.—
Ennobled both, they share great Tane's work
And let him rest awhile.—But there is more,
15 Much more to say about this work of old;
From it the strength of Tapu was derived
And (through the woman) handed on from sire
To son; so, also, influence divine,
And even powers demonic, thus passed down

20 The stream of ages in those days of yore.—
Now hither trends the matter with its force,
Concerned to form anon a progeny
A child that, by-and-by, will be a man!—
Meanwhile, he lives and thrives just here until
25 The fitting time for exit come; and then
His separate existence will begin.
So far, his process has been this: his eyes
Come first, the bones and marrow afterwards;
Still later on the sinews and the flesh,
30. The blood; and now, the heart, the liver, lungs;
The kidneys and the bowels close the list!
The child has been completely formed at length
So far as outward shape's concerned. Within
Grows power of knowing forms, and this can soon
35 Be brought to use—applied to everything!

Now, when the child such faculty has gained,
He soon begins work with it, stretching forth
His legs, his hands, his neck, his tongue within
His mouth: now, sure, a sturdy, crisp-haired child,
40 And strenuous he'll be, and healthy quite,
When once his mother's birth pangs ended are
And she with joy looks on her first-born son,
Who now has come to face this outer world.

***Appendix 8: Māori Translation of Jacob 5: v. 7-11 (Ko te Pukapuka o
Moromona, 1963)***

Ko Te Pukapuka a Hakopa
Te Teina a Niwhai

Upoko 5

7 Na, ka kite te rangatira o te mara waina a ka mea ia ki tona pononga, He pouri noku kei mate taku rakau nei; na, haere koe, whatiia mai nga manga i tetahi oriwa ngahere, kawea mai ki konei ki a au; a ka whatiia mai e taua nga tino manga kua anga nei kua timata te maroke ka maka hoki ki te ahi kia tahuna ai.

8 Nana, e ai ta te Ariki o te mara waina, ka tangohia e ahau he maha o enei manga hou, manga ngawari, ka honoa ki taku wahi e pai ai ahau; a kahore he tikanga ki te mate te pakiaka o tenei rakau, ki te rongoatia e ahau moku te hua o reira; na, ka tangohia e ahau enei manga hou, manga ngawari, ka honoa ki taku wahi e pai ai ahau.

9 E mau koe ki nga manga o te oriwa ngahere, honoa ki roto hei whakakapi mo reira; a ko enei kua whatiia e ahau ka maka e ahau ki te ahi tahu ai, kia kore te whenua o toku mara waina e maumauria e ratou.

10 Nawai a, ka pera te pononga a te Ariki o te mara waina, ka hono i nga manga o te oriwa ngahere, rite tonu ki te kupu a te Ariki o te mara waina.

11 A ka mea te Ariki o te mara waina kia keria nga taha, kia tapatapahia, kia whakamakuku ano, me te mea ano ki tana pononga, He pouri noku kei mate taku rakau nei; no reira tenei mea kua meatia e ahau me kore e rongoatia e ahau o reira pakiaka, kia kore e mate, engari kia rongoatia e ahau enei mea moku.

***Appendix 9: Application for ethics approval - Te Kāhui Manutāiko: Te Pua
Wānanga ki te Ao (School of Māori and Pacific Development) Human
Research Ethics Committee (for Think-Aloud Protocols)***

Te Manu Taiko: Human Research Ethics Committee
School of Maori & Pacific Development
& Te Kotahi Research Institute

26/09/11

Ethics Approval

This is to confirm that Jillian Tipene received ethical approval for the study **Translating sacred and sensitive texts from te reo Māori and into te reo Māori: Pushing the boundaries of established theoretical and methodological paradigms.**

The ethics application was reviewed by members of Te Manu Taiko and signed off by the Chair of the committee on 26/09/11.

The reviewers were Dr Tahu Kukutai, Senior Research Fellow NIDEA and Maui Hudson, Te Kotahi Research Institute.

Please make the following changes:

- Amend spelling as noted on the instruction sheet.
- Please add the following statement to the bottom of your consent form.

This study gained ethical approval from Te Manu Taiko: Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Waikato, on 26/09/11.

Kia ora



Maui Hudson
Chair, Te Manu Taiko

Appendix 10: Research Information Sheet – Think-Aloud Protocols

The Dean's Office

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Research Information Sheet

Part A: Information for participants

Research topic: *Translating sacred and sensitive texts from te reo Māori and into te reo Māori: Pushing the boundaries of established theoretical and methodological paradigms.*

Researcher: Jillian Tipene (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu), Doctoral research student

Contact: The Dean's Office, Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao/SMPD,
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato/The University of Waikato,
P.O. Box 3105, Hamilton.
Phone: (Mob) 027 257 859
Email: jillian.tipene@gmail.com

The Research: This doctoral research project looks at the translation of sacred and sensitive texts from te reo Māori and into te reo Māori. It aims to explore the issues and problems associated with the translation of sacred and sensitive texts – from te reo Māori into English and from other languages/cultures into te reo Māori; the different approaches and methods that a range of translators have used in attempting to deal with those issues; and whether or not existing translation theories and methodologies can accommodate those issues adequately.

As part of the research, a sample of translators who have expertise in translating sacred and sensitive texts from te reo Māori or into te reo Māori will be asked to undertake to perform a translation task, and to simultaneously record a verbal commentary ('think-aloud') of their thought processes as they work. The task will involve translating one Māori language text segment (maximum 300 words) into English, and one English language text segment (maximum 300 words) into Māori, while verbalising what they are thinking into an audio-recording device. The text segments provided for translation will be contextualised, and a suitable recording device will be supplied. The translation task and verbal commentary are to be undertaken at the translators' discretion, in a 'natural' environment (that is, anywhere they habitually undertake translation tasks, whether that be in their homes or any other place where they feel comfortable) and at a time or times that suit them. Ideally, the translation task/verbal commentary will be completed within a period of two weeks, tentatively scheduled between the dates of **October 3 – November 30, 2011**.

'Think-aloud' refers to the process of thinking your thoughts out loud at the same time as you are performing a specified task. 'Think-aloud' protocols have been widely used in the study of teacher cognition in educational and language learning research, and over

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the last 30 years have been used to investigate the cognitive processes involved in translation.

If you agree to participate in this research project, you will be asked to think your thoughts out loud into an audio-recording device as you undertake a specific translation task. These recordings will help us to better understand the cognitive processes involved in the translation process. Later, the recorded commentaries will be transcribed and analysed by the researcher.

According to Borg (2006, p. 221), the best verbal commentaries are produced when the participant (in this case, the translator) gives a “straightforward description of ongoing thought”, without attempting to explain or justify those thoughts. Since ‘thinking-aloud’ is not generally a normal or natural process, however, Borg acknowledges that some form of demonstration or training is often necessary to ensure the participant’s comfort with the process. Accordingly, appropriate levels of support will be given to each of the participating translators in advance of, and if necessary during, the translation task and ‘think-aloud’ commentary.

Outcomes of the research: The research findings will form the basis of a chapter of the researcher’s doctoral thesis, pertaining to the role that translator cognition (what translators think, know and believe) has to play in the decisions that translators make during the translation process. The findings may also inform articles for general publication.

A summary of the findings of the completed research will be provided to each of the participants.

Confidentiality: Participants’ confidentiality will be given the highest priority. Each participating translator will be asked to indicate on the accompanying Participant Consent Form whether they wish to be identified in the research, or whether they prefer to remain anonymous by choosing their own pseudonym.

Part B: Declaration to Participants

1. Individuals participating in this study will not be identified in any publication/dissemination of this research without their explicit consent.
2. The information collected during the translation task and recorded verbal commentaries will be viewed only by the researcher and her supervisors if requested, and **will remain strictly confidential**.

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3. All participants in the study have the right, among other things, to:
 - complete and total confidentiality.
 - withdraw from the study at any point and for any reason, if they choose to.
 - ask any further questions about the study that may occur to them during their participation.
 - be given a summary of the findings of the study when it is concluded.
4. The participants in this study have been selected on the basis of their known expertise and experience of translating sacred and/or sensitive texts from te reo Māori and/or into te reo Māori, and their willingness and availability to participate.

Researcher's Name: Jillian Tipene

Researcher's Signature: Jillian Tipene

Date: 12 Dec, 2011

Chief Supervisor of the research: Associate Professor Winifred Crombie

Phone: 07 838 4929

Email: crombie@waikato.ac.nz

Additional Supervisory Panel:

Name: Dr. Aroha Yates-Smith **Phone:** 07 838 4750 **Email:** arohays@waikato.ac.nz

Name: Dr. Hemi Whaanga **Phone:** 07 838 4765 **Email:** hemi@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix 11: Participant Consent Form – Think-Aloud Protocols

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Participant Consent Form

If you agree to participate in this study you will be asked to complete two translation tasks, while at the same time verbalising your thoughts out loud into an audio-recording device. These recordings will make a significant contribution to Jillian Tipene's doctoral research on the translation of sacred and sensitive texts, from te reo Māori into English, and from English into Māori, and thereby contribute to a greater understanding of the cognitive processes involved in translation.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone: (Home) _____ **(Work)** _____ **(Mob)** _____

Email: _____

Please tick the appropriate boxes and/or delete any statements that do not apply:

- ☐ I have read and understood the attached Research Information Sheet pertaining to Jillian Tipene's doctoral research study, **including my rights as a participant**
- ☐ I agree to participate in the proposed study by recording a 'think-aloud' verbal commentary while undertaking two specified translation tasks
- ☐ I consent to being identified by name in any publication/dissemination of the research
- OR
- ☐ I agree to participate in the research, but wish to remain anonymous by using a pseudonym
- ☐ I agree to undertake the translation task and 'think-aloud' verbal commentary within the designated time frame (a period of **three weeks** from **16/12/11** to **05/01/12**)

Participant's Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

This study gained ethical approval from Te Manu Taiko: Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Waikato, on 26/09/11

Appendix 12: Think-Aloud Instructions for Participants

Instructions for participants in translation task and ‘think-aloud’ verbal commentary

*Tēnā rā koutou e whakaae mai nei ki te uru anō mai ki roto i tēnei kaupapa.
Ka nui āku mihi ki a koutou.*

This translation exercise is designed to investigate how translators think as they work on translating a text. I would like to know what you are thinking as you go about translating a couple of selected text extracts. For this reason, I’m going to ask you to undertake to ‘think-aloud’ as you work through each of the texts, and to have an audio-recording device close enough to you to capture what you say.

What I mean by ‘think-aloud’ is that I want you, while you are translating, to **say out loud everything that you would say to yourself silently** while you are thinking, in the moment that you think it, without trying to edit, explain or justify it.

Feel free to express your thoughts in Māori or English, or both if you feel like it. That is totally up to you and what you feel most comfortable with. It will not affect the quality of the data.

Use whatever resources (dictionaries, etc) you would normally use while translating, just **remember to continue verbalising your thought processes** as you work. Should you need to phone a colleague or consult an expert in relation to some aspect of the translation task, verbalise that that is what you are going to do, make the call and then, when you resume the translation task, carry on recording your verbal commentary.

I have prepared a simple warm-up exercise that is intended to ease you into the ‘think-aloud’ process by giving you a trial-run, prior to beginning the translation task proper. Once you begin the translation task, however, if you feel unsure about any aspect of the think-aloud exercise, if you have questions or need support, please do not hesitate to call me. I will be happy to assist you as best I can.

Once again, I thank you for agreeing to participate in this research project and express my confidence that your contribution to the study will make a valuable contribution to the field of translation theory.

Heoi anō.

Jillian Tipene
Phone: 027 257 8595

Appendix 13: Interview transcripts

Tom Roa: Rātū, 15 o Hui-tānguru 2011

TR: Pai noa. Ko taua mihi anō ki a koe, e Jillian, nāu rā tō tāua nohotahi i, nāu rā i whakatū te arawhata kia tau iho ngā manaakitanga a te wāhi ngaro ki runga ki ā tāua whakawhitiwhitinga kōrero i tēnei wā. Te take, ki a au, kei reira te tīmatatanga o tēnei mea, o te tapu. Ā, mō ngā tuhinga tapu, ngā kōrero tapu kua whakamāoringia, kua whakapākehāngia rānei e au, me tīmata au ki te, tāku mahi ināianei he titiro ki te Kurānu, me ngā kōrero a Mohammed, e kīia nei e tana iwi ko ia te poropiti, o Allah. Ka huri rā anō ki ngā tuhinga o roto i te hāhi Bahá'í kua whakapākehāngia, kua whakamāoringia e au. Ā, 'Ngā Kupu Huna' e kīia ana, a Bahá'u'lláh, koirā te poropiti o tērā o ngā hāhi. Ā, kua whakapākehāngia e au ētahi kōrero, ā, karakia, a ngā tohunga Māori o roto i a au, i a Tainui, pērā i a John [Tione] Haunui me Tui Adams, ā, me Panataua Rangitaawa, tērā momo tohunga, me kī. Ahakoa ko tā rātou mō rātou, ehara rātou i te tohunga. Engari, ko tā rātou kawē i te karakia, ā, he mana o reira. [02.28] Me taku, ā, heoi anō, ko te tono mai ki ahau, māku e whakapākehā kia mārama katoa ki te hunga Pākehā i reira. Me kōrero hoki pea au ki tēnei mea te mana, i te mea, kei roto i ā rātou kōrero, ahakoa ā-waha, ahakoa ā-tuhi, he mana nui. Tērā pea, ka taea ai e ahau te kī, he 'tapu', i te mea, ko ngā take i te kōrerotia, ehara i te mea he take nō tēnei ao noa iho. Engari he nui te wairua o roto, ā, pērā me tāu nā mahi, tō tuhinga Paerua. Ko ngā kaupapa pērā me ngā pakanga o roto i a Ngāpuhi, ki ahau, he mana, engari he tapu anō o reira, i te mea, i roto i ngā kōrero, tārere tonu ana ko te wairua. He mauri anō o roto. Ki tāku tohe, ka taea ai te kī, he tapu. Ā, he maha ngā tuhinga pērā, me ngā kōrero pērā kua whakapākehāngia, kua whakamāoringia e au.

JT: Kia ora.

TR: Ka pai?

JT: Ae Nā, āhua nui tēnei pātai: *Ki ō whakaaro, he aha ngā āhuatanga ake o ēnei momo tuhituhinga-*, arā . . . e kīia nei ētehi he 'sacred', e kīia nei ētehi he 'divine', e kīia nei ētehi he 'tapu'. Ko ētehi, e kīia nei he 'sensitive' kē. *Pēhea ō whakaaro mō ngā āhuatanga ake o ēnei momo tuhituhinga-*, kua kōrero kē koe ki tērā atu o ngā pātai mō . . . i tīmata koe ki te kōrero ki tērā, engari, he whakaaro anō ōu??

TR: [05.35] Ā, tuatahi, ko ngā tūmomo kōrero, ā, tērā pea he kōrero tapu; tuarua, he kōrero mana, whai mana rānei; ā, ... tuatoru, he kōrero wairua, ā, whai wairua rānei He mea anō, pea, te kōrero nā te atua. Nē. . . . Me, me, me whēnei pea te tīmatatanga: tērā rā ko ētehi kōrero, ki tāku nei titiro, ā, he kōrero tapu 'nā te atua i homai'; tērā rā anō ētehi kōrero he kōrero tapu, nā te tangata i tapu ai. Nō reira, me tīmata pea ki reira – kei te āhua tuhi whakaahua i roto i taku hinengaro, anō nei he whakapapa – nā, ko te kōrero, 'nā te atua i homai', ka taea te kī, he kōrero tapu nā te atua. Koirā ki ahau, ko ngā kupu nā ngā poropiti i mea, 'He kārere tēnei nā te atua', nō reira, he tapu, i te mea nā te atua i homai. Tērā rā anō ētehi kōreo, he tapu, i te mea kua whakatapua e te tangata. Ehara i te mea, nā te atua i homai, nā ngā atua rānei. Ā, engari he tapu, i te mea, ko ōna āhuatanga o roto, ko ngā kōrero o roto, ngā whakaaro o roto, he wairua kei reira, ā, ko taua wairua, he tapu. Me te mārama ki te tangata nāna aua kōrero, ki te tangata e

whakarongo atu ana, e pānui ana rānei i aua kōrero, e whakarongo atu ana ki aua kōrero. He wairua anō o reira. Nō reira, kia kua rā taua wairua e takahia. Me mau ki taua wairua. Nō reira, kei reira aua tūmomo tapu. Kei kō mai o taua tapu, o taua āhua tapu, ko te āhua o te mana. [09.58] Nā, ki taku whakapono, ko te nuinga o te iwi e pōhēhē nei, ko te ‘noa’ tērā hāngai tonu atu ana ko te ‘tapu’. Engari, ki taku whakaaro Māori, ko te noa anō he tūmomo tapu. Nē. Ehara i te mea, ko tētahi rārangi, kei tētahi kokonga, ko te noa tētehi, ko te tapu. Engari, he porowhita. Engari, kua rā au e titiro ki te porowhita, anō nei he takarangi [spiral]. Nē. Ā, i ētehi wā, ko tētahi mea he tino tapu, i ētehi wā he tino noa. Ā, nō reira, ko taua āhua ki tēnei mea te tapu, te noa rānei o te tuinga, me tūpato au te aukati i te nui o te noa o tētehi mea, tua atu o te tapu. Kei reira rā anō te rerekētanga o roto i te mauri me te wairua. Ā, he mauri kei ngā mea katoa, engari roto o taua takarangi anō rā, ko ētehi o ngā mauri kua ngoikore. Engari, kei reira tonu te mauri. Ko ētehi o ngā mauri kua tino ora mai. Nō reira ko te wairua i ētehi wā o tētahi mea, he mauri o roto, mauri ora. Ko taua āhua anō kei roto i tēnei pātai e pātai nei koe! Nō reira, ehara i te pātai ngawari noa, māmā noa te whakautu. Pērā me te ‘sacred text’, the ‘sensitive text’, ērā mea katoa, engari kei reira o taku whakaaro Māori e tere ana, me te mōhio, he tapu tētehi mea, engari ko ētehi mea tua mai o te tapu, he mea whai mana. Ko te rerekē o roto i ēnei kupu, te tapu me te mana, ā, e whai mana ana te mea tapu, engari i ētehi mea tapu, he mana nui atu i te mea mana noa iho. Arrgh! (Laughs). He pikitia whakamārama . . .

JT: Heoi anō, ka kite au i tō pikitia.

TR: [13.20] Nō reira, tēnā pea, me noho ki reira te whakautu ki tō pātai mō tēnei wā, i te mea . . . e maumahara ana au ki tētahi, he wahakapākehātanga āku i te reta a Te Rauparaha ki a Pihopa Herewini. Ko tāna, ‘Ko tāku pukapuka tēnei ki a koe e hoa.’ Ka kite atu au i tētahi o ngā whakamāoritanga, whakapākehātanga i taua kupu a Te Rauparaha: ‘This is my letter to you, Lord Bishop’. Kāre au i rata ki taua whakapākehātanga. Ko tāku whakapākehātanga: ‘This is my word to you, friend’. Ā, ko te ‘pukapuka’ nei, he reta, ka tika. Koirā te kupu mō te reta i taua wā. Engari, ā, i taua wā ki taku mōhio, kāore a Te Rauparaha i mōhio ki te tuhituhi. Nā tētehi atu i tuhituhi mōna.

JT: Ko tāna, he kōrero kē.

TR: Āa, ko tāna, me te kī atu ki a Pihopa Herewini, koinei te kupu a Te Rauparaha; ehara i te mea he kupu noa iho nā tētahi o ōna . . . toa, o ana kaituhi. Engari, ko te pukapuka tonu tēnā a Te Rauparaha. Nō reira, ko tāna kupu tērā. Ka āhua pērā te mana o te tangata. Ā, nā taua kupu a Te Rauparaha, ka tapu taua mea ki a Te Rauparaha, kia kua rā a Pihopa Herewini e pōhēhē noa iho, o, nō tētehi . . . tētehi tangata noa iho pēnei i a au nei. Nō reira, he whai mana, ehara i te mea he reta noa iho. [16.02] He kupu tonu nā Te Rauparaha. Kupu mana. Kupu tapu. Nō reira, kua tēnei reta hei . . . Me whai mana tēnei reta ki a Pihopa Herewini. Ko taua āhua, nē.

JT: Āe. Herewini, Selwyn? Kua taka te kapa.

TR: Kua pai?

JT: Āe.

TR: Kua nui tērā mō te mea tuarua nei?

JT: Kua rahi. Āe. *Whakamārama mai koa tāu nā ahunga ki te whakamāoritanga, whakapākehātanga rānei o te tuhituhinga he pērā ai te āhua.*

TR: [16.46] Um, ki taku māhara i a au e pānui ana i ō tukunga mai, kei te āhua pā mai tēnei ki tētehi atu, mehemea he rerekē te whai i ēnei mea tapu, mana rānei, ki ētehi atu. He rerekē. He rerekē. Um, ko te mea mai i te kāwanatanga, mai i tētehi wāhanga ture, mai i tētahi wāhanga ohanga, ērā tūāhua katoa, he mea, ā, e ai ki te ture, nē. Me rārangi aua mea ki tā te ture, ki tā ngā, te mātāpuna, nē, te ‘source’, ki tā te mātāpuna i hiahia ai. Ā, nō reira, ka pātaitia aua pātai ki te . . . ā, te kiriutu, ki te ‘client’, me pēwhea te whakamāori, whakapākehā rānei i ngā kōrero rā. Ka noho ki reira. Heoi anō rā, i roto i tāku whakamāoritanga i te Kurānu Tapu, e mōhio ana au, e hia kē nei ngā wehewehenga o roto o taua whakapono – kāore e taea e au te kī, he hāhi – o roto o taua whakapono nei. Nō reira, ka homai te whakapākehātanga i te reo Arapiki e āku kiriutu, ka tirohia e au ētehi atu o ngā whakapākehātanga mai. Te nuinga o te wā, he rerekē. Te nuinga, ehara i te mea he mea moroititi noa iho; engari, he nui ngā rerekētanga. Āaa, tahi ka pātai atu au, he aha te ia, te ngako, me kī pea, te wairua o ngā kōrero a āku kiriutu. Tahi ka whāia ai e au ngā kōreo mai i āku kiriutu. Ā, me te mōhio, ā tōna wā, ka hoki mai ki a au te pātai a ngā Māori kua whai nei i taua whakapono nei, ā, te Muhīrama, ā ‘Kāore i te pērā ki tāku nei titiro.’ Ka taea ai e au te kī, ā, ‘Heoi anō rā, koirā ko tēnei wehewehenga o roto i a koutou. Māu, mā wai rānei hei whakapākehā ki tāu e hiahia ai. Ka rata mai ai tō hinengaro, tō ora, tō wairua, ko koe, ki taua whakamāoritanga mai. [20.26] Ā, nō reira, he whānui kē atu tāku nei titiro, ki ngā tuhinga tapu, i te tirohanga ki ngā mea, me kī e au i tēnei wā, he ‘noa’. Nō reira, koirā te mea tuatahi. Ko ngā kōrero tapu, he aha te take i tapu ai?? Mehemea, pēnei i tāku nei mō te Kurānu nei, mehemea he, he kupu nā te atua i homai ki te poropiti, me te kī a te poropiti, ko ia nei te kupu a te atua. Ā, koirā te whakapono ki te Paipera. Ki te titiro au ki te Paipera, ko taua āhua anō rā. He rerekē te Paipera Katorika ki te Paipera Mihingare, ā, he rerekē anō ētahi o ngā āhuatanga o te Paipera Weteriana, me ētehi o ngā whakamāori, whakapākehātanga hou o tēnei wā. He rerekē rawa atu tā te, ā, Jehovah’s Witnesses, ngā kaiwhakaatu a Ihowa. Nō reira, kī pai te whakamāori, whakapākehā rānei, i ngā tuhinga tapu, i ngā kōrero tapu, kī pai te raruraru. Nō reira, ka āta haere au i roto i ngā whakapākehātanga, whakamāoritanga. Ka mutu, i ētehi wā, ka tohe mai, ka tohe atu, ahau me taku kiriutu. [22.36] Koirā pea, he rerekē taku titiro, he āta haere te mea mō ngā kōrero tapu. Ko tētehi mea nui te raruraru ki a au, ko te kīwaha, me te kīrehu. A roto i ngā tuhinga noa, kāore he raruraru, te take, mārāma ana te horopaki. Engari i roto i ētehi o ngā kīwaha o te hāhi, o te whakapono Muhīrama, hei tauira, he nui te raruraru, nui te rerekē. Ā, i reira rā anō te uaua mō te hāhi, mō te whakapono Bahá’í. Ā, kia pēnei nei, hei tauira: te kupu ‘nightingale’. Nightingale. E mōhio ana au he aha te nightingale, he manu reo tino reka. Nē. Engari, he aha te ‘nightingale’ . . .

JT: O te ao Māori?

TR: O te ao, well, o te ao Bahá'í, tuatahi. He aha tā rātou whakamahi i taua kupu nei, e ai ki tō rātou whakapono, e ai ki tā rātou . . . whakamana i te manu nei. Ā, he manu tapu tērā ki taua whakapono. Ehara i te mea ko tōna reo noa iho, engari he mea rere i te pō, he karere hoki nā te atua i roto i ana waiata. Tahi au ka whakaaro ki te hōkioi, nē? Engari, ehara te hōkioi i te manu pērā, te take, ki a au, ki taku whakapono, ko tā te hōkioi, he kawē kupu toimaha, he kawē tohu aituā.

JT: He aha tērā kupu, 'toimā'?

TR: He aha?

JT: 'He kawē kupu toimā'?

TR: Toimaha. Taimaha. Ā, he tohu aituā. Engari mō te nightingale, ka āta. . . .

JT: He māmā.

TR: Āe, he māmā. Nō reira, me pēhea te whakapākehā, me pēhea te whakamāori i taua mea nei, me te mau ki te kaupapa o te 'nightingale'. Nō reira, kāre au i 'transliterate', nē. 'Naitinkeera', oi! (Laughter).

JT: Pōkeera!

TR: [26.33] Tahi au ka pātai ki āku kiriutu, 'He aha ngā mea nui o roto o tēnei kupu: tuatahi, he manu; tuarua, ōna tapu; tuatoru, tōna reo; tuawhā, tōna karere. He karere nā te atua. Ā, tahi ka, ka whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro i roto i taku kiriutu me ahau hei kaiwhakamāori. Ka mutu, ka tau te kōrero, he manu reo āwenewene. Ehara i te manu reo rōreka noa iho. Engari, ko te āwenewene, he, he . . . he nui te hiahia ki te rongo. Ā, he rongo reka o roto o taua kupu rā. Nō reira, ka tau te whakaaro o āku kiriutu ki taua whakamāoritanga, i te mea, katoa o te hāhi Bahá'í e hiahia ana ki te rongo i te reo o te manu nei. Ā, kua noho ki reira taua titiro ki taua whakamāoritanga, i taua kupu kotahi tonu. I roto i ngā tuhituhinga katoa, he tauira pērā rā. Pēnā me te 'Day Star'. He aha te 'Day Star'? He aha te kupu Arapiki ki taua mea nei, kua whakapākehāngia mai ki te 'Day Star'? Wareware au te kupu Arapiki. Ā, me pēhea e au te whakamāori i taua mea nei.

JT: So, ētehi wā, ka hoki atu ki te kupu Arapiki?

TR: Āe. Pēnā anō mō te 'nightengale'. Kotahi noa te whakapākehātanga mai o taua kupu rā, ko te 'nightingale'. Karekau he 'nightingale' o te ao Māori. Nā, ko te 'Day Star', ko te rā [sun] tērā. Ā, engari, ko tōna āhua, he āhua anō o roto i a ia, ehara ko te rā noa iho. Tahi au ka whakaaro ki a Tama-nui-te-rā. Engari, kāore e tika tērā mō taua whakapono. Kua uru mai te whakakitenga Māori ki roto i taua whakapono nei, nō reira, ki ahau, kāore tērā e tika. Me noho tūturu ki te āhua o te whakapono rā. So, aua

JT: Uauatanga.

TR: hurihurihanga, um, me te takahurihuri o te whakaaro ki reira. Nē? Hei tauira.

JT: Kia ora. Kia ora mō tēnā. [30.20] Kua kōrero koe mō te rerekētanga o ngā ahunga, um, *Ki tō mōhio, he aha ngā tino take, kua kōrero kē koe, me ngā taero e whakararu i te kaiwhakamāori/kaiwhakapākehā i a ia e mahi ana ēnei momo tuhituhinga?*

TR: [30.36] Tua atu o ēnā kua kōrerotia kē e au, um mōhio ana au, mōhio ana koe ki tēnei: ko ngā kiriutu, me ā ratou ake whakapono, ā, me ō rātou ake horopaki. Ā, hei tauira, ko ētehi kiriutu, he pōhēhē, ‘Oh, ngāwari noa te whakamāori’ or ‘ngāwari noa te whakapākehā’. Ā, tahi ka uru mai tētahi raruraru i roto i taku whakapākehātanga, whakamāoritanga rānei, ka raruraru mai, i te mea, he rerekē taku whakamāoritanga, whakapākehātanga rānei i tā rātou i hiahia ai rātou (Laugh). Ā, me te, ā, he uaua o roto, ā, mā te āta noho, āta kōrero, ā, me te, te, whakatau i te kiriutu kia whakapono mai ki a au, ki te kaiwhakamāori. Ne? He pūkenga āku, ā, ... Ko tētehi o ngā raruraru i pā mai ki a au – kāore, kāore, ehara tēnei te kōrero kino mō Ngāpuhi (laughter) Engari ka tirohia e ētehi o tētehi iwi kē, pēnā i a Ngāpuhi, hei tauira. Me te pātai mai ‘Oh, taihoa koa. Ehara tēnei te kupu o tōku ake reo, reo ā-iwi. Ka pēhea te whakauru mai i taua kupu nei, o tērā o ngā reo?’ Ā, ka āhua tohea te kupu, te rerenga kōrero rānei, te kīwaha. Ā, nāwai rā, ka āhua uaua, ā, i ētehi wā, ka noho mārō te kiriutu; ā, i ētehi wā, ka noho mārō ahau. [33.53] Ā, i tētahi rā, kāore rātou i pai mai, kāore ngā kiriutu i pai mai ki taku whakamāoritanga, kāore au i pai te, te takahuri te whakamāoritanga, i te mea, ki taku mōhio, he pērā rā te kōrero mai i te mātāpuna. Ā, ka mutu

JT: Nō hea te tuhinga?

TR: Ā, he tuhinga tapu, ā, i kīia mai e te kiriutu, he mea nā te atua i homai ki tō rātou poropiti. Engari, taku whakamāoritanga i aua kupu rā, kāore tētehi, o iwi kē, i pai mai ki taku whakamāoritanga. Ko tā rātou, he pērā, he āhua kē atu. Kī atu au, ‘Kāore i te pērā’. Ka mutu, kua kore taua kirimana e haere tonu. Kua katia, ka katia taua kirimana. Um, kāore au i raruraru (Laughter). Kāore, kāore te iwi rā i . .

JT: I ētehi wā, ka pērā.

TR: Yeah. Ā, ka noho tonu ki reira, kua kite atu au i tētehi whakamāoritanga, me tāku tuhi i tētahi reta ki te kiriutu, ‘Anei ngā raruraru:’ Ā, ka noho ki reira.

JT: Ka pai.

TR: Um Kei ētehi, karekau i te māranga ki a au he aha te aha o te tuhinga mai. Nō reira, i ētehi wā, ... he, he ‘guess’ noa iho. Nē. Ā, whai whakaaro ai au, i roto i te horopaki e mōhiohia nei e mātou ko āku kiriutu. He pērā rā te āhua, te ia o te kōrero, nō reira, kua pērā te, te whakamāoritanga. Engari, tūturu, he āhua āwangawanga o roto.

JT: Mm. Ah, koinā: ‘How are these issues to be resolved?’ Mā te aha rā koe aua take e whakatau ai? Mā te tuhi reta, i ētahi wā . . . (laugh). Ētehi wā, e kore e taea.

TR: Āe.

JT: Anā. *Pēhea nei ō whakaaro mō te taha matatika e pā ana ki te whakamāoritanga o ēnei momo tuhituhinga?*

TR: Ko taua āhua anō rā. Um, tuatahi, ko tā te mātāpuna, tuatahi. Me āta whakaaro e te kaiwhakamāori, ‘He aha tā te mātāpuna [source] i hiahia ai, te wā i kōrerotia, ā, i tuhia ai rānei aua kōrero?’. Tuarua, me tōtika. Arā, kua rā te Tērā rā anō taua tauira. He aha koa tētahi kupu. Ko ngā whakaritenga ki taua kupu nei, he maha. Nō reira, me āta mōhio he aha te kupu tōtika hei whakamāori, hei whakapākehā rānei i taua kupu rā. Ā, pēnā me te, ah, he aha tētahi, oh,

‘pukapuka’. I te wā i a Te Rauparaha mā, ko te ‘pukapuka’ he reta. Engari, kāore e pai te whakapākehā ki taua kupu noa iho nei, ‘he reta’. ‘E hoa, ko taku pukapuka tēnei ki a koe’. ‘This is my word’; ehara i te reta noaiho. Nō reira, kei reira ko aua rerekētanga ‘rauangi’ – ‘subtle’. Nō reira, me mārama ki aua ‘subtleties’.

JT: Me te horopaki, te wā . . .

TR: Yeah, te horopaki, te wā, ko aua Ka pai?

JT: He whakaaro anō ōu?

TR: Kāo. Ka nui tērā. Kua pau te oho, kua āhua

JT: Ka nui, ka mutu ki reira, me ngā mihi nui ki a koe Matua Tom, i whakawātea mai koe i a koe anō ki te āwhina i tēnei kaupapa. Tēnā rawa atu koe.

[40.54].

Ray Harlow: Wenerei, 15 o Hakihea 2010

JT: Whakamārama mai koa āu mahi me ngā tuhituhinga, ngā pukapuka e kīia nei he ‘tapu’ te āhua.

RH: E toru ngā mea pēnā i whai wāhi atu nei au: ko te whakamārama i te Kurānu Tapu tuatahi. Ko te āhua o taku āwhina, tautoko i tēnā o ngā mahi, he paku whakatikatika haere i ngā tuhinga a Mister Monir. Nāna te nuinga o te mahi, nāna te *katoa* o te mahi, me kī. Me taku mihi ki a ia mō tana kaha ki te ako i te reo, me te whai i tēnei kaupapa. Heoi anō tāku, he paku tautoko. Ehara i te mea nāku i whakamāori, nē? Engari, ko te āhua o te mahi i tukuna mai ki a au āna whakamāoritanga me te pātai, ‘Kite ki te pēhea ki tō titiro, he kupu pai ake pea kei te mōhiotia e koe’. Ēnā momo pātai, tuatahi. Tuarua, tētahi rōpū iti nei, ko Te Waaka Melbourne ki reira, ko ētahi atu, ko te mahi, he whakatika haere i te Paipera Tapu, arā, te whakamāoritanga i te Paipera Tapu [1.49]. Whakatika haere pēhea? Tuatahi, he hē ki roto, he hapa nō te tā. I hē te tā i ētahi wāhanga. He whakatika i tērā . . .

JT: Mai rānō?

RH: Mai rānō. Mai rānō, tuatahi. Tuarua, he whakauru i ngā tohutō ki ngā wāhi e tika ana kia noho ki reira. Tuarua [sic], te whakahāngai i ngā ira kati, ngā piko, ēnā momo āhuatanga, kia hāngai ai ki ngā whakaaro o nāianei e pā ana ki aua āhuatanga o te tuhi. Kāore mātou i whakapono, mā mātou ngā kupu ake e whakarerekē. Me waiho kia pēnā anō. Te whakahou i te katoa o te whakamāoritanga, he take anō tēnā. Engari, ehara, ehara mā mātou.

JT: He whakahou noaiho.

RH: Me taku mōhio, kei te haere tēnā kōrero ināianei. Ko ētahi, kei te whakaaro ki te whakamāori anō i te katoa o te Paipera Tapu. Ko tā mātou nā mahi, he whakatika, he whakatohutō pea, me kī, i te whakamāoritanga i oti i ngā tau rima tekau nei i mua. Tuarua. Tuatoru, ko te mea tuatoru nei, koina anake taku ake, tāku *ake* whakamāori i tētahi tuhinga tapu, me kī. Pā mai ki a au te tonono, a Te Waaka, kia whakamāoritia e au ētahi inoi, umm, o roto i te pukapuka karakia a te Hāhi Mihinare, kia hāngai ai ki ngā mea reo Pākehā, kei reira ināianei. Ngā inoi e kīia nei ko “Ngā Inoi o te Rā”, nō te mea, mō ia Rātapu, mō ia rā, maumahara ki tētahi, ki te hunga tapu mō ia rā, Paraire Pai, Kirihimete, ēnā momo rā ‘tapu’, me kī, he inoi motuhake. Ko te mate, kei te reo Pākehā anake [4.02]. Toko ake i roto i a au te whakaaro kia whakamāoritia. Pā mai tana tonono ki a au, māku ētahi e whakamāori. Nā, āhua tekau mā rua, tekau, tekau mā rua pea i oti i a au te whakamāori. Nā, koina ngā mea e toru hei kōrerotanga pea mā tāua.

JT: Nā reira, ki ō whakaaro he aha ngā āhuatanga ake o ēnei momo tuhituhinga? Whakaāe ana koe ko ngā tuhituhinga o te hāhi ngā mea tapu, ā, he whakaaro anō āu mō ngā tuhituhinga a ngā tūpuna e takoto kau ana i roto i ngā whare taonga puta noa te motu, he ‘sacred text’ anō tēnā, kāore rānei?

RH: Āe. Tuatahi, ngā tuhinga kua tirohia e au, kua āwhina au ki te whakamāori, me kī, āe, nō roto i tētahi hāhi. Nō roto i te Hāhi Mihinare te nuinga, ā, me pēnei pea: ko ēnei ‘sacred texts’ tuhinga tapu nei, ko ngā tuhinga kua noho hei, hei tino

kaupapa mō tētahi whakapono. Pērā anō i te Kurānu. He tapu te Kurānu, nō te mea, ko ngā Arapa e mea ana, “he tapu”. Pēnā anō te Paipera Tapu, he tapu nō te mea e mea ana ngā Karaitiana, “he tapu”. Pēnā anō ngā inoi, nō te mea, ko ngā inoi kua whakatakotohia hei wāhi mō te karakia. Katoa ngā kupu kua takoto hei wāhi mō tētahi karakia, he tapu hoki ēnā. Nō reira, ngā mea kua whai wāhi atu nei au, me pēnā taku kōrero mō te tapu o aua tuhinga. Engari, kei tua atu anō o tērā, āe, he tapu anō pea ētahi kōrero, pēnā anō i te [kauwae] runga, [kauwae] raro. Ngā tuhinga, arā, ngā kōrero i oti te tuhi i tērā atu rautau, ngā kōrero o roto i ngā whare wānanga o neherā, he tapu anō tēnā. Kāore i te mea he tapu katoa ngā tuhinga a ngā mātua tīpuna. Ko ētahi he pūrākau. Hei aha? Hei whakangahau, me kī. Umm. Kore pea au te kī, ā, he tapu ēnā, nē? Engari, ko ngā tino tuhinga nō te mātauranga, nō ngā atua, nō te hekenga mai o te ao, ēnā momo take, āe, he momo tapu anō tēnā. Engari, i kite noa au i tō kupu nei ‘sensitive’. He mea anō te ‘sensitive’ i te tapu. Nō te me, ko ētahi tuhinga kei te pā ki ētahi tāngata takitahi nei, me ō rātou take, me ō rātou āwangawanga, me ō rātou whanaungatanga, nē, e tika ana kia noho puku pea, kei whara te tangata mōna te tuhinga. He momo ‘sensitive’ tēnā ahakoa ea pea i te tapu. He tapu i raro i te tikanga o taua kupu, me kī, he momo, umm, ‘ārai’. Nē? Nō te mea, e rua ēnei tikanga o te kupu nei ‘tapu’. Ko te ‘holy’ tētahi, e pā ana ki te whakapono, ki te hāhi. Engari he tapu anō tētahi mea mēnā he ārai kei reira, hei , hei . . . pare atu i te . . .

JT: Rāwekeweke.

RH: Āe, Yeah. Mōku nei, kāore ano au kia whai wāhi ki te whakamāori i ēnei momo, whakapākehā i ēnei momo tuhinga. Nō reira, ki a au, ko tā tāua kōrero, me whāiti ki ngā mea e mōhio nei au [8.28].

JT: Ka pai. Pēhea te ahunga, tāu nā ahunga ki te whakamāoritanga/whakapākehātanga o tētahi momo tuhinga i pērā ai te āhua? He aratuka motuhake mō ēnei momo tuhinga?

RH: Kāore pea, nō te mea, ki a au, ahakoa he aha te kōrero, ahakoa he aha te tuhinga, ko tēnei mea, tēnei mahi te whakamāori, me tino āta haere, me tino āta mahi. Me te whakaaro ki te āhua o te tuhinga, me te whakaaro ki te āhua o ngā tāngata ka pānui i tō whakamāoritanga, ka pānui rānei i te reo Pākehā, ake rānei. Engari, mō ēnei momo tuhinga pēnei i ngā inoi nei me te Paipera Tapu, nō te mea, he nui ake te tapu, he nui ake pea te mana o te tuhinga, ka, me kī, ka, kaha ake taku ‘tarai’ kia tino tika tāku e tuhi nei, kia hāngai hoki te tāera [10.16]. Nō te mea, he taera anō tō te Paipera Tapu, tō te Kuranu. He tāera anō tō ngā inoi. Me tino tarai . . . he aha?

JT: ‘Tāera’, he aha te kupu?

RH: Tāera? Ahhh, ‘style’? Kei roto i a Wiremu, taku mōhio. Kia hāngai, me kī, te [taumata] o te reo, o ngā mea e rua nei. Nā, waimarie, mō te whakapākehā i te Kurānu, me te whakapākehā i mua i te whakamāori i ngā inoi, waimarie tātou, i te Paipera Tapu. Nō te mea he nui ngā tauira ka taea te tiki atu i ēnei momo tuhinga, i mua atu rā. Ā, me te Rawiri o mua. Kei te mōhio koe he aha te Rāwiri. Nā, ko te pukapuka karakia e whakamahia nei e te Hāhi Mihinare i ēnei rā, i oti te

whakaputa i te tau . . . '90, pea. Nē. Engari, nō mua atu i tērā, ko te 'Book of Common Prayer'. Koina te pukapuka karakia mō te katoa o te Hāhi Mihinare o roto i te ao katoa. Mai i te rautau, mai i te tekau mā ono o ngā rautau [1600] ki tēnei wā. Ko te Rāwiri, ko te whakamāoritanga i taua pukapuka. Me tino mōhio koe ki tēnā pukapuka, mēnā koinā tō take, tō kaupapa . . .

JT: The Book of David?

RH: Kīia ana, te Rāwiri, nō te mea, he wāhanga anō ko ngā waiata a Rāwiri, arā, ngā Psalms. Koinā tētahi wāhanga.

JT: Ah, the Songs of David . . .

RH: Engari, ehara i te mea ko ngā Psalms anake kei reira: kei reira te Hapa Tapu; kei reira ngā inoi o te ata, o te ahiahi; kei reira te nehunga tūpāpaku; kei reira te mārena, kei reira te wawahi i te tangata hei pirīhi [12.23]; ēnā momo karakia katoa kei reira. Engari, ko Rāwiri, koinā te kupu motuhake mō taua pukapuka. Nā, kei reira ngā inoi katoa, kei roto i te reo Māori, nō reira, ka taea hoki te tiki atu ki reira ngā tauira hei, hei, hei whakamahi ināianei. Nō reira, taku ahunga ki tēnei momo mahi, he kimi i ngā tauira o mua e hāngai ana, ka taea rānei te paku whakarerekē kia hāngai ai ki ngā kupu o nāianei. Ā, i a au i whakamāori ana i tētahi atu kōrero, kāore au i te pērā. Nē? Engari, nō te mea kua noho ko te Paipera Tapu me te Rāwiri hei tauira, koinā tētahi wāhanga o taku mahi, he kimikimi, he rapurapu, he rangahau i roto i aua pukapuka, me kore e kitea he tauira. Nō te mea, e rua ngā take: tuatahi, mō te tāera, nē; tuarua, nō te mea, mōhio ana au he nui ngā Māori kua waia ki ēnei momo kōrero. Kua waia ki te whakamāoritanga o te Paipera. Kua waia hoki ki te Rāwiri. Nō reira, ki te whai ngā inoi me ngā whakamāoritanga hou e mahia nei, ki te whai ērā whakamāoritanga i ēnā tauira, nē, ā, ka pai pea ngā kaipānui. Pai ake tā rātou pānui . . .

JT: Nā te mea, kua waia ke te taringa . . .

RH: Āe. Nō te mea, kei te mōhio kē ki aua momo whakatakotoranga. Āe. Me kī, koinā [ʔa] hei whakautu ki te nama toru. Me te nama whā. Āe.

JT: So, kāore he tino rerekētanga o ngā ahunga. . . Ok. Anā. Ki tō titiro, he aha ngā tino take, ngā taero kua whakararu i a koe i te whakamāoritanga/whakpākehātanga o ērā momo tuhituhinga?

RH: Ummm. I nga wā katoa kua whai wāhi i a au ki ēnei mahi, i runga i te tono a tētahi, pēnei i a Te Waaka nei. Nō te mea, me kī, mōku nei, um, he āhua whakamā hei, hei ārai i a au i roto i tēnei mahi. Kei te mārama , [ki] tāku e mea nei?

JT: Umm, rātou [ngā kaitono] . . . ??

RH: [15.10] Ko *au*. He whakamā *nōku*. Mei kore, mei kore pā mai te tono, kua kore au e mahi. Engari, i runga i tā rātou, arā, tā Te Waaka, tā ētahi tono, māku tēnei mahi. Kei te whai au i tērā tono. Engari, kua kore rawa e toko ake i roto i ahau te whakaaro, ā, māku tēnei mahi.

JT: Heoi anō, he pai hoki tēnā, he wāhanga anō o te [matatika] pea, ki ahau nei. Ethics . .

RH: Yeah, me kī. Me kī. Yeah. Me kī, nā te tono, nā te tono, kua riro i a au te raihana kia pēnā taku mahi, kia whai wāhi atu ahau. Atu i tērā, kāore pea he

raruraru, nō te mea, ko ngā mea e mōhio nei au, he nui ngā tauira hei whaitanga māku. Ki te tahuri te tangata ki ētahi atu momo ‘sensitive texts’ nei, kāore e kore ka toko ake te whakaaro, well, he maha ngā whakaaro ka toko ai: tuatahi, e tika ana kia whakamāoritā, kāore rānei? Tuatahi; tuarua, ko ngā kupu me ngā whakaaro o roto, me pēhea te whakaputa ki tētahi atu reo? Nē? Mō tēnei mea mō te pūrākau – ‘Jack and Jill’, he aha ake rānei, ‘Red Riding Hood’, ērā momo pūrākau, me kī, māmā noa iho. Nē? Engari, ko ētahi o ngā kupu e toko ake nei i roto i ngā tuhinga motuhake, me kī, a e whare wānanga, aaah, um, ngā tuhinga tūmataiti a te tangata, ko ngā kupu me ngā whakaaro o roto, ehara i te mea he māmā, nē, te whakamāori. Nō reira, he wā anō, he wā anō, me kimi tētahi whakatakatoranga . . . tino hou, hei hāngai, nē? Kei te mōhio koe, ko te whakamāori i tētahi tuhinga, kāore he pai o te whakamāori ā-kupu, ā-kupu, ā-kupu, nē. Ko te mutunga he kore noa iho. [17.47] Engari, mō ētahi momo tuhinga, ngā mea e kīia nei he ‘sensitive’ pea, ka uaua ake tēnā āhuatanga. Engari, atu i ērā whakaaro, kāore he raruraru, kāore he āhuatanga motuhake ki ahau, atu i ngā mea kua whakahuatia e tāua i mua atu nā.

JT: He whakaaro āu mō ngā kōrero e pā ana ki ngā tuhituhinga tapu, otirā, ngā pukapuka a ngā Hāhi, me te whakamāoritanga i aua pukapuka, ā, he aratuka kua whakaritea mai rānō, arā, ko te ‘literal translation’. Pēhea ō whakaaro mō tēnā?

RH: Āe. Okay, ko te Rāwiri nei, te Rāwiri i kōrero nei au, āe, he ‘literal translation’, he whaka . . . he whaka . . . Ehara i te mea . . . Me kī, ko te whakamāoritanga, he pai. Mārama ana. Kei te tika ngā kupu me te whakatakoto. Engari, kei te tino whai tata i te tauira o te reo Pākehā. Pēnā anō te Paipera Tapu, nō te mea, ko ngā Paipera Tapu, ahakoa pēhea, he whakamāoritanga mai i te reo Hīperu, me te reo Karīki . . .

JT: Āe, āe, e hia kē ngā reo . . .

RH: Āe. Mōhio koe. Āe. Engari, ko tā mātou nā pukapuka karakia hou, um, he nui ngā wāhanga reo Māori o roto. Engari, ko te nuinga, kāore i te pērā te tino hāngai ki te reo Pākehā. Ko tētahi o ngā karakia mō te Hapa Tapu, ko te reo Māori ki tēnei taha, ko te reo Pākehā ki tērā taha. Engari, ehara i te mea he whakamāoritanga o tētahi ki tētahi . . .

JT: Āe! [19.52] Ko te Kawenata Hou tēnā? I te paku pānui hoki au i te Kawenata Hou . . .

RH: Ā, ko te Kawenata Hou . . . ā-kupu tēnā.

JT: Kua whakahoungia anōtia . . .

RH: Kāo.

JT: Engari . . . well, me ngā tohutō me wērā āhuatanga . . .

RH: Āe . . .

JT: Engari, ko te whakamāoritanga, kāore i te tino hāngai ki te reo Pākehā i roto.

RH: Āe. Nō te mea, ko te reo Pākehā, he whakamāoritanga anō, mai i tētahi atu reo, nē. Ka pēnei, anei ko te reo Karīki, nē, nā, ka whakamāoritā ki te reo Māori, whakapākehātia ki te reo Pākehā . . .

JT: Kāore he tino hāngaitanga.

RH: Kua kore e tino hāngai, nē? Koinā pea te take. Engari, ko tēnā putanga hou, ehara i te whakahoutanga. Nē? Ko aua kupu anō, mai i nga tau rima tekau o tērā rautau [1950s?], nē. Heoi anō te rerekē, ko ngā tohutō, me te whakatika haere i ngā ira me ngā piko me ērā āhua. . .

JT: [20.53] Heoi anō, e ai ki te kōrero a ngā tāngata i ārahi i tērā whakahounga, me tīni hei ngāwari ake mō te rangatahi o tēnei ao hou.

RH: Ā. He whakaaro anō ōku mō tēnā whakaaro. Ki a au nei, kia kore pērā. Kia kaua e whakamāmā ake. Nō te mea, ki a au, he ātaahua ētahi o ngā whakatakotoranga o roto. Ki te whakawhāititia te reo i runga i te whakaaro kia māmā ake, kia mārama ake, ko tāku e āwangawanga nei ka ngaro ētahi o ngā āhuatanga ātaahua o te reo. Ki a au, he pai kē ake kia waia te tangata ki te hōhonutanga o te reo, āhua tahito nei. Ki te kore, ka ngaro ētahi o ngā whakaaro, o ngā kupu, o ngā, ērā. Nō reira, ko au tētahi e mea nā kia tino tūpato te whakahou. Āe, whakahoutia, ina kitea, ki te kitea, ā, kei te hiahia te iwi kia whakahoutia, ā, heoi anō, whakahoutia. Engari, kaua e . . .

JT: Kaua e hutia te rito!

RH: . . . tukuna kia ngaro . . . āe, kaua e whakangāwari iho. Ki a au. Āe, kua rongo au i tēnā kōrero. Hei tauira noa iho, ka mārama tēnei ki a koe: ‘Rapua te Atua kei kitea ana’ . . . Kei te mārama tēna ki a koe?

JT: Āe.

RH: Whakamāorititia ki tētahi atu kupu Māori . . . ki te reo Pākehā rānei . . .

JT: ‘Whāia . . . Rapua te Atua, ā, kia tata rānō ia i a koe . . . *ki a koe*’.

RH: Kāo. Ko te tikanga, ‘Rapua te Ariki i a ia e kitea tonutia ana’. I te wā e kitea nei ia. Kei . . . ana, kei . . . ana. Kei te hāngai . . . Kua kore e rangona. Anei anō tētahi tauira: ‘Mahia ngā mahi kei tamariki ana’. Nē?

JT: Mm, mm, ‘While you’re young’.

RH: Yeah, ‘while you’re young’, yeah. Nā, ki a au, he rawe tēnā whakatakotoranga. Kua kore whakamahia. Engari, he aha te pai o te whakangaro atu anō i taua tuhinga? Waiho ki roto i te Paipera Tapu kia waia haere ngā tāngata ki ēnā momo mea. Ka uru atu anō pea ki roto i te reo. Yeah. [24.00]. Nō reira, e kī nei au, kia tino tūpato. Anei anō tētahi take e tika ana kia tūpato. Umm. Pēnā anō i tāku i mea atu rā. Kua tino waia te iwi Māori ki te whakamāoritanga o nāianeī. Yeah. Ki te whakahoutia, arā, ki te rerekē haere taua whaka-, tērā pea, ka kino. Tērā pea ka, ka whakakore te iwi Māori i taua mea rā. I pērā i tērā atu rautau. I ngā tau āhua iwa tekau o tērā atu rautau, ka puta tētahi, um, whakamāoritanga hou i te Paipera Tapu. Ātaahua te tā! E hia kē ngā mano o ngā pukapuka i tā, i tāngia. Nē. Kāore i hokona (Pakaru mai te katakata). Kāore ngā . . .

JT: Ehara ko te kupu a te Atua.

RH: Ā, koinā!

JT: He kupu anō.

RH: Āe, he kupu anō. Ehara tēnā i te mea tika. Yeah. Pērā. Yeah. Nō reira, me tino āta haere . . .

JT: Kaua e rāwekeweke i te kupu a te Atua.

RH: Um. Kāti.

JT: He whakaaro anō ōu?

RH: Ko taku whaiaro – whaiaro? Whearo? Experience . . .

JT: Wheako.

RH: [25.27] Well, kua kite koe, ko taku whearo i roto i tēnei momo mahi, he āhua whāiti nei. Kei te hāngai ki te Kurānu, ki te Paipera, ki ngā inoi. Me kī, ko ēnā tuhinga katoa nō tāwāhi. Ne? Kāore anō au kia whai wāhi ki te whakamāori, whakapākehā i ngā tuhinga tapu o konei ake. Nē. Pēnā i te whare wānanga, ngā mōteatea, ētahi o ngā mōteatea, oh . . .

JT: Anā, he tuhinga tapu tēnā ki a koe?

RH: Kei te āhua o ngā mea o roto. Nē? ā, kāore au i te tino mōhio ki ngā mōteatea. Tētahi e mōhio nei, ko ‘Pōpō E Tangi Ana Tama ki te Kaimana’. Kei te mōhio koe ki tēnā? He tapu anō tō tēnā waiata. Nō te mea, mō te taenga mai o te kumara ki Aotearoa. Kei reira ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te, kei reira ngā kōrero mō Māui, mō Tāne, mō ētahi atu, Tangaroa. Kei reira katoa . . .

JT: Te hekenga mai i Hawaiiki?

RH: Yeah. Āe. Nō reira, me kī, he momo tapu anō te kaupapa o te waiata nei. Ki a au. Engari, ko ētahi atu mōteatea, whakarongo au ki ētahi atu, um . . .

JT: He whakapae noa iho i te tangata.

RH: Āe. Āe, tika. Um, ko tētahi atu e mōhio nei au, ko ‘Kāore te Pō Nei Mōrikarika Noa’, nā Te Kooti. Engari, ko te kaupapa, he tohutohu i tana iwi kia kaua e tukuna kia hangaia he rori i roto i te whenua o Tūhoe. Nāā, he momo tapu anō pea tēnā, engari kāore i te pērā i te tapu o ‘Pōpō’, ne? Um, kāo, ko taku āwangawanga mō ngā mōteatea, ko te uaua o te reo. Te uaua. Yeah. Nō reira . . .

JT: Engari, nā te mea he tauira mōu i roto i ngā pukapuka a te hāhi, kāore he raru? Kāore tērā raru . . .

RH: Ka māmā ake i reira. Ehara i te mea, kāore he, kāore he whai whakaaro. Me āta noho te tangata ki te whai whakaaro. Me te kimi i ngā tauira, me te whakahāngai, nē, ehara i te mea ka kapingia katoa ki roto i ngā, kāo. Heoi anō tāku e mea nei, kua noho ētahi tauira, ka taea ētahi . . . paku whakatakotoranga te tiki atu, ētahi whakaaro. Koinā tāku e mea nei, ka māmā ake i tērā. Yeah.

JT: Kia ora. Kua mutu.

RH: Ka pai, kia ora Jillian [28.31].

JT: He tino pai rawa atu . . .

RH: He tino kaupapa tēnei.

JT: Āe, well, kua kite au he hīkaka tō ngākau ki tēnei kaupapa. Koinā te pai ki a au. Kia ora rawa atu . . .

RH: Well, he mema anō ahau nō te cathedral o konei, St. Peter’s. And, tētahi whāinga kua takotoria e te Dean, arā, ko ia te Pirīhi whakahaere ana i te whare karakia, umm, kia nui ake tā mātou whakauru i te reo Māori ki roto i ā mātou karakia. Umm. Ia toru wiki ko te reo, ko Te Inoi a Te Ariki, ka waiatitia ki te reo Māori. He wā anō, ko te kupu pēnei i Te Rangimārie o te Ariki, Kia Tau ki a Kouotu. Ēnā momo, wāhi iti noa iho. Engari, kei te pirangi mātou ki te whakaeme

ētahi rauemi, yeah, mō mātou ake. Engari mō te hāhi whānui nei. Ko te reo Māori kei roto.

JT: E whakaaro ana au mō tētahi o ō mātou hāhi ki te kāinga. Tō mātou kāinga he, kua weherua i ngā wā o mua. He kāinga Mihinare i te tuatahi. Ā, nā, kua tae mai a Rātana ki reira, kua wehe te whānau . . .

RH: Kei hea tēnā? I kite atu au nō Te Arawa . . .

JT: Te Rarawa. Pukepoto . . . Waenganui o Kaitaia me Ahipara . . .

RH: Oo, āe, āe, āe . . . Āhua pēnā anō . . . Yeah. Ko taku tamaiti, no Ngāi Tai. He Mihingare rātou o reira. Engari, kei ngā taha e toru, he Ringatū katoa ētahi atu marae. Engari, ko rātou kua noho hei Mihingare tonu. Mmm.

JT: I tētahi atu kāinga hoki, i Ōturu, nō tērā atu taha, Ngāti Kahu, he hāhi iti rā i reira. He Mihinare katoa, reo Māori katoa, he ātaahua. He ātaahua.

RH: Āe. Āe. Ia Paraire ka tū tētahi Hapa Tapu ki St Peter's, Hato Petera, ki te reo Māori.

JT: Kei te huarahi o Victoria, tēnā? Wikitoria?

RH: Āe.

JT: Kia ora rawa atu.

[31.10].

Enoka Murphy: Rāhina, 11 o Paengawhāwhā 2011

JT: Tēnā koe Enoka. Tuatahi, me tuku mihi au ki a koe, kua whakawātea mai koe i a koe anō hei āwhina i taku kaupapa rangahau, i ā tātou mahi rangahau, nā reira, tēnei te mihi ki a koe, tēnā koe.

EM: Tēnā koe.

JT: Ka tīmata pea tātou i te whakamārama mai he aha ngā mahi kua whai urunga koe mō tēnei āhuatanga te whakamāori, te whakapākehā i ngā tuhinga e kīia nei, e whakaarotia nei e koe, he tapu aua tuhinga.

EM: Mm. Ā, tuatahi ake, tēnā koe, i whakaaro mai ai ki a au ki runga ki tēnei kaupapa, ka tahi. Ka rua, e mihi atu ana ki a koe mō te āhua ki tō karakia, i rapaina atu e koe te huarahi atu ki ō tāua tīpuna. Ā, nā reira, kei runga i tērā e kite ana au i te tapu e kōrero nei e koe. Inā rā, ko te tapu a te Karaitiana, me te tapu a te Māori, he rerekē. He rerekē noa atu. Nā reira, i haere mai koe, i mau mai anō koe te mauri o ō tātou mātua tīpuna, nā, ka kōrero ana tāua mō te āhua ki te whakamāori, whakapākehā rānei i ngā tuhinga tapu, anā, ka tīmataria i runga i tēnei huarahi e tōtika ana, e tautoko ana, nō reira, tēnā koe.

Ā, ngā mahi kua mahia e au i roto i ngā tau mō tēnei mea te whakamāori, whakapākehā, kāore i tino nui. Engari, i roto i ngā tau e rua, e toru nei kua āhua, oh, a konei, he paku nui atu, kua āhua kaha kē te aro ki ērā mahi. E whakamātau ana te whakahoki ōku māhara ki a au e noho ana i roto o Taranaki, me ērā mahi. Tērā au i noho hei kaiako Kura Kaupapa Māori. Nā, i te mea kāore mātou i utua e te Kāwanatanga, i tō mātou kura, ka riro mā mātou ngā kaiako tokorua, māua me kī, hei whakamāori ake i ngā tuhituhinga a wai ake, a wai ake, hei whāngai ki ngā tamariki nei. Nā reira, ka whakaako mai i te iwa [karaka] ki te tekau mā rua, he wā kai paku, ā, mai i te āhua tekau miniti mai i te tekau mā rua ki te tahi [karaka], koirā taku mahi, whakamāori katoa. Ia rā, ia rā, koirā taku mahi, whakamāori pukapuka. Ā, me te kimi ake, he pukapuka tamariki ēnei, anā, ko te nuinga o ngā pukapuka i whakamāorihia e au he ōpaki noa, nē. Kei runga i te ngākau hari, te hinengaro tō, te tō i te hinengaro a te tamaiti ki runga i tētahi kōrero paki nei. Engari, ka tae ana mai ki ētahi pukapuka e hāngai mai ana ki a Māui me āna mahi, ā, ngā pukapuka e kōrero ana mō te taha ki te Māori nei. Hei konā mō te āhua ki te whakamāori ka titiro ahau ki ngā kupu Pākehā kei konā, mō te āhua ki te whakamāori ka titiro ki ngā kupu tonu, ka titiro anō hoki ki te pikitia. Nā reira, ehara i te mea, i roto i ērā mahi hei tīmatanga ake māku, ehara i te mea ko tāku he āta tahuri i ērā kupu Pākehā kia Māori, engari he titiro ki te pikitia, he titiro ki aua pukapuka, he titiro anō ki roto anō i ahau ki taku mōhio ki te pakiwaitara e kōrerotia ana. Nē? Me te whakapaparanga mai o aua kōrero pakiwaitara nei. Nō reira, tērā tērā, he titiro kē ki roto i a au, ākene i ētahi wā kua rerekē taku whakamāori ake i ngā kōrero rā, ina kāore pea au i te āta whakaāe ki te whakatakoto o te kōrero, ki te whakapaparanga mai rānei o te kōrero, ā, nō reira kua pērā. Engari, tērā tērā. Ka tae mai tāua ki taku noho ki roto o Waikato nei.

[04.57] I ōku māhara nei, akuanei ka mutu ā tāua kōrero, kua toko ake ētahi whakaaro (laughs), ā, heoi anō. Ā, kua tonoa mai a [T], kua oti i a ia tētahi

karakia, inā, kāore i a ia te reo Māori i taua wā rā. Engari, i roto i ana mahi toi, kua ākona ia ki ētahi kōrero pūrākau, pakiwaitara nei. Anā, e tito ana ia i tētahi whakaari kia puta ki te ao. Hei wāhi ake i taua whakaari rā i tuhia e ia he karakia ki roto i te reo Pākehā, ka riro mā māua ko Meto Hopa hei whakamāori te karakia nei. Ā, he waimaria tērā tōrua māua, he waimaria anō hoki, he tamaiti, he pakeke. Nē? He waimaria anō hoki, ko te kaitito i te waiata, kei kō paku nei, kua taea e māua nei te patapātai i a ia mō te aronga o ētahi o ngā kōrero, mō te hōhonutanga anō hoki o ētahi o ngā kōrero. Ā, nā reira, māua ko Meto, ka noho ka rua pea ā māua ko Meto nōhanga, kia tau rawa atu ai ō māua ngākau ki tā māua i whakamāori ai. Nē? Anā, ngā wāhi āhua rehurehu ki tō māua titiro, he māmā noa iho, e haere ki te pātai, nē. Koinei tētahi mea nui ki a au, tērā ētahi tuhinga kua whakarerea iho, ko te kaituhi karekau i te ora, karekau rānei i te tino āhei te whakapāpā atu. Ka mutu ko koe me aua kupu rā, ka mutu. Ne? (Laughter). Engari mehemea te kaitito kei te takiwā, kua wātea ki a koe hei patapātai, ā, kua māmā ake.

[06.57] Nā reira, ka noho māua ko Meto, ka titiro haere i te whakapaparanga mai o ēnei kōrero. Ā, tēnei mea te whakapapa o te kōrero, kāore au i te kōrero ingoa nei engari, ‘the chronological order’, nē. Ā, i roto i tēnei mea te, ngā tuhinga tapu, ngā kōrero tapu, he whakapapa tōna. Ara, tēnei i te tuatahi, ā, ka heke mai ko tēnei, tēnei, ki te hē mai a konā, āāā, ākuanei kua raruraru, nē?! Ā, heoi anō, ka noho māua, ā, he pūkenga karakia, he pūkenga tuhinga tawhito a Meto, nē. Anā, ko ahau, i tipu au o roto i te āhua o te karakia i āta whāngaia au ki ētahi o ngā karakia e āku pakeke, nā reira e noho ana ki runga ērā pūtea kōrero, a taku pāpā nei, i a Meto, anā, i a au nei. Nā reira, mō te āhua ki te whakamāori, kei te hokihoki ō māua whakaaro ki roto i tērā, inā rā, kei te kōrero karakia, nē, he whakamāori karakia. Nā reira, mō te āhua ki te karakia kua tōia mai e māua ētahi pitopitonga wāhanga, ētahi pitopitonga rerenga, ētahi kupu, e kapi mai ana te wairua o te kōrero Pākehā, nē. Ka tahi. Ka rua, ko tēnei mea te karakia, he takitaki tōnā; he takutakunga tōna; he rere tōna. Kāore he pōtatutatu, kāore he nanunanu, nē? Mēmea kei te nanunanu, ā, kua raruraru. Me huri, me huri, kia pai ai te ia o te haere o te kōrero, nē, kia kore e katikati ai. Nā reira, i taku māhara ka rua, ka toru pea ā māua nōhanga, te nōhanga tuatahi, i whakawhariki i ō māua whakaaro ki te karakia Pākehā nei. Te karakia Pākehā nei, āhua roa tonu. Te mutunga o te whakamaori taua karakia nei, ka whakakanikanitia. Ehara i te kanikani Pākehā nei, he pīti (laughter), kāhore. He āta kani ā-wairua nei. Nō reira, koirā tuatahi ka noho māua ka whakawhariki ō māua kōrero, i ō māua whakaaro, he whānui rā, ā, ka whati ki te āta whakaaro. Ā, ka hui anō, ka whakawhāiti iho, kua oti anō ngā patapātai i a [T] mō ētehi kōrero, mō te aronga o ētehi o ōna whakaaro. Ā, te nōhanga tuarua, ki taku mōhio ko te whakawhāititanga iho tērā, ki te hāngaipūtanga o te whakamāori ki tāna i tuhi ai. [09.49] Taku māhara, e raparapa ana au, ēkene, e toru ā māua nōhanga, mēnā e toru, ko te mea whakamutunga, he mea whakatepetepe, kia pai ai te noho mai o ia rārangi, o ia rerenga, kia taea anō ai te tui, te kōtui ki runga ki tētahi takitaki, ki runga i tētahi takutaku kia pai ai te

ia rere o te kōrero. Nē? Kia kitea, āe, e taka pai mai ana te rārangi tuatahi, ki roto i te rārangi tuarua, ki roto i, nē? Ko ōna piki, ko ōna heke, ā, kei te pai ki tō māua titiro, kia tau rā anō tō māua whakaaro, tō māua ngākau, ā, ko te mutunga atu tērā. Nā, ka mutu tērā, he marama, he ono wiki pea ka pahure, kua oti i a [T] te waihanga mai i tētahi . . . kani. Nā reira, ka noho au ki te mātaki te kani, ki te whakarongo anō hoki ki te āhua o te takitaki mai o taua mea rā, ko taua karakia rā, nē. Tērā ōnā whakatikatika, kia pai ai ki tōku ngākau, ā, ko te otinga atu tērā, ko te tukunga tērā ki te ao. Nē. I hari ia ki tētahi wāhi o te ao. Ā, tērā tērā. Ā, tuarua, te mea tuarua e māhara nei au, nō tērā tau rānei nō te tau o mua rānei, ā kāti, mōhio koe ki a Takou Kamira, nē, nō roto i a koutou. Ā, nō te tau iwa tekau mā waru pea, ka hūnuku ahau ki roto ki te whare a āna mokopuna, o tana mokopuna, kāore i roa, ā, ka hūnuku anō mai tētehi atu o āna mokopuna ki taua whare rā, ka noho ngātahi mātou.

JT: A [XX] mā?

EM: Ā, āe. He nui tō rātou pāmamae i te āhua o te tiaki i aua pukapuka i te whare wānanga [taonga] o Tāmaki Makaurau, me te whare pukapuka anō hoki i reira. Ka mutu, ka hua i a rātou tētahi huarahi hei whakahoki mai aua pukapuka rā, nē? Taku mōhio pea, tēnei te tau iwa tēkau mā iwa, tērā takiwā rā. Nā reira, te mutunga atu, ka haere atu rāua, rātou rānei ki te whare wānanga i Wikitoria, ka tono kia whārikihia aua pukapuka rā, kia taea e rāua, e rātou rānei te tiro. Te taetanga atu, te kitetanga atu ka pouakatia, ka meatia ki tō rāua waka, ā, rātou waka rānei, ka haere. Tika tonu atu ki te whare pukapuka. Ā, pērā anō te tono ki a rātou, ‘Whakawhārikihia mai ngā pukapuka kia kitea ā-kanohi e hiahia atu e mātou’. Taetanga atu, kua pērā anō, whakapouakatia, ā, haria atu e rāua, rātou rānei. [12.47] Ka whakahokia mai i tō mātou kāinga. Āa, ka haere te wā, kāore au i āta kuhu ki roto i aua pukapuka, ehara hoki nāku. Ehara hoki au e heke mai ana i ērā kōrero. Well, ākene, engari, nā rāua ake, nā rātou rā o te whānau. Heoi anō, ka tono ahau i ētahi wāhi hei whakapākehā haere, kia kitea mai ai e rātou te aronga o ngā kōrero a tō rātou nā tupuna. Ngā pukapuka nei, taku mahara, takiwā o te rua tekau neke atu ngā pukapuka i tuhia e tana ringa. Inā rā, e hia kē nei ngā pouaka i whakahokia mai ai. Nā reira, mō te whakapākehā i ētahi wāhanga, me hoki rānō au ki te tīmatanga o te wāhanga i pātaia mai e rāua kia kite ai au, te whakapaparanga anō, te ia o te kōrero, kei hea te wāhi, te ahunga mai o aua kōrero rā? Arā, kei a Kupe mā i Hawaiki, kei runga i te moana, kua tae kē mai ki konei, e hia ngā āhuatanga nei, kia taea ai e au taku wairua te tūhono atu ki reira, ki te wāhi e kōrerohia ana, kia kimihia ake e ahau te huarahi pai hei whakamārama i aua kōrero rā ki a rātou. Nā, ka haere te wā, ki tērā tau rānei ki te tau rānei o mua, taku whakapae pea ko tērā tau. Kua whakapā mai a [X] ki a au, kei te whakatūwhera rātou tētahi mea i te Taitokerau, wareware akē i ahau. Heoi anō, kua whiriwhiria e ia, e rātou rānei tētahi karakia hei āwhina ki te whakatūwhera ki te tā i te kawa o te kaupapa, o te whare rānei, aroha mai, kua wareware i a au te kaupapa ake. Heoi anō, ka tukuna mai e ia tētahi karakia nā Kupe tonu, e ai ki ngā kōrero o tana tupuna a Takou, nē. Tēnei karakia, he ātaahua. He karakia mō te, te

kaupapa ake o tēnei karakia, mō mua iho o te ekenga ki runga i te te waka mō te whakawhiti i te moana. Nā reira, he inoi ki ngā atua o te moana, o te rangi, te hau, ērā āhua, ā, kia tau, kia pai ai te puta ki taiātea, nē, ki tuawhenua. Ā, āhua roa tonu tēnei i a au, kia aro i a au te tikanga o ngā kōrero Māori i te tuatahi, nā, (laughs), kia āhei ai te whakapākehā nei. Waimaria ana au te hunga i konei, pēnei i a Pou nei. [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*]. Heoi anō, āhua toru wiki pea i a au ki te kimi i te aronga o ētahi o ngā kōrero. ‘Taihoronukurangi’ tētahi o ngā kupu i āhua raruraru ai au. Koinā hoki te ingoa o raro nei nē, o te NIWA [National Institute of Water and Atmosphere]?

JT: NIWA? Oh, Taihoronukurangi, āe, āe, tika tāu.

EM: Heoi anō, ka kite ake te tikanga o tērā kupu me ētahi atu anō, ka tahuri ki te whakamātau ki te whakapākehā. Ka tukuna anōtia atu e ahau ki a PT i raro nei, māna au e āwhina, e titiro ki te āhua o ōku whakaaro mō te whakapākehā haere. Aroha ana, kāore a Meto e tātata mai ana, inā rā ko Meto he tangata whakaaro nui, ka hoatu e koe tētahi kaupapa māna, ā, kāore ia e kōtiti atu ki wāhi kē [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*] [17.20]

JT: Nō te mea, nō te Taitokerau kē te tuhinga, tērā pea . . .

EM: Āa. Ā, heoi anō, te mutunga iho, ka riro ko māua tonu ko [XX] hei whakapākehā ake, arā, i whakatakoto nāku i ōku whakaaro, ā, i whakatakoto anō a ia i ōna whakaaro, ka tūhonotia, ā, ko te mutunga iho, ko te whakapākehātanga. I taea noa e au ētahi wāhanga noa o taua karakia rā te āta whakapākehā. Ā, kāore i āta oti i a au. Ki te pātai au e te tangata, ‘Nāu katoa tēnei?’, ka kī atu au, ‘E kāo. Nāku noa ētahi, ā, nā [X]. . .’ Pai tonu te wahine rā ki te whakapākehā. Te otinga mai o te kōtuitui i ngā whakaaro, ka oti i a ia, ākene, me, umm, ko wai anō te ingoa o tērā tangata, ko ia te ūpoko o . . .

JT: [HP] . . .

EM: [18.30] Yes! Koia. Āa. Nā rāua pea, otirā, nā mātou pea te otinga atu. Anā, he reka, he ātaahua, whakāae ana au, he whakapākehātanga hāngai pū tonu tērā, te otinga atu, nē. Ā, nō reira, tērā tērā. Tae ana mai ki taku tuahine, ki te tuhinga āna i tana tohu paerua mō te ikura, arā, mō te rere o te toto o te wahine. Āna, kua tuhia e ia he momo, he momo, ko te reo o te mōteatea, ko te reo o te karakia, ko te reo o roto mai o te tauparapara, ērā āhuatanga katoa, he tino tātata te āhua o te reo, nē. Nā reira, te mutunga atu, o te tuhinga i tonoa mai e ia hei whakamāoritanga atu māku, kāre au i te mōhio mēnā he karakia, he aha rānei, engari, kei te reo ōkawa rawa, nē? Ā, ko te reo ōkawa, kei te kuhu ki tētahi tapu. Inā rā, tēnei mea te tapu ehara i te mea ‘koia koia’, ‘koinei tōna tīmatanga me tōna otinga’, nē. He nui ngā taumata o tēnei mea te tapu. Heoi anō. Tērā, te mea i homaitia e au, he, ko tāku noho, he patipati haere i a ia, he kuhu haere ki roto i ngā rokinga mahara ōna i tuhi rā i tērā kōrero. Kia kitea ai, kia āhua hono ai au ki tērā rokinga whakaaro, kia pai ai taku whakamāori, kia hāngai ai taku whakamāori ki te hōhonutanga atu ōna whakaaro ki runga i ngā kupu i tuhituhia anōtia e ia. Ki a au, ko tētahi mea nui, ā, kua āhua kē nei i āu. Mō te whakamāori ētahi tuhinga e kuhu ana ki, ki te tapu, um, ko te ia rere tonu o aua kōrero rā. Um, ko te noho pai, noho tau tonu o ia

rārangi, kia kaua e noho tauhou te rārangi tuarua ki te rārangi tuatahi, ki te rārangi tuatoru, engari kia heke mai ai me te mea he whakapapa, nē, he whakapaparanga kōrero. Nā, he whakapaparanga kōrero, he whakapaparanga reo anō hoki, nē, kia pai ai te tūhonohono mai a tētahi rerenga ki tētahi, ki tētahi, ki tētahi. Kia oti mai ai, ka titiro atu koe, ā, e mārama ana te kitenga o te ahunga o ngā whakaaro, o te putanga o ngā whakaaro. Nē. Nā reira, te otinga atu o tērā, kua āhua māmā noa iho te taha ki te whakamāori. Ina rā, kua kitea e koe te kōrero whānui, anā, nā i konā, kua āhua māmā nei. Ā, i konā, koinā pea ngā mea e toru e noho mai nei i te, i ōku mahara mō ngā mahi kua mahia e au i roto i ngā tau, ā, e rima, e ono nei. Mm.

JT: Kia ora. Tētehi pātai tāku mō tō kōrero mō te hononga o te reo ōkawa ki te tapu. He whakaaro anō ōu mō tērā hononga?

EM: [22.20] Āe, well, kāti, ko te reo ōkawa, te nuinga o tēnei mea te reo ōkawa kei te tū te tangata, wahine mai, tāne mai, kei te tū a ia, ki te whakapuaki aua kōrero. I te mea, tēnei mea te ōkawa ehara noa iho i te noho ki runga i te pepa, mōna i ō rae, i te pānuitanga kei te whakaputa, kei te kauroriroritanga i roto i te roro o te tangata, nē? Te ngākau o te tangata, ko te tunga o te tangata ki te whakaputa i ērā kōrero, koirā ia tōna tapu. Te tūnga o te tangata ki runga, ki te whakapuaki haere i ērā momo kōrero, ko ia tērā kei tōna tapu katoa, te tūnga o taua tangata rā, o te hunga rā rānei. Nā, ko ngā wā e āta tū ai te tangata, he ōkawa, te nuinga noa atu, nē. Nā reira, e tika ana ko te, ahakoa he wāhi i roto i ngā kōrero ōkawa kia ōpaki, engari te wāhanga ki ngā ōkawa, ki a au nei, tōku nā titiro, mātakitakitanga atu, otirā, ngā kōrero mai ki a au, ā, kua kuhu koe ki roto ki te tapu. Nē. Ā, nā reira, ngā ture kei runga i tērā āhua: kia tūpato kei whati; ka whati, ka aituā. Nē?

JT: (Laughs) Koinā.

EM: Koinei ngā hereheretanga kei runga i te pokohiwi Māori mō te tū ki te whakapuaki kōrero tapu. Nē. Um, nā reira, i roto i ērā kōrero pakupaku nei, pea, kua oti au tō pātai nā, arā, te kōrero mai i a, wareware ake au nā wai, nā [H] rānei, nā [P], [W] mā rānei, wareware ake au nā wai ake i kōrero mai: ‘Ka tū koe e tama kei tō tapu katoa’. Nā reira, ko ngā kupu e puta i tō waha, kia ōrite ki te āhua e tū nā koe. Nē. Kaua koe e horihori (Laughter). Ā, nō reira, i āhua oti ai tō pātai te whakautu?

JT: Āe, āe. Kia ora.

EM: Ā, ka pai.

JT: I roto i tō mahi me ngā tuinga o Takou, he aha te wāhanga, ngā wāhanga rānei, i tino, i tino whakararu i a koe? He aha ngā wāhanga uaua o te whakapākehā i aua kupu, i ērā karakia . . . ?

EM: Mm . . .

JT: . . . te āhua o ērā kōrero?

EM: Āe, ko te mea kē, tēnā e takoto mai ana he karakia – waiata karakia, engari tērā ake nā. Tēnei karakia he mea tuku mai ki a au ki runga te imeera, me tētahi whakamārama. Ka mutu, ko te mea uaua katoa ki a au, he pai kē atu ki a au kia

tukua katoatia mai tērā wāhanga, te wāhanga i noho mai ai tērā karakia, kia kitea ai au i ngā kōrero mai i te tīmatanga o āna tuhinga . . .

JT: Āe, te horopaki.

EM: Āa, ki te mutunga, engari kāre i pērā. Te take, kāre i pērā ai, ko aua tuhinga rā kei rō pukapuka. Me tuku rā anō mai ki au te pukapuka, ā, ehara nāku taua pukapuka, kāore pea tērā he tukitukinga. Nā reira, kāore au i tonotono, ā, ‘mē pēnei, me pēnā’. Nē? Koirā, tuatahi, te mea tino uaua katoa. He mea tuku noa mai mā te imeera, me te, e tāpiri mai ana te kōrero, ‘Koinei te karakia i tākia nei e Kupe i mua i tana ekenga ki runga i te moana’. Nā, ka kuhu ana i te pānui haere i ngā kōrero o te karakia nei, e mārama ana te kitea, āe, kei te tika tēnei. Ka tahi. Ka rua, ā, tēnei mea te karakia, ka roa pea e whakamātau ana te tangata ki te whakapākehā. Ka roa, kātahi *pea* ka ngata tōna ngākau ki tāna i whakapākehā ai. Ki a au, ahakoa he aha taku whakapākehā, kāore tōku ngākau i te tino rata. Ia rā, ia rā, kua taea e koe te hurihuri haere, te tīnitini haere, te hoatu kē ko tēnei kupu, te hoatu kē ko tēnā kupu. Nē? Koinei te pai o te mahi tahi me ētahi kē, kia tae kōrua, koutou rānei ki tētahi rerenga e kī ai koutou, ‘Āa! Kua pai!’ (Laughter). Mē he tangata kotahi noa iho nei . . . (Laughter). Nēhā??! Ka haere ki te moe, te takotoranga i mua i te [indistinct] mutuhanga atu ki te moe, ko tērā, kei te mata o whakaaro. (Whispering to himself), ‘Whakaaro ana ahau . . . ko tērā’. Ko ahau, kei hea taku waea? Ka tiki au taku waea i a au taku moenga, me i te rikoata: ‘Mm, me whakaaro pea e au te . . .’ You know, nō reira, kāore au i moe mō te e hia haora? (Laughter). Koirā kē. Ahakoa he mārama pea te kite o te ahunga o whakaaro, ko te tau o te ngākau ki ngā kupu tonu. Ki a au, he māmā ake noa atu te whakamāori i te whakapākehā. Ko te mate kē pea, take pea, e pērā ai ōku whakaaro, kāore anō pea kia tino whānui rawa te pūtea kupu Pākehā i roto i a au i pērā pea i ōku whakaaro. Mēmea i āta whānui kē au te pūtea kupu i a au mō te reo Pākehā, kua ōrite pea, kāre au e mōhio. Engari, mō te reo Māori, kua tiki atu koe i te whakaaro, kua whakatakotohia atu e koe tō whakamāori, ko te mea kē e titiro, mēmea kei te pai te tūhonohonotanga mai o tuatahi ki tuarua, ki tuatoru, ki tuawhā, nē? Te reo Pākehā, he pērā anō, me kite e te kaiwhakapākehā i te pai o te noho mai o te tuatahi ki te tuarua. He pai rāua, mē kupu kē rānei he pai atu ai, nē? Koinei au e kī atu ai ki a koe i taku kōrerotanga atu mō tēnā karakia, kāore i tae ki tētahi wā i āta tau ki tōku ngākau *tāku* i whakapākehā ai. Tā [X] rāua ko [P], oh, [H] . . .?

JT: [H].

EM: [H]. Whakaaro noa iho nāku i reira a ia ki te āwhina, kāore au i te mōhio mēnā i pērā rawa. Engari ko te otinga atu, tā rāua, o tāna, tā [X] i tuku mai ai, i tino pai ki a au. Engari, i te wā i ahau, koirā kē te raruraru, ko te. Mehemea pea au ka hoatu ki tētahi atu, ‘Pēhea ō whakaaro?’, tērā pea ia ka kī, ‘Fabul, ka tau kē, boy!’ Engari, ki au, ki ōku whakaaro, ‘Āa, he kupu kē pea, kupu kē pea, kupu kē pea’. Ina rā te otinga o te whakaaro kei te mārama te kite o te whakaaro, ko te mahi nui kē he kimi ake i ngā kupu. Ah, yeah, ia rā, ia rā, kua taea e au te hoatu he kupu kē (Laughs).

JT: He aha te rongoā? I taua wā?

EM: Ko te rongoā, ko te whakawhāriki i ōku whakaaro, te whakahoki atu ki a [X], kia ngaungau ā-iho e ia, e tōna roro, e ia me ana hoa, me tōna māpu anō, kia tae ko rātou ki tētahi whakapākehātanga whakamutunga, i te mea, he kite nōna pea, ‘Kāore pea oti i a Enoka, he toimaha kē rānei pea tēnei mō Enoka, māku e tiki atu ōna whakaaro, ōna tuhituhinga kōrero, ka oti mai i a mātou, ka tū whakahoki ki a ia’, ā, taku mātakitakitanga i te whakamutunga, he tino mīharo au, he tino *rata*.

JT: Inā e taea ai e koutou te noho tahi, me te mahi ngātahi, he pai ake pea.

EM: Āe, kua oti noa. Āa. Mēmea ko mātou tahi kua oti anō i a mātou ki tētahi wāhi pai ki a mātou katoa. Yeah. Yeah.

JT: Oh! He whakaaro ōu mō te taha matatika o te whakapākehātanga, te whakamāoritanga o aua momo tuhinga?

EM: Yeah . . .

JT: I whakaaro hoki au, hei aha ngā tuhinga a te Paipera, ērā āhuetanga, mō ō tātou ō tāua tūpuna tuhinga.

EM: Āe, he nui ngā matatika, matatika he mea nui, kei tau te toki o aituā ki runga i tō māhunga, mōu i kuhu poka noa ai ki te mahi tētehi mahi, nē. I a au e tae ana, i runga tonu i te mea i tae noa ana au, kāore i te whakaaro whānui, he tere tonu au ki te whakaāe ki tētahi mahi kāore e tika kia mahia e au. Ā, i konā, ka kite ai au, ka pakeke ai au, ka hoki ōku whakaaro ki ērā mahi, nā, kei te kōrero hura i te kōhatu, ērā momo mahi nei, ā, ka kite ai au i ngā wāhi hapa ai au. Nā, ko au tētahi tangata i roa ai e māuiui ana. Ka mutu, mē he māuiui ana te tangata, ko tana mahi he takoto, he takoto, he takoto. He aha te mahi a te tangata e takoto ana? He whakaaro, he whakaaro, he whakaaro, nē? He aha ngā momo whakaaro o taua tangata? He whakaaro, he aha ia e mate nei ki te takoto ia rā, ia rā. He aha āna hapa? He aha tōna kino ki te ao i roto i tōna hikoi i te ao, i tae ai ia ki tērā āhuetanga? Nē? Nā reira, tēnei mea te matatika, i a au e takoto ana i roto i ērā tau, koinēi te wāhi e noho mai ana ōku whakaaro. Nē? Nā, ahakoa kei tētahi wāhi, kei tētahi pāpāringa au o tēnei pātai, kāore e roa pea, ka kitea te hāngaitanga ki te pātai i pātaia mai e koe. Nā, ka tonu au ki te hura i te kōhatu o tētahi tamaiti, ka kī atu au kāore au e pīrangī. Kāore tēnei i roto i tōku ake iwi, kei tētahi iwi e noho nei ki te taha o tō māotu iwi, kei te tō o Ngāti Tahu. Ā, nā runga i te kaha o ngā patipatitanga ka whakaāe atu au, ka tae atu, ka pērā, ka oti. Ā, hoki anō. Te tau muri mai, tae anō mai te tonu, ka kī atu au, kāore au i te rata ki tēnā tonu. ‘Ā, engari, nāu te tamaiti i tērā tau. He aha te rerekē?’ Ka kī atu au, ‘Holy shit.’ (Laughter). So, ka whakaāe tonu atu au, ā, ka pērā, ka oti. Heoi anō, te tuaruatanga, kua tae atu au ki te marae, arā, te, tētahi o ngā Te Heuheu – teina, tuakana rānei, teina pea ki a Tū – noho mai ana i te motokā. Haere atu au, ka ruru māua, ko te iwi, ko te hapū nei, kei roto kē i te marae, a ia kei te waka, kei waho mai o ngā kēti. E whakaaro ana au, ‘Ooh. He aha te mahi a tēnei tangata?’ Heoi anō, tae mai te wā kia kuhu atu mātou ki te urupā, ko ngātahi te haere ko māua tonu ngā kaikarakia mō ērā mahi. Te mutunga iho, ka hoki mai mātou ki te marae; a ia, tōtika ana ki roto tana waka, kua haere. Ā, tipu te whakaaro i roto i au, kua,

kei te hē. Nā, ko te matatika tēnei. Ko tēnei te matatika. Te taenga mai o te tono ki a au, ko tāku kē, i whakahoki atu tēnā, ‘E hoki atu ki tō hapū i te tuatahi. E hui koutou, ā, tuatahi. E kimi rā koutou i ngā tāngata tōtika o roto mai i a koutou. Ki te kore koutou e kite i roto ake anō i a koutou, i tō koutou hapū, e puta ki tō koutou iwi, ki ngā kārangarangatanga hapū i waho mai ia koutou ki te kimi ake i te tangata tika. Ki te kore tērā e kitea, me whakaāe katoa koutou kia tonoa mai a waho mai ki roto i a koutou. Koinei te matatika nei. Nā reira, tēnei mea te ki runga i ngā tuhinga tapu, mēmea kei te reo Pākehā, kei te reo Pākehā, kei tētahi atu reo rānei, engari ehara i te reo Māori, ko tōna takitakinga, ā, ko tōna ahunga, tōna kaupapa toto, kāore i te reo Māori, kāore i te hāngai mai ki runga i tō tātou ao, me kī pēnei i te Kurānu nei i whakamāoritia rā. Ko te mea nui kia whakaāe e tō rātou ohu, e tō rātou taumata, kaumātua, he aha anō ake rānei, kia pērāhia e tērā tangata, nē? Koinei te matatika: mēmea kua riro i a au, pēnei i te kōrero nāna, a Takou rā, ehara nāna ake nā, engari he mea tono ana i ngā kōrero a tana tipuna a Kupe, [35.45] ka whakawhāriki mai ai ki runga i te pepa, mēmea ehara nā [X], tana mokopuna tonu, ahau i tono, engari nā tētahi kē, nō ao kē tonu mai o te uri, o te whānau tonu, ā, he tukitukinga matatika rawa atu, ā, e tika ana kia kī atu koe, ‘Kāo’. ‘He aha ai??’ Kāore pea koe e hiahia kia mamae i tōna ngākau, kua kī atu koe, ‘Ehara au i te tangata tika’, nē. Engari, ki te tino rukuruku tēnā kaipātai ki a koe, he tino rukuruku haere, kei hea te aronga . . . o ōu i kī ai ‘Kāo’, kua kī atu koe, nā te mea, nō waho kē koe, ‘nō waho anō ahau.’ Ka mutu, ko te huarahi tika, kei te hapū tonu, kei te whānau tonu, koirā kē. Kei waho atu?? Kia tūpato! Nē. Kei te haere mai te ngangara kaitangata, nē? Nā reira, āe, he nui tēnei mea te matatika. Ko te uaua, ā, ngā tuhinga a Te Rangikāheke nei, i roto i te pukapuka a *Ngā Mahi a Ngā Tīpuna*, nē? Kāore tōna ingoa i roto i tētahi whārangi kotahi o taua pukapuka, nē. Nā reira, mēnā au i tamariki, ā, taiohi nei, ā, you know, tērā pukapuka rā, he ‘text’ i roto i ētahi whare wānanga, i ngā whitu tekau [70s?], nē. Kāore e kore ki ōku whakaaro kua tonoa ngā ākonga e te kaiako, ‘Whakapākehātia ēnei kōrero’. Ahakoa kāore i te mōhiotia nā wai, nā wai ake tērā kōrero. Anei, e tukituki haere tēnei mea te matatika. Te kaituhi, kāore i te whakahuatia. Āhua pakeke haere ana ahau, kua waia haere ki ngā tuhinga a Te Rangikāheke. Engari kē, ka kite au i te whanaungatanga o rāua ko [Governor George] Grey – ko Grey rā, nē? Ā, i roto i tērā, kua kite au, ā, nā Te Rangikāheke katoa ēnei kōrero. Nā reira, me te mea hoki, i te wā i te kura a taku pāpā, āku pāpā rā, ko tērā pukapuka tonu te tino ‘text’, nē? Otirā, o roto mai o ngā whare wānanga anō hoki o taua wā, nē? Nā reira, he tukitukinga matatika kei roto i tērā. Ā, i tae rānei mai te whakaāe a Te Arawa kia pērā?? Nē. A wai ake rānei, a tōna hapū rānei? Nō reira, kei te heke i runga i tētahi mōreareatanga ā-tikanga . . . he pai te whakapākehātanga i tērā, ai! – te whakamāoritanga i taua kupu ‘ethics’ rā ki te ‘matatika’, i te mea, kei te kimi koe i ngā tika, nē? He aha te tika, arā, te *tikanga* o te āhei o te whakapākehā, o te whakamāori. Nē. Nā reira, i rata ai tōku ngākau ki tēnā kupu Māori mō tēnā kupu Pākehā. He tino hāngai. Ā, nā reira, āe, whakaāe ana au ki tērā, ā, he tuākana ngā kaupapa matatika ka kuhu ana te tangata ki te

whakapākehā i ngā kōrero ōkawa a te Māori. Nē. Engari kei te kite au i ngā uauatanga. Ngā kōrero e noho mai nei i te whare pukapuka, he tawhito rawa atu; ngā kōrero kāore koe i te mōhio nā wai. Nā, he aha koe e pīrangi nei ki te whakapākehā i ērā kōrero?? (Laugh). He aha ai?? Nē.

JT: Mm hm. He aha te *take*?

EM: Āa. I kō atu i ērā katoa, mēmea he kōrero tapu, kei te whakapākehātia e koe tētahi kōrero tapu, me pēhea whakapākehā aua kōrero rā, kāore hoki e tānoanoa aua kōrero rā? He pēhea koe e pupuri ai i te tapu ki roto i te reo Pākehā mai i te reo Māori?? Kua tahuri ana rānei mai i te reo Māori ki te reo Pākehā kua tānoanoa i konā, ahakoa he aha te reo? Ahakoa he aha te pai o te reo? Nē. Yeah. Anei ētahi pātai kāore anō pea kia oti i a au te āta whakaaro ake. Engari, ka kōrero matatika ana tāua, ka pātai atu koe ki te tangata nāna i tuhi, ‘He aha tō hiahia i te āhua o te whakapākehā i ō kōrero?’. ‘Kia pupuritia te tapu’, *pea*, tōna whakautu. Ā, kia ora! Okay, ko te kaiwhakapākehā kua kī ai ia ki roto i a ia anō, ‘Me pēhea rā tērā, e pupuri ai ki taua tapu rā?’ (laughter). E *taea* rānei?? Kāore au e mōhio. Ā, mēmea kei te reo Pākehā, ka tahuri ki te reo Māori, ko te kaiwhakamāori pea kei te uta i tētahi tapu ki runga i ērā kōrero kāore pea i *reira* i te reo Pākehā.

JT: Koinā taku whakaaro i a koe e kōrero ana mō te karakia a [T]. Nāna i tuhi; he tapu tana karakia?? Engari ka whakamāoritia, mā te koroua mōhio rawa, me te reo ōkawa, kua whakautaina te tapu ki runga . . . ?

EM: Mm. Nā māua pea i whakatōngia te tapu ki roto i ērā kōrero, nē. Āe, koinei ētahi āhuatanga hei āta whakaarongia ake. Kei te mata noaiho o ōku whakaaro i tēnei wā. Engari e tino kite ana au, anei, kei te reo Pākehā he momo karakia māua hei whakamāori, ko koe pea kei te whakatō i tētahi tapu ki tērā kōrero nā te tangata i tuhi ki te reo Pākehā. Kāore rā i *reira* i te tuhinga Pākehā. Nāu kē i whakatapu. Nē.

JT: Heoi anō, koinā hoki te āhua o te tapu, ka taea te whakatapu i te mea noa, ka taea te whakanoa i te mea tapu.

EM: Āa, āe. Nā *reira* au e whakaaro ai, ko te matatika tino nui pea, mehemea he tuhinga tapu ka tahuritia ki te reo kē, he pēhea te pupuri i taua tapu. Yeah. . . . Kāore i a au te whakautu (Laughter).

JT: E hoa, tino harikoa au. Kua rahi tērā.

EM: Ka pai.

JT: He pai ki a koe?

EM: Mm, tino pai. Pai ā tāua kōrero.

[42.49].

Te Wharehuia Milroy: Rāhina, 16 o Haratua 2011 (Transcript 1)

WM: . . . pukapuka. Kei roto i taku, kei tēnei wāhi, ngā tuhituhingarua a ētahi i runga rā, ētahi o ngā pukapuka kua tāia. Ā, ahakoa noa nō roto mai o ngā whare pukapuka o te ao Pākehā, engari ko ngā kōrero o roto, nō te ao Māori. Nā, kei roto i tētahi atu o ōku rūma, he pukapuka, he pukapuka nā ōku kaumatua, koroua, kuia. Ngā kōrero o roto, ka mutu, he kōrero, ki ōku whakaaro, nā te mea, nā rātou i tuku iho ngā pukapuka ki a au, ka mutu, ko ngā tuhituhinga o taku tipuna nei, ā, koinei anō Te Wharehuia, nō reira taku ingoa. Wāna tuhituhinga i roto i tērā atu rautau, i tuhia ai e ia mō ngā āhuatanga i pā mai ki a mātou o te iwi o Tūhoe, i roto i te wā i a ia e takatū ana i runga i te mata o te whenua. Ā, ērā momo kōrero, ērā. Ka mutu, i ētahi wā – hei tīmatanga noa iho ēnei kōrero - i ētahi wā, ko ngā kōrero o roto, kei te āhua tonu o te horopaki, mehemea au ka whakaaro, oh, kua au hei uta i tēnei pukapuka ki runga i tētahi tēpu; kua e whakatata atu ki ētahi kai, ā, kua e kōrerotia e au ngā kōrero o roto, nā te mea, ko te kōrero mai ki a au, ki te haere koe ki te harihaere ēnei kōrero ki roto o te pāparakāuta, nē, kei te tānoanoa koe i te tapu o ngā korero i hoatu ai ki a koe, ka tahi. Tuarua, ko ētahi o ngā kōrero, o ngā tuhituhinga o roto, he whakapapa. [02.13] Nō konā, te nuinga o aua pukapuka o mua, he pukapuka, nō, matemate katoa ngā tāngata nō rātou ngā whakapapa. Nā reira, he tūpāpaku ērā. Kāore au e hiahia ki te hahu, ki te tānoanoa i te āhua o rātou kua moe i te moenga roa. Nō konā, kua utaina e au te tapu ki runga i ngā pukapuka. Mehemea nā ngā koroua i kī mai ki a au, ‘He tapu tēnā pukapuka’, ka whakapono ahau, he tapu tērā pukapuka. Engari, mehemea, ki ahau, ko ētahi o ngā kōrero o roto, ahakoa i haere kē mai i roto i te whare pukapuka Pākehā, i whea rānei, engari ko ngā kōrero o roto, mehemea e pā mai ana ki a au, mōku, mō ōku iwi nei, ā, mō aku mātua tīpuna rānei, nā, ko aua kōrero rā, tērā pea, ki ahau, ka whakatapu ai au, ahakoa ki ētahi kāore i te tapu. Engari mōku tonu, he tapu ērā, nō te mea, ka hoki au ki te wā i a au e tamariki ana, tino tamariki ana. [03.40] Ko taku, ko te tama a tēnei, te tama a tēnei [tētahi o ngā whakaahua ki runga i te pakitara], taku tipuna, te pāpā o taku māmā. Ah, karakia i te ata, i te pō, he karakia i te ata, i te pō, hei nui ngā mea i kōrero mai ai ia ki a mātou. Ehara i te mea i kī mai, ‘He tapu tēnā’, engari, ko āna whakamārama, ka mōhio tonu atu koe, kei te whakatūpato ia i a mātou, kia kua mātou e poka noa ki te takatakahi i ngā . . . ngā mea whakaaro ana rātou, he tapu. Nā reira, he aha au i whakapono ai he tapu? I ngā kōrero o taku kaumatua, a taku koroua? Nō te mea, nāna i tuku iho ki a au, ka mutu, i whānau mai ai ia i roto i te ao Māori, ā, Māori māori *ake* nei. Ahakoa iti noa anō tō mātou rohe o te Urewera, kāore i tere tae mai te Pākehā ki roto i a mātou. Nā reira i mau tonu ētahi o ngā tikanga o roto i tō mātou nā iwi, ki ngā mea e tapu ana, ki ngā mea hoki, kāore e tapu. E mōhio ana ahau i ētahi wā, ā, me whakamāmā ētahi o ngā mea e whakaarotia ana he tapu. Ā, taihoa au e whakamārama i tērā, engari, kei te kōrero whānui au i tēnei wā, taihoa au e whakawhāiti mai ai i āku kōrero kia hāngai ki ō pātai e pātai nei koe. Te wā i a au e tamariki ana, ā, he Pākehā taku pāpā, arā taku pāpā, ko tērā, ko te mea hōia i runga rā. Āe, anā taku tipuna koroua, ko tēnā, i raro iho nā. Koinā te tama a tēnei [Te Wharehuia pakeke]. . . . o te whakaahua nā. Āe. Nā reira, i a au e tamariki ana, i noho tonu au i roto i tērā ao o ngā mea kia tūpato mātou, o ngā mea e māmā ana, e pai noa iho ana kia mahi ai mātou. Nā reira, kia hoki ake ki te tino pūtake o tō kaupapa, e kōrero ana koe mō ngā tuhinga kei roto i ngā pukapuka. Koinei te tino pūtake o tō kaupapa, nā reira, kia haere atu au ki te pātai tuatahi rā. [07.02] E kī ana tō pātai, ka taea anō e au te whakaputa, te whakapuaki rānei i ētahi

whakaaro e pā ana ki te whakamāoritanga, ki te whakapākehātanga, kaua e wareware, i te tuhinga a ētahi o ō tātou kaumātua, o tātou tīpuna, i tuhi anō ētahi i roto i te reo Pākehā, ahakoa ki tōku whakaaro, ko ētahi, te nuinga o aua kōrero rā, ehara i te kōrero tapu. Engari, i roto anō i ētahi whakaaro e takoto ana, ki te titiro atu *ahau* ki taua whakaaro rā, tērā pea, ka wehea mai e au i roto i ērā katoa o ngā kōrero Pākehā, nō te mea, ki tōku whakaaro, he wāhi kē anō mō *ēnei* kōrero ki konei kē, nō te mea, kāore e pai kia noho mai i roto i te ahurea o te Pākehā, engari me noho mai ki konei, nō te mea, ki tōku whakaaro, aua kōrero rā, tērā pea, he kōrero . . . e tapu ana. Māku koe e tauira atu. Kei te kite koe i ngā pukapuka e toru rā? Āe, e whā rānei? Ahh . . .

JT: Ngā Tāngata Taumata Rau?

WM: Nā, kei roto ngā kōrero mō ētahi o ngā tāngata, o te ao Māori i tuhia ai. Nā, ka uia mai mātou, ka tuhia mai mātou i ētahi kōrero – i roto i te reo Pākehā, i roto i te reo Māori. Kaua au e whakahua ingoa, ka tae mātou ki tētahi tangata, nō roto noa iho i tēnei, kaua i tēnei rautau, i tērā rautau, i mate ai, i ngā tau o te tahi mano iwa rau, whitu tekau [1970s] pea. Waru tekau [1980s] rānei i mate ai te tangata nei, tangata rongonui i roto i te ao Māori. Engari i puta ai ētahi kōrero mōna. Puta ai ētahi kōrero mōna, ā, me ētahi o āna mahi. Ehara i te mahi mā te iwi, engari ko te mahi mahia e ia, he mahi nā te mea, ko ngā . . . i pukā ngā kare ā-roto o te tangata nei, ka mahi ai ia tētahi mahi nei, e kore e tika kia mahia. Nā, he tangata rongo[nui] . . .

JT: ‘Crime of passion’, me kī.

WM: Āe, āe, āe. Pukā i roto i a ia kia mahi a ia tana mahi. E tika, koinā. Ko wērā kōrero pea, iti noa nā ngā tāngata e tika ana kia mōhio i aua kōrero rā. Kāore hoki i puta i roto i te wā i kōrerotia ai e te ture ēnei kōrero. Engari, ko mātou ētahi e mōhio ki ngā kōrero nei, i te mea, piri tata ana au ki te tangata nei, i mōhio ahau ki a ia. Tino mōhio ia ki taku tipuna koroua e iri mai rā. Haerēre mai ai ia i ētahi wā, kia noho tahi me taku koroua. Ka mahi a ia te mahi nei. Engari, i te wā i tae mai ia ki te tuhinga o te pukapuka, ngā kōrero i roto i te pukapuka nei, ka noho mātou ki te wānanga. [11.26] Nā, koinei pea te pātai tūturu māu, hei whakaaro ake. Nāku te kōrero ki ērā, ‘Ā, me waiho -’ ki aku hoa, a [RW] mā, kī atu au, ‘Me waiho ēnei kōrero kia noho tapu’, nē, ‘me whakatapu e *mātou* aua kōrero rā’. Arā, ka noho tūmatawhāiti – kei te pai ki a koe tērā kupu?

JT: Āe, ‘private’.

WM: ‘Private’. Kia noho tūmatawhāiti . . .

JT: He momo rāhui anō?

WM: Āe, kei te rāhui koe i ētahi kōrero. Nō te mea, i te whakaaro ake koe, *ahau*, i te whakaaro hoki au, ki te tukuna e au ēnei kōrero kia kōrerotia, ka pēhea ngā whanaunga o te tangata nei? Ka pēhea ana mātua, ana tīpuna? Ki te tukuna au ērā kōrero kia puta, kei te whiua e au ngā paru ki runga i ngā *whakapapa* o te tangata nei. Nā, ka kite mai koe, ko taku kōrero kia whakatapu, tuatahi, he noho kia

tūmatawhāiti ngā kōrero, he momo tapu anō tērā. Engari, ko te tapu e kōrero ana au ko te whakapapa o te tangata nei, nā, ki a au, ko te tapu *māori* tērā. Ina hoki, he wehi nōku, me aku hoa hoki i muri mai, kei puta te kōrero, ka whara – tērā pea, ehara ko mātou, engari ko wētahi o ō mātou whānau, i runga i ērā mea, i ērā whakaaro o mātou. Nō te mea, ahakoa pēhea, ka kōrero ana au mō te tapu, kei te kōrero anō au mō te āhua o ngā *wairua*. Ā, ki tōku whakaaro, he wairuatanga anō hoki kei roto i tēnei mea i te tapu. Ki te kore koe e whakapono ki te wairua, e kore koe e mārāma rawa [ki] te tapu. Ki te whakapono koe ki te tapu, me mōhio anō koe he aha kei te whakamahi i taua tapu rā. Nā reira, he pēnei anō i ngā whakaāhua e iri ake nei, i roto ēnei tāngata katoa, tae mai ki taku hoa rangatira, ēnei katoa, he tūpāpaku katoa ēnei. He kōrero ō rātou, he kōrero ō rātou mō te, kua tuhia i roto i ngā pukapuka. Ā, ki te, hei tauira anō, ngā pānui, ngā poroporoaki o roto i te niupepa, mō ngā tūpāpaku kua mate. He aha te kōrero mō ērā tuhinga, i te mea, e pānui whānuitia ana, engari he tūpāpaku wērā. Mō ērā momo tuhinga, kua roa e pērātia ana i roto i ēnei rā. Nā reira, te āhua nei, ko ngā whakaaro o roto i te ao Māori, kāore i tapu ērā kōrero. He, he *aroha*, engari, kāore i te uhi he tapu ki runga i aua kōrero rā [15.22]. Nō konā, ko te tino o tō pātai ko tēnei nā, ko te whakamāori, ko te whakapākehā rānei. Koinei te pātai tuatahi nei, ko te whakamāori, te whakapākehā rānei o ngā kōrero nei. Um . . . tuatahi. Ko ētehi pukapuka, ki te homai ki a au ngā pukapuka nei, nā ētahi kē, kāore au e mōhio ki ngā kōrero o roto, kāore au e mōhio ki ngā kōrero e pā ana ki aua pukapuka, nō wai ngā ringaringa i whāwhā, ā, i hea ēnā pukapuka e takoto ana. I reira, kua whakatūpato ahau i ahau – pēnei anō i a tāua i karakia nei i te ata nei, mō te tīmatanga o tā tāua mahi. A, ka haere atu au ki te karakia i te tuatahi. Mehemea au ka whakaaro ake, e pai ana a roto i a au, ka taea ai e au. Engari mehemea kāore i te, kei te āhua wehi a roto i a au, e hopo ana o roto i a au, tērā pea, e kore au e hiahia ki te mahi i taua mahi. Ka kōrero atu ahau ki te tangata, nāna nga pukapuka, ‘Kāo. Ko te āhua o roto i a au, ko te wairua o roto i a au, kāore i te tau’. Kāore i te tau. Ki a au, kei te kī mai te pukapuka ki a au, ‘Ehara māu tēnei mahi. Engari mā tētahi pea.’ Nā reira, he momo tapu tērā, he momo whakatapu rānei tērā nāku, i waenganui i a au me te pukapuka – me ngā kōrero o roto i te pukapuka, me ngā tāngata nā rātou te pukapuka. Kia kaua ahau ka poka noa ki te haere atu ki te whāwhā i ngā kōrero rā. [17. 22] I te wā i a au i te whare wānanga nā, ka haere au ki roto i ētahi o ngā kōrero kei roto i ngā Appendixes of the Journals of the House of Representatives. Kei reira ētahi kōrero kua tuhia i roto i te reo Māori, engari, ko ētahi o aua kōrero rā, e kōrero ana mō ngā āhuatanga o ngā pakanga, o ngā whawhai o ngā whenua, ērā mea katoa. I ērā momo kōrero, mēmea kei te nanao atu au i ērā kōrero, ka heri mai au ki waho, ka tuhia ki roto i tētahi pukapuka, ko taku mahi tuatahi, he whakawātea i ērā kōrero, nā te mea, ki te whakawātea au, kei te uhi au i te whakaaro tapu ki runga i aua tuhituhi – ahakoa kei roto i te pukapuka Pākehā, engari ko ngā kōrero, nā tētahi rangatira, nā tētahi tangata o te ao Māori, nō, nō Maungatautari nei pea, nō te Taitokerau rānei, nō hea rānei, nō tōku kāinga anō

rānei. Ka whakaaro ake au, tērā pea, ki te nanao atu au ki ērā kōrero, ka heria mai au ki roto i tēnei horopaki, kāore i te pai te noho ki roto i tēnei horopaki, kei te whakararuraru au i te moe roa a ngā tāngata, nā rātou tērā. Ō rātou wairua, kāore e tau. Engari, mehemea e tuhi ana au i āku kōrero mō ngā uri, o aua tāngata nā rātou aua kōrero rā. Ko ahau, he kupu hou pea ēnei nei ki a koe, ko ahau . . . ko ahau ‘te tuhirau i rehu i ringa’. Ko te tuhirau, ki te ao Pākehā, ko te ‘feather’ i whakamahi ai, he tuhi tērā, ko te rau o te huruhuru manu. Āe, ko te ‘rehu i ringa’, ko ngā kupu e puta atu ana i taku ringa ki runga i te pepa. Nā, ko te ‘rehu i ringa’ tērā. He rehu i puta mai i roto i te wā e rehurehu ana, engari, nō te takotoranga, ka pēnei, kua mārama te kitea.

JT: Āna. ‘Rehu’, he mea kāore e tino mārama. . . . nō te putanga mai . . .

WM: Engari, nō te putanga mai, arā, ka pēnei i a au, nā? Ā, ko te rehu i ringa tērā. I haere mai i te tuhirau, i a au, ki te tuhirau i te rehu i ringa.

JT: He tino herenga tēnā!

WM: Āe. Nō konā, mēnā au e tuhi ana i ērā kōrero e tuhi ana au, ko ahau te *kauwaka*. Ko ahau te, te, he aha te ‘kauwaka’, he . . .

JT: Kaitakawaenga, me kī. Kaipupuri.

WM: Āe, he ‘agency’, nē. Ko au te kaimahi a te tangata [te kaituhi] a aua kōrero rā. Ko au, ko taku ringa kei te tuhi, nā, ko au te kauwaka mō aua kupu rā. Ehara, ki tērā wā, mehemea nā te wā tērā i tohu, kāore ōku āwangawanga ki te tuhi ngā kōrero o ētahi kē. Mehemea ko ngā kōrero nō tōku iwi, ā, ka titiro iho au, nā wai ngā kōrero, ā, ka titiro au ki ōku whakapapa, mehemea e tata ana ōku whakapapa ki taua tangata rā, kei te pai. Nōku anō. Ki te hē au – anei te kōrero a te tangata nei. Anei te kōrero a te tangata nei, kei roto i taku pukapuka ka taea e au te whakaatu i wāna tuhinga ki a koe. Ko tana kōrero e pēnei ana – me whakarāpōpoto au: ‘*Ki te hē koe, nāku koe i hē ai*’. Nē. ‘Ki te hē koe, nāku koe i hē ai’, nā te mea, i tiki atu au i āna tuhituhi. Nā, ehara i a koe te hē mehemea ka kawea ai koe ngā kōrero rā ki tētahi tangata kē, kōrero ai, tuhi ai rānei. Engari, kī mai ana ia ki a au, ‘Ki te hē koe, nāku koe i hē ai’. Nā reira, e noho . . . e noho, ummm, hāneanea ana tērā whakaaro ki roto i a au, kāore i te raruraru, kei te hāneanea te noho i roto i a au o tērā kōrero. Nā reira, kei te mōhio ahau, umm, kei te . . . kei te ātawhaitia au. Kei te ārahitia au, i roto i aku mea. Ki te kaha taku hē . . . anei tētahi tauira, ehara tēnei i te tuhituhinga, engari, i haere mai i ngā tuhituhinga. I ahau e āhua, e taiohi ana, anei ko te Eastside Tavern nei mātou e noho ana, māua ko taku hoa – i tērā wā, rua tekau mā waru pea te pakeke. Ā, inuina mātou, i roto i te pāparakāuta. Ana, ko te tangata nei, nō Tainui. Ā, ka noho māua ki te kōrero, nāwai rā, nāwai rā, ka riro i te wairua o te waipiro, ā, māua tahi. Ā, ka puta ngā kōrero i te tangata nei mō tōku iwi, me te haere mai ki Orakau nei. I te pai noa iho au, i tūpato noa iho au i aku kōrero, nāwai rā, nāwai rā, ka āhua pā kaha mai ētahi o wana whakawhiunga ki a au. Nā reira, ka hāmama ō māua waha, yeah, i te kōrero, kei te titiro mai ngā tāngata o wētahi wāhanga o te

pāparakāuta ki a māua, kua hāmama ō māua waha. Kāore au e mōhio i tērā wā, kei tētahi taha o te pāparakāuta nei ko Te Rangihau. Ka haere, ētahi i te mōhio i reira a Te Rangihau, ka haere tētahi ki te tiki i a Te Rangihau, nō te mea, kua tata māua ko te tangata nei ki te whawhai, ki te mekemeke ki a māua anō. [24.17] Kua ara ake hoki ō māua ringa ki a māua anō. Hika, *pātakia* mai te kūaha o te wāhanga i reira nei mātou. Kāore au i te kite a Te Rangihau, i te pare kē atu tōku tūara ki a ia. Engari i rongo au ki tana reo, e kī ana: ‘*I kī atu rā ahau ki a koe!*’ Nē. Nā te mea, koinei te tangata nāna au i ārahi, mai anō i te wā au e tamariki ana. Kaha anō ia ki te ārahi i au, ā, ki te tohutohu i a au, ki te whāngai i ahau. Anā, ko tētahi o ngā tino kōrero i kōrerotia mai ai ki a mātou, nāna tonu, nā ētahi o ngā kaumātua i ā mātou wānanga: ‘Kei noho koutou, haere koutou ki roto i te pāparakāuta, ka kōrero i ngā kōrero, nā tētahi āhuetanga kei whakaputa kei roto i a koutou. Āe, i tahuri atu au, ka kite atu au i tana kanohi, ka hiahia au ki te kimi tētahi pūare . . .

JT: (Laughs) . . . tētahi rua . . . !

WM: . . . i roto i te mea hei huna i a au. Āe. Kātahi ka haramai, ka hopukina mai taku kākahu, ka tōia au, kātahi ka tohutohungia au, tohutohungia au. E kore e wareware au tērā wā. Mai i tērā wā, tae ake ki tēnei wā, kāore au i hari whakapapa, kāore au i hari aha ki roto – koirā te kōrero mai ki a mātou e ngā koroua. Nā reira, mō te āhua o ō kōrero nei, ki te whakawhiti atu mai i te reo Pākehā ki te reo Māori, mai i te reo Māori ki te reo Pākehā, kei te āhua tonu o ngā: Nā wai ngā kōrero? Nō hea ngā kōrero? He aha te wā i hua mai ai? He aha te horopaki i hua mai ai aua kōrero rā? E whakanoho ai au i te whakaaro, he tapu ēnei?/ ehara ēnei i te kōrero tapu? E rua ērā āhuetanga: he tapu ēnei kōrero, me tūpato au; ehara ēnei kōrero i te tapu, nā reira, e pai ana, ka taea e au te whāwhā. I ētahi wā, mehemea nō iwi kē, ka haere ahau, pēnei ngā kōrero o roto o Tainui nei, kua haere kē au, i te wā e ora tonu ana a Piri Poutapu, i haere au ki a Piri Poutapu ki te pātai ki a Piri Poutapu mehemea e pai ana. Nē. Whakatūpato katoa au i āku tuinga, ka kī au, ‘mā Tainui tēnei e whakaū, mā Tainui tēnei e whakatika’. Heoi anō tāku, he tango mai i ngā kōrero mai roto i tētahi pukapuka ka whakawhiti mai ki tētahi, āe rānei, e pai ana; āe rānei, kāore i te pai. [27.53] Ā, na reira, kei te whakanoho tapu *ahau* i runga i ērā mahi. Kei te āhua tonu o ngā kōrero kei roto i taua mea rā. Kei te āhua tonu o tō mōhio, nō hea te pukapuka; nā wai te pukapuka.

[*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*] Nā, ka haramai te wahine rā ki a au, koinei ka hoki ake au ki tērā kōrero, haramai te wahine rā ki a au, pātai mai ki a au mehemea ka taea e au te whakapākehā ngā kōrero rā. I reira, ka whakatūpato au i ahau. Kua uru mai te whakaaro, he tapu ēnei kōrero. Kāore e tika *māku*. Engari me hari au, koirā taku mea tuatahi, me hari e au ki te hunga nā rātou ake ēnei kōrero. Kaua au e tuhi, kaua au e whāwhā ērā kōrero. Ā, nō konā, i pērā mātou. [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*]

JT: Ehara nō te wahine te hē.

WM: Āerā, ehara nō te wahine te hē. I reira, ka ngaro a [X]. Ka mutu ngā kōrero. Nā reira, e whakamārama noa atu ana au ki a koe, Jillian, i tērā, na te mea, he kupu ērā i homai ki a au, ehara i te mea, i pātai mai te wahine rā mehemea ka taea e au te whakapākehā, engari, taku kitenga iho, e kōrero whenua ana, e kōrero ana ētahi momo kōrero, ehara nā māua ko te wahine rā. He aha [X] e haere ai ki a ia? Kāore au e mōhio. He aha te wahine rā i haramai ai ki a au? Kāore au e mōhio. Engari, he taha wairua katoa tērā. Nā reira, ka hoki au ki te tīmatanga o ōku kōrero. Kāore e haere te tapu mehemea kāore he wairua o roto. Kāore hoki te wairua e haere mehemea kāore he tapu o roto – *momo* tapu [33.22]. Nā reira, tērā tērā kōrero. Ā, kei konei ngā pukapuka, anei, a taku tipuna nei, a Te Wharehuia. E puritia ana he whakapapa, te nuinga, engari, he kōrero anō kei roto e pā ana ki ētahi āhuatanga i uru mai ai i roto i te rohe o Tūhoe, ana kōrero, i te wā i a rātou e hui ana i te rōpū e kīia nei ko Te Whitu Tekau; i te wā i tīmata ai ngā Pākehā ki te whakauru mai ki roto i a Ngāi Tūhoe. Ka tū te āwangawanga i roto i a rātou mō te āhua, kua rongo rātou, i haere mai hoki rātou ki Orakau, nē, pakanga ai i te taha i a Tainui, i a Raukawa rāua ko Maniapoto, ki ngā hōia a te Pākehā. Ā, ko te kaupapa, he ārai ake i te haerenga mai o te Pākehā, kei [indistinct] roto kē i tō mātou rohe, i ō mātou nā whenua kē. Koirā te kaupapa o te haere mai, i whakatakotoria rātou tā rātou take ki a Rewi Maniapoto. Nā, kāre i taea e Rewi te ārai atu i ngā tāngata o Tūhoe rā, kua kaha kē hoki te tono a Tūhoe, ‘E, me haere atu mātou ki a koutou, hei tautoko atu i a koutou ki te ārai atu i te iwi Pākehā whakauru haere mai nei ki ō tātou whenua.’ Tērā tērā. Heoi anō, ka tuhia ētahi o ngā kōrero nei e taku tipuna. Ko ētahi, ka taea te kī, me noho tapu, nā te mea, e whāiti noa mai ana, me kī, tō mātou whānau. Ko ētahi, e taea ana te kī, me noho tapu tonu, nō te mea, e takoto ana ki runga i a Ngāi Tūhoe. Kāore e taea ai e au te whakapūaki noa i ēnei kōrero mehemea kāore anō au kia tae ki te whakatakoto i tērā whakaaro ki a, ki te iwi. Me haere au, tuatahi, ki te iwi, ki te kī atu, ‘E aku whanaunga, anei ngā kōrero. Me aha ai tātou? Me tuhi whakapākehā mā ngā whakareanga o āpōpō ake nei, me waiho noa iho rānei i roto i te reo Māori?’ Koirā hoki tētahi āhuatanga o tēnei wā. [36.27] E whakapākehā ana tātou i ngā kōrero o rātou mā, nō te mea, he hiahia nō mātou kia mōhio ā tātou tamariki mokopuna ki ngā kōrero rā: he aha te wairua, he aha rānei te aronga o ngā kōrero rā, kia mōhio ai rātou i tō rātou, i ngā kōrero o tō rātou hītori, kia kua ai rātou e noho kūare noa. Engari, ki te, pēnei anō i ngā whakapapa nei, ki te whakatapu koe i te whakapapa, ake, ake, ake, kāore e taea te whakamōhio atu i ngā tamariki, ngā mokopuna ko wai rātou, nō hea rātou. Kei whea ō rātou pānga, ki ō rātou whanaunga, ki ō rātou whenua, ki ā rātou rawa i whakarere mai ai e rātou mā, e ngā koroua kuia. Nā reira, kua tae mai tātou, Jillian, ki te wā, he wā pai tēnei *māu*, hei whakatakoto i ētahi, ehara i te mea he *wero*, engari ētahi whakaaro ki mua i te aroaro o ō tātou iwi Māori, ki te kī atu ki a rātou – hei tauira māku ki a koe: Kei roto au i tētahi rōpū, ko Tūhono te ingoa o te rōpū nei. Ko te kaupapa matua a Tūhono i te wā i whiriwhiri ai kia hangā he rōpū pēnei, ko te wā i tīmata ai te tohatoha i ngā ika ki tēnā rohe, ki tēnā rohe, ki tēnā rohe. Ngā hua o ngā ika; ngā

ika me ngā moni o ngā ika, ki tēnā rohe, ki tēnā iwi, ki tēnā iwi, ki tēnā rohe, ki tēnā rohe, ka tohatohaina. Ko te raruraru, *maha* noa atu ngā tāngata kāore e mōhio nō tēhea iwi, nō tēhea hapū, me whakauru rātou ki hea. Whakatūria te rōpū nei, ko Tūhono te ingoa, . . .

JT: Mōhio au ki tērā rōpū. Me rēhita te tangata ki tōnā marae.

WM: Āe. Nā reira, ehara i te mea e kī ana a Tūhono ‘Ka kite ai au i tō iwi’, engari ka taea e Tūhono te whakatūwhera i ētahi tatau, i ētahi kūaha, e taea ai e te iwi, e tō rātou, koirā te rōpū i whiriwhiria ai hei . . . hei kawē i aua take rā, kia māmā ai ki a rātou te tūhonohono haere i ngā tāngata nei – ko ētahi i Ahitereiria, ko ētahi i roto kē o Amerika, ko ētahi i Ingarangi, ā, te nuinga i konei tonu engari kāore i te mōhio nō tēhea iwi rātou. [40.06] Nā reira, i tūpono atu anō mātou ki ētahi mea i kīia mai nei, ‘Ā, he tapu ēnei whakapapa, kāore e pai kia whāwhā noatia e te tangata, engari mā ētahi tāngata noa iho e whāwhā’. Nā, ki te tatari koe kia tutuki rawa i a rātou te whakaaro kia pai ināianei te whāwhā, kua pau kē pea te kotahi rau tau! Nā, ko ngā uri o ngā tāngata e hiahia ana kia mōhio nō hea rātou, ko wai rātou, i ahu mai rātou [i] tēhea waka, ā, ō rātou pānga whenua, ērā mea katoa, kua toru kē pea ngā whakapaparanga i whānau mai, kātahi anō ka kitea he huarahi hei hono atu i a rātou. Nā reira, koinei te tino kaupapa a Tūhono, he whakamātau kia kitea mehemea ka taea *wawe* te hoatu i ētahi kōrero ki ngā Rūnanga, mā ngā Rūnanga e whaiwhai haere aua kōrero rā. Ko mātou hoki, ko Tūhono, ko mātou anake te rōpū e taea e mātou te tiki atu i ngā ingoa kei roto i ngā ‘Electoral Rolls’. Kua homai te mana ki a mātou ki te tiki atu i aua ingoa rā. Nā, ka homai te ingoa, kua taea e mātou te tuku atu ki ngā rohe, kia taea ai e ngā rohe te whaiwhai haere i ngā ingoa rā: te patapatai, te uiui ētahi, mehemea mōhio ana rātou kia kitea mehemea nō tērā rohe rātou, nō tētahi rohe kē rānei rātou. Ā, nā reira, ērā kōrero, kei te noho tapu tonu, koinei e mea ake nei, he wero tēnei *māu*, kei te noho tapu tonu tēnei mea te, ētahi o ngā whakapapa nei. Kua noho . . . me pēhea taku whakahua i tēnei kupu . . . kua noho, ngā tāngata nei, kāore i tīti ō rātou waewae ki te whenua, nō te mea, kāore he whakapapa hei *here* atu i a rātou ki te whenua. Nā, koinei au e mea ake nei, tērā pea, kua taea tēnei ki te wā kia whakaaro ake te Māori ki te wewete haere ngā tapu kei runga i ngā whakapapa. *Ētahi* whakapapa; ētahi anō he pai kē ake kia noho noa iho, kia noho tapu tonu, pai kē atu rānei kia tanumia. Nō te mea, mōhio ana au ki ētahi o ngā pukapuka nei, kāore e pai kia whāwhātia, nō te mea, i pā mai ētahi āhuatanga ki ngā tāngata i whāwhā i aua pukapuka *i mua*. I mate ētahi; i pāngia ētahi e te mate; i hauā ētahi; ērā momo mea katoa, ka kīia, ‘well, nā te mea ko ngā pukapuka rā’. [43.41] Nā reira, kia hoki atu ki te matū o tō pātai, ka hoki au ki te whakamārama tēnei nā, ko te, mehemea kei roto i te reo Māori, ā, me mōhio ki te wā; me mōhio ki te iwi, ki te tangata hoki, nō rātou, nā rātou tērā, ērā kōrero; me mōhio he aha ngā mea ka taea e koe te tango mai – kei roto tonu i a koe. Māu, mā tō wairua tonu e whakaatu ki a koe. He aha ngā mea, whakaaro anō koe, e tika ana, e taea ana rānei, e koe te tango mai. He aha ngā mea taihoa e whāwhā, kia āta kōrero rawa koe ki a wai rā, ki ngā tāngata, kia āta kōrero rawa koe ki aua tāngata rā, kia kitea mehemea e taea ana e

koe te whakatakoto i ētahi whakaaro e pā ana ki aua kōrero rā. Ka tahi. Tuarua, mō te whakawhiti atu mai i te reo Māori ki te reo Pākehā, ahakoa pēhea pēhea, ahakoa pēhea pēhea, mehemea . . . kei roto i te reo Māori e takoto ana tētahi momo wairua, mā ngā kupu Māori anake e taea ai te kawe i taua wairua rā. Ahakoa pēhea, kāore e taea e te reo Pākehā te toro atu ki te tango mai i te wairua Māori kei roto i ngā kupu, ka whakanoho ki roto i te kupu Pākehā. Nā reira, e pēnei taku kōrero, mehemea ko koe, Jillian, kei te whai i taua mahi rā, ka kitea anō koe, ‘Ahh, ēnei kōrero, ki tōku whakaaro, me tūpato au’. Nā reira, ko ētahi wāhanga ka taea e koe te tuhi; ko ētahi wāhanga, ka rongo tonu koe, te *tikanga* rā, he mea Māori koe, ka rongo tonu koe i roto i a koe, ‘Oo, kāre e pai, kāore e pai ēnei kia tuhi au i tēnei wā, kia kitea rā anōtia mehemea ki te tuhi au, he orange ka puta, engari kāore he tangata e whara i taku tuhinga i aua kupu rā. Taku whakapākehā i aua kupu rā’. Ki te whakamāori koe i ngā tuhinga Pākehā, kāore pea i pērā rawa te, te wehi o te tangata ki te hoki mai anō ki roto i te reo Māori, nā te mea, tērā pea ko ngā tuhinga Pākehā, he mea i tuhia Pākehā tonu, pēnei i a Elsdon Best nei, te wā i a ia e kōhi kōrero nā. I tuhia e ia ētahi o āna kōrero i roto tonu i te reo Pākehā. Ko ētahi anō i tuhia e ia i roto i te reo Māori. Nā reira, ko ngā mea i noho Māori, ki au, koirā ngā mea ka āta tūpato au. Ko ngā mea i haere Pākehā mai, ki a au, he wāhanga tonu o roto nō te ao Māori, he wāhanga tonu o roto, mehemea i tuhi a Elsdon Best mōku, mō Tūhoe, he wāhanga tonu kei roto, i haere hoki ahau ki ngā wānanga o ngā tau kaumātua. I haere au, i te wā e tamariki ana, i haria au e Te Rangihau, haere au ki ngā wānanga nei ki te whakarongo i ngā kōrero. Te wā tuatahi i haere ai mātou ka whakahuia mātou i te tau 1965. Haere mai a Te Rangihau, kī mai, ‘Kei te hui koutou ngā rangatahi ki te taha o ngā kaumātua.’ Ka haere mātou ki Ruatāhuna. Ka huihui mātou ki roto i te whare nei, te wharenu nei. Ka mutu te karakia, ka tū ake te tangata nei. Kāore ia i roto i tērā o ngā whakaaro. Tū ake te tangata nei, ā, ko tētahi ringa ki tana hope, tētahi ringa ki tana rākau. Ka tū mai ki te whatitoka, ki te tatao o te whare, titiro mai nā ki a mātou e noho ana. Ko te rangatahi kei tētahi taha, ko ngā kaumātua kei tētahi taha. Kātahi ka kī mai, ‘E kī, e kī! E hiakai mai ana koutou te rangatahi ki a mātou kōrero.’ Nē, ‘E kī, e kī! E kī, hia ka mea, e tau, e rea, e tau!’ Tērā wā, ka matakū mātou, ka wehi mātou! Nē? Nō te mea, he huīnga tuatahi tērā mō mātou, nō mātou, nā Te Rangihau hoki i kārangā tērā. Ka *wehi* mātou. Ka uru mai te wehi ki a mātou. Nō te mea, kua mōhio mātou, ki te whakaāe mai ngā kaumātua ki te kōrero mai, me āta tūpato mātou ki a rātou, me ā rātou tohutohu mai ki a mātou. Ā, ka mutu tērā. [50.23] I whakahaerehia ētahi whakapapa – kāore i pai kia tuhia, oh, kāore i pai kia hopukina ki te mihini o te kōrero. Engari, whakaāe mai rātou, ki te maumahara koe i roto i tō hinengaro, ka taea e koe te tuhi i muri mai. Ko te hui tuatahi tērā, ko te hui tuarua, ka haere mātou ki Maungapōhatu. Kāore he uirā o tērā kāinga, kāore he hiko o tērā kāinga, nā reira, ko ngā rama, ko ngā mea . . . he aha te ingoa o aua momo rama rā? ‘Kerosene lamp’ nei. Kāore . . . he hiko o tērā kāinga. Ā, ka tīmata ngā kaumātua nei ki te kōrero. Ā, toru karaka i te ata, e kōrero tonu ana. Ā, ko tā mātou, he tuhi. Nā, kei a au ētahi pukapuka, ka kitea tonu koe i te wā i moe

ai, i moe ai te tangata i te wā e tuhi ana (Laughter). Kua kore e taea te whai i ngā kōrero a ngā koroua rā, heoi anō, ā, ko ērā kōrero e kī mai ana, kaua e hopukina ki te mīhini, nā te mea, ka haere koutou ka haria e koutou o mātou reo. Ā, tahi, ka whakapākehātia ngā kōrero rā ka tānoanoatia te tapu o o mātou kōrero. Ō rātou kōrero kia kōrero ana mō ngā karakia mō ngā manu, mō ngā rākau, ngā momo kōrero o tērā kāinga, ngā kōrero tapu mō Maungapōhatu, ērā momo kōrero katoa, e tika ana kia noho noa iho ki roto i te iwi, nō te mea, nō te iwi anake ērā kōrero, ehara i te mea kia tohaina ki waho, ehara nei i a rātou ērā kōrero. Koirā te āhua o te whakatakoto mai a ngā kaumātua rā i o rātou whakaaro ki a mātou. ‘E hua tonu mātou ēnei ki a koutou nō te mea, nō koutou, nā koutou ēnei kōrero. Kei noho koutou ka poka noa ki te haere ki wāhi kē, ā, ka whakamanamana, ka kōrero ki ētahi kē. Kaua e whakamanamana, e whakaiti koutou i a koutou.’ Nō konā, kei roto anō i tērā momo tapu, Jillian, tētahi ārai i a mātou. Kei te kōrero au mō ngā mea mōhio ana ki ngā kōrero nei. Ahakoa nō Ngāti Porou koe, nō te Taitokerau, nō Tainui, nō Taranaki, nō Whanganui, nō whea noa anō rānei, nō te Wairarapa, Ngāti Kahungunu, tētahi kōrero nui kei roto, kei tīkina atu e koe ngā kōrero i kī mai rā rātou, ‘He kōrero tapu ēnei. Kia mau i a koutou i roto i o koutou whatumanawa, i o koutou hinengaro. Mā te wā e tohu awhea koutou e kōrero i ēnei kōrero. Kei noho koutou ka mahi i te tuhi i ēnei kōrero hei hoko mā koutou.’ Nā reira, ka . . . ka noho mātou ki te whakatūpato i a mātou i taua wā rā, me te kīngā mai ki a mātou, ‘Kaua e haere –’. He nui ngā kōrero kāore anō kia kōrerotia e au mō tō mātou rohe, nā te mea, e noho tonu ana ki a mātou. Engari, mō ā mātou ake *wānanga*, e taea ana, e whakaāe ana au kia tuhituhia e ā mātou tamariki aua kōrero rā ki roto i a rātou pukapuka. Ki te kōrero Māori au, engari kāore ētahi e mōhio – ko ētahi hoki, e mōhio ki te whakarongo, engari, kāore e mōhio ki te kōrero. Nā reira, ki te taea ai e rātou te tuhi ērā kōrero ki roto i ā rātou pukapuka i roto i te reo Pākehā, kāore he raruraru ki a au o tērā, nō te mea, mā roto atu i a au ki ētahi kē, kua kore pea e ora anō te tapu. Mehemea nā taku tipuna koroua i tuku iho, ki a au, tōna ao e tapu ana, ngā āhuatanga o tōna ao, nā te mea, i noho Māori kē ia. Kāore ia i noho pēnei i a au nei, e rua aku ao: he ao Māori, he ao Pākehā. He mahi nui ki te whiriwhiri e tātou o tēnei wā, ko tēhea te taha Māori, ko tēhea te taha Pākehā – *atu i te reo nei*. Tēhea te taha o te ao hou nei. Nō reira, ngā mea e homai ana e rātou o tērā wā, ki a au, he tapu. Mōku tonu, ki a au, he tapu ērā kōrero. Ā, kei te āhua tonu mehemea he kōrero whenua: he aha ngā kōrero o taua whenua rā? Kei hea taua whenua rā? He urupā anō kei taua whenua rā? Kāore au e whakapākehā i ērā kōrero. Kia noho Māori tonu ērā kōrero. Nā reira, ko tō pātai mō te translating nei, kāore hoki i kī mai mehemea e whakapākehā ana, e whakamāori ana rānei, ā, ki te whakapākehā au i aua kōrero kua oti au te kī atu ki a koe, ki a au, kua uruhia e au tētahi wāhi tapu o aua kōrero rā, nā te mea, kāore e taea e te kupu Pākehā te nanao atu i te wairua Māori o aua kupu Māori. He wairua kē anō tō te kupu Māori. Nō te mea, nō tētahi ahurea kē tērā kupu, nō tētahi horopaki kē o roto i te ao Māori tērā kupu, ērā kupu rānei.

JT: He pātai tāku. . . . I kī mai koe, mehemea he tapu taua kōrero, ā, ka tuku atu koe tērā kōrero ki tētahi atu, ka tuhia i roto i te reo Māori, te reo Pākehā rānei, ka tānoanoa te tapu o taua kōrero. Pēhea ō whakaaro mēnā he kōrero Pākehā i tuhia mai e te Māori, ka kīia atu ki tētahi, whakamāoritia mai, e ai ki tētahi o ngā tāngata kua uiui nei au, kua whakatōngia, e rāua ko tētahi koroua, kua whakatōngia te tapu ki roto o te whakamāoritanga. Pēhea ō whakaaro ki tērā?

WM: Tēnā whakaaro tēnā. Tēnā whakaaro tēnā. Engari mehemea kua tuhia koutou i roto i te reo Pākehā, ki a au, kua tānoanoatia te ao Māori. I kī ake nei au, ki a au, ko ngā kupu Māori, kei a rātou anō o rātou nā tapu. Ahakoa pēhea tō tuhi, ahakoa pēhea te whakanikoniko āu i ō kupu Pākehā, e whakamātau ai koe ki te hopu, ki te kapo atu i te wairua Māori o roto, e kore tonu e taea e koe taua wairua Māori rā. Nā te mea, ko ērā kupu Māori i kohure kē ake i roto i te ahurea Māori. Nā reira, ka hanganga koe i te wairua, ehara i te mea ka hanga, engari ka whakanoho wairua koe i roto i aua kupu rā nō te ahurea Māori motuhake. Kua huri mai ki te reo Pākehā, ki a au, kua kore i pērā rawa te tapu, pērā me te reo Māori rā. Āe, he momo tapu kei reira, he whakatūpato kei reira, āwhea koe whakamahi ai ērā kōrero? Ki whea koe whakamahi ai ērā kōrero? Ērā momo tapu kei reira. E mahara ake ana au i a mātou wānanga i roto i Ngāi Tūhoe. Ka pātaihia mai tētahi pātai ki ahau. E mahi ana mātou, i te taha au i a Te Rangihau i tērā wā, i whiri ana i te āhua o te whakarite i te rīhi o te, o raro o te wai o Waikaremoana. Te whenua o raro i te wai. I kī te Karauna, nāna, nōna te wai. Kei a ia te mana o te wai. Ka kī atu mātou, ā kāti, mehemea nāu anō te wai, nō mātou te whenua. Nā reira, ka whiriwhiri ai mātou kia rīhingia taua whenua rā ki te Karauna, hei pupuri tana wai. Ā. I taua wā, i a mātou e kōrero ana mō ērā momo take, i hua mai ētahi kōrero i roto i te reo Māori. Kāore e taea te tiki atu he kōrero i roto i te reo Pākehā. Ko tētahi kōrero hoki, ‘Oh, he oranga ka puta mai i te rīhi i te whenua’. Tētahi kōrero, engari he kōrero whakatake, he . . . mōhio ana koe he aha te ‘whakatake’? He kōrero whakatake, he ‘cynical’. Kōrero whakatake tēnei nā te koroua nei: ‘Nā poto, nā puhake.’ Koirā tana kōrero, ‘Nā poto, nā puhake.’ Nā, mēnā koe i te whakapākehā i tērā, tērā pea, ko te mea e, ka āta tatū ana ki tērā whakatakotoranga Māori, ko tēnei nā: ‘From rags to riches’. Nē, nā ‘poto’, poto ana te kai, poto ana te moni, poto ana ngā kākahu, poto ana ngā mea. Nē? Te puhake, ā, kua nui ngā taonga. ‘From rags to riches’. ‘Nā poto, nā puhake.’ Ā, koirā te kōrero a te koroua nei. Engari, e whakatūpato kē ana ia, arā, koirā te tikanga o te kōrero mō te wairua o roto i te kōrero, kei pōhēhētia, ki te tuhia e koe te kōrero, kua mātaotao te wairua o te kupu. Ki te whakapūakina e koe te kupu, he wairua kei roto. Kei te rongo tonu koe i ngā kare e puta mai ana i roto i te reo o te tangata. Nā reira, ko te taringa, ko te pokotaringa e whakarongo mai ana, kei te mōhio atu, ‘Ooo, kei te *kaha* te whakahē a te tangata nei’. Kei te kaha rānei te minamina a te tangata nei, te hiahia a te tangata nei, kia, kia ahatia rā’. Engari, ka rongo tonu koe i te āhua o te oho o te wairua, o te memeha rānei o te wairua o te tangata, mā roto mai o tana reo. Nā reira, koirā tētahi o ngā mea o roto i tēnei, mehemea he reo ā-waha, e kore e taea te tuhi te wairua i roto i te kupu Pākehā, nō

te mea, tuhia ai koe, kua toha tonu atu te kupu ki runga i te pepa. Ā, koinei au e kī ake nei, ko te tangata e kōrero rā ka ira tonu te tapu i roto i ngā kōrero rā, ko te tapu, ki a au, ko tana tapu e kōrero nei, ki a au rā, ko tāna tapu e kōrero ana ia, kei te tapu ia ki te wairua o te tangata rā nāna ērā kōrero. He momo tapu tērā, āe. [01.03.39].

Te Wharehuia Milroy: Rāhina, 16 o Haratua 2011 (Transcript 2)

WM: Āe, āaa . . . Tuatahi, kei te āhua tonu o ngā kōrero e pānuitia ana e koe mehemea ka kī koe he tapu ērā kōrero. Ehara rānei i te kōrero tapu. Āhua iti iho . . . [Adjusting heat pump]. Um, i ētahi wā, i ētahi wā, ko koe tonu, ko te tangata, te kaiwhiriwhiri he aha ngā mea hei whaiwhai māu, he aha ngā mea kia kaua koe e whāwhā. Mōku tonu, ko te kaupapa i whakaaro ai au ki ētahi mea he tapu, ki ētahi mea kāore i tapu, nā te āhua tonu o tōku ahurea i whānau mai ai au, i tipu mai ai au. Ā, koirā ngā mea, ngā tikanga i kīia mai ai ki a au, kaua e whāwhā i tēnā mea. Ngā pukapuka a taku koroua, tērā nā taku tupuna koroua, i roto i tana, he mea tāna, he kāpata iti nei tāna, ā, ka kīia mai, ko ngā pukapuka a te kaumatua tērā, a te koroua tērā. Ahakoa kāore i kī mai, ‘he tapu’, ko mātou ngā tamariki i mōhio, kaua mātou e haere ki te whāwhā i ērā pukapuka. Nā te mea, i kuhuna e ia ki roto i taua kāpata rā, engari, he wā noa iho i tangohia mai ai e ia aua pukapuka rā, he wā kua whakahokia e ia ki reira, kāore e whāwhātia e ia. Nā, ka matakū mātou, nō te mea, e rere haere ana i roto i a mātou i tērā wā, ‘Ooo, ki te whāwhā koe i aua pukapuka rā, ki te tiki atu koe i ētahi o ngā kōrero kei roto, te pukapuka noa iho rānei, kia whāwhā koe i te pukapuka, ā, he mate kei te haere. Nā, ka wehi katoa koe ki ērā kōrero, nā te mea, koirā te ao i tipu ake ai ia. Nā reira, nā te ao i tipu ake ai au i tohu ki a au, he aha ngā mea hei whakatūpato māku, he aha ngā mea ka taea e au te whāwhā [02:30]. Ā, ahakoa anō ērā kōrero, ka kite iho ana au i roto i ētahi tuhituhinga, i ētahi kōrero, ā, i hāngai noa iho ki tētahi whānau, ki ētahi hapū noa iho rānei, ehara nō ētahi atu, kāre au e whāwhā atu ki ērā, nō te mea ki ahau, nā rātou, nō rātou, ko ō rātou mana, ko ō rātou nā atua, ērā mea katoa kei roto i ērā kōrero. Ehara i a au ērā kōrero. Ki te whakaae mai rātou, ā, kua noho mātou ki te karakia i te tuatahi, kātahi anō ka whāwhā atu i ērā kōrero. Nā reira, tērā momo kōrero tērā. Ā, ngā karakia – kei te hoki au ki āku kōrero i kōrero atu mō ngā karakia – ngā karakia i tuhituhi ai ētahi o ngā kaumatua ki roto i ngā pukapuka. Ā, kāre au e tiki noa atu i aua karakia rā, ka whakamahi poka noa anō, ka hākoakoa au, ka mahi puka noa au, i te mea, ētahi wā, ētahi o ngā karakia rā, kāore koe e mōhio ki te horopaki tūturu e tika ana mō taua karakia [03:50]. Nā reira, he aha te hua ki te whakamahi koe i ērā momo karakia. He aha te mate ka pā mai ki a koe, he aha kē te mate ka pā ki ō mokopuna, ki ō tamariki, ki a wai rānei. Koirā ngā whakatūpato kei roto i a au nō te whāwhā i ērā kōrero. Ka kimi au i tētahi huarahi e māmā ai, e wātea ai ahau, mehemea au kei te tino hiahia, he aha te huarahi. Engari mehemea kāore e kite au he huarahi, e kore rawa au e whāwhā. E pai ana pea, ko au pea kāore e whāwhātia e te mate, engari ko tētahi o ōku whanaunga, ētahi o ōku tamariki, aku mokopuna rānei, a wai rānei, ngā mea mōhio ana au. Koirā kē pea ngā mea ka whara, ehara ko au. Nā, koirā katoa ngā mea e tūpato ai au. Āaa, tērā tērā momo pukapuka. Ā, ko tētahi atu pukapuka, ina hoki, ka kīia te pukapuka nei te ‘Paipera Tapu’, nē, he ‘paipera tapu’. Ia rā, e taea ana te tiki atu i te kōrero o roto i taua pukapuka rā, ka whakapuaki ki runga i te marae, ki roto i te whare karakia, i roto i te whare. E hia ngā wāhi e taea ai e koe, ahakoa . . .

JT: Ki runga pouaka whakaata . . .

WM: . . . runga pouaka whakaata, āe, i kite iho au i roto i te [niu]pepa. Te mutunga atu ka whakamahia koe i te pepa hei pōkai kai . . . nērā . . . (laughter). Nērā. Pērā anō i ngā poroporaki ki ngā tūpāpaku kei muri o ngā pepa rā, kei roto i te pepa rā, te mutunga atu kua pōkaihia e koe ngā rāpihi ki roto i tērā, ka whiu ai koe. Koinei katoa ngā mea hei whakaaro ake mā te tangata. [05:40] Nā reira ko te ao hou tēnei, me ōna āhuatanga katoa, engari, e pātai mai nei koe ki a au, no ēhea pukapuka, ko ēhea ngā pukapuka, ā, ki te haere atu au ki ngā pukapuka Oh, taihoa, taihoa. Me kōrero au ki tētahi tangata, tangata rongonui, kaua e whakahua i tana ingoa, kua mate. Tangata rongonui. I a ia e kohikohi ana i ngā kōrero mō ana pukapuka, kāore ia i wehi ki te haere atu ki roto i ngā pātaka, i ngā whare nui, ki te wherawhera i ētahi o ngā pukapuka i roto i ngā wharenui, i te wāhi i haere nei ia ki te kōhi i ngā kōrero nei. Tangata rongonui tēnei, ā, i roto i ngā whare wānanga, i roto i te whare wānanga e mahi ai. Kaua tēnei whare wānanga, engari kei roto i tētahi whare wānanga. Ka haere ia ki ētahi rohe, ka kōrerotia atu, ā, ‘Arā, ngā mea kei tērā wāhi rā, he tapu.’ Ka haere ia ki reira. Kāore ia i wehi ki te haere ki reira. Nā tana toto Pākehā pea i pērā ai. Heoi anō, i haere ia, ka tikina atu e ia ngā kōrero rā. Ko ētahi o ngā kōrero, kua *noa* ināianei, nā te mea, e taea ana e tātou katoa te tiki atu. Engari, i te wā e whāwhātia ai e ia, ā, e tapu ana ērā kōrero, ki te hunga nā rātou aua kōrero rā, ki te iwi nā rātou aua kōrero rā. Kāore rātou i haere ki te tango mai i ērā, i waiho noa iho hei kōrero, hei pukapuka *tapu*, kāore i whāwhātia, kāore i tikina atu. [07:37] Mā te karakia rawa, kātahi anō ka taea e rātou te tiki atu, matua karakia, kātahi ka tiki atu. Engari, mō tētahi tino kaupapa e haere atu ai koe ki te tiki. Kāore e poka noa, ki te haere atu, kua pānui, ka whakahoki atu anō, kua pānui, ka whakahoki atu anō. Kāo, kāore i pērā. Mō tētahi kaupapa motuhake. Ka mutu, ko ngā tāngata anake e mōhio ana ki ngā kōrero o roto i te pukapuka rā ngā mea e āhei ana ki te haere ki te tiki atu. Nā reira, ko ngā pukapuka tapu i whāiti – *taputapu* nei – i whāiti noa iho mai ki ētahi tāngata noa iho. Kāore te marea i wātea ki te haere ki te tiki atu. Ko ētahi tāngata noa iho i haere ki te tiki atu. Nā reira, ko ērā kōrero, ki a au, he kōrero karakia, he kōrero e pā ana ki ngā mahi tapu, he kōrero e pā ana ki te whenua, he kōrero e pā ana ki ngā wāhi tapu, [08:37] ngā wāhi i tanumia ai a Mea, a Mea, a Mea; kei whea, kei hea ngā kōiwi, ērā āhuatanga katoa. Ērā momo pukapuka, kāore e whāwhātia e au ērā pukapuka. He tapu kia a au ērā, nō te mea, he rerekē te tapu o roto i ērā – ki *tōku*, ki ōku whakaaro, ki ōku whakaaro, he rerekē ngā tapu i roto i ērā mea. Kei roto anō i aua tapu rā e takoto ana ētahi mea, kia kaua e tānoanoatia. Engari, me waiho ki roto i ō rātou tapu takoto ai. Pēnei pea i te, te ‘radioactivity’ nei. E hia rautau, kātahi anō ka hore te tangata. He rite anō ki te ana o te kuia nei, o Muriwai, kei Whakatāne tērā ana. Pai noa tō haere atu, pai mātou e haere ana ki te āta wherawhera, tiro tiro ki roto, engari, ka titiro noa iho, āaa, koinei te ana o te kuia nei. Nā, tēnei tangata hoki, i mau hereheretia ki reira. Nā, kāore au e haere. Ehara i te mea, nā te mea i mau hereheretia ai ia ki reira, engari i haere au ki *waho* titiro atu ai. Mau hereheretia ai ngā hōia a te kāwanatanga, hei ārai atu i ngā hōia i tō mātou rohe. Nā, kāore au i haere. Anā, he rite anō tērā ki te pukapuka, he rite

anō te ana o Muriwai ki te pukapuka. He rite anō te urupā ki te pukapuka. Kei konā ētahi mea e kore e whāwhā rawatia e koe, ā, ki ētahi o ō mātou urupā. Ki ētahi urupā anō, hei tauira māku, ki Rotorua, kei waho tonu ake o Saint Faith's, te whare karakia o Saint Faith's, ngā toma o ngā tāngata i mate. Engari, ia rā, e haere ana te tini me te mano ki te torotoro haere i tērā wāhi, kua kore i tapu aua mea rā. E pēnei anō i te urupā Pākehā nei, ka taea e koe te haere atu i roto i te urupā Pākehā, ā, hīkoikoi haere ai, i te tiroiro haere, kāore noa iho e tapu. Engari ki te haere koe ki roto i te urupā *Māori*, āhua rerekē anō ō whakaaro ki tērā mea. Nā, pērā anō i ngā pukapuka nei. Kei te āhua tonu o ngā pukapuka. Tērā pea, i te mutunga o ō tuhituhi, Jillian, ka mutu ngā tuhituhi, kua tapu rawa ō kōrero, kua kore e taea te pānui i tō tuhingaroa! (Laughter) . . .

JT: (Laughs) Kahore.

WM: Kāo, kāo. Engari, koirā ētahi o ngā mea e whakaaro ana au he pukapuka tapu, ahakoa ko te ingoa ko te 'Paipera Tapu' te paipera, e whātoro atu ana ngā ringa o huhua noa ki te tika atu i tērā kōrero. Nā reira, he aha te tapu kei roto i te Paipera? Tērā pea ko te tapu o roto i te Paipera ko ngā tohutohu mai a te atua, ā, ngā tohutohu a Ihu Karaiti. Koirā kē pea ngā mea e tapu ana, ko ngā *whakaaro* kei roto i te paipera, ehara ko te pukapuka, engari ko ngā kupu e kawea ana i ngā whakaaro kei roto i te pukapuka. Nā, tērā tērā, [12:45] engari ka hoki ake au ki taku kōrero, ko ētahi pukapuka anō, pēnei i ngā pukapuka a taku koroua nei, kāore e hoatu e au ki ētahi noa, me mōhio tonu au e whakapapa mai ana ki taku koroua nei, ka hoatu e au ki a rātou. Engari me taku mea anō, ā, 'Kaua e roa, ka whakahoki mai', nō te mea, ko au te kaitiaki. Ā, mehemea ehara ko au te kaitiaki *tika*, kua mōhio noa atu ahau. Engari, i te mea, kua roa i a au e pupuri ana, kāore he raruraru. Nā reira, kāore i tukuna e au aku mokopuna, i tēnei wā, kia whāwhā, i te mea, kāore anō kia whakamōhiohia atu e au ki a, kei te kōrero au mō aku mokopuna tāne e rua, [13:49] wērā a [X], mea kōrero Māori, kāore anō kia whakamōhiohia atu e au te āhua o ēnei pukapuka, he aha te āhua o ēnei pukapuka, nō te mea, kei te tino rangatahi tonu rāua, kei te tekau mā toru, whā a [X], te kaumatua o rāua, engari, kia pakari ake ngā hinengaro, kātahi pea au ka tahuri atu ki te tohutohu, he aha ngā kai o roto i ngā pukapuka nei. Ā, mehemea he kai mārō, he kai ngāwari noa iho rānei. Mehemea he kai mārō, ā kāti, he kōrero tapu, he tapu te pukapuka. Mehemea he kai ngāwari, pānuitia, nō te mea, ko ngā kōrero o te marae tēnā, ā, i tū ai tō marae ki tēnā whenua, ā, nā wai i whakatū, nā wai i whakairo, ērā momo kōrero katoa kei runga nei rā ki a au, kia mōhio rātou, kia whai pakiaka ai ō rātou waewae ki yō rātou marae. Nā reira, ērā pukapuka ērā. I pātai mai tō pātai hoki, 'he aha ngā āhuatanga o ēnei mea?' Kua oti i a au te kī atu, ko ētahi he whakapapa; ko ētahi he karakia; ko ētahi he kōrero hītoria; ko ētahi he kōrero mō ngā wāhi tapu; ko ētahi he kōrero mō . . . te whenua . . .

JT: Mō ngā pakanga?

WM: . . . mō ngā pakanga, ērā mea. Ko ētahi anō, he kōrero mō ngā whare mairi, ngā whare wānanga, me ngā tohunga o roto. Āhua pai pea ērā ki au, kāore noa iho e whakatapua, mōku tonu, ērā, nō te mea, kua hōrapa haere te mōhio a ō mātou

rangatahi ki ngā kōrero [mō] ngā whare wānanga o roto o Ngāi Tūhoe. Nā reira, kua mōhio ki ngā ingoa – ngā whare wānanga *tawhito* tāku e kōrero nei – ā, kua mōhio ki ngā ingoa, kua mōhio ki ētahi o ngā tohunga o roto i aua whare rā. Engari, i te wā i homai ai ki a au, iti noa anō pea ngā mea e mōhio ana ko wai ngā tāngata o roto, ko māua ko Pou nei pea, me ētahi atu kua whāngaihia e māua ki aua kōrero rā. Engari, mā ngā wānanga anake o roto o Ngāi Tūhoe e āhei ai e māua ki te whāngai atu ērā kōrero ki a rātou. Ki te haere atu ki waho atu, kua kore e kōrero mō ērā kōrero. Ka kōrero noa iho mō ngā whare mairi, mō ngā whare wānanga o Tūhoe, āe, he whare wānanga, anei ngā kaupapa i whāngaitia atu ai ki ngā ākonga o roto. Ātu i tērā, kāore i whakawhānuitia atu ngā kōrero. Nā reira, ā, ko ngā kaitiaki tonu kei te whakatapu, kei te whakanoa. Ngā kaitiaki. Arā, ko mātou ngā kaitiaki. [17:17] Ā, ko au e hiahia ana ki te whakamāmā i ētahi o ngā tikanga. Nō te mea, kei te kite iho ahau, ā, mō te āhua o ngā whakapapa nei, kua kaha rawa te, te taiapatia o te whakapapa. Ko te ako mai a ngā kaumātua ki a mātou, ki te ako koutou i ngā whakapapa, me ako koutou i ngā whakapapa hei, ehara i te mea, hei whakamanamana māu, i a koe anō, engari kia mōhio ai koe ko wai ō whanaunga, he aha ō pānga ki ngā whenua, ka tahi; tuarua, ko te tino āhuatanga o te kaupapa, kia mōhio koe ki te pupuri i te mauri o tēnei mea o te manaaki; ki te tohu o tēnei mea o te aroha, o tētahi ki tētahi. Koirā kē tētahi o ngā *tino* o roto o tēnei mea o te whakapapa. Mehemea, he pānga mai tō te tangata ki a koe, ā, ko tō whenua tērā, engari, atu i tērā, ko ō *here* ki ō whanaunga. Pēhea rawa tō here atu ki ō whanaunga. Kei konā anō ngā tikanga mō ngā whanaunga e kore ana e piri, e mau ki ngā tikanga. Kei konā anō ngā tikanga e kī ana, ko te nuinga o te wā, ‘Taiho e haere, kia manaakitia te ringa o te ahi’. Ā, māku e whakamārama tērā kōrero ki a koe. Tērā pea ka haramai tō whanaunga ki te torotoro i a koe, i ngā wā o mua. Kāore kōrua e tino kite ana i a kōrua, engari, i taua wā e noho tahi rā kōrua, kua tīmata kōrua ki te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro i waenganui i a kōrua, ‘Kei te aha a Mea? Kei te aha a Mea? Kei hea a Mea? E aha ana te wāhi ki ō tātou whenua? E aha ana te wāhi ki te whare hui?’ Erā momo kōrero katoa, koirā te wā e noho tahi ai kōrua ki te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro. Ātu i tērā, ko tō kōrua whanaunga tata ki a kōrua anō, me te aroha kei roto i a kōrua, nā te mea, he taura tangata kei te here i a kōrua. Nā, i roto i tērā mea, mehemea ko koe, Jillian, kua haramai, ko au tō whanaunga, kua haramai koe ki tōku kāinga, kua noho tāua ki te kōrero, āaaaaaa, e hia rā tō tāua roa. E rua, e toru, e ara atu pea ngā kōrero ka puta i ahau ki a koe, kua haramai koe ki ahau, ki te torotoro ki a au. I te pai o ā tāua kōrero, kua mōhio au he aha ngā kōrero o tōu wā kāinga, ngā kōrero mō ōku whanaunga kua mahuetia ahau. Ā, hoki atu au ki a koe, kua kī mai koe ki a au, ‘Ā, ka nui pea ēnei kōrero, me hoki au ki te kāinga.’ Anā, ko taku kōrero ki a koe, e pēnei ana: ‘Taihoa e haere, kia manaakitia te ringa o te ahi’. Nē? Ko te tikanga o tērā kōrero e pēnei ana nā: ‘kei te kā tonu te ahi, kei te tunutunu tonu au i ngā kai. Kāore anō kia tae ki te ihu o te poaka’, tērā momo kōrero, nē, ‘kāore anō kia tae ki te ihu o te poaka’. Ā, kei te nui tonu ngā kai; kāore anō kia pau i a tāua a tāua kōrero. Ā, ka noho tāua ki te kōrero i ā tāua kōrero. Tērā momo āhuatanga o tēnei

mea te whakapapa – hāunga ia te toto, hāunga ia ngā kōrero tapu o waenganui i a tāua. Āe, kei reira ērā. Engari mōku tonu, ka kī atu au, ‘Taihoa e haere, kia manaakitia te ringa o te ahi’. Ko te mea e whakatapu ana e au, ko tēnei whakaaro, nā, kua oti kē te whakatō ki roto i a au i te kaupapa o te manaakitanga. Me mōhio au me pēhea te manaaki i te tangata. Ngā mea o tōku ake whānau, pēhea taku manaaki i a rātou. Arā, nōu tēnei whare, nō tātou katoa. Tērā momo kōrero. Koirā ngā mea *tapu* ka tirohia e au, he tapu anō ērā ki a au. Ērā mea. Koinei ngā āhuatanga tapu kei roto i ngā kōrero nei [21:57]. Nā reira, ka tae ki tērā wāhi o te titiro i ngā pukapuka tapu nei, tērā pea ka whaiwhai atu au ki te whakaohoohe ake anō i ētahi o ngā tikanga kua moe. Nā roto atu i te mea, kua roa rawa te pukapuka e takoto ana, kāore anō he mea kia haere atu ki te titiro i taua pukapuka rā, ki te whakamahara ake i te tangata kei a ia te pukapuka rā, ‘O, he whanaunga anō kei te ao Māori, kua wareware i a au.’ Nō te mea, kei roto ngā whakapapa, nā, kua whaiwhai atu koe, i ētahi wā kua waimaria koe ki te whātoro atu ki te pukapuka rā, ehara i a koe te pukapuka, engari nō roto i tō koutou whānau, ka titiro koe, ka mea koe, ‘kāore au e mōhio ki ēnei ingoa. Ko wai ēnei?’ Kua kī mai te mea e mōhio ana, ‘Whanaunga ēnā nōu’. ‘He aha au e kore ai e mōhio ki ēnei ingoa?’ O, i te kaha whakatapungia o ētahi o ngā whakapapa nei, i runga i ngā tohetohe ki ngā whenua, ka huna ētahi o ngā ingoa, kāore i pai kia puta atu ki waho, kei haere mai ētahi, ka hanga, i pērā hoki i roto i te Kooti Whenua Māori, i tērā atu rautau, i haere ai ētahi ki te whakatakoto i ō rātou pānga ki ngā whenua. Mā roto atu i te whakapapa, ko ētahi o ngā whakapapa, he mea rāweke kē. [23:45] Nā, ko te pātai, ko ēhea o ngā whakapapa e noho tapu ana, ko ēhea kāore i te noho tapu. Ā, ko au e mōhio ana ki ōku whakapapa. Kua whai noa iho au i ngā whakapapa e hāngai tonu mai ana ki a au, kia kī ai au, ngā tuhinga o roto i ērā whakapapa, i tuhi ai ki roto i ērā pukapuka, e mōhio ana au e hāngai pū ana ki a mātou. Koirā ngā mea e tapu ana. Ko ngā mea kua kite au, mea rāweke kē, mea rāwekeweke e tētahi hei whakahāngai mai i ngā whakapapa, kia uru mai ai ki roto i te whenua, kāore i te tiki au i wērā. Nā reira, kei te āhua o ngā kōrero ētahi o ngā āhua o tō whakanoho i te tapu ki runga i ngā kōrero. Kia pānui rā anō koe kātahi anō ka mōhio mehemea he tapu. Me āta pānui rawa koe, me mōhio rawa koe, ā, anei ngā mea, e whakaaro ana koe, ā, ko ēnei kōrero, he aha i puta ai ki waho? Nō mātou noa iho, nō tō mātou whānau noa iho ēnei kōrero. Ngā urupā, ngā wāhi i huna ai ngā taonga. Um, tētahi wā, ka tonoa he tangata, i Waikaremoana. I kitea, nā ratou i tuku atu he, he tai – he ‘dye’, ki roto i te awa, nō te mea, i kitea ana, i ētahi wā, kua heke te moana. Kua taka iho te moana mai i tōna teiteitanga, ka taka iho i ētahi wā. Ka pātai ngā tāngata, ‘He aha e pērā rā?’ Kātahi ka kitea, he wāhi kei reira, kuhuna atu e rātou te ‘dye’ nei ki roto – te putanga atu, kua puta atu ki roto rā anō o Ahuriri – Napier – ā, te ‘dye’ i roto i te wai, ka kitea, arā, he wāhi kei reira e pūare ana, e puta ana te wai mā reira. Ngā wai e waipuke ai e kaha ai te ua, kua kī anō, engari, āaaa, kua taka anō te moana rā. Nā, ka tonoa he tangata, Pākehā, ki te ruku, ki te ruku ki roto i te moana, ki te kimi i te wāhi e puta nei rā. I a ia e ruku rā, kātahi ka ruku ki raro, kātahi ka titiro atu ia ki te papa, he toka, i raro i te wai,

ka titiro atu ia, ‘he aha ngā mea e takoto mai rā?’ Ka haere atu, ka kite atu, he mea, he taonga, he patu, he mere, ērā mea katoa, e whakatakoto ki runga i te papa. Te āhua nei, ngā mea i mate, wā rātou-, Ka ruku te tangata, ka tiku atu i ngā taonga rā ki reira. Haere atu te kairuku nei, ka whakatata atu ana, ka puta mai te tuna. Te āhua nei ko te kaitiaki . . .

JT: Te kaitiaki, āe.

WM: I puta mai te tuna nei, i reira e noho ana te tuna. Ka whakarere atu te Pākehā, ka rewa ake ki runga [27:24]. Ka hoki ake, ka kī atu ‘Oo’, ki a ngā Māori o te kāinga, ‘I kite au i ngā mea nei, engari . . .’ Te kitenga o ngā Māori i tana āhua, maha tonu ngā Māori e wehi ana ki tētahi mea, ka patapataingia ia, kātahi ko te Pākehā nei ka kī atu, ‘Kārekau koutou e whakaponu ki āku kōrero.’ Ka kī atu ngā Māori, ‘Ā, tērā pea’. Anā, ka kī atu i a ia nei, ‘I kite ahau ngā taonga.’ ‘Āaa’, e kī ana ngā kaumātua rā, ‘Āaaa.’ Enagri, ka kī atu te Pākehā nei, ‘Engari, i reira tētahi tuna.’ ‘Āaaa, ko te kaitiaki tērā.’ (Laughter). Ērā wāhi kua tuhia ki roto i ētahi o ngā pukapuka a ngā kaumātua rā, engari kāore i kōrero whānuitia. Nā reira, ērā tuhituhinga ka noho tapu tonu nō te mea, ki a rātou, e kore e pai te whāki ki ētahi atu kei hea taua wāhi rā. Kei haere ētahi, pēnei anō i ngā, i te kōrerotanga ki ngā kōiwi i Maungapōhatu. Tērā, kua tae atu au ki tērā wāhi nei. He ana *nui*, NUI rawa atu kei taua wāhi nei. Ka uru atu au ki roto taua wāhi rā, ngā kōiwi o ngā tūpāpaku, nui atu, *nui* rawa atu. Engari, tērā pea i rongo ētahi Pākehā, ka haere ki te, te rāweke i ngā, ngā mea rā. Anā, koirā te mea, kia kaua e haere te tangata *poka noa* ki te whāwhā i ngā mea e noho tapu ana, kua tuhi ai koe ki roto i ō pukapuka, kua noho tapu ērā kōrero ki te hunga mō rātou noa iho, mā rātou aua kōrero rā. Kāore e pai mā ētahi atu. Nā reira, tērā momo kōrero tērā. Tērā pea, kei te warewae i a au ētahi atu momo kōrero e taea e au te kī mō ngā kōrero i roto i tērā momo tuhinga, he kōrero tapu. Ngā karakia, ētahi karakia, kaua e haere atu ki te whāwhā atu. Kei whakamahi ai koe, ko koe tonu te papa o tō mahi. Ko tō whanaunga rānei te papa o tō mahi. Ko ētahi o ngā waiata, o roto i *Ngā Mōteatea* nei, kāore e pai te waiata noa iho i te waiata kua tuhia ki roto i te mōteatea e mōhio ana koe, ka akongia ai koe taua waiata rā, engari ka hoatu e koe he rangi kē ki taua waiata rā. Ko ngā kupu e hāngaitia ana ki tētahi āhuatanga kāore i tika hei whakamahi ko taua āhuatanga rā. Arā, me kī, he waiata tangi, engari ka waiatatia koe i tētahi wā o runga i te marae, o roto rānei i te whare, hei kīnaki i ō kōrero, ko ō kōrero ehara i te kōrero tapu, engari, he kōrero, ā, whakangahau noa iho i ngā tāngata. Kāore i puritia e koe te tapu o roto i ngā, i te wairua o aua kupu rā. Nō te mea, ko te wairua o ngā kupu i kuhuna ai, i tito ai taua waiata rā, he waiata tangi kē mō tētahi mate. [31:15] Engari ka heria atu e koe ki taua waiata rā nā te āhua o te rere o ngā kupu. Um, pēnei tā mātou, ‘Ka Mea Tawera’, (sings) *Ka mea Tawera e, me kawē rawa ia ki te wai*. Nā, ko te tīmatanga tērā o te, o ngā, o te waiata. Ko te waiata nei, kei te waiatatia, i te nuinga o te wā e waiata noatia ana, kāre te horopaki i rite mō te waiata, mō ngā kupu o te waiata. Nā, ki a au, he whakatūpato anō tērā, ki te toro atu koe ki ngā kupu o tētahi waiata, kua tīmata te waiatatia whānuitia ētahi – ‘Taku Rākau’, tērā waiata, ‘Taku Rākau E’. He waiata

nā te kuia rā, nā Mihi-ki-te-kapua, ā, mōna e mahue mokemoke mai ai. Engari, ko te, ko te waiata rā, kei reira anō ētahi kōrero e pā ana ki tētahi, āaa, he aha te kupu, ā, mō te . . .

JT: Genocide?

WM: Āe, āe, āe. He mea, he, um, he nui ngā tāngata i mate. He nui ngā tāngata i mate. Āa, i te ana. He mea kōhuru ngā tāngata nei. He kaumātua, he kuia, he koroua, he tamariki, he wāhine. Ko ngā toa, i haere ki te pakanga. Ka rongo tērā o ngā iwi [33:07] kua riro ngā toa ki te pakanga, ka haramai, ka kōhurutia. Ā, he . . . kupu pai noa iho nē, tēnei kupu kua wareware i a au . . . Heoi anō, waiho tērā, ka hoki atu au ki taua kupu nei. Um, i nui ai ngā tāngata i mate, ka whiuwhiungia ngā tinana ki roto i te moana. Um, ka mutu, i pirau ngā tinana, kāore hoki he mea, he ia, he au o tērā moana. Noho noa iho ai te moana, kāore he au o te moana, pēnei me te wai, me te awa nei e rere nei, pērā anō me te moana, he tai o te moana, ko te, Waikaremoana, kāore ōnā mea, noho ōna wai ki reira ki roto i tōna nohoanga, kāore he au. Nā reira, kua noho noa iho ngā tinana rā ki roto i te wai, i te wāhi whiua mai ai rātou, ka pirau. Āna, ka tapaina ki tōna ingoa, ehara i te ingoa pai, engari ehara rā anō te ingoa, ehara i te kōrero e pai ana kia kōrero whānuitia, ngā kōrero pakanga nei – ā, *parekura!* He parekura, he parekura, āe.

JT: He ‘slaughter’, nē, he ‘slaughter’?

WM: Āe, āe. He mea parekura, he parekura. Ā, heoi anō. ‘Whakamāramatia mai koa tāu nā ahunga ki te whakamāoritanga whakapākehātanga o ngā tuhinga ki tōu whakaaro he rauangiangi tōna momo’. [34:56] Ki te haere atu au ki tētahi mahi, tuatahi, ka titiro au, ka āta titiro ki ngā kupu. Ki te kite iho ahau i ētahi o ngā kōrero e anga ana ki ngā wāhi kua whakahua ake nei au, he whakaaro tapu, he huarahi tapu rānei ka takahia e koe ki te haere atu koe ki te whaiwhai atu i ērā kōrero. Ā, ki te tiki atu ahau i ngā kōrero o tētahi iwi kē, ka heria mai e au, nō te iwi pea ngā kōrero nei kei roto i te tuhituhinga, ka heria mai au, ka kīnakitia e au ki ngā kōrero o tōku iwi, e kore pea e taea e au te whakamoe i ērā kōrero e rua. Nō te mea, he horopaki kē anō tō tētahi, he horopaki kē anō tō tētahi. Nā reira, he mahi nui pea ki te whakapiripiri. Engari, kia mōhio ake koe, kaha a Te Kooti ki te tiki atu i ngā waiata a ngā iwi, te whakarāwekeweke (laughter) i ngā kupu, kia hāngai, pērā i a ‘Pineline Te Kura’, nē? Nō roto kē hoki o Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Kahungunu taea waiata rā, kātahi ka tīkina atu e ia, ka waihangatia e ia tētahi rerenga o ngā kupu, kia hāngai ki te āhua o ōna whakaaro. Ka . . . te taha o Ngāti Raukawa waiata, tīkina atu anō e ia tērā, tā Ngāti Raukawa, whakahāngaitia e ia ki te āhua o tana hāhi. Te waiata a Taranaki, ‘Ka Tū Au Ka Korikori’, tīkina atu e ia tērā, ka heria mai e ia, ka rāwekeweketia e ia. Koia tērā. He kaha ana ia, koirā tāna māhi, ka takahi ai i ngā mana o ētahi. Engari, ahau, ahau tonu, kei te pātai mai hoki koe ki au, ahau, kāore e taea e au te, te kawē i tērā āhuatanga. Tō rātou ao tērā, e taea ai e rātou ērā mahi i tērā wā. Ā ko tōku ao tēnei, me tōku whakaaro, e kore e taea e au. Nō te mea, kua oti kē te whakatangatawhenua ki rito i a au i te whakaaro, [37:20] kei noho koe, ka rāwekeweke i ngā kōrero nei, kāore koe e mōhio ki mua, ki muri o aua kōrero rā. I takea mai i hea? He aha te

kaupapa i tito ai? He aha i tuhi ai? Ērā āhuatanga katoa. Ā, nā reira, āe, ngā karakia, ka tūpato katoa au; ngā kōrero tūpāpaku, ka tūpato katoa au; ngā whakapapa, kāore au e poka noa ki te haere atu, nō te mea, e mōhio ana au, i ētahi wā, ngā tāngata whakapapa, ka whakarerea e rātou ētahi o ngā ingoa ki waho. Kei konei tētahi tangata, kāore au e whakahua ai tōna ingoa, kāore i konei, engari kei Aotearoa nei, kāore e tino tawhiti atu i konei. Tangata tū mai ana ia ki te whaikōrero, kua whakapapa. Nā, ko te kōrero hoki, ‘kaua e whakapapa ki a koe anō’. Nē. Kaua e whakaheke whakapapa mai ki a koe anō, me whenua anake te take, whakapapa ai koe ki a koe anō. Nā, te tangata nei, i whakapapa ia, engari ko āna whakapapa nō roto i ngā pukapuka. Nā, e mōhio ana au, e mōhio ana au ki ētahi o ngā whakapapa; mōhio pai ana au ki ngā whakapapa. Whakarongo ahau i a ia e whakapapa ana, me taku rongo, kua mahue i a ia ētahi o ngā ingoa ki waho. Ko te pātai, he aha ai i mahue ai i a ia. Nāna i āta whakarere ki waho? He mea huna rānei i ngā tāngata? Pēnei anō i ngā whakapapa a Te Pēhi i tuhi ai mō Tūhoe. Kāore te nuinga o ngā ingoa i roto i ērā. Ka pōhēhē koe, taka mai i a Mea ki a Mea ki a Mea, ā, tae noa mai ki te wā i a Te Pēhi e ora ana, me ngā tāngata e ora ana i taua wā. Engari, mōhio ana au, i roto i ngā whakapapa a taku tipuna nei, he nui ngā ingoa i mahue ki waho. Kāore i te mea, nā Mea, ko Mea, nā Mea, ko Mea, nā Mea, ko Mea. Mēnā e pono ana tērā, tērā kōrero, kāore e mahue i a koe ngā ingoa ki waho. Nā, e mōhio ana au, he nui ngā ingoa i mahue i ētahi, ka whakarāpopototia te whakapapa. Ā, koirā pea tētahi o ngā āhuatanga tapu o roto i tēnei mea te whakapapa, o te tuhituhi i ngā whakapapa. Kia kaua e hapa. Pēnei anō me te karakia nei, kia kaua e hapa. He pērō anō pea me ētahi atu kōrero. Kaua hoki e mahue i a koe ngā kōrero tūturu e tika ana kia takoto ki roto i tō tuhinga. Ki te whakarere ai koe ki waho, me mōhio anō te tangata, he aha i whakarere ai ki waho, kāore i kuhuna atu ki roto i te tuhituhinga. [40:26] Nā reira, he nui ngā āhuatanga o tēnei mea o te tapu e here ana i a koe – he ‘behaviour modifier’ tērā, nā te tapu. Ka rerekē pea tō whakaaro ki ngā pukapuka ka hoatu ki a koe i ōku whakaaro ka homai ki a au ngā pukapuka rā. Ko aua pukapuka rā, ko aua kōrero anō rā. Ngā kōrero he rite tonu i hoatu ai ki a koe i ngā kōrero i homai ai ki au, engari ka rerekē pea tāu titiro ki ētahi o ngā kōrero. Pēnei anō i au nei, ka rerekē anō nei tāku titiro ki ngā āhua o ngā kōrero rā. Ko ēhea ngā mea ka whakatapu ai au, ko ēhea ngā mea kāore e whakatapu ai au. Nā reira, tērā pea, ko tētahi o ngā āhuatanga o tēnei mea, kei te tangata tonu, me ōna whakaaro, e kite ai mehemea tino tapu, ehara kē noa rānei, he, he, e ai ki tāu kupu, he ‘sensitive’. Engari, ehara i te mea e kīia ana he tapu, nā te mea ko te ‘sensitive’ ki a au, ko ngā mea e tūpato ai koe ki te whakapuaki noa iho, ki te tuhi noa iho i roto i te pukapuka. Ehara i te mea he tapu, engari, kei pāmamae ētahi; kei riri ētahi ki a koe. Ehara i te mea nā te tapu i riri ai, engari, ko ō kōrero pea, ehara i kī te kōrero pono, he kōrero . . horihori, he kōrero tito noa iho, nā ētahi kē i rongo ai koe, ka kuhuna ai koe.

JT: He mea haehae i te tangata.

WM: Āe, ērā, ērā mea. Alright, [42:15] *How do you approach the translation of a text that you classify as sacred?* Ā, koirā, mehemea ko au kei te kī, he tapu, ko te

mea tuatahi tonu, ki a au, ko te karakia. Mōku tonu; mō mātou katoa o tōku whānau, hapu, iwi. Tuarua, he aha te hua ka puta mai ki te whāwhā ahau i ērā kōrero. E puta ana te hua ki a wai, he aha te kaupapa. Mehemea mōku noa iho, e kore pea e pai. Engari, mehemea ki tōku whakaaro, ko ngā kōrero nei, āe, he tapu o roto i ngā kōrero nei, engari, um, tērā pea, ki te kore e *whākina* aua kōrero rā, he nui ake pea ngā mea ka noho ki roto i te kūaretanga, tēnā i ngā mea e taea te whakamōhio. Tērā pea, kei a koe, kei te tangata tonu, kei a koe ngā kōrero rā, hei whiriwhiri atu ko tēhea te huarahi pai. [43.34] Pēnei i te tangata nei i kōrero atu au i haere ki te tāhae haere i ngā pukapuka o roto i a, i te rohe i mahi nei ia, ka tuhia e ia ki roto i ēnā pukapuka, he nui ana pukapuka. Tuhia ai e ia, nā, kōrero tika tonu mai ia ki a mātou, nāna i tāhae ētahi o ngā pukapuka tapu nei. Ka tirohia e ia ka tangohia mai ngā kōrero o roto, hei kōrero, hei tuhi māna ki roto i ēnā mea. Tētahi o āna pukapuka, kei a au tētahi o āna pukapuka, kei reira ētahi kōrero nō roto kē mai o ngā tuhituhinga o ngā kaumātua. Nā reira, ā . . he aha atu ētahi? O, anei anō tētahi tauira [44.24]: i a au e mahi ana mā te Taraipūnara o Waitangi, i te wā e haere ana ngā kerēme a Hauraki, um, ka kōrero mō Te Kooti. Nā, i te wā i unuhia ai e te Kāwanatanga ngā hara i runga i a Te Kooti – a Te Kooti, anei i roto kē o Maniapoto nei e huna ana; ko Maniapoto i te tiaki i a ia. Ka unuhia te hara i runga i a ia. Ka whakaaro ake ia me hoki ia ki Tūranga, nō reira, hoki a Te Kooti. Ka haere mai ia, mā konei ka ahu pērā atu ki roto o Hauraki. Ko te kāinga tuatahi i noho ai ia, anā i Paeroa nā, ko Te Awa . . Te Awaiti?? . . . Heoi anō, ko te marae ko Ngahutoitoi. Kei muri o Ngahutoitoi tētahi atu kāinga i noho ai a Te Kooti. Ka hangaia e rātou he whare *mōnā*. Ka tapaina te ingoa e Te Kooti, ko Te Aroha . . ā, ko Te Aroha-ki-te-pouaru-ki te pani-ki-te-rawa-kore, pērā anō me te kōrero a Tāwhiao mō ngā poukai, ka tapaina taua whare nei, Te Aroha-ki-te-pouaru-ki te pani-me-te-rawa-kore. Haere atu ia, ka karakiangia e ia. Ka haere atu anō ia ki roto o tētahi wāhi kē atu anō o Hauraki. Nā, i reira, ka hangaia anō he whare karakia, ka mahue i a ia ētahi o ngā pukapuka, ehara i te mea i a ia, engari, ka mahue ngā tohutohu a ngā tohunga o te hāhi o te Ringatū, ētahi pukapuka ki roto i taua whare karakia nei. Nā, ko te tikanga, e haere ana mātou o te Taraipūnara kia kite, heoi anō, kāore au i hiahia haere (laughs) [indistinct]. Engari, ā, kāre i taea aua pukapuka rā. Nā reira, anei, e whakautu ake nei ki te kōrero nei, mō te āhua o ngā pukapuka, kāore au e mōhio he aha ngā kōrero o roto i ngā pukapuka rā, he karakia rānei, he whakapapa rānei, he kōrero rānei mō ngā mahi a Te Kooti, ā, ētahi kōrero, kāre au e hiahia ki te mōhio, nā te mea, tētahi o ngā raruraru nui i pā mai, i uru atu hoki ki te taha i a Te Kooti, ā, tētahi o ngā raruraru i pā ki a ia, ko tana wahine. Ā, i te wā i piri, ka riro tana wahine i a Te Kooti. Nā, ka, ka tupu te kino, ka tupu te kawa, he kawa, kawa ā-wairua nei, i kawa tēnei ki a Te Kooti mō te rironga o tana wahine. Nā, wēra momo kōrero, tērā pea, ka hiahia au kia mōhio au, engari atu i tērā, kāore au e hiahia kia mōhio ki ngā . . *mahi* i waenganui i a rāua, i a rāua ko Te Kooti. Kāore au e hiahia ki te mōhio he aha ngā mea, engari, ā, i roto i ngā tau, ā, ka kī ia, he tangata ia nā te Karauna, tēnei, engari i roto i āna

tuhituhinga kāore ia i whai atu, nāna kē ngā whakahau i te Karauna, kia kaua e mahia ngā rori, kia kaua e . . .

JT: I Tūhoe?

WM: Āe. Ā, nāna, nāna, ko ia te hoa o Tūtakangahau mō te pukapuka e kīia rā, ko te Pukapuka a Tūhoe. Nāna te, ngā whakapapa, nāna ētahi o ngā kōrero i roto i taua pukapuka rā [49:17]. Nā, ko ētahi o aua kōrero rā, kua whakaaro ake au he kōrero tapu; ko ētahi, kāore au e kī he tapu. Ngā mea kāore, ka kī au ehara i te tapu, ko āna kōrero mō ngā whetū, mō te marama, ngā wā o te mahi kai, ngā wā e kore ai koe e mahi kai, ērā mea katoa. Ehara ērā i te kōrero tapu ki a au, engari he kōrero mō te ora o te tangata, e kite ai he oranga mō te tangata. Ā, tuhia ai e ia ki roto i āna anō pukapuka, kei a au ērā, kei konei. Ā, e whakaaro ai au ehara ērā i te kōrero tapu. Ā, nō reira, ā, number 4: *‘He rerekē tāu ahunga whakamāori/whakapākehā ki aua momo tuhinga i ētahi atu momo tuhunga? He aha te rerekē mēnā e pērā ana?’* [50:10] . . . Yep. Paku nei. Ā, mō ngā karakia, mehemea e whakamātau ana au i te karakia, pai ki a au ngā karakia honohono i ngā whēua, i ngā kōiwi o ngā iwi o te tangata. Ka taea e au te whakamātau i ērā karakia. He pai ki au ngā, ngā, te whakamāori i ngā karakia mō te, mō te mahi manu, ā, ngā karakia mō te tua rākau. Koinei ngā mea, ehara . . he tapu kei roto, engari, ehara i te mea e whara ai koe, nā te mea, kāore koe i te whakamahi i tērā hei whaka-, hei patu i tētahi, hei whakahī i tētahi, kei te whakarawa take koe i ngā atua mā roto atu i tō karakia, nā reira, ahakoa he karakia e kīia ana he tapu ērā karakia, ko te tapu e hoatu ana ki ērā karakia, he tapu mō te whakaora tangata, ehara mō te whakamate tangata. Arā atu anō ngā karakia e kīia nei, he whaiwhaiā, he mākutū. E kī ai ētahi he tapu ērā mea, kia kaua e rāweketia, kei whiua, kei haere atu tō ‘silver bullet’ (laughter), ka whakahokia mai e te tangata ki a koe anō. Nē, ehara i te mea, engari ki tō whānau, ki a wai rānei. Erā momo mea, e kore au e whāwhā, e whakamāori rānei. Ka āta tirohia te tuhituhinga. Ka āta tirohia e au ngā mea e pai ana, ā, e taea ana e au te whāwhā. Ki te kore, kāore e rāweketia e au. Kāore au e, e mea. [52:15]. Ka hōmai e Evelyn Stokes ngā karakia Pai Mārire ki a au. Ā, kāore i taea e au te whakapākehā, nā te mea, ko aua karakia rā, ko ētahi, he āhua . . i whakamoea te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā: ‘Pōrini hōia teihana.’ Ērā kōrero nei, ‘Pōrini hōia teihana’. Ā, ‘Piki tōne, rōnga tōne’, um, ‘hiwi . . Nōta, Tāu, Īta, Wēta’. Nē. Ērā kupu. ‘Nōta, Tāu, Īta, Wēta’. Ā, he aha wētahi, ā, ‘Kamaīna kapata, kamaīna kaputī’, ā, ērā momo kupu a te, a te Hauhau. Ki te, i te tirohanga tuatahitanga a ngā tāngata, i tīmata ki te titiro ki ngā a ngā Hauhau, ka whakaaro ake, ā, he kōrero rorirori, he pōrangi noaiho ēnei kōrero. Ehara i te kōreo pono. Engari ki te āta wetewete koe, ki te āta whakatikatika koe i ngā- ‘Pōrini hōia teihana’: Fall in soldiers, attention.’ Nē. ‘Piki hira, rōnge hira, tōne, teihana’: Big hill, long hill, stone, trig station. Trig station. Nē.

JT: Teihana.

WM: Teihana. Tērā ‘teihana’ anō tērā. ‘Attention’, tētahi anō o ngā ‘teihana’, and ‘teihana, ‘trig station’. He mea hoki, he kōhatu noa iho te mea e tohu ana, i te wā i haere ai ngā kairūri ki te rūri i ngā whenua o ngā Māori. Nā, ki te āta titiro koe i

ērā kōrero, wetewete, ehara i te kōrero tapu. Kei roto e takoto ana ngā kōrero, he karakia, engari ki te, ki te āta titiro koe, he kōrero kei reira e huna ana te *tino* o ngā whakaaro o ngā Māori. [54.38] Ā, nā reira, um, kei reira anō ētahi e mea ana, ‘kamaīna hapa kapaī’, arā, ki ngā hōia, ki ngā tāngata a te Karauna, ko ngā ‘settlers’ ēnei. Kei te rongo atu ngā Māori e kī ana, ā, ngā wāhine a ngā settlers ki ngā hōia, ‘Come in, soldiers, and hava a cuppa tea.’ Ā, nā, ki a rātou, kei te mahi tahi ngā hōia me ngā settlers ki te panapana haere ngā Māori i ō rātou whenua. Nā reira, ahakoa he āhua rorirori te takoto mai o ngā karakia, kei konā anō e huna ana te *tino* . . .

JT: Wareware ia au te, i whakahaere a Matua Pou tētahi pepa i te whare wānanga e pā ana ki tērā momo reo tonu.

WM: Āe, ā, heoi anō, ā, mehemea kua pātai koe mēnā he tapu ērā kupu, tērā pea, kāore i te tapu e kore ai e pai te whāwhā, engari ko te tapu o roto i ngā kupu [56:00] ko te tapu o ngā whakaaro i hua mai i te hunga Māori nā rātou ērā kupu i rāwekeweke. Ā, he mea, he ‘emergent cult’ hoki tērā te hāhi Pai Mārire nei. Pēnei anō i ētahi anō, pēnei i ngā mea o te Taitokerau nei, ā . . .

JT: Papahurihia . . .

WM: Papahurihia. Papahurihia, . . ā . . .

JT: . . . Atua Wera.

WM: Atua Wera. Ērā. Ka tīkina atu e rātou, engari ka hoatu ko te āhua Māori. Nō te mea, i te haere mai o ngā mihingare, o ngā Karaitiana, kātahi ka ākona, ā, kotahi anō te atua. Ā, ka mutu, ā, ka whakamātau ngā Māori ki te tiki atu i te mana o ngā Pākehā mā roto mai i tō rātou atua, ka heke mai pēnei i te . . . pou Pai Mārire nei? Heke mai te atua ki reira, āna, ka homai ngā whakamārama. Ērā, ā, kāore au e kī ana, ā, i te wā pea i a rātou mā, e tapu ana. I te wā ināianei, ki a au, pai noa iho te whāwhā i ērā o ngā kōrero, nā te mea, ko ngā kupu kē, ahakoa ngā karakia, kei te huna kē rātou i te āhua o ō rātou whakaaro i roto i a rātou kupu. Ko rātou tonu kei te mōhio he aha te tikanga o ā rātou kupu. Nā reira, ka huna i a rātou ki roto i ā rātou kupu, ā, ō rātou whakaaro. Arā, kei te kite rātou i ngā wāhine a ngā settlers e noho ana ki runga i ō rātou whenua, e tono ana i ngā hōia, nā reira, te āhua nei, e noho tata ana ngā settlers me ngā hōia, ngā kaimahi ahuhenua nei. Ā, tuarua, ko ngā kairūri, ā, ka rongo i ngā tāngata, ‘Nōta, Īta, Tāu, Wēta’, nē. “North, East, South and West”, ā, ko ngā tohu o te . . . o ngā hau, ēnei e kōrerotia nei ē rātou. Nā reira, kāore he tapu o ērā kōrero, ki a au, pēnei i te tapu ka hoatu au ki ngā kōrero mō ētahi kua whakamāramatia atu nei ki a koe.

[58. 29] Ā um, tērā pea, mō te nama whā rā [4. *Is your approach to s/s texts different to your approach to other texts?*], mehemea he rerekē taku whāwhā i ngā tuhituhinga o ētahi momo kōrero i ētahi atu, kāore au e mōhio kia pānui rawa ahau ki aua kōrero rā e mōhio ai au mehemea me hoatu e au te kōrero, he tapu ēnei kōrero, me kī rānei e au, ehara noa iho ēnei kōrero i te kōrero tapu, nā reira, kua taea e au te whakamāori, whakapākehā rānei. Kia āta pānui rā anō au kātahi anō kua hoatu i te whakaaro ki roto i aua kōrero rā, kāore e pai ki a au ēnei, me whakatapu e au, me whakawātea e au ēnei kōrero. Nō te mea, ki tōku

whakaaro, kei roto i ēnei kōrero e takoto ana ētahi whakaaro, tērā pea, me tūpatohia ahau. Kei whakamahi ai au i roto i te horopaki Māori, ka hoki mai ki te papaki i a au. Engari, me waiho au kia āta tirohia ai au mehemea he painga kei roto, he mate rānei kei roto.

[1.00.00] Nā reira, pērā taku titiro ki ētahi o ngā-, mēnā ka kitea e au, i te roanga, he mate kei roto, kāore e whāwhātia e au. Ki te whakapākehātia e au, kāore e hoatu e au te tino o roto i aua kupu rā ki roto i te reo Pākehā, nō te mea, kāore e taea e au te tino o te reo Māori ki roto i te reo Pākehā. Ka taea ai e au te tiki atu i ētahi kupu Pākehā e āhua hāngai ana ki te whakaaro Māori. Ka rata ahau ki ērā kupu nō te mea, ehara i te mea kei te tino whāki ahau he aha te ngako, te matū o roto i aua kupu rā, e puta kē mai ai, ā, te taha Māori tūturu i roto i aua kupu rā. Ki a au, ka hiahia tonu au ki te huna i te tino o roto i aua kupu rā, kia mōhio rā anō ahau, ko wai, mehemea he Māori, nā rātou, nō rātou ērā kōrero, kāore pea aku āwangawanga. Engari, mehemea he tangata kē atu kei te kimi hua, kei te kimi oranga mōna anō mā roto atu i aua kōrero rā, e kore pea au e whakaae ka hoatu au te kupu tapu ki runga i ērā kōrero. Ā, nā, tērā pea, ko tērā kupu tapu, e tapu ana ki te iwi nō rātou ngā kōrero, e tapu ana nō te mea kei te hiahia au kia tapu aua kōrero rā. E hiahia ana au kia tapu nō te mea kāore au e hiahia kia tāhaengia ngā IP o roto i ērā kōrero. E hiahia ana rānei ahau, ā, mā tērā iwi tonu e whakaae, e whakakahore, kaua māku. Mō tōku iwi tonu, me haere rawa au ki te pātai ki a rātou mehemea ka whakaae mai rātou, kāore rānei. . . . Āe, wērā taku whakarāpōpototanga ki tō pātai tuawhā. [01.02.15] Tuarima: *Ki tō mōhio, he aha ngā tino take, ngā taero rānei e whakataute nei i te kaiwhakamāori/kaiwhakapākehā o ēnei momo tuhinga?* Well, kua kōrero kē au ki ētahi o ngā issues o roto i te, tēnei, ā, ngā uauatanga o roto i tēnei, um: Mā wai? Ki a wai? He aha ai?

JT: Me pēhea?

WM: Me pēhea? Me pēhea te ārai? Ā, kei te āhua tonu o te minenga, o te tangata rānei e tatari mai ana ki tō whakautu, he aha tō whakautu ki a ia, ki a rātou rānei, me pēhea tō whakahoki atu i tērā whakaaro ki a ia. Um, [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei*]

[01.07.55] . . . Engari, arā. Kua hoatu ngā whakamāoritanga me ngā whakapākehātanga o aua waiata rā, ngā whakamāramatanga i roto i te reo Pākehā mō aua waiata rā. Ā, engari, ehara i te mea e kī atu ana kāore e taea ai ētahi iwi kē, nā te mea, i pērā tātou te Māori i mua. Ka haere atu mātou, ko tā mātou waiata, ‘E Moe Kaihau’: (sings) ‘*E moe Kaihau i tau moe reka, e ara ki runga kauwhatatia te kauwhata tae atu kia puta noa mai . . .*’ Tērā waiata, he roa. He roa te waiata nei. Engari, ko te waiata nei, nō roto kē o Ngāti Porou. Nā Ngāti Porou te waiata nei. Ka tīkina atu e ngā mea o Tūhoe, ka whakamahia e rātou mō ā rātou nā huihuinga. Ka rāwekeweketia ētahi kupu e rātou. I whakamōhio atu rātou ki a Ngāti Porou, kei te whakarerekē rātou i a rātou kupu engari pai ki a rātou anō ngā kupu, e hāngai mai ki tā rātou kaupapa i whakaaro ai rātou. Ka tukuna e Ngāti Porou kia mahia tērā mea. I puta hoki te rongo o Ngāti Porou mā

roto mai o taua waiata rā, ‘Kauwhatatia te kauwhata a te atua, kia puta noa mai, kia kōrerotia’, um, a rātou. (Sings) *Kia kōrerotia . . kauwhatatia . . ai! E moe Kaihau i tau moe reka, e ara ki runga kauwhatatia te kauwhata a te atua, kia puta noa mai kia kōrerotia ka hoatu ki tona tini, ki tōna mano, tū mania, tū pāheke, tū kukume, te tū pono noa*. Arā kē te roa o te waiata nei. Nā, e waiatatia e mātou i ēnei rā. Kāore he raruraru i tērā wā o te whātoro atu o ngā mea o Tūhoe ki roto o iwi kē. Ā, he aha te kaupapa; ko te rangi, i riro mai; ko ngā kupu, he mea takahuri i ētahi o ngā kupu kia hāngai mai ki tō mātou rohe. Engari, ko tētahi mea nui i puta ake i roto i tērā āhuatanga, ko te whakatata atu o te whanaungatanga o ētahi o mātou ki ērā o tērā wāhi. Ko te iwi, ko te hapū nā rātou tēnei waiata, i moe mai ētahi o mātou o Tūhoe ki roto i a rātou. I moe mai ētahi o rātou ki roto i a mātou. Nā reira, whakaaetia ana tērā whakawhitiwhiti. [01.11.17] Ehara tēnei i te tuhituhinga, engari, nō te taenga mai ki ngā tuhituhinga a Merv McLean, he pai tana whakaaro kia kohikohia ngā waiata, nō te mea, i te matemate haere ngā kaumātua i tērā wā, he nui ngā waiata i mau, ā, kua mate ngā kaumātua kua kore e whakamahia. Engari, pēnei anō i ēnei kōrero e kōrero ake nei koe, e pātai mai nei koe, me he ‘sensitive’, he sensitive, he tapu ētahi o ngā waiata. Kua tuhia ki roto i ngā pukapuka, ka whakapākehātia, ka whakamāoritia. I reira, kua whakatūpato koe, nō te mea, mahara ake au i te wā ia a au i te whare wānanga o Tāmaki, e whāia nei i taku tohu. Ā, ka homai ngā mahi nei e Patu, ko Patu tētahi o ngā, Patu Hohepa, tētahi o ngā . . ā, pononga a Bruce Biggs i tērā wā. E whai ana a Patu i tana tohu kairangi i taua wā rā. Engari whakamahi a Bruce Biggs ki te, kia noho mātou ki te titiro ki ngā waiata nei. Ka homai hei, hei whakapākehā mā mātou, hei whakamāori rānei mā mātou, i aua waiata rā. Nā, mēnā, mōhio ana koe, mehemea kāore he horopaki hei āwhina i a koe, he . . .

JT: He uaua! Āe, āe.

WM: . . . uaua te . . te tiki atu i te *tino* o roto i aua waiata rā, he aha te wairua e hiahia ana kia kawea i roto i te waiata. Nā, he mahi nui tā mātou ki te whakamāori, whakapākehā, me taku wehi i taua wā, i taua wā tonu rā, ā, ki ētahi i kī atu ai au ki a Patu, ‘Oo, kāore au e hiahia ki te-’, ka mea, homai ko tētahi atu pea kia kite au mehemea ka taea e au tērā. Ko tēnei waiata, kei te kite iho au ko ētahi o ngā kōrero, he kōrero kē, he kaiaora kē te waiata nei. Kāore i pai ki a au, nō te mea, kei te whakaohoho au i ētahi mea kua tukuna kia moe, kia tau ai te rangimārie. Engari i te whakaoho ake au i ngā kōrero, kei te whakaoho ake anō au i ngā wairua o te hunga i rīria ki a rātou anō. Nā, he kōhuru hoki ētahi o ngā kōrero i roto i ngā waiata nei, ngā mea i mate. Nō konā, ka whakaaro ake au, kaua au e whāwhā i ērā. Ki te whāwhā ahau, kei te whakakorikori au i ngā wiarua o te hunga kua mate. Nā reira, pērā ētahi o ngā kōrero nei, e kore e whātoro atu ki reira. Um . . what was that one, number 4?

JT: Tuarima pea.

WM: Tuarima . . ā . .

JT: Koirā te tīmatanga o tō mahi whakamāori? . . . kei te taha o Bruce Biggs mā?

WM: O, i mua atu i tērā. I mua atu i tērā. I konei au e . . Oh. Āe. Āe. Sorry. Āe, koirā taku tīmatanga ki te-. Ka haramai a Bruce – e tamariki tonu ana au, i te kura tonu au – ka haramai a Bruce ki roto o Ruatoki. I reira ia e kura māhita ana, i mua i tana urutanga ki roto i te whare wānanga o Tāmaki rā. Ka mōhio atu au ki a ia. E rua rāua, Matiu Te Hau, Bruce Biggs. Ko tētahi i tētahi taha o te awa e ako ana i te kura i reira, engari i haramai a Bruce ki te torotoro haere i a mātou anō, Pou tētahi o ngā kaikōrero ki a ia i taua wā. E tamariki tonu ana a au, e patapatai mai nei i a au. Anā, ko Matiu Te Hau, ko Matiu Te Hau nō Te Whakatōhea. Um, anā, ko rāua tahi i roto i te, te whare wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau. Ko Bruce i roto i te . . Māori Studies, Anthropology, well, Anthropology i tērā wā, engari ka wāhia ka hua mai Māori Studies i te taha, koia, nāna i tīmata ake i tērā, ko te reo i uru atu ki roto. Koirā hoki tētahi o āna matuatanga. Anā, ko Matiu Te Hau, i roto i te mea e kīia nei, ‘Continuing Education’, engari i tērā wā, ko te ‘Adult Education’ te ingoa i taua wā rā. Anā, ko rāua tahi i te, i te kōrero i ētahi wā mō ngā mahi nei, mō te whakamāori, whakapākehā. Anā, i mōhio ai au ki ngā mea nei, ka kīia mai e te ‘kaioraora’, nā te mea, ko ētahi o ngā kaioraora, he kaioraora i waenganui i Ngāti Awa rāua ko Whakatōhea. Nā, nō te waka o Mataatua ēnei iwi e rua. Nā, ka titoa e tēnei taha he waiata e hahani ana i tērā, ka titoa mai tērā he waiata e hahani ana i tēnei, me te whiuwhiu i ētahi kupu *kino* i roto. Nā, kua aua kupu rā hei whakapākehā māku. Ka maku au, nō te mea, he whakapapatanga atu tōku ki roto i a Te Whakatōhea. Ā, kāore au e whaiwhai ana mēnā he whakapapa tōku ki roto i a Ngāti Awa. Mēnā he whakapapa tōku ki roto o Ngāti Awa, ko te whakapapa ka hoki kē atu ki te tuahine o Tūhoe, ki a Uenuku-rauiri. I moea ia e te tangata Rangi-whakaeke-hau, ka puta ko tā rāua tamariki, ko Te Rangi-te-aorere. Nā, ko Te Rangi-te-aorere nei, nāna te kōrero rā, ā, ‘He kotahi nā Tūhoe [ka] kata te pō.’ [01.17.27] I te wā i haere ia ki te kimi i tana matua, ko tana matua, ā, ake, i moea, ā, he aha te kōrero, i moea, i pūremu a Uenuku-rauiri rāua ko . . rāua ko . . Te Rangi-whakaeke-hau. Anā, ka hapū te wahine nei. Ka whakarerea iho e te tangata rā, ko tana kōrero, ‘Ki te whānau mai tō tamaiti, tō pepe, he wahine, tapaia ki te au o te wai e rere nei, ki a Te Rangi-taiki; ki te whānau mai he tāne, tapaia ki ngā ao o te rangi e rere nei, ngā kapua o te rangi.’ Nā, he tāne. Ā, ka pakeke haere te tamaiti rā, ka pātai, ‘Kei hea taku pāpā?’ Ka kī atu te whaea rā, ā, ‘Āra, kei roto o Rotorua.’ Nā, ka haere ia ki te torotoro i tana pāpā. Nō reira, i te wā i, kua whānau, i reira ana tuākana o te taha ki te wahine a Te Rangi-whakaeke-hau – te wahine *ake* a Te Rangi-whakaeke-hau. Ā, ka pūhaehae ki te awhi atu a Rangi-whakaeke-hau i tana tama, i a Rangi-te-ao-rere. I whakamōhio atu a Rangi-te-ao-rere ko wai ia, mā roto nā i te kōrero rā, ‘ki te whānau mai he tāne, me tapa ki ngā ao o te rangi e rere nei.’ Ā, ka mōhio a Rangi-whakaeke-hau, nāna te tamaiti rā. Ā, kātahi ka whakaritea me haere rātou ki Mokoia, ki te riri ki te tangata nei, ki a . . . he whero tana ūpoko. Whero tana ūpoko; ‘Something-Whero’ te ingoa o te kaumatua nei, te rangatira nei. Anā, he rite tonu te haere mai ki uta, ki te pakanga ki ngā mea o uta, ki te patupatu i ngā mea o uta, o Rotorua. Kātahi ka whakaritea e Te Rangi-whakaeke-hau, me haere he ope tauā ki te whakaae e ngā mate. Ka

haere, ka hoe atu rātou, anā ko Rangi-te-ao-rere tētahi i roto. Ā, hei whakarāpōpoto i te kōrero, ka kī atu a Rangi-whakaeke-hau ki a rātou, ‘Hoki mai. Engari me hoki mai koutou me te tangata nei me Rangi-whakaeke-hau, ā, me . . . Mea . . .’

JT: Rangi-te-ao-rere?

WM: Kāo, kāo. Te ingoa o te tangata kei te wareware i a au te ingoa, te tangata o runga o Mokoia nei, nāna nei i patupatu i ngā tāngata. Ā, te haerenga atu, ā, ka pakanga rātou, nāna ētahi o ngā mahi i hinga i a rātou te, te iwi o te tangata nei. Ā, ka kotia e ia te ūpoko. Ka raua ia ki roto i tana kete, ka whakahokia mai. [01.20.42] Ā, Ka huihui rātou ki mua o tō rātou matua, o Te Rangi-whakaeke-hau, o tō rātou rangatira o Te Rangi-whakaeke-hau, kātahi ka pātai ‘Ā tēnā, i toa koutou?’ ‘Āe, i toa mātou.’ ‘Āe, i mate a . . . anei, te mea whero nei te ūpoko. Āe, i mate’. ‘Ā, ka tango ake tēnei i tāna?’ ‘Āe’. Ka titiro ake ia, ‘Kāo, ehara ko ia nā Mea.’ Ā, ‘Ehara ko ia nā’. Ā, nō te taenga ki a Rangi-te-ao-rere, ka hūtia ake te, e Te Rangi-te-ao-rere, te ūpoko o te, o te tangata rā, arā! Ka titiro mai te matua, ka kite mai, ā, ko . . . ko te hoariri nei tēnei, kua mate. Nā, Rangi-te-ao-rere i patu. Anā, koirā te wā i puta ai te kōrero nei, ‘He iti nā Tūhoe, kata te pō.’ Ā, [indistinct], ka kī atu te tangata rā a Rangi-te-ao-rere ki āna tuakana, ngā mea e whakahāwea rā i a ia, ā, ‘He iti nā Tūhoe, kata te pō.’ Koirā noa tana kōrero, ka mau tērā, ‘he kotahi nā Tūhoe, kata te pō.’ Ka mau tērā kōrero, ā, e mau tonu nei i tēnei wā. Anā, koirā tētahi o ngā kōrero e whakatapu ana e mātou – kei te kōtiti au i ō kōrero i konei nā (laughter) – engari e whakatapu ana e mātou mō te āhua ki a mātou, kia kaua mātou e whakahīhi; engari me whakaiti mātou i a mātou. Kua wareware pea ētahi o mātou tērā tohutohu (laughter), kei te whakahīhi haere ētahi. [01.22.32] Right, āaa, *major issues*? Nā wai ngā kōrero? Ki a wai? Mō wai? He aha te kaupapa? Ā, mēnā, i roto i a koe, i te kaiwhakamāori, kaiwhakapākehā rānei, te whakaaro ka taea ai e koe, he *aha* e taea ai e koe? Koirā tētahi o ngā mea tino nui, pātai au ki a au, he aha e taea ai e au? Ā, nā, ka hoki ōku kōrero ki ngā mea i kī mai ai ōku, ā, tōku iwi ki a au, ngā kaumātua o tōku iwi ki a au, he aha ngā mea e tika ana ia whāwhātia e koe? He aha ngā mea, kāore e tika ana, kia kaua koe e whāwhā? Kei pākia koe, kei pākia tō whānau. Kāore koe e mōhio ka haere mai ngā mea nei i hea. Nā reira, koirā. Kāore āku āwangawanga- ā, he āwangawanga pēnei ōku. Nā wai ake ngā kōrero? Mēnā ko ngā kōrero nā tētahi tangata o iwi kē i kōrero, ā, kāore pea au e tino whakaaro, ā, he tapu ngā kōrero a tērā tangata. Engari ka whakaaro au, me tūpato au ki te whakamahia i ngā kōrero a tērā tangata. Kei tūpono, kei te hanga ia i ōna whakaaro i runga anō i te titiro, nō te mea, nō te hoariri ia. I roto i taua pakanga rā, ka hanga ake mai ai ia i āna kōrero e ai ki tāna e kite ai. Ko au, me noho tonu au ki tā Tūhoe e kite ai, ahakoa kei te hē (laughs). Nō te mea, koirā te mea i homai ai, koirā te kōrero a taku tipuna nei: ‘Ki te hē koe, nāku koe i hea ai.’ Ā, me mau au ki tā Tūhoe kōrero, kaua au e tawhiti atu i tērā. Ki te tīmata au ki te whakatawhiti atu i a au ngā kōrero a Tūhoe, i tērā wā, kei te wehe mai au i ngā mea i kī ai he tapu ērā kōrero. [01.24.54] Nō reira, me mau au ki ā rātou i kōrero mai ai ki a au, kia kotahi tonu ai te kōrero a

Ngāi Tūhoe. Ki te nui ngā kōrero a Ngāi Tūhoe – he kōrero kē tā Pou, he kōrero kē tā Te Wharehuia, he kōrero kē tā Tīmoti, he kōrero kē tā Tū Waaka, he kōrero kē tā Mea, tā Mea, tā Mea, nē? Nā reira, kāore i te kotahi o ō mātou whakaaro. Koirā i karangahia ai e Te Rangihau ngā kōrero i waenganui i a mātou, kia . . . kia huihui mātou ki te wānanga. Kia ōrite anō ai ā mātou kōrero. Kia riro ai mā ngā kaumātua mātou e kōrero, kia whakaae hoki ngā kaumātua, kei te kotahi ā rātou whakaaro e kōrero rā ki a mātou. Koirā tētahi o ngā mea i kīia mai ai e Te Rangihau ki a mātou, ‘Ka rongo koutou, kei te whakahui ai au ngā kaumātua, kia noho rātou ki te kōrero, ki te whakakotahi i ō rātou whakaaro. Kia kore ai e rerekē te whakatakoto o ngā whakaaro. *Me* ngā whakapapa. Kia ōrite katoa te whakatakoto i ngā tikanga.’ Nā reira, mehemea he kōrero tikanga, ka tūpato ahau ki te āhua o te whakatakoto i te kōrero tikanga, ngā karakia – kua kōrero atu au i ngā karakia; ngā waiata - kua kōrero atu au i ngā waiata. Ngā kōrero whenua, āe, ka tūpato anō au ki te āhua o ngā kōrero whenua. Ki a ahau, hei ētahi wā, kei roto i ngā kōrero whenua ētahi kōrero kāore e pai kia kōrerotia, engari me whāiti noa iho mai ki te whānau, ki te hapū noa iho. Nō te mea, ehara i te kōrero e tika ana kia hoatu ki ētahi kē. Kāore he pānga mai o ērā ki ēnei kōrero. Ā, tuatoru, kei riro ērā kōrero i iwi kē, i tangata kē, i whenua kē, ka whakamahia mō ā rātou kē mahi e hiahia ana rātou ki te whakamahi. Ā, *Pēhea ai te whakatau i ēnei aupikinga?* Well . . . I te tuatahi, kua kōrero ahau, me haere ahau ki, ā, ki tōku hapū, ki tōku whānau, mehemea he kōrero whānau, me haere au ki tōku whānau anō. Ā, i tēnei wā, ko te raruraru i tēnei wā – he whakatūpato tāku i a au anō – kua noho ko au te, te puna kōrero mō tōku hapū. E rua ngā wāhanga o tōku hapū, ko Ngāti Koura. E rua ngā Ngāti Koura: Ngāti Koura ki Te Papakāinga; ko Ngāti Koura ki Otenuku. Ko mātou o Ngāti Koura ki Otenuku. E kī ana ko tērā o Ngāti Koura, ko rātou ngā tuakana. Heoi anō, kāore au e whaiwhai atu i tērā kōrero. Engari, ko ngā kōrero nei, ki te kōrero rātou mō Ngāti Koura whānui, e pai ana tērā, ka noho mātou ki te kōrero ngātahi. Kia kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga o tō rātou marae. Kua noho rātou ki te kōrero. Kāore au e tuhi i ngā kōrero o tērā marae; kāore rātou e tuhi i ngā kōrero o tō mātou marae. Nā te mea, kāore rātou i te mōhio ki ngā kōrero o tōku marae; kāore au i te mōhio ki ngā kōrero o tō rātou marae. *Atu*, ko au anakē pea, kāo. Kua e pērā taku kōrero. Engari, e mōhio ana au, he mea kōrero mai au i te tangata nāna i hanga te whare. Tō rātou whare, [indistinct]. Ko wai te tangata nāna i hanga i tērā whare? . . . Ko wai tērā? [Kua kitea tētahi tangata tauhou ki waho o te whare. Kua hikina ngā kōrero i reira.]

[01.29.18]

Te Wharehuia Milroy: Rāhina, 16 o Haratua 2011 (Transcript 3)

WM: Mō te whakatau i ēnei aupikinga kei te mōhio koe i a au e kōrero nei ki a koe kei te, kei te paratī aku whakaaro ki ngā wāhi katoa kāore au i tino hāngai tonu mai ki te pātai. Engari, kei a koe tonu te rongoā mō ngā, mō ngā tutukinga waewae, ngā raruraru e ara ake nei i mua i tō aroaro, arā, e kī ake nei au, mehemea i roto i a koe te whakaaro he tapu ēnei kōrero, kua hoki koe ki te pātai: he aha i tapu ai? Nā, kua kōrero kē atu au ki a koe ētahi o ngā kōrero he aha i tapu ai ngā kōrero nei ki *ōku* whakaaro. Nā te mea ko ētahi he kōrero tuku iho, i kīia mai ai me noho tapu ki tō whānau, ki tō hapū, ki tō iwi noa iho ēnei kōrero. Kei konā anō ētahi kōrero e tapu ana engari e taea ana te kī he kōrero e tapu ana ki te nuinga o ngā, o te iwi Māori nō te mea he āhua orite katoa anō ō tātou whakaaro ki te āhua o ētahi o ngā take e ara mai ana i roto i ngā kōrero rā. Tērā pea . . . anei tētahi kōrero. Māu e whakaaro ake, māu e kī mai ki a au he aha tōu whakaaro mehemea he tapu, kāore rānei he tapu o roto. 1940 te tau. E haere ana ngā ope o roto o Ngāti Porou ki Waitangi ki te whakanui i te rā o Waitangi. 1940 te tau.

JT: He whakanui rautau tērā, nē?

WM: [2.10] Koirā te whakanui o te rautau. Ka haere. Nā, ko te tereina i tērā wā, mutu atu ai te ara o te tereina ki Taneatua, arā, kei waenganui o Whakatane me Ruatoki, a Taneatua. Ko te whakaaro hoki o te kāwanatanga o ngā rā o mua me haria atu te tereina mai i Tāmaki, ahu atu ki Tūranga rā anō, ka hono atu ai ki tērā o ngā ara tereina e haere rā ki Pōneke. Kāre i oti. Ka oti atu, ka mutu atu ki Taneatua. Nā reira, ka whakaaro a Ngāti Porou me haere mai tō rātou tira, tira nui tonu, mā runga i ō rātou pahi, i ō rātou taraka. Ka whakarere mai ō rātou waka ki Taneatua, ki Ruatoki. [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*] . . . Nā reira, ka kite ake koe, ki te tuhi au i ērā kōrero, e tika ana māku e tuhi? Ko au e mōhio ana ki ngā kōrero nei. Mea homai te kōrero nei ki a au. E tika ana māku e tuhi, me waiho noa rānei au hei kōrero whānui? Kei waenganui, kaua e tuhia.

JT: Kaua e tuhia.

WM: Kaua e tuhia? Nō te mea?

JT: Nā Ngāti Porou pea. He kōrero haehae pea ki a Ngāti Porou.

WM: Tērā pea. Nā reira mehemea he kōrero haehae, koirā te ‘sensitive’? Nō konā, ahakoa ko tēhea kupu ka whakamahia e koe, ko te ‘tapu’, ko te ‘rauangiāngi’ rānei . . . nō reira, āe. Heoi anō, ki a au, ki a au hoki, kaua e tuhia. Engari waiho hei kōrero ranga..

JT: He akoranga o roto.

WM: Āe.

JT: Mō te tangata o waho.

WM: [8.00] Āe, āe. He kōrero rangatira. He rangatira i raru ai a Tūhoe i a Ngāti Porou. [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*].

JT: He tino kōrero.

WM: Yeah, so pēhea ai te. Me tuhi tērā kōrero? Kāo, nā Ngāti Porou tērā kōrero. Ka taea e Ngāti Porou te tuhi i tērā kōrero?

JT: Kei a rātou tērā.

WM: Kei a rātou tērā, mehemea ka whakatapu ai rātou. Nā reira, ka hoki atu ki tō pātai tuatahi. Kei te tangata tonu me ōna whakaaro mehemea e kite ana ia he tapu kei roto. Ki te kore koe e tūpato, tērā pea ka whiua koe ki te kōrero. Ki te tūpato rawa koe, tērā pea kua aukati ai koe ētahi mōhiotanga e tika ana kia mōhio ētahi kē. Nā reira, koinei te ‘Shylock’ e mea nei koe, me pēhea te whakataurite i te ora, i te mate o te whakaaro. Kei roto i a koe tonu, kei te tangata tuhi i ngā kōrero. Anā, koirā taku whakautu matua ki a koe mō te āhua o tō pātai. Ko koe tonu kei te whakarite he aha te mea e tapu ana, he aha te mea e kore ana e tapu. Ko tō mahi kē, he kī ake i roto i ngā tauira e whakatakotoria ai e koe i roto i tō tuhituhinga: ki a au, ko tēnei, *anei* tōna āhua. Tērā pea, ki a au, he tino tapu ēnei kōrero, nā reira e kore e taea e au te kōrero. Engari i te wā i tuhia ai e koe tō tauira, kua whākina e koe he aha taua tapu rā, he aha taua mea rā. Tērā pea, kua tīmata koe ki te huna haere i ētahi o ngā āhuatanga. Anā, koirā taku whakautu ki tētahi o ō pātai i konei nā. Mena au kei te whakapākehā – kei te tuhi koe i te reo Pākehā? – mēnā au kei te whakapākehā, he nui ngā kupu Pākehā e taea ai e au te uhi i te wairua Māori o roto, kia uhi atu ai he kākahu kē ki runga. Engari kei te kitea tonutia atu tētahi whakaaro i roto i aua kōrero rā. [11.02] *He whakaaro anō ōu mō te taha matatika e pā ana ki te whakamāoritanga, whakapākehātanga o ēnei . . ?* Ā, kua kōrero kē tāua i ngā ethics o tēnei mea, arā, mehemea kei te mōhio koe ehara i a koe ērā kōrero, ehara nō tōu iwi. Mehemea nō tō iwi kua haere koe ki te patapatai i ngā mea o tō iwi e mōhio ana koe. Ko te mate i ēnei rā, Jillian, ko te mate i ēnei rā, kua iti rawa ngā tāngata e taea ai e koe te haere atu ki te pātai atu mō ngā kōrero nei. Kua noho ko koe tonu te kaiwherawhera i ngā kōrero nei. Kāore kē te nuinga i te mōhio ki ngā kōrero nei. Nōu, nāu ngā kōrero. Engari he nui ngā mea kāre i te mōhio ki ngā kōrero rā. Me aha koe? Me whakamōhio atu e koe? Me pēhea to whakamōhio atu i aua kōrero rā ki a rātou? He aha te huarahi e whāia ai e koe? Mehemea he tapu ngā kōrero i te tīmatatanga i whāwhā ai koe i aua kōrero rā, pēhea ai to unu i te tapu, te wāhanga tapu o aua kōrero rā, kia taea ai e te katoa te whāwhā? ‘Te katoa’ e kōrero nei au, ko tōu ake whānau, hapū, iwi e kōrero ake nei au. Mehemea kei te whakawhānui atu koe ki te ao Māori whānui, kua rerekē tō whakatakoto haere i ngā kōrero. Ki te tuhia e koe mō te ao whānui, tērā pea, ko ētahi wāhi kāore e kōrerotia e koe. Engari ka whakatakotoria e koe tētahi tauira, kāre he ingoa, kāre he aha. Ka hangaia e koe he, he aha nei taua mea rā, he . . he aha te kupu Pākehā? Ka hangaia e koe tētahi tauira, kāore i te whakahua ingoa, kāre i te mea, ‘hypothetical situation’. [13.10] Ka pātai ai koe i te pātai. Anei, he aha ngā mea hei tiro mā te tangata e whakamāori ana, e whakapākehā ana? Me pēhea tana titiro? Mehemea, anei te pātai, anei te horopaki e hoatu ai e koe, ka mea ake, he aha te pātai o tēnei nā? He aha ngā whakautu ki tēnei nā? Me pēhea? Me aha e ia? Ah well, he mahi nui tāu ki te, ki te . . whakakao haere, ki te whakapiripiri haere i ngā whakaaro nei, nā te mea, ahakoa pēhea ki ētahi tāngata e pānui ana, ka kī tonu rātou, ‘O, he tapu ēnei.’ Ki ētahi atu tāngata, kāore noa iho he tapu o ēnei kōrero. Ā, nā reira, ko koe kē kei te kuhu i te wairua ki roto i ō tuhituhinga. Ko koe kei te hoatu i te wairua ki roto i

ō tuhituhinga. Mehemea koe kei te tuhi mai i ō kōrero māku e pānui, ka titiro iho ahau, te mea tuatahi, kua mōhio kē au kei te pēnei koe, kei te mahi koe i tēnei mahi. Kua mōhio ahau me pēhea taku titiro ki tō tuhinga. Ko taku titiro ka pēnei nā – he aha te huarahi kua whāia e Jillian? He aha te āhua, he aha ngā momo kōrero kua wehea e ia kia rārangi i raro i te kupu ‘tapu’? He aha ngā momo kōrero kua rārangitia e ia kia takoto i raro i tēnei nā, he tapu kore ēnei kōrero? Ehara i te mea e kī ana he noho, engari kāre he here o te tapu i runga i ēnei kōrero. Nā te katoa ēnei kōrero, hei whakawhānui i te mōhioanga o te ao. Nā reira, āe, ki a au ko te mahi nui kei te kaituhi te whiriwhiri, i roto i a ia anō, he aha ngā mea e tapu ana, he aha ngā mea kāore i te tapu ki a ia.

JT: [15.45] Kei te hoki ōku mahara ki taku tuhinga paerua, e pā ana ki te tuhinga a tētehi rangatira nō Te Rarawa, a Ngakuru Pene Haare. E ai ki Te Whare Pukapuka o Ākarana ko te taitara o tana tuhinga ko ‘Ngā Pakanga o Ngā Puhī’. Engari ki a au nei, ki taku nei titiro ki te pukapuka rā, ko tana taitara ko tēnei kē, ‘Ko te reo tawhito me tōna whakamāoritanga ki te reo o nāianei’. Ki a au nei, nō tana tuhituhi i aua kōrero rā, kua māmā, kua whakamāmā i ngā kōrero, kua tango i a ia te tapu, kua waiho rānei ngā kōrero tino tapu ki te taha.

WM: Ka homai ko ngā kōrero e māmā ana. Āe, pai tēnā tauira hei whāinga, hei tauira whakautu ki tāku pātai, ka waiho e koe ngā kōrero tapu. Ko te, he rawe kē ērā kōrero mō tāu kaupapa e whai nei koe, nō te mea, engari me taku mea, me taku whakaaro anō he pai tonu pea kia takoto he momo wero ki roto i tō tuhinga mō te āhua o ētahi o ngā tapu nei. Kua roa au e kōrero ana mō tēnei mea mō te whakapapa. Ā, ētahi āhuatanga o te whakapapa e kore pea e taea e koe, kia eke rā anō tētahi wā. Hei tauira anō ake māku, ko ētahi o ngā moenga a ngā rangatira – rangatira wahine, rangatira tāne – i ō rātou hoa, ka puta ētahi tamariki, kāore i whakaheketia mai i roto i ngā whakapapa. Kāore i uru mai ki roto i ngā whakapapa. Ko ētahi anō e hiahia ana ahau kia wherawheratia. Kia kōrero ake au mō te tangata nei a Tuhoe, Tuhoe Tipuna. I ara mai hoki tērā tangata, ka uru mai ki konei ki roto o Kāwhia nei. I haere mātou ki te wāhi kei reira ōna kōiwi e noho mai ana, kei roto i tētahi ana. Kei raro i tētahi puke te ana nei. Anā, kei reira. He mea whakatanuku mai kia horo mai ngā toka me ngā oneone hei kati i te urunga atu ki te ana nei, nō te mea i uru ngā kurī a ngā hēpara ki roto i te ana nei. Whakaaro ake rātou kāore he pai, nā reira, ka tīkina atu he dynamite, ka whakahorongia mai te, o runga o te hiwi kia taka mai ki runga i te wāhi nei kei reira te ana nei. Nā, he kōhatu whakamaharatanga kei reira mō taua mea nei. I haere mātou ki reira ki te whakanui i tērā. Ā, engari i haere mai i tana taha tētahi tangata, ko Maahanga te ingoa. Nā, kei roto i tētahi waiata a Tūhoe, ‘Te rongo o te tuna e hau mai nei kei te pāpuni kei a wharawhara’, e whakahuatia ana te ingoa nei, Maahanga. Nā, e ai ki ngā whakapapa, he irāmutu a Maahanga nō Tuhoe Potiki. Ka haere mai, ka whai mai i tana matua i a Tuhoe, ka uru atu rāua ki roto. Kei konei tētahi hapū, ko Ngāti Maahanga te ingoa. [Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei] Maahanga kei roto i te waiata nei ‘Te rongo o te tuna’. ‘Maahanga whakarere kai, whakarere waka’. Anā, i haramai tētahi a Tūhoe, ka

haere. Ka [indistinct] mai ki konei kāore i hoki ki roto o tērā rohe. Koira tō mātou whakaaro, ngā kōrero ki roto i a mātou o Tūhoe. Te tangata nei ko Maahanga, kei konei. Ko te pātai, e ai ki tō wero i konei nā, ko te pātai: mā wai, ki te tuhi kōrero ahau, ki te tuhi kōrero rānei tētahi o Ngāti Maahanga pērā i te kōtiro e pānui mai rā, [AP]. He Ngāti Maahanga hoki.

JT: Tērā kōtiro i runga i te pouaka whakaata? [AP]?

WM: (23.12) Āe. Ko [AP]. Āe. Ngāti Maahanga hoki tētahi taha ōna, tērā kōtiro. Ko ōna pānga, āe rānei e tika ana mā Ngāti Maahanga ērā kōrero e kōrero? E tika ana rānei mā Tuhoe e whakaara ake ngā kōrero? Kei te āhua tonu o tō whakatakoto i ō kōrero e taea ai te kī, ko ēnā he rauangiangi; ko ēnei nā, kāore i tino, he tapu, tapu motuhake. Me waiho tonu i roto i te pō uriuri, i te pō tangotango ēnā kōrero takoto ai. Kua mate koe, ka haria atu e koe ērā kōrero i tō taha. Kua ngaro ērā kōrero. Koinā tētahi o ngā mate o tēnei āhua e pātai mai nei koe ki a au, me *aha* hei whakatika, hei whakatau rānei i ēnei aupikinga? Aua! Engari kei roto i tēnā, i tēnā o ngā kaituhi te huarahi hei whāinga mā rātou. Pēnei i te tangata i kōrero atu nei au ki a koe, i tāhaetia nei e ia ngā kōrero o tētahi iwi kē, ka kuhuna e ia ki roto i ngā pukapuka. Kāre ia i mate – *wawe*. I mate, engari kāore ia i mate wawe. Engari, he orange i puta ki ētahi nā te kitenga i ērā kōrero. Kāore au e mōhio he aha te orange i puta ki te iwi nā rātou ake ngā kōrero rā. Engari he orange e puta ana, ā, ki a tātou katoa, nō te mea, he mātauranga kei roto hei tirohanga mā tātou ki te āhua mō tātou tonu, me pēhea tā tātou, ā, whāngai i a tātou Māori nei ki ētahi māramatanga, ki ētahi mōhiotanga. Ehara i te mea hei orange moni nei, engari hei orange ngākau, hei orange hinengaro e taea ai e tātou te tuitui anō i ō tātou hapū, i ō tātou iwi ki te āhuatanga i a rātou mā i *mua* i te taenga mai o te Pākehā. I mōhio ai rātou ki te herehere i a rātou anō mā roto atu i o rātou whakapapa, mā roto atu i o rātou . . engari i tērā wā hoki, kāore he tuhituhinga. Ko ngā whakairo anake, ko ngā tukutuku anake, ko ngā kōwhaiwhai anake ngā kōrero i kite ai e te kanohi. Ko te kōrero ā-waha anake te mea i kawē i ērā āhuatanga. Ko te noho tahi a te hunga i waenganui i a rātou anō ki te kōrerorero me pēhea tā rātou kawē i ērā whakaaro. I āta wānanga rawatia e rātou i mua i te hoatutanga mā tētahi e whakapuaki ki te nuinga. Anei te whakatau, anei te whakaaro o mātou. Me pēnei tā tātou whai i tēnei kaupapa. Nā reira, ka whakaae katoa ana ngā whānau me te hapū, kua tau. Tae mai ki ēnei kōrero, pērā anō. Mēnā . . he ora, he huarahi e taea ana e tātou te whiriwhiri he puta ai he painga ki a tātou katoa. Kāore hoki e whāiti anake ki te Māori anake. Ka whakawhānui atu ki ō tātou whanaunga o ngā moutere, ka whakawhānui atu ki te iwi Pākehā, nō te mea ka āhua mārama ake te Pākehā ki tō tātou ao Māori. Ki te huna koe i ēnei mea, kāre e taea e koe te whakamārama atu ki te Pākehā, anei kē, e hika mā, te āhua o te iwi Māori nei. Anei āna taonga, ōna orange, ōna mate. He tāngata katoa tātou. Heoi anō tētahi he Māori, tētahi he iwi kē. Engari anei ngā mea e taea e tātou. Kia mōhio ai tātou ki te kōrero ngātahi ki a tātou anō. I tēnei wā kei te kōrero tātou engari kei te whiuwhiu kōhatu kē tātou ki a tātou anō. [27.52] Nā reira, kia kore ai e pāmamae te kiri me te tūākiri o te tangata, tērā pea

koinei te huarahi e mārama ake ai. Kia kaua e kaha te huna i ētahi o ngā kōrero. Engari Jillian, kei a koe kē hoki te tikanga. Kāore pea he whakautu ki tō pātai tūturu, ā, me pēhea rawa te rongoā o tēnei raru. Ā, kei tēnā, kei tēnā, kei tēnā anō kaituhi, kairārangi kōrero te rongoā e taea ai te kōrero i ngā mōhiotanga, engari e taea ana anō hoki te noho, te whakanoho i te tapu kia tūturu tonu ki runga i aua whakaaro rā. Kāre e tānoanoatia e te wā kei te noho tonu hei kōrero tapu ki te iwi, ki te whānau, ki te tangata rānei nāna ērā kōrero. [29.06] Um, *Ethics*. Ka taea e koe te tuhi tō pukapuka ethics mōu tonu. Pēnei anō i a au nei, ka taea e au te kī kāre au e poka noa ki te haere ki te tuhi i ngā kōrero a ētahi kē, kia haere rawa au ki te pātai. Ki te kī mai ki a au kaua e tuhia, nā te mea *nh, nh, nh*, kāore e tuhia e au. Engari ehara i te mea ka mutu atu i reira. Mēnā he reanga ka ngaro atu, kua hoki anō au ki te pātai, engari he rerekē taku pātai. Ā, ka pātai au i te tuatahi, ‘Anei te kaupapa i haere mai ai au ki te pātai ki a koe, Jillian. Kei te hiahia au ki te tuhituhi i ngā kōrero nei nāku i kite. He kōrero kei roto i ētahi tuhituhinga, nā, nā wai rā, nā ētahi kaumātua. I hui ai, ka tuhia e rātou ngā kōrero nei. Ka whakatakotoria e rātou.’ Nā, i pēnei hoki ā mātou kōrero i te wā i a Te Rangihau. I tuhia e mātou ā mātou kōrero, ngā mea a Te Rangihau, *me* tuhi. I whakapukapukatia ētahi o ngā kōrero nei, ngā mea i whakaaetia. Ko te raruraru, i te whakapukapukatanga, ko te whakapukapukatanga e kī ana – kei te kōrero mō tēnei mō ngā matatika – te whakapukapukatanga, ko te kōrero, me whāiti noa iho mai ki a Tūhoe ēnei kōrero, nā te mea, e pā noa iho ana ki a Tūhoe. Ka uru atu ētahi o mātou kaiako ki roto i ngā whare wānanga Māori nei, ngā kaiako nō Tūhoe. Nā, māngere pea ki te haere ki te rangahau haere i ngā kōrero o roto i ngā pukapuka maha. E taea ai e rātou te whakakaupapa i ētahi whakaaro mā rātou hei kawē mā rātou ki mua i te aroaro o ngā tāngata e kauhau atu ana rātou. Kātahi ka nanao atu ki ngā kōrero i roto i tā mātou pukapuka. Kātahi ka tangohia e rātou, ki tōku whakaaro, ka tangohia e rātou ngā tapu i hoatu ai e ngā kaumātua ki runga i aua kōrero rā. Ka hoatu ngā kōrero rā ki iwi kē, ki ngā iwi kē, ki ngā tāngata kē hei kōrero Māori, ehara i te mea hei kōrero Tūhoe, engari hei kōrero Māori kē. He Māori ēnei kōrero. He tika he Māori, engari he Māori Tūhoe ēnei e kōrero nei mō rātou anō. Nō konā, ka . . . nā māua ko Pou. Ka kōrero hoki ki a Pou. Nā māua ko Pou te pukapuka nei. Nā māua hoki i whakaara ētahi kura ki roto i a Tūhoe, i muri i te matenga o Te Rangihau, ka haere māua ki te whakaara ake, te whakaoho ake anō i ngā kura i whakatūria ai e Te Rangihau. [Indistinct] i whakapukapukatia e māua, engari koirā te kaupapa. Tikina atu e māua ngā mea o roto o Heretaunga, o Ngāti Porou, o Pōneke, o te Tai Tokerau, ngā mea o Tūhoe i te Tai Tokerau, i Tamaki nei, o konei, o Rotorua, kia hoki ki te kāinga, kia huihui mātou i ngā huihuinga i roto o Ruatahuna, o Te Waimana, o Ruatoki. Ka hangaia e māua te pukapuka nei. Nā, i reira ka haere mai ngā mea o Tūhoe ake. Kāore i whakaaro ake, kāore hoki rātou i tae mai ki ngā kura. Nā, kāore rātou i mōhio ki ngā kōrero i kōrerotia. Engari kei roto i te pukapuka aua kōrero rā. Engari ka whāngaitia e rātou ki ētahi kē. Me aha māua ko Pou? Kāore e taea e māua te kaha whakahē atu, nō te mea, ko aua kōrero rā, koirā anake ngā kōrero e mōhio ana aua hunga, nā

rātou ērā kōrero i whāngai atu ki ētahi kē. Nō Tuhoe, nō Tuhoe hoki rātou. Koirā anake ngā kōrero e mōhio ana rātou. Ka mōhio mai koe i te tikanga o taku kōrero. Kāore rātou i haere ki te āta rangahau kōrero pēnei i a koe e rangahau nei i ēnei kōrero nā, i ēnei pātai āu, ki te kimi whakautu i ō pātai. Kāore i haere pērā, ki te āta uiui i te tangata kia kitea ai ko hea te huarahi hei whāinga mā rātou, ko hea te wāhi kia tūpato, nā te mea, he, he . . he tara ongaonga, he tātarāmoa tērā o ngā huarahi. Engari me haere kē mā tēnei huarahi. Ā, kāore ērā ethics, ērā matatika i whāia e rātou. He pēnei anō i ngā kōrero e kōrero nei, i kīia nei, ngā wāhanga he rauangiangi nei ngā whakaaro o roto. Me aha ērā whakaaro? Me huna, me pupuri, me noho tapu noa iho rānei ki roto i tētahi pukapuka, ka waiho mō tētahi wā rā anō, kātahi anō ka whāki? Nō te mea, kua eke pea tērā ki te wā kua kore te reanga Māori whakahē i te ora i tērā wā. Kua matemate katoa. Nā reira ko te hunga kua mahue mai ko te hunga e matekai ana ki ngā kōrero Māori ahakoa he aha ngā kōrero, kia taea ai e rātou te whakanoho i tētahi tuākiri Māori mō rātou i roto i a rātou anō, hei kākahu i a rātou. [35.49] Kāore au e mōhio mehemea kua oti katoa i a au, engari he mahi nui tāu i runga i tō mea ki te wetewete, ki te patopato. Engari ki te hiahia koe ki te hoki mai, pai noa iho ki a au te hoki mai kia patapatai koe i a au i ētahi o ngā kōrero i whakatakotoria e au. Māu e wehewehe ngā wāhi kua tāruatia e au, kua hoki tuaruatia e au. Ētahi hoki o ngā pātai nei, kei te tuarua, kei te tuatorutia e au ētahi o aku whakaaro.

JT: Pai noa iho. He tino pai ērā kōrero.

WM: Ka waiho atu tērā māu e tirotiro, nā te mea ko ō kohikohinga, ōu kōrero nei, whakatakotoria e koe ēnei kōrero, ngā mea ēnei kōrero, ā, tīpakohia mai e koe ngā mea e hiahia ana koe ki te whaiwhai haere, ka waiho koe i ētahi mō tētahi wā kē. Tērā pea, he tuhinga tuarua nāu, tuatoru noa atu rānei nāu mō ērā kōrero. Ā, koirā pea, e Jillian. Māu e titiro mai mehemea kāore anō kia whakautua e au ētahi pātai.

JT: Kua rahi tērā, kua rahi pai tērā. Tēnā rawa atu koe.

[29.23]

JT: So, whaea, just working our way through these questions. Is it fine to do it in English, is that fine with you?

JM: Yes.

JT: So, can you talk about your involvement – any involvement – that you’ve had with translating sacred and/or sensitive texts, and if that includes your ideas about whether or not you consider the texts you’ve been translating to be sacred or sensitive or not, then please feel free to include that.

JM: Alright, I thought I’d, if I could perhaps just mention some of the projects I’ve worked on that might come within this category. But of course, the definition of what a sacred text *is*, is, you know, something else. So, I suppose one body of material which would be regarded sacred to some extent that I worked on translating is that material from Ringatū elders that they provided for Judith Binney’s history of Te Kooti, and that was a mass of manuscript material relating to the Ringatū faith. And included prayers and explanations of tikanga and the history and so forth. So that, I translated those over a number of years, it was a lot of material, and it was to some extent, restricted, some of it was restricted simply to me, as a translator, and Judith, working on it, and went back to people. So I think that was regarded as reasonably sacred material. Um, I have translated karakia and waiata, which I think sometimes have material in them which might be considered sacred – references to matters of tapu and noa, and so forth – and some, maybe, kōrero relating to the origins of the universe and humankind and so forth, for my classes. And I think some of that material would be considered sacred. Um, I’ve translated quite a lot of what are called the *Papatupu Block Committee Minute Books*. And although they were committees, they were committees of Māori giving evidence about the history of their blocks of land to Māori. So it’s slightly different from the Native Land Court material. And I expect that some of that material might be considered tapu. I mean, occasionally there would be a karakia, or there would be a description of where a whare wānanga was, or there would be some mention of rituals that might be considered sacred. And again here I’m sort of tentative about what is sacred, what you’re considering a sacred text. Um, [2.53] as I mentioned, I’m about to start work on a body of material, have started working already, about ‘ao tawhito’, and that means material that is some of the older records of traditions, the, you know, the cosmology, um, karakia, ah, and so forth. I haven’t started translating it, but I’ve been collecting it in manuscript and will translate it later. So some of that might become interesting to you later on, or we may run into things that are interesting about that material. You mentioned the Pene Haare manuscript and I have, I transcribed that. I didn’t translate it, but I have translated parts of it, just out of my own interest. And then I collected a lot of whakataukī for the North, which I think you know about. And I expect again we’re talking about *some* of those would definitely be sacred, to some extent. So that’s the sort of *range* of material that I’ve been involved with translating, and, again, some of it would be considered

sacred to some people and not sacred to others. I mean, there always seems to be a sort of difference in view of what's sacred. I'm using the English word here, but assuming you are talking about tapu, which, again, in a matter of translation we might have a slightly different view. What I think is sacred and what you think is tapu might be different. So that's, as far as my involvement. Those are the kinds of texts I've translated, either for myself, for teaching, or for other people who've asked me to do it.

JT: Thank you. And as we're working through this, because I continually use the terms, 'sacred' and 'sensitive' text, you just feel free to interpret that as and when it is relevant to the work that you've done. So, 'In your opinion, what constitutes a sacred or sensitive text?' So, perhaps you might answer that from the point of view of the work that you *have* done, and what *you* consider to have been sacred, and what are the characteristics of those sorts of texts?

JM: [4.57] Well, I would use a label in the language itself, of course, like, 'karakia'. But again I think you'll find that some karakia people seem to be quite relaxed about it and other people, you know, are not relaxed about . . . But I would say, anything to do with what I would call a religious aspect of society, ah, I would call a sacred text, you know, or, a tapu text. A sensitive text might be slightly different to a sacred one, because people may feel, I mean some people have said, about books that I've been working on, 'Well, people shouldn't work on those books because they're all tapu'. You know, whereas other people have said, 'Here they are! Please translate them, Heeni [Jane]' (Laughter). You know. So, I tend to think that anything that comes into the area of what I call religious, or even sort of philosophical thinking about the nature of the world, and beliefs, I would call a sacred text in Māori. And that would be, perhaps, some of the mythological accounts, but particular forms of them. For example, you can read an account of Rangi and Papa which is very simple and sweet, written, composed for children. you can read another account which is more complex, has some karakia, the karakia attached to the propping up, you know, of the sky, and has whakapapa relating to all the different layers of gods and so forth. And I would think that many people would regard those as tapu texts, as opposed to the more generalized accounts that might have been told to young people, or told to amuse people in the evening, and so forth. So, I think those would constitute the more sacred or sensitive texts. Um. And I guess for some hapū, historical texts can be like that, because if they're about the annihilation of your people by another people, then they might be considered, you know, it might be considered important to keep them separate from other texts, which talk about, you know, different kinds of fighting or different incidents of interest in the historical record. So, I expect some hapū accounts are, kōrero, are like that. Waiata, again, I think a lot of waiata are amusing and light-hearted, and others have within them, a lot of waiata tangi have very complex references to religious thinking and mythology, and I expect some of those would be regarded as sacred. And I suppose one of the things that makes me think a text is sacred, is its complexity, often. That it is more

difficult to understand, because there are more references that might be obscure, there are words used in a different way from when they might be used in a more prosaic text which doesn't seem to have those characteristics. [8.01]

JT: Thank you. Umm, he whakaaro anō ōu? . . . Have you got anything more to add on that one?

JM: No. Unless you want to prompt me with some questions, like, okay, let's go ahead.

JT: Okay. How do you approach the translation of a text of this kind?

JM: Um, the same way as I approach translation of any text. That's assuming I've got it in my hands, you know. Um, in terms of translation itself, I don't proceed in any different way. Umm. That's the task, the translation of it. I'll proceed differently because, it's probably more difficult, so I have to do more research or something like that. Ah, I might, If somebody's given me a text, ah, and asked me for certain conditions in which I work, I would follow those, if it was sacred to them and they wanted me to do it. I *myself* don't have any sense of sacredness in texts, you know, 'cause that's not a religious view of mine. But I understand people's feelings about them, so I am careful with them, as I would be with any, you know, important text. And these are old texts, and they're about, um, things that are important to people whether you believe it or not, so they, certain respect you have, you've got to have respect for all [such] material, it doesn't matter whether it's sacred or not, I guess. Um. You know, so I don't approach it any differently, you know, really the thing that distinguishes a sacred text, for me, is, 'Ooh, this is going to be difficult' (laugh). The meaning may not be immediately clear, ah, and how do we fathom it. Yeah. [9.48]

JT: Do you, do you use a process of gloss translation? Do you use annotations? Or only if they're expressly called for?

JMc: Yes. It would depend on what I'm translating. Something for . . . When I'm, a lot of translation I have done of *lots* of material, you know, like, you know, a large manuscript text, a hundred pages or more, um, I will often say I won't translate the waiata and karakia unless they're self evident, because it will take a long time and people don't want necessarily to pay you for that. And they may be only interested in the general content of the matter. Um, but, um, for karakia, for example, sometimes they're self-explicit, you know, and so it's easy. Other times they're just so much more complicated that you could spend hours, you *can* spend hours and hours on them, in fact, so . . .

JT: If you're being paid to!

JMc: Yes, well that is of course the question. I mean, if you're translating out of interest you can spend however much time for it, but if somebody, you know, wants it done by a certain time, for a certain amount of money, you've got to say, well, what's the most practical way of dealing with this, and . . . Any poetic language, which karakia and waiata are, also presuppose a kind of knowledge about that way of composing and the traditions, which is different from narrative

text. Quite different. It's poetry, *all* poetry is difficult . . . [11.18]. Was I veering off the question there?

JT: No, no, that's fine . . . veering off. That's fine. So that, you've answered the other one, 'Does your approach . . . differ to your approach to other texts?'

JM: Yes. No, I don't think it does really, I think it does for . . . I thought about that when I first saw that question, I thought, immediately, no. And then I thought, but it does, because I am more careful *about* . . . You know, that I'm more careful, I'm more worried about the meaning, 'cause I think, I know that these texts, one word can refer to a whole *range* of contexts, which make sense of the whole karakia, for example. So, it's more complex. And I'm not so familiar with, say, karakia. Once you get familiar with them, then it's much easier. And even then it's difficult, because if you look at people like Ngata and Hurinui's work, where they've got a few karakia in their collection, in fact they left most karakia out, because they thought they'd do a different collection for those, they're quite tentative about meaning, you know, and about . . . and that's because . . .

JT: Well, who can say definitively that this is what it means.

JM: Yes. Yes. And you have to know this whole body of knowledge that surrounds it to make it quite clear. So, I think, while on the one hand I don't have any different method for translating sacred or sensitive texts from any other, in actually how I go about, I do have a, a *hesitancy* about my understanding of it, which is probably greater than other, more prosaic and secular, texts [12.54]. If there is a secular text in Māori. I mean, there's this sort of idea for some people that *all* kōrero tuku iho is sacred, to some extent. I would be inclined in that, when people say that, they mean it's tapu in the sense of 'special' rather than tapu in the sense of some kind of religious wariness and restriction about it.

JT: Thanks, that's good. Um, so did, I am quite interested in your process, but maybe that will come into this next part here, so, 'What are the major issues or problems that have arisen when translating texts of this nature, and how do you overcome those issues.

JM: Well, I think the major issue is that, this is, these, well if we're talking about the most, ah, if we're talking about texts that deal with the most religious and mythological, philosophical ideas, then it's the problem again of meaning, of this esoteri[c]a, is not designed often for, to be easily understood. It presupposes that someone's been very well trained in a tradition which, is still to some extent alive, but it's lost, like all tradition loses things over time, so, I think that, um, you have to do a lot of exploring, you have to look at a whole range of material, I mean, for me, I largely work in a literary-based, paper-based world of my research. Um, so I have to do a lot of research. I go through, say I've got a karakia to translate, I go through and I find other examples of karakia, and then you find the formulaic phrasing which is typical of them in several other karakia and you realize it's being used again here, but with those subtle adjustments that's normal in the oral tradition. So you get a sense from other examples of what is going on here, and then you have to look at the context in which this particular karakia is being used.

You will also have things involved like, it's, ah, belongs to a particular region, it belongs to a particular iwi, it belongs to a particular family even, which might make sense of maybe named people in it. You know, you've got to expand your sort of search for meaning out quite broadly . . .

JT: So, you will have, over the years, built up a sort of a library, a reference library of, to some extent, of karakia and texts that you can refer to?

JM: [15.30] Um, I think that I've built up enough knowledge of the literature to know where I can go to get help with a lot of these things, and, but they don't explain them all, um, by any means, and sometimes I think you'll get that knowledge from somebody who's versed in that tradition orally, now, in the iwi, and nobody else may know, it won't be in the written record. I mean there's still that, I still find that situation where I can't find it, anywhere, something, explanation of a phrase or, I'll ask somebody who's a native speaker who comes from there. 'Oh', they'll say, 'that's te mea, te mea, te mea.' And I'll think, 'Oh. Of course', you know (Laughter). 'But how d'you know?' and they'll say 'Oh well, because . . .' and they'll explain the context of them. And you can't, you know, that's why your sources have to be broad for understanding a lot of this material because, ah, because the recording of it is both *literate*, you know, the written record from the nineteenth century, and it's still *oral*, because there are a lot of people who've only had that teaching orally, I think, still. Um, so, those are, that to me is some of the issues and problems, you can't just go to a body of material, it's not like translating, you know, some Greek prayers, or Latin texts, where you've had several hundred years of people translating them before you and writing articles about them, and so forth, you've got very little, you know, sources to go to. But you can, but you can make a lot of headway, and this is what interests me about Ngata and Hurinui, in their introductions to *Ngā Mōteatea*, they keep stressing that, um, you can understand these texts, if you just work your way, as they did, they worked their way through the existing literature, they, everywhere they went, on marae, they were listening and noting down and they built up this *huge* body of knowledge, and it's there, but it needs that kind of, you know, searching and . . .

JT: Committed research.

JM: Yes it does! Yeah. Mm. It's getting to know the background to the text. That is important. Yeah. I think one person, I don't know if you've come across Agáthe Thornton's work . . .?

JT: Who?

JM: Agáthe Thornton.

JT: Oh, yes, sorry . . . yes . . .

JM: Ah, well, *The Birth of the Universe*. Yes. *The Birth of the Universe* is a prime example. *The Birth of the Universe*, where she has taken these old texts, of Te Whatahoro and Te Matorohanga, and translated some of this very early recording.

JT: Is that right [the spelling]?

JM: Agáthe Thornton, yes. All her works actually I think you'd find, her, um, *that*, and her translations in particular. Do you know [her work] . . . ?

JT: I know *of* her, yes . . .

JM: Of her, yes. She was a professor of Greek at Otago University

JT: Oh, now, what's, I don't know *this* book, but there's another book that she's done, looking at a particular, um, it's a comparison of the Greek and Māori . . .

JM: Yes. It's just called *Māori Oral Tradition*, I think. It's lovely. Yes.

JT: It's a little book . . .

JM: Yeah. *The Birth of the Universe* would really interest you too, in terms of sacred texts.

JT: Thank you.

JM: But, I think, what she shows as well, and she came, she learnt Māori out of interest when she came, first came to New Zealand, she's a scholar of the *classics*, um, but it's the same process that she's applying to them. And she's finding all this and she's translated, and begun to understand how these texts work. Mm.

JT: Thanks, that's great. So. Anything more that you want to add?

JM: No, I don't think so, unless I've, you know, unless you've got some . . . Yes, maybe you could say some things about what I *haven't* said. Or what interests you about my approach, which may be different from yours or . . .

JT: Well [in relation to the translation project, *Ngā tuhituhinga ki a Makarini*, and the approach being to produce 'close' or 'literal' translations] . . . I just wondered, um, what . . . I know you all sat down in the beginning and had a, you know, a goal, and discussed what your brief was, and how you were going to approach it and, how did you arrive at the idea of literal translations? . . . And . . . and what do you think a 'literal' translation is?

JM: [12. 14] Right, yes. Um, I think that, um, this is, this is how I tend to translate for historical material, is very, what I call 'plainly', I think 'literally' is, is . . . to me, is, can be, too close to the original to be, make much *sense*. So, I try for what I call a 'plain' translation, and that's trying to *not*, to keep it fairly simple. It may be a bit weighty in the English, but I'm trying to get the sense out, without overloading it with other ideas and contemporary thinking, all that sort of thing. And then, that's . . .

JT: So it's accessible . . . ?

JM: So, I think I've got into the practice of doing that because I've done a lot of translating for historians, like Judith Binney and so forth. So I say, 'Here's the basic meaning of this text', and then they can come in with the historical context, and say, 'Well, this is happening'. And then I can elaborate and polish it. But generally I try to keep them fairly plain and to leave the interpretation to, whoever is writing it out. So, that's where, for me, how I translate depends on who I'm translating for. So, and in the letters, the [Donald] McLean letters, again, that sense of saying simply what's been said, seemed to be one way of approaching it. It also, one reason for that also, was we wanted to get through a lot of letters and

make them available to people. And if you spend time looking for the right word, as you know, it can take a really long time.

JT: Yes.

JMc: Um, so, that's the sort of rationale for the way I've dealt with a lot of historical texts, when I'm doing them as a task for other people, so that I'm not adding, trying to add as little as possible *myself*. If I was translating it myself to publish or something, I would I would put my interpretation on it more . . . clearly, probably. Or through annotations, etcetera, etcetera.

JT: So that's, in a sense what you mean by 'plain', is that you haven't embellished it in any way . . .

JMc: Yes . . . Yes, I try not to, and I try to be very particular about getting the tenses right, and the number of people right, and, sometimes that adds a little, slight heaviness to the text. [22.37] I also quite like, you know, the strangeness of Māori in the English text. I'm not turning it into an English text, I'm saying, this is, and one of the examples of this is, people bother, worry about repetitions. And I say, 'But the repetitions are normal in the language, in Māori'

JT: Mm, they actually serve a purpose . . .

JMc: Exactly, there's meaning and purpose to them, so let's not leave them out. And if the English sounds a little clunky, you're reading, in *this* case, you're reading, you know, a text which *comes* with that in it. But if you were doing it for an audience who just wanted to know what's going on and what it was like, you could lighten it up, if you like, a bit. I think the purpose of the end translation affects, for me, affects what I do with it, um, and, yeah. I find sometimes that, I'll translate something quite plainly, and a native speaker will translate the same text, and they'll jazz it up a bit. And I'll think, 'Oh gosh, mine looks a bit flat', you know. But then I'll look and I'll think . . .

JT: *That's* not in there . . . !

JMc: . . . 'Oh, but they've missed that out', or, or, 'That's not in there'. Exactly! But then sometimes I'll think, aah! What they've put in, I *haven't* put in, but it's *there*. Because they've got a greater understanding, so there's sort of, there's pit, you know, pitfalls in each way, really, because, ah, you're trying to get, you know, to something

JT: Yours is a more humble way (Laughter).

JM: Not quite, mine's a kind of, slightly *nervous*, you could even say, way. 'Ooh, I *think* this is what it means, but . . .'

JT: Well, you used the word tentative. That's . . .

JM: But, tentative, yes. And this is why often, if you work together with a native speaker, you get a good translation, that runs along but still maintains all of, so it's an interesting combination of things. So, mm.

JT: Great.

Long pause . . .

JM: So, can I ask you a question then . . . ?

JT: Yes, sure.

JM: . . . Because I'm interested in what the sacred text needs, and I'm interested in your, your mentioning that you couldn't find anybody in the literature who talked about translating sacred texts and the differences and . . .

JT: Well, literature abounds on the translation of religious texts

JM: Yes, of course

JT: [Personal information] So, this thesis, then, is about, again, the difficulties of translating sacred texts, looking at both religious texts, but also, my, um, contention, that these writings, these Māori historical writings are also sacred texts, and really, the approach to them is quite different to some of the established approaches to religious texts.

JM: Do you mean the approach, what do you mean by approach? Do you mean, *how* you translate them, or . . .

JT: Yes. How you prepare to translate them.

JM: Ah! What does that mean, for you?

JT: Well, like for instance, I've talked to someone who's translated some religious texts into Māori, and, um, what he has done is gone, as you've said, one approach is to go and find examples from other texts, you know. And in biblical translation you've got . . .

JM: Yes, you've got a big body of knowledge . . .

JT: . . . big, quite a big resource, yeah. You haven't got that in manuscript translation. So what is the ideal . . . [personal information . . .].

JM: Mm. I mean one of the things about these texts that's *enormously* helpful is that they're formulaic. In that the same phrasing, the same sort of *style*, is everywhere. So, you know, each, each, the content of the text differs from area to area. But the oral tradition is based on that formulaic language, which, everyone had the same patterns for, so

JT: That's what [R]'s PhD thesis was on, [. . . .].

JM: Oh, yes, yes. And that's, I mean, that, in mōteatea that's been noted, I mean, Margaret Orbell did her PhD thesis on that exactly, umm, the themes and imagery, and how formulaic they are. But, and it's the same in oral traditions throughout the world. I mean, it's how you manage to remember everything, because of that. And that, for these sacred texts, too, is very illuminating. Before you get to the nitty-gritty of individual editions, and, you know, locales and people, ah, you already know a lot. You can already know a lot.

JT: One of the interesting things for me with Pene Haare, was the influence of Catholicism . . .

JM: Oh, yes . . .

JT: Or, the co-existence in many cases of his Catholicism and his traditional . . . learning. Interestingly, [. . . XX] has started to work on her grandfather's papers, and [X]'s lucky enough to be on that committee. But, um, you know, they're doing wānanga . . .

JM: That's good. That's a big, wonderful collection too, that also used to be in the public domain, it used to be in the university. I've been through that, there's a lot of good material in that too. Well, that's great that people are working on it . . .

JT: Yeah, it is . . .

JM: Because, he had some lovely material in there, very traditional, very old-style kōrero. Even though he, too, was influenced, of course. Of course, *everybody* was influenced in the nineteenth century by [new] religions, but . . .

JT: I was quite interested in the title of the Pene Haare manuscript, which seemed to imply that he had himself interpreted his oral teachings and written them in a way that was somewhat, um . . . edited [for a general audience] . . .

JM: Oh okay. What's that title? I've forgotten it . . . *Pakanga? Ngā Pakanga?*

JT: No, it was referred to as *Ngā Pakanga o Ngāpuhi* but, in no way was it entitled, there's no reference at all to that. But, it was called, um, *Te reo tawhito me tona whakamaoritanga ki te reo o naianei* was the only apparent title.

JM: Oh right, oh okay . . .

JT: It was an *account* of those battles . . .

JM: Yes, of course, it has each of those battles is, wonderful accounts, but . . . Yes. Well, titles are interesting because, I don't see that there was ever such a thing as a title in tradition, in Māori, in an oral tradition.

JT: No, of course not, it would just be the first line, or . . .

JM: 'Ko tēnei te kōrero mō *mea*'. 'Tērā tētahi tangata, ko mea te ingoa'. All those formulaic lines of starting kōrero, it does not, it *functions* as a title, but I think titles are written, are a product of a written tradition, really. A published tradition as well. Mm.

JT: Great.

JM: Interesting.

JT: Do you have any other questions?

JM: No. No, no, no. I think, um, no, I could talk about translation for . . . ever (laughter) [34.06].

JT: How did you, how did you start in translation?

JM: How did I start?

JT: How did you come to translation?

JM: In Māori?

JT: Mm, or were you involved in translation before [that]?

JM: Well, I'd done other languages before I did Māori at university. But I think what, I think it was Bruce Biggs really. You know, he did, he translated texts with us in class. And one, it was him, introducing the traditional knowledge to us in language classes, and I think too, it was Pat Hohepa's class. Pat Hohepa had a translation, I can't remember how it was labelled then, a 'translation' or 'kōrero' class, and we went to the public library, Auckland Public Library, and saw the manuscripts there, and, ah . . .

JT: Fell in love. (Laughter)

JM: I just so, was fascinated, you know. I picked up this letter and thought, ‘Oh! Te Rangihaeata actually wrote that’. Because we had to actually do, we had to actually take a selection of manuscripts and transcribe and translate and annotate them, that was one of our major exercises, you see. So, I went off to the [library] and picked up Te Rangihaeata, Te Rauparaha, Matene Te Whiwhi, and Tamihana Te Rauparaha letters, you know, to do. And I mean I was working away on them, and I thought ‘Oh!’ you know, ‘this is the *very letter* that he wrote’. I was just . . .

JT: And then suddenly it hits you

JM: How *wonderful*, you know, that I could still hold it, and that I’m going to translate it. So I think that that was really the sort of, I suppose, kind of, romantic part of it, in a way. But they’re real. Very real. And then you realise how much *is* there that has never been used, known, by Māori or Pākehā. It’s a wonderful body of knowledge, we should be reading it and knowing about it.

JT: Yeah. Great.

JM: That’s where it started.

JT: Thank you.

JM: It’s a pleasure. It’s great to talk about it.

JT: . . . You’ve given me some wonderful kōrero, so we’ll just finish there, shall we?

JM: Yes, that’s fine with me.

(36.23).

Ngapare Hopa: 18 o Whiringa-ā-rangi 2010 (Transcript 1)

JT: Whaea, can you talk about your involvement with translating sacred texts.

NH: My interest in this collection of letters, they are part of the Sir Donald McLean collection. So we've got one part of it, BUT, when we started looking at these letters, the Turnbull said there's about 3000. Hah! We think there's more like, closer to 7000 of these letters. But I'll tell you how we got involved, it started really with the Māori newspapers. I had a team and we got a Marsden scholarship. We were right on tack, in terms of the research funding for three years and by three years we had the first publication, *Rere Atu, Taku Manu!* That's interesting too. But we've only scratched the surface of those newspapers. But that's where my interest was really roused in terms of, what other things did our old people write. And I had been looking at them over the years in the Turnbull. At that time, those ledgers weren't catalogued, they were sort of all over the place. So, to request a folio, you could have a mix of letters in those folders. But, you know, the Turnbull staff were still working on it. When they created the catalogue, and they put them on CDs that made it much easier. We applied to Ngā Pae [o te Māramatanga] for funding to do that. And we started that when I was at the Wānanga o Aotearoa, when I left Auckland [University?]. But, you know, *Rere Atu*, the newspapers, then, and one thing snowballed into another. That had a sequel by the way, that publication [He Pitopito Kōrero . . .]. What I remember, and I'm very proud of that period of our life, was that we got through that project on time – you know there were always these 'outputs' ta rah, ta rah, you know, terms I *hate*, can't *stand*. We got through that project because, Jane McRae, who's somebody else you need to talk to, Jane and Jenifer Curnow, [. . .] they managed the project. And when I talk about management, we had a team of six . . . five, six PhD students. So, they did the summaries of the newspapers, once we'd, whether it was the 'Hōkioi' or, I was supposed to have done 'Te Hōkioi', I never got round to it. Umm, but what I'm saying is that, that was a very good training time also for our dear students in Māori Studies. And remind me to recommend, just make a note, Hazel Petrie. So this is where the interest arose and it gathered momentum. And when we'd finished up those ones I said to Jane, why don't we have a look at those Makarini letters now. So we did the same, we'd look and we made an application to Ngā Pae [o te Māramatanga], and succeeded. Now, where to start. Into the practical things: those letters are on CDs, there's reel 103 through to 106. Those ones are now up on the website . . . image. There's the image of the letter and our translations beside it. And even before we started, we had to put in some, some rules to go by and I'll find those for you if you want to. Oh, you've got them, oh good.

JT: I was interested in those rules.

NH: And, we too have looked at these, at our work as *working* translations, because in some cases, it's amazingly difficult to know what our people were talking about. Until you get down to letter two hundred and something, hoh!! And you can go back, koinā ngā whakaaro o te kaumatua nei. So, and, not once but it

happened many, many times, you realise, when a kaumatua is advising these people not to go to [indistinct], then you realise this had to do with Waitara and the fight down there. So, I'm not saying that you need to, but in order to understand those you have to do some background, historical work. And especially if you get a bunch of letters that very clearly, and some are very specific about the raruraru in Taranaki, ā, te tangata nei a Wiremu Kīngi, kaua e haere ki te manaaki i a ia. On the other hand, you get people like Rewi Maniapoto, and others, saying *kāo, kei te . . .* and Ngāti Hauā, who against Wiremu Tamihana's advice, really, i haere rātou, nā, i mate wētehi o rātou, Ngāti Hauā, i korā. You know what I mean? So, it was agreed we set certain orthographic, I think that's the word for it, cause some of the letters go on and on, there's no punctuation, see. Similarly, there are frequent liaisons, like for example, a very common one 'kia', it should be 'ki' 'a'. So we said, this is what we . . . And of course letters like 'wenua' instead of 'whenua'. We added, we said this is what we're going to do, where it's very clear it is 'whenua'.

JT: [So a kind of standardization?]

NH: Standardisation yes. These are sort of key things. Where it makes sense to punctuate, you know, that's what we did. But we're saying, someone else reading might punctuate it quite differently you see.

JT: [So that's the idea of a working translation].

NH: Working translation. I sort of envisage it like a Wikipedia, you know, a text Wikipedia. So, somebody can come in and out and they can say, *that's not what he's saying*, well that's fine. If it's, sometimes three or four eyes, or listening, makes a difference. But you have to do that, because, there are problems sometimes with, illegibility. There are ink spots. So you put those in square brackets. There are transliterations, and we've got a whole string of transliterations, I mean, for the life of me, we haven't been able to figure out what kind of guns. 'Purukamu'. I've got a list of them. Yes. We've got a list of them. And others like 'pū parera', parera. Now what kind of gun is that? It may be and I've, a certain, it may be the way in which the flintcock, whatever that is, is shaped like a duck's bill. Eh? Shane Te Ruki had a few others. Problem is, you don't see those, they're hard to find references to those things. And old people, with whom or who would have known what kind of, they're all gone.

JT: And it might also have been reo ā-iwi. Certain areas would have used certain terms . . .

NH: Exactly. And I'll tell you a very good example of a treasure who's lost, gone is Uncle Tui, Tui Adams. And, I can't remember which letter it was, in any event, I said to him, *E pā, whakamārama mai nā te pū nei nā ki ahau*. He said, *Oh, those things are all about the horses*. You know the collars, round, and the swingle trees, you catch from the collar, and you, I mean I can remember, yeah, pull a plough, or the wagon, or the sledge. And now, geez, see, things like that. So in terms of difficulties, sometimes the letters were not very clear. [10.12]

Ngapare Hopa: 18 o Whiringa-ā-rangi 2010 (Transcript 2)

NH: We assigned, we decided that we'd do a reel each, you know. Because on some of those reels the letters are also very, some letters, I think the one I'm still working on and I haven't finished yet, it's got something like over five hundred letters. And Janey's been in. But Janey's the one who has done the bulk of the working translations, and I check the translations. We're back and forth like that. Um, what else? Word punctuation of nearly all of them, nearly all of them, but there's others, are punctuated. Breaking up of words that have been joined together. Now, Those are basically, you know, the practical things. But also in terms of *sense*. You're trying to get the sense of what the kaumātua - by the way, just as an aside, I've only found *one* written by a woman . . .

JT: In all those letters?

NH: In all of those *so far*. At least, mind you, that is very clearly a woman. This one is written to Sir George Grey. Otherwise they're all men.

JT: He rangatira[taua wahine]?

NH: Aua. Well you know these are the sort of things that you've got to look up and find out. Anyway, um, yes. Now, and the other thing is that they vary in length from 2 liners to many theses, or treatise, you know five or six pages. And the other thing that's interesting is, and this is a difficulty in translation, or is a translation, you get a letter, I should find some example, where he's telling his story, you know: *I haere au ki Taranaki ki te whakahoki a Taranaki*. And I thought, now what are you talking about? You're going to Taranaki to take back *what*? Eh. I mean, saying one thing. But it's loaded! Yes. And then you go on, *I a au e haere ana i tutaki au kia a wai, ki a mea mā, me te* [indistinct]. *Nā, ka mea atu au kia rātou*, and then he says: '*kaua e haere ki te whawhai*'. Now, but when you're writing it down, do you put it in direct or indirect speech or what? I said this to them. But then he says, now, *ka mea atu ki a rātou*. And then he says what he says: *Kaua koutou haere ki te whawhai*. Then he goes on about, he's trying to dissuade them. But when you write it out in translation, do you put it those in direct speech marks. Do you do that? or what? Because they go in and out of that. To, what I said, and, ah, '*ka tū au te whakaaro*'. For me those are the difficulties.

JT: How much do you impose . . . ?

NH: How much you impose, yes, of yourself. And, the other thing we decided is, not only are they working, but they're very, what do you call it, literal . . . literal. But sometimes it's *very* hard to stick to that, because when they're literal they don't make sense, too much sense.

JT: But that's the big challenge isn't it, it's preserving the integrity of the text, but making it . . . why are you translating it? So that people can. . .

NH: Understand, so that it's clear. Yes. And then, you have to pull back and you know, for yourself not to intrude. You're going along, and yet, it's like the writer assumes you know what the background is. And yet you may not. As it happens,

there's a reel where a lot of letters are about the war in Taranaki. The pros and cons of it. Who did what, and those sort of things.

JT: So they're also very much, in that case, written very much from Taranaki's mana whenua perspective, um, so it favours Taranaki, of course!

NH: Or even, I'll tell you what is absolutely *glaring* is what's happening today, that I really believe that the whole 'iwi' concept is a Crown tool. It was not like that before. Because the other thing is, hard case some of them. They say, *Kaua koe e whakarongo ki ngā iwi o Taranaki. Kei te hē katoa rātou*. Ngāti Kahungunu, te wā i haere atu ngā Hauhau ki reira, me ā rātou pū, me ā rātou atua. *Kua haere mai ngā iwi nei me ā rātou atua kino. Ko te atua kino nei, ko te atua moni*. And I thought, hullo! Not much has changed, has it?! Kei te haere tonu nā aua take taupatupatu nei. And what it's made very clear to me, that what was the singularity was the hapū - not the iwi. Not the iwi. And actually, in the modern context that is becoming more and more the focus,

JT: Reclaiming the 'hapū' [status].

NH: Reclaiming it. It becomes very clear in these letters. Right down to . . . In some cases, what Jane and I have decided to do, you can have a letter, all it contains, when I say 'all', is a kaumatua or tupuna, saying 'anei te rohe', from there to there to there to there to there to there. So it goes on and on and on for miles!!! You see so, do you put all of that in? Or do you say . . .

JT: He then delineated the rohe.

NH: Yes. Or do you say 'Refer to such and such' [annotation]. Because, you know, then these are the pointers. Instead of actually . . . we may change our mind, because eventually when we've finished all, we won't finish all the reels. There's three more to go but we've run out of funding for that, so I'll leave it to, you know, later scholars.

[Kua tae mai tētahi manuhiri. Kua hikina ā māua kōrero hei whakawhitiwhiti kōrereō rāua e pā ana ki tētahi kaupapa.]

[08.04]

Ngapare Hopa: 18 o Whiringa-ā-rangi 2010 (Transcript 3)

NH: So he's talking, eh, 'Anei ngā raruraru, kei te maha o ngā iwi, e kore mahi kore', this is at you, and so on. Eh. And so it's like, sometimes I even feel it physically, that, I'm right there by this tupuna writing.

JT: Yes.

NH: And that I know what he's writing about, it's here in the front of us.

JT: That happened to me too, Whaea, I felt, I used karakia and I used photographs of this tupuna and I asked him for guidance, cause I felt really overwhelmed a lot of times, but I felt at many times like I was inside his skin, being led to translate in a certain way. And, it sounds a bit airy-fairy, but, I think, if you're not in that zone, it's very hard to do justice to those translations.

NH: But I think we need to say those things. I think we need to say that I'm, well, what I'm saying to you that, sometimes, you have to be in that zone, because the assumption is, and here am I, you know, a mokopuna what three, thrice removed, not there, but the tupuna is assuming that you know, eh, what's happening outside our kāinga. Oh, well, '*kua rangona mātou, kei te whawhai ngā iwi o Taranaki*'. Lot of, lot and lot of letters around the Taranaki wars

Oh here it is. You might be interested in this. I haven't got the originals but I can download them. See, even to discovering things like this . . . Now, I knew that there were some Waikato people that were not for the Kīngitanga. These're an example. And, I knew Waata Kukutai's, must have been his tupuna . . . rather, his *uri*, who was also called Kukutai. Now, that very clearly says, they had their own rūnanga, and he says at the bottom of his letter, '*Kāore rātou e whakaāengia ki te Kīngi*'. Now, there's another problem. Would today's uri know that??

JT: Cause there's this misconception that the whole of Waikato Tainui was, had one thought.

NH: They don't know. Yes. (To Manuhiri) I'm just showing Jillian that letter from [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*]

NH: And, those few reels that are up on the website, and cause we've been held up because, putting other working translations on, because, they don't have a web-master anymore. The guy whom they had, [X], he was brilliant!! But I mean you can't blame him for . . . going to Weta. Can you? Yes. Cause he used that 'CoolIris' software, you know? Do you know that? Oh it's brilliant, it's as though you're walking down a corridor, where all the, you know, letters . . . mmm. Have a look. Get into the website and have a look, it's called 'CoolIris'. It's brilliant. But see we don't have, um, they don't have a web-master, and of course they're renovating. Eh. And I mean they've been renovating for how long??

JT: Over a year . . .

NH: Over a year. And it doesn't look as though there's any funding from [XX] to finish the project. And the other thing he's going to do is find out, you know, there's always the end-user. Who's going to be using it at the end. Fair enough question. But we assume that we'll get it on the web and, but you can't, there's

only three reels there, mind you that's about 600 pieces. But . . . what about the rest. So we've decided we'll put it on a stick [flash drive]. And then the Turnbull can do with it as they wish. Maybe when they get the web-master or the money. At least we can say, well, these are our best efforts, within the timeframe. Something like that. Anyway, never mind about me, I've got to fix up you two.

[He whakawhitiwhitinga kōrero e pā ana ki tā rāua ko te Manuhiri kaupapa.]

[08.36].

Ngapare Hopa: 18 o Whiringa-ā-rangi 2010 (Transcript 4)

JT: So, in your work, you come up against these issues, these problems, these difficulties in the process of translating, how have you resolved them, or attempted to resolve them?

NH: In practical terms, if there's a line that we can't, not quite sure how to translate, we use square brackets. And that's an indicator that, when these difficult passages, or, yeah, sometimes passages, we will seek kaumātua's help, in the community. And sometimes that's not always easy to do, you know, they're busy people. And you don't want to whakahōhā them too often. But that's been the back[up]. So oftentimes I've gone to Uncle John. But when I was at the Wānanga, Uncle Tui Adams was available, and he was lovely, you know. But if they didn't understand, cause, you know, kupu hou, or kupu tawhito. But basically that was our instrument. Which is what we were going to do if, you know, our aim was to get through as much as we can . . .

JT: So, you didn't want to hold yourselves up too much.

NH: Yes, or hold the flow up. But also indicate what we need to go back to. And we assumed, we thought we'd do that anyway in the process of going through and checking. Mm.

JT: In this [the translation guidelines for the 'E Mā' project], what was it here, um, 'words sentences or passages have been left untranslated if the sense is not clear, research is required, or the language is poetic or cryptic, such as in waiata or karakia'. So, is that the same thing? So, you would bracket it and if time allows, if the resources were there, you would go back and look at them again?

NH: Yes.

JT: But given what [XX] was saying about the constraints, your constraints, according to the policy of 'the employer', me kī, [funding provider], um, time being of the essence, funds being limited, you might not necessarily get back to doing it?

NH: That's right. So, which is what, you see, I think, they're such a valuable, very valuable taonga, which makes them, well what I want to get to is, you have to treat them like sacred texts, you know. Because in the end, those words would not be on that page if it were not for the hand that wrote them, or the head. Eh. So it's a little bit like that rather 'Maussian' thing, you know, he was a French anthropologist who, raised very interesting debate, which was really worthwhile, where he was talking about 'The Gift'. It's a tiny little book, and it's talking about, by Marcel Mauss, M-a-u-s-s . . . Marcel, M-a-r-c-e-l, Mauss. It's called 'The Gift'. With this interesting sort of, what, I mean, you could connect with it straight away, whether you agree with it or not. But when someone gives you a gift, he's saying, they are giving you part of themselves. And that eventually, that part has to return to the giver. He called it 'hau', ki te tuku koha ki a koe, kei te tuku au tetahi te wāhi hau ki a koe.

JT: 'Hou'?

NH: 'Hau', te hau, you know, 'hauora', hauora, te hau, *haaa* [soft breath]. It's quite an interesting idea isn't it?

JT: Yes. So it's a kind of reciprocity.

NH: Reciprocity, yes. Basically, his argument is, cause I read it a long time ago, is that the base of gift-giving is reciprocity. The gift has to find it's way back.

JT: Yes. Yes.

NH: And, ah, you know how we feel about taonga anyway. When you have a taonga, that's, it's not just a stone, or the pounamu. Because in that pounamu is the wairua or the essence or whatever you want to call it. Or the mauri . . . It's quite interesting. And if it goes to the wrong person, look out! And I mean, too many incidents like that. And, you know, I don't take any notice, 'oh well that's all superstition', I say 'Hang on, I've met Pākehās [who] think the same'. Eh. So.

JT: So maybe, moving on from that, then, can we go back to what was originally the first question, which was 'In your opinion, what is it that constitutes a sacred text?' And I'm meaning in relation to the work that you've done. What makes it sacred or tapu? And you've just touched on that a little bit just then, by saying 'he taonga'.

NH: Well, from there . . .

JT: But, you know, when I met you in Auckland . . .

NH: Yes, what did I say??

JT: You said, 'He taonga tuku iho. Therefore, we regard it as sacred'. So that . . . just stuck in my mind. Absolutely.

NH: This is just another form of taonga. You know. I mean, that's a big brand name, isn't it, for all these things that . . . And I think anything that has a source in the past, and that is the result of someone's application of his mind or her mind and body, in terms of the pen, makes it a sacred thing. Because also, it has come down to us like a gift, like a gift, for the generations following, to learn, and therefore build that body of knowledge that is all-powerful. Because among everything else, I mean, we were pretty [indistinct] in some ways. But, the emphasis upon knowledge. And not only its acquisition but also, and it's part of my definition of 'taonga', not only is the acquisition of knowledge vitally important, but the obligation to pass it on. There is an obligation [for] Māori people to pass it on. And that to me, from what I understand, was not just limited to the whare wānanga we read all about, the house of sacred knowledge: ngā mōhiotanga [kete] tuatea, [kete aronui], ngā momo mōhio. No. It included practical things: the schools of whakairo; the schools of whatu or rāranga. That's all passage of, that's learning a skill, but the waiatas, the stories are gathered, that's all part of it.

JT: And in a sense survival skills.

NH: Survival skills, yes. Practical skills. I read somewhere that at the end of a course . . . Gee, I should find that paper. Where is it? I'll tell you who wrote it. Richard Benton and [X]. Um. [Personal information]

JT: Is it an essay?

NH: It was a report, it was a paper. Um. It goes back a bit to when they were developing modules, in NZQA. You know, the New Zealand Education Authority. You know, any programmes that you introduce at the wānanga . . .

JT: What are they called?

NH: New Zealand Qualification Authority. NZQA. And they did the research. It was, it's very useful. If I can find it, I won't promise you, but you might see if you can find it.

JT: I'll do a search.

NH: Yeah, do a search on it. And they were talking about knowledge and the various schools of knowledge. But not limited to, what we grew up thinking, ooh, you had this esoteric . . . It was not *all* about esoteric knowledge. No. There were, we would call them 'programs' today. And that's, at the end of some of these courses they would be given a kohatu, a stone. Linda [Smith] talks about it too, somewhere, in her decolonization, decolonizing, mmm . . .

JT: 'Rehutai' and 'hukatai'.

NH: Mmmm. That's right, yeah. So, have I made myself clear? That's how I think about . . . I mean they're just as, their writings are just as precious. And if they can transport you, which they do, into laughter, into deep pathos often, you know, *te kore kai, kore kākahu, 'Nā, tēnā, Makarini, tukuna mai ngā moni mō ngā nawe nei nā'*. Sad. In Alan Ward's latest book. What Alan is saying, he's a Pākehā historian, what he's saying, what really did us in was getting into debt. Yeah. Getting into debt. *'Tēnā: Anei te whenua māu, engari kei te hiahia au ki te tiki kākahu mō āku mokopuna'*. And you could, you know, we were pohara. You know, know what it is not to have enough money to buy shoes. Eh, [Manuhiri]! (laugh). Haere [ki] te kura, kore hū. Haere i roto i ngā roke o ngā kau!

JT: Āe, kia whakamahana i ngā waewae! (Laugh).

NH: That's all true! That's absolutely all true. Yes. I mean, those letters are very *human*. In the sense that there is, it's a bit like Shakespeare - there's hardly any emotion or status that he didn't tackle, eh? Those letters are like that. The wide range of life as lived then. And through those decades. And some of them highly political. *Highly* statesman-like. You wanna read some of, eh kare (to Manuhiri), you wanna read some of Wiremu Tamihana's things. Massive, awesome! Quite incredible. And such a transformation. Not only transformative, but in a sense of being innovative, like at Piria, the village, his village. He had his own rūnanga, and it was always about, you know, how to behave. And always, you know, me te rangimarie. You know, they were politically astute. The sad thing is that, I think, my own theory is that, ah, it wouldn't matter whether they were French, Portuguese or whatever, they just happened to be English, that, we knew all there was to know about power. And that was the threat. Had to, you know . . .

JT: Had to be quashed.

NH: Had to be squashed. Bit like the Portuguese. Once, I read a very interesting, where Portuguese colonisers were asked, oh, I don't know whether, it was in Africa somewhere, *'Well, but then what do you do for the village folk?'* - in terms

of education. ‘*Oh, we don’t educate them. You educate them, you educate an enemy*’. See that’s what happened here. Nā kua kite rātou ngā kaumātua, ngā tūpuna, ‘Hah! Te mana kei roto tērā pene.’ You know, I see, imagine myself being there, in the classroom. Cause when you go to a church school, which I did, to Queen Vic, you know, you get very familiar with the clerics and all their tactics! (Laugh). Like mm, mm, you know, [XX], oh! . . . you know, services, I used to get so *bored*! Then you start reading other things, you know. And then you realise what they’re telling you is a load of bullshit! Because that’s also part of the power play. Anyway, I’m going off . . . So, what else?

JT: Ah, *How do you approach the translation of a text that you classify as sacred or sensitive?* I think we’ve talked about that . . .

NH: Well, you know, it’s part of my . . . I mean, these are things that have been left behind. Crafted. You know, whether it’s a korowai or whether it’s a pounamu, or crafted, by a living person. And you can’t help but feeling, part of that person is there, as well. That might be going too far, but I . . .

JT: No, Whaea. You know, one, my main supervisor is not Māori, Whaea XX. She’s wonderful. But one of the things she has said to me is ‘you must rationalise’ . . . people’s emotional attachment to things that are sacred’. And there you go, what you’ve just said to me – (laugh) I think is, it’s not *rationalising*, it’s explaining, but why we feel so passionately about these things. Because as you say, ‘crafted by a living person’, and then given as a gift.

NH: That’s how I feel. Yeah, I do, and therefore, you are *bound*, to, you, like, things that have, their origin in history. And if it did not, if, um, how can I put this, and this is almost hackneyed, but you know that [George] Santayana statement about, if you don’t learn from history, you’re bound to repeat it. Eh. Because there’s that teaching element in these taonga, that, taonga tuku iho, you know. There’s a lot of learning, knowledge. Well, what have I learned? One of the, how they, when I said, ‘things haven’t changed that much’. Eh [Manuhiri]?! (To Manuhiri). Kei te haere tonu ētahi o ngā wero, ngā mahi pūhaehae nei.

[Manuhiri]: Yeah, that hasn’t changed! (Laughter).

NH: And what we’ve been talking about, within our exhibition, that Ngāti Raukawa, Korokī, Waikato, Maniapoto, you know, those specific identities, have become . . . well I think it’s quite extraordinary, that’s where the guts of our life is. It’s not in this Crown construct which we’ve, actually we’ve adopted, you know, not realizing, without being critical enough about it. But hullo, here’s another weapon. Haere mai māu, kia whakakotahi tātou. What for?? I’m mean, eh? But I’m serious about it, I don’t think we’re critical enough, or let’s see, aware enough of the background . . .

JT: Critical, I think, is the word. Critical awareness . . .

NH: Critical awareness, yes.

JT: Who benefits?

NH: In the end, yeah, who benefits.

[Manuhiri]: But I see that like, just being robust, and knowing why you say what you say. You know, checking out so it's not just something that . . . You know what I've learnt from [XXXX], is that they can recite these things that are tawhito. But then you go under it and say, *What does it really mean?* And they just say, *Oh they just say it at the marae.* And I go, well that's not good enough. Why do you say it at the marae? You know, where's the puku of that? What does that mean when you say that?

NH: And of course the other thing that has come into a lot of discussion is the imagery, you know, the power . . . We talk through metaphors. And metaphors are wonderful tools to think with. Eh.

JT: Because they're multi-layered.

NH: And if there is a difficulty, and most times, it is, you know, what are the other layers underneath, or the top. Eh [Manuhiri]?

[Manuhiri]: You know what I found interesting when you talk to kaumātua . . . it's not what they say publicly, it's what they haven't, the depths of what they haven't said. But we just hear, I get the feeling, eh, that we just hear what he says. But that whole . . .

JT: But that's just like our tūpuna though. You know, things, certain things were for publication, certain things were only for the, you know . . .

[Manuhiri]: Significant people . . . !

NH: Oh, we will do that another day.

(Kāti ngā kōrero i konei).

[19.31]

Nātana Takurua: Mane, 13 o Hakihea 2010

JT: Tēnā Natana, whakamārama mai koa āu mahi me ngā tuhituhinga, ngā pukapuka rānei, e kīia nei he ‘tapu’.

NT: Me kī pēnei au, ehara i te mea he maha ngā tuhituhinga tapu kua whakamāoritia, kuawhakapākehātia e au tae noa ki tēnei wā. Pēhea nei aku whakaaro ki tēnei kupu ‘tapu’ nei. He mea . . . Ko te tapu ki a au he mea, he āhuatanga hei whakaora i te tangata, kia noho tapu ai te kōrero, i ētahi wā he momo rāhui, kia kua he mahi tūkino e pā ki te tangata, ki te whenua, ki te ao rānei. Ētahi wā, ko te tapu ka whakamaui ki runga i tētahi mea i tētahi tangata, hei whakaora i a ia. Ka tīmata mai i au, i ngā kōrero, i ngā tuhinga mō te orokohanga o te ao Māori, arā kē, ki a au nei, te tīmatanga mai o tenei mea te ‘tapu’ me te ‘noa’. Kia noho tapu ai ērā kōrero, engari ehara i te mea ka rāhuitia ngā kōrero. A, ka waiho, ka kī ake te kōrero, ‘waiho ake rātou ki a rātou’, e kore e pānuitia anōtia ērā kōrero, ahakoa he tapu tonu tō ērā kōrero, kei te haere tonu, kei te pānuitia tonutia i ēnei wā tonu nei, engari te huri o te tikanga o te kupu. He kupu tapu o ngā wā o mua, ka mau tonu ai tērā tapu, engari kua hurihia te tikanga o te tapu, o tērā momo tapu, kia noho tonu ai tātou o ēnei rā i raro i te taumarutanga o Ihowa, o ngā mano, o ngā ātua Māori rānei [3.09]. Ā, he aha tāku e mea nei, arā kē, ngā hāhi Māori, pēnei i te Ringatū, i te Rātana, Paimārire, he tapu tonu ērā kōrero, ērā tuhinga. Ki ētahi kua whakamāoritia te Paipera Tapu, ētahi wāhanga rānei o te Paipera Tapu, kua oti kē te mahi, kua oti kē te whakamāori, anā, kua raua atu he whakaaro Māori, he tikanga Māori anō hoki o roto i ērā tapu. Me hoki anō au ki te orokohanga o te ao, aaa, tētahi āhuatanga o te Māori ka noho tapu nei ki a au, ko tēnei mea ko te hongī. Ahakoa kitea ai, mahia ai ia rā, ia rā, ia rā ki a au nei, he tapu tērā, engari kāore anō au kia kite i wētahi tuhinga maha mō te hongī, ahakoa ki a au nei, ko tōna tapu he mea tapu rawa [4.44], [i] te mea ko te hā tēnā e whakawhitiwhitingia ana e te tangata, e te hunga ora, tae noa atu ki te tūpāpaku: te hongī, te hā ki te tangata e ora ai te tangata; te hā ki te tūpāpaku – tērā pea, e ora ai te tūpāpaku i te huīnga o te kahurangi, umm, ko te oranga tonutanga tērā, nō reira, he mea tapu tērā, engari mo ngā tuhinga nei mō tērā āhuatanga mau tonu ai i ēnei wā tonu nei, kāore anō au kia kite i te nuinga o ngā kōrero, o ngā tuhinga. Nō reira, mai te orokohanga o te ao ki tēnei wā tonu nei, tērā, nā Tāne i, i tiheia e Tāne te ora o te mauri ki roto i a Hineahuone mā ōna pungaihu [6.07]. Kei te mau tonu ai he tapu, engari koinā noa iho te kōrero kua pānuitia e au mō tērā o ngā tapu. He maha ngā kōrero tapu kua kite au mai i te Paipera Tapu, engari te taha Māori ake nei, ka kīia, he pūrākau, he pakiwaitara. Ki a au nei, kei te whakawehewehe i te tapu, kei te whakamāmā ake i te tapu, kei te hiki i te tapu, ki te kīia ake, he pūrākau, he pakiwaitara ēnei kōrero, ehara i te mea kei te pono ērā kōrero. Engari ka tae ki te Paipera Tapu, nā wētahi i mau mai ki Aotearoa nei i whenua kē, pēnei i a tātou i haere mai i Hawaiiki. Engari, ka hoki anō au ki ngā kōrero mō Māui me tana ika. He tapu katoa ērā kōrero. Reira, tipu ake au me tēnei mea ko ngā tuhinga tapu, he mea kite i roto i te Paipera. Engari, ko ngā kōrero tapu a te Māori ake, ngā kōrero tapu ake a te Māori, a tāua te Māori, tērā pea, kua

hikina tērā tapu [8.02], kia mau tonu ai i ēnei rā, tērā pea . . . Nōku ake ēnei whakaaro, he tapu ngā kōrero pakiwaitara, ngā kōrero pūrākau. Ki a au nei he tapu rawa.

JT: Ngā kōrero a ngā tūpuna?

NT: Ērā kōrero katoa. Ngā kōrero mō te ao, mō nga whetū, mō te rā, mō te hau, mō ngā kapua, mō ngā rākau, mō te moana, katoa ērā kōrero, he tapu, i te mea he atua katoa ērā kōrero, ahakoa kua tuhia ērā kōrero, kua whakapākehātia . . . he tapu tonu. Kei roto i ngā whare pukapuka, i ngā whare hoko pukapuka. I roto i te whare pukapuka, ka kite tātou i te pukapuka Māori me ōna tapu nei [ki] te taha o te pukapuka Pākehā kia a au nei kāore ōna tapu, he noa tonu. He pukapuka tunu kai ki te taha o . . . kei te ahatia tērā tapu? [9.22]. Kei te whakanoatia, kei te tūkinotia rānei tērā tapu, te tapu o ō tāua nei tūpuna, he taonga tuku iho. I tīmata mai au ki te kī, ko te tapu hei whakaora i te tangata, engari, ko te tangata kei te whakaora i te tapu? Kāore rānei, kei te tūkinotia rānei i te tapu, tēnei mea te tapu.

JT: Nā runga i te kūare?

NT: Nā runga i te kūare, i te kore whakapono rānei, i te matakū rānei. I a au e tipu ake ana ko tēnei mea te tapu he mea whakamataku i te tamariki e te pakeke, kia kore ai koe e haere ki reira, ki reira, ki hea rānei. ‘Kaua e haere ki korā, he tapu’, nā reira, ka matakū koe, ka hanga whakaaro pikitia i roto i tō hinengaro mō tēnei mea te tapu.

JT: He taniwha.

NT: He taniwha, he māku, ērā momo kōrero, ‘kaua e haere ki korā’ . . .

JT: He wehi katoa.

NT: Katoa he wehi tēnei mea te tapu. Nā reira, i tipu ake au me tēnei mea te tapu, ka wehi, ka matakū, kāre au i whāwhā ake i nga mea tapu nei ki roto i a au tēnei mea te tapu. Mmm [11.22]. Nā reira, tae ki tōnā wā i huri au ki tēnei mea te tapu. Paipera, ki a Ihu Karaiti mā, te mea ahakoa he tapu ehara i te mea ka matakū koe i te Atua, i a Ihu Karaiti, rātou katoa ngā Apōtoro. I haere au ki te kura tuarua o Te Aute, he kura Mihinare, reira katoa ērā kōrero, i . . . i rongo ai mātou i ērā kōrero katoa, ā, ia Rātapu, ia Rātapu. Hoki au ki te kāinga, ki Tokomaru Bay, noho matakū taku whānau i runga i te papakāinga, he marae Ringatū tērā. Nō reira, ka rerekē anō tērā hāhi – ehara i te mea, he rerekē pea ngā whakapono, engari ngā tikanga. Ka kōrero ana mō te tapu, he mea whakamataku i te tamariki ki ōku nei maumahara [12.48]. Nō reira, tae noa ake ki tēnei wā, ki te tuhi au, ki te whakamāori . . . pai noa iho pea te whakamāori, i te mea, he rerekē te reo Māori, ngā kōrero Māori, ngā tuhinga Māori ahakoa iti noa iho ngā tuhinga Māori, he rerekē te reo, he rerekē te, ki a au nei, te tapu o te reo Māori ki tērā o te reo Pākehā, pai noa iho te reo Pākehā ki te whakamāori, i te mea, ka tīkina atu e au he kupu Māori kāore pea nei he kupu taputapu rawa. Pēnei i te aha? Kāore au i te mōhio . . . Engari, mō te reo Māori, ka tau mai te – ehara i te wehi pea, engari ka tau mai . . .

JT: He herenga?

NT: Āe, he herenga, he . . . Me tika te mahi, i te mea, ko te reo Māori tērā. Ētahi wā, kāore he kupu Pākehā e eke ana ki tērā o te kupu Māori. I ētahi wā, kua kīia e au ake, waiho rātou i a rātou i te mea, kāore au i te mārāma, kāore i a au ngā kupu, kāore i a au ngā whakamārama e hāngai ana ki te reo Māori nei. Me mōhio, ki te mōhio tātou ki te reo Māori, kāore he mea whakapākehā, he uaua te kimi i te, te tango mai i te reo Pākehā he kupu e hāngai ana, e eke ana ki tērā o te reo Māori, i te mea he rerekē te whakaaro o ngā tūpuna Māori [15.11] ki ērā o ngā tūpuna Pākehā. He rerekē ngā tikanga Māori, he tikanga tonu a te Māori. Kāore au, i a au e noho nei, kāore au i te mōhio ki tētahi kupu Pākehā pai mō ngā tikanga Māori.

JT: Horekau pea. Horekau.

NT: Mm. Me te tapu, me te noa, me te ihi me te wehi me te mana me te wana. Ērā . . .

JT: E kore e taea pea mā te kupu kotahi. E kore e taea.

NT: Āe. Āe. Ētahi wā, ka whakamātau ki te whakamārama i ēnei āhuatanga Māori, engari, ki a au nei, he rerekē i runga i tēnā marae, i roto i tēnā hui, um, te whakaatu a tērā tangata, tērā wahine, tērā pēpi, te ora me te mate. He rerekē katoa . . .

JT: Te horopaki, nē?

NT: Te horopaki. Āe.

JT: [16.30] Ka pai. Kua āta kōrero koe ki te [pātai] tuarua nei, *ō ake whakaaro mō tēnei mea te tapu e pā ana ki ngā tuhituhinga*. Engari ka taea tonu e koe te kōrero mō tau nā mahi . . . [*He kōrero tūmatawhāiti ēnei*]. Nā reira, ka taea e koe te kōrero mō au mahi whakamāori, whakapākehā rānei i ngā tuhinga tapu, ahakoa te Kurānu Tapu, ahakoa he kōrero a ngā tūpuna, he aha rānei. Ka taea te kōrero ki ngā mahi kua mahia i ngā tau kua hipa?

NT: Mmmm. He uaua māku te whakaaro i waho atu o te whare wānanga nei . .

JT: Kei te pai.

NT: Nē? [I]te mea, i konei te nuinga o āku mahi tuhituhi reo Pākehā, reo Māori, whakapākehā, whakamāori. Anā, kua oti kē te tuhi a ētahi atu, pēnei i ngā pukapuka, a, a Muru Mara, o wai ake, ko tāku noa iho te nuinga o te wā he *whakamārama*. Anā, he rerekē anō taku whakamārama i ētahi atu pea, i runga anō i te whakaaro nei, ki te tapu ngā reta a Tā Apirana Ngata ki a Te Rangi Hīroa, *Nā Tō Hoa Aroha*, ērā kōrero, he rerekē pea taku whakamārama i ngā whakaaro o te tangata nāna nei i noho ki te tuhi ki te whakaputa i ōna whakaaro. Umm. [*He kōrero tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*] . . .

I whakaae au. Haere atu au ki te whare pukapuka. I roto i tērā rūmā wēnei taonga, me taku whakaaro, ‘Me pēhea rā . . . ahau hai . . .’ Well, ‘He aha te huarahi tika māku?? Kei te pono i roto i a au nei, aku whakaaro ki tēnei mahi āku? Kei te mahia i te mea, i runga anō i te pōnānā, i te hipa atu ia i taku tari me te kī mai ‘Oh, ka taea e koe . . .?’ ‘Āe’. Tū au ki te whakaaro, me pono te mahi. Ki te kore au e pono, me kore au e mahi. Kaua e mahia tēnei mahi, [i] te mea, ki a au nei he tapu katoa. Ahakoa, kāre au i mōhio ki te tangata, ki a Pei Te Hurinui. Kāore anō au, i tērā wā, kia pānui i wāna kōrero, engari, me pono. [22.56] Kuhuna atu e au te

rūma, me taku whakaaro, kei te rongo au i tētahi wairua. Tērā pea, i te pono, engari tērā pea he whakaaro noa iho, i runga anō i te āhuatanga, i mea mai koe i te ‘horopaki’. I rongo au i tētahi wairua. Ka tū au ka whakaaro, he wairua pai tēnei e ārahi mai ana i ahau, he wairua atu rānei e aukati nei i a au. Ka tū au, ka whakaaro, ‘Ki a au nei kei te pono taku mahi’. Nā reira, ka mahi au i taku mahi karakia nei, ka . . . Me te whakaaro anō hoki, e karakia ana ahau ki tēhea, ēhea rānei o ngā atua? Nā, ka whakaritea e au te kawenga nei o ngā taonga i te whare pukapuka ki konei, ki te [xxx], ki te hekenga nui mai o ngā waka i Hawaiiki. He taonga anō tērā. Nā reira, i pērā te takitaki o taku karakia, mehemea he karakia, engari i pērā te taki. Ko ēnei ngā taonga Māori, e haere nei i runga i te au o te moana o mātauranga, kia tau ai, kia ū mai ai ki tōna ūnga, ki tōna takotoranga, ki reira noho ora mai ai, kia ora tonu ai ēnei mōhiotanga, ēnei taonga. Mā wai hei tiaki? Mā te Māori, i te mea, i konei tātou. [25.27] [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei*]

NT: Mmm. Nō reira, kāre au i pā atu ki ērā tuhinga. Kāre au i whakapākehā, whakamāori rānei. Engari, koirā noa iho taku whakapātanga paku noa ki ērā taonga. Engari, e noho nei au, e āhua raruraru nei au ki te noho i runga i te huarahi tika, i a au e kōrero nei mō tērā o āku wheako. He . . . he honore nui tērā kia tonoa au ki te karakia i ērā taonga. Ko ētahi pea, kāore i paku whakaaro pērā, oh, kawea ake ngā taonga, ngā pukapuka ki tērā o ngā whare, ki tērā o ngā rūma, rakaina te tatau, ka mutu.

JT: [29.07] Anō rā, hoki aku mahara ki ngā tikanga kua whakaritea e rāua ko [R], ko [H], me ētahi atu . . . kia tiaki pai i ētahi o aua taonga. Kua mau tonu ki ērā tikanga? Kāore rānei? Wai ka mōhio. Ka aroha atu.

NT: Mm.

JT: Kōrero mai koa mō āu mahi i roto i tērā kaupapa ‘te Kurānu Tapu’.

NT: Um. E rua, e toru pea āku huihuinga me rātou, koirā noa iho. Ko te āhua nei, he nui āku mahi, engari kāore tērā i te tika.

JT: Ko te whakatikatika haere?

NT: Kāore i tino pērā. Anō hoki, te mea, i tūtaki rātou i a [T] i te tīmatatanga, te wā i a au, me kuhu atu au i ērā mahi, i te whakaako kē au . . . i te nuinga o te wā. Nā reira, kāre au i tino, i . . . he poto noa iho te wā i a au. Ko tāku noa iho, kia pono taku kōrero, ko tāku noa iho, he paku pānui i tētahi wāhanga, me taku kī atu ki a [T], ‘O, he uaua tēnei mahi te whakatika i tāna, i tā . . .’

JT: Shakil [Monir].

NT: I tā Shakil whakamāoritanga. He uaua māku i tērā wā, ki te . . . whakahāngai i wāna kōrero Māori kia tika ai te takoto. Nā reira, i mea atu au ki a [T], he uaua tēnei mahi ki a au. He nui anō āku mahi whakaako . . .

JT: Mēnā e taea e koe te noho tahi me te tangata, he ngawari ake pea.

NT: Mm. Āe.

JT: Pēhea koe e mōhio ki tāna e hiahia ai, i a ia e whakamāori i ērā kōrero?

NT: Mm. Mm. Kua koroua hoki tērā tangata. Kua koroua, me te mea nei, te wā i tūtaki au ki a ia, kua tau ōna whakaaro i runga i tana mahi. Āe, me pērā ka tika, engari . . . I āhua noho tawhiti au i tērā mahi. Nā reira, kāre i . . .

JT: I te whakaaro hoki ahau, kei hea te tangata Māori e mōhio ana ki te reo Arapi, ka taea tērā mahi te whakatutuki? Horekau. Horekau. Nā reira, ka riro mā tētahi Arapi tō mātou reo e whakaeke ki runga i tō rātou reo. He rerekē, nē?

NT: Mm. Tino rerekē. He uaua rawa māku i tērā wā, i āhua . . .

JT: [. . .]. He uaua. Mm. Ok, ka haere tonu, nē? Pēhea tāu nā ahunga ki tēnei momo whakamāoritanga? He tikanga, he aratuka . . . hei āwhina, hei tohutohu i a koe i roto i tērā mahi?

NT: Ki a au nei, ko te mea tuatahi ko te . . . kia mārama ai au ki ngā whakaaro me ngā tikanga o tērā reo, o tērā iwi, kia hāngai tonu ai, mehemea he whakamāori i tētahi reo, pēnei i te reo Pākehā, kua whakapākehātia mai i tētahi atu reo. Nā reira, mō te reo Arapi ki te reo Māori . . . I te mea, kāre au i te mōhio ki te reo Arapi, me pēhea rā? Kite au i te reo Māori i te taha o te reo Arapi, me pēhea rā? [34.53] Nō reira, ki te whakamāori au i te reo Pākehā, koirā anake te reo atu i te reo Māori e mōhio nei au, ki te whakapākehā au i te reo Māori, ā, ko te huarahi ka whāia e au . . .

JT: Mēnā he tuhinga ‘tapu’ . . .

NT: Mm, he . . . ooo . . . He . . . Ētahi wā, ko ētahi, kei te mōhio au, ko ētahi ka haere ki te rapu pukapuka āhua rite ana, ki te rapu kōrero, kupu rānei, e āhua rite ana. Ki a au nei . . . ko ngā whakaaro ka pupū ake i roto i ahau, he aha te tino o ēnei kōrero? He aha nei taku whakamāoritanga, ā-wairua nei, i ēnei kōrero. Ētahi wā, ki a au, hei aha noa iho te kupu tika, te kupu pai. He aha nei, ki roto i a au, he aha nei te tapu e pupū ake nei i roto i a au, e tuhi ai e au i tēnei kōrero, kaua ko tēnei kōrero. He aha taku i rongo nei i roto nei, ka ārahina au, he aha te kupu, i te whatumanawa, i te wairua, i te mauri, te aha rawa rānei. I ētahi wā, ehara i te mea, ehara ko te kupu te mea nui, engari, ko tāu e rongo nei i roto i a koe. Ki a au nei, kāore au i te mōhio pū ki ngā whakaaro o te tangata nāna nei ngā kōrero i tuhi. Ko tāku noa iho, ka noho pea hei kaitakawaenga. Mehemea he kaitakawaenga ahau i te kikokiko, he māmā noa iho te tiki atu i tētahi kupu. Mehemea he kaitakawaenga au i te wairua, ka rerekē anō tērā kupu. I te mauri, ka rerekē anō tērā kupu. I te tapu, ka rerekē anō tērā kupu. He aha nei . . . Nui ake te whakaaro, he aha nei tāku e rongo ai i roto pū i ahau mō ngā tuhinga nei. Kei te kī ake ia, ‘I kite au i te Atua i a au e moe ana’. He moemoeā tērā? He poropiti tērā? He aha nei te kupu? He aha tāku e rongo nei i a au e pānui ana i ērā kōrero? He aha te horopaki? Ko wai te tangata, te kaituhi? Nō hea ia . . . ? He maha ngā whiringa, he maha ngā whakaaro ka tau mai ki runga i tērā tuhituhinga, i ēnei wā, ēnei rā. He maha ngā here mō te kaiwhakamāori, kaiwhakapākehā. He maha ngā here, pēnei i te wā. Me oti i a koe i tēnei wā [39.41]. I mua i te mutunga o te marama. Anei. Ngā here pēnei i te pūtea, i te aha rawa rānei. Mehemea he Māori koe, nō hea koe? Ehara nāu ērā kupu, ērā kōrero. Ēnei here, he here anō. Nō reira, i ētahi wā, kei te mahi koe i raro i ēnei here, me tāku . . . Kāore au i *tono* i tēnei mahi, he mea tonoa ahau e

tētahi atu, engari ka whakaāe mai koe, anā, ka tau mai ngā taumahatanga i runga i a koe, ahakoa tō hiahia kia tika tō mahi, kia pono tō mahi, me te kimi āwhina, *kia* pono ai, he uaua anō. He mea uaua, he uaua. Ehara i te mea kāore e taea. Engari, ētahi wā, he, ko te here anō o te mate. Ka mate atu tētahi, arā kē he kōrero, arā kē he mōhiotanga, kua mate atu. . . . Mm.

JT: Nā . . . kua kōrero koe ki tēnei mea te wairua i roto i te mahi. Ā, [. . .] , ki ahau . . . , ki a koe te āhua nei, ko tētahi wāhi i roto i te mahi whakamāori, ko te wairua tērā. Nā reira, kāore au e mōhio ana i tēnei wā, engari ki ahau nei, he take *nui* i roto i tēnei mahi, ko te wairua.

NT: Mm. Mm. Āe.

JT: Mm. Te wairua . . . o te tuhituhinga, o te kaiwhakamāori hoki. Ā, paku pātai tēnei. He rerekē tāu nā ahunga ki te tuhinga ‘tapu’ i tētahi atu tuhinga noa kē. He rerekē? . . .

NT: Mm [43.44]. He tapu tonu tō te noa. Ki a au nei. Ki a au nei, kāore te noa i tango mai i te tapu o tētahi mea.

JT: He mea . . .

NT: Huh?

JT: . . . whīwhiwhi katoatia.

NT: Āe. Te tapu me te noa. Āe. He aha tāku e mea nei. Nā reira, katoa, he mana tō te kupu, ahakoa he aha te kupu, ahakoa he aha te tuhinga. He mana tonu tōna, he tapu tonu tōna. Te tuhi a te tamaiti, a te tamariki, he tapu tōna, i te mea, kua pupū ake i roto i a ia, nā tōna wairua . . .

JT: Tōna whakairatanga.

NT: Koirā. Anā, ko ngā tuhinga tapu me ngā tuhinga noa, mm, kei te raruraru au i konei. Āe, he uaua māku te wetewete i te tapu me te noa. Aē, he tapu ake te tapu i te noa. Āe, he noa ake te noa i te tapu. Ehara i te mea he noa iho te noa i te tapu. Me haere tonu i ērā āhuatanga e rua, i te mea, ka whakatapua, ka taea te whakatapu tētahi mea noa; ka taea te whakanoa tētahi mea tapu. Hei aha? Hei oranga, kia ora ai tātou. Pēnā i ngā pukapuka nā, ērā taonga. Kāore i haria ki runga maunga, tanumia ai. Pēnei i te tūpāpaku. Ahakoa pea he rite tonu te tapu. Kei te ora tonu ērā kōrero. Mō te tuhinga noa nei, he wā anō tōna pea, ka noho tapu ai ērā tuhinga, i te mea, he tuhinga tawhito, he taonga tuku iho. Ko wai au ki te kī, he noa noa iho wēnei kōrero. Anei te kupu. Hei aha te āta noho, te āta whakaaro, me te āta mahi i runga i te wairua.

JT: Kia ora. Rawe! Nā, kua kōrero kē koe mō ētahi uauatanga, nā, ka whiua tonu te pātai: *Ki ō whakaaro, he aha ngā tino take, ngā taero kua whakararu i a koe i te whakamāoritanga, whakapākehātanga o ērā momo tuhituhinga.* Anā, ko te wāhanga tuarua: *Mā te aha ērā take e whakatau ai?*

NT: Mā te wairua. Mā te aha. Mā te aha atu? Mā te wairua pai, mā te wairua pono, mā te wairua tika. Āe. Ia rā, ia rā, ka tau mai he uauatanga, ahakoa te aha. Mm. Etahi wā, ko te maranga he mea uaua, te maranga i te moenga. He maha ngā mea. Engari mō tēnei mahi: ka noho, ka karakia. Ētahi wā, ka karakia puku nei ki roto i a au anakē. Ki roto i a au. Te mea, ētahi wā, kāore au i te rongo, i te tino

rongo, i te wairua e kōrero nei au, hei kaiārahi mōku [49.03]. Ka rapu au i tētahi huarahi, kāore i a au i tērā wā. Ka noho puku au. Ka whakaaro au ētahi wā, ka hoki ngā whakaaro ki a rātou mā. Ētahi wā, ka hoki ki . . . ki ngā wā o mua noa atu, i a rātou mā, ka hoki ki ngā atua ka . . . he māmā noa iho te tiroiro noa i te ao, arā kē, ngā tīpuna e noho mai nā, e tū mai nā, e rere mai nā. Arā kē rātou. Me hono atu ā-wairua nei. He hononga *wairua*. Ehara i te mea ki ngā mea *mate*, ko te hononga wairua, ehara i te hononga ki ngā mate anakē. Arā kē, ngā wairua . . .

JT: Whakaora.

NT: Āe [50.24]. Mm. Ka noho au, arā kē, he rākau, he uri nā Tāne, he rākau e ora nei, ngā manu, ngā rau, he kōrero kei roto i a rātou, ngā kapua e rere mai ana, te rangi, te rā, he maha ngā kaiārahi. Ko te mea kē, ko te noho me te whakarongo ki a rātou. Te whakarongo ā-wairua nei, ehara i te mea me whakarongo ngā taringa. Engari ko te whakarongo ā-wairua nei, ko te rongo ā-wairua nei, ki tā rātou e kōrero nei. He aha tā rātou e kī nei? Ētahi wā, e mea mai ana rātou, ‘E oho, e ara, maranga, matika.’ Kei te pai tō mahi mehemea kei te whai koe i tā tō wairua e ārahi nei i a koe. Ki te whai noa iho koe i tēnei mahi kia whiwhi pūtea ai, hei aha, waiho ki te taha. Ahakoa te hiahia o te tinana ki te mahi pērā. Koinei ētahi huarahi noa iho. Ētahi wā, ka ngaro i a au tērā wairua, kāore au e rongo, i te mea, i wāhi kē ōku whakaaro.

JT: [52.23] Ētahi wā, ka tono atu koe ki a [T], ki a wai rānei, hei whakawhiti kōrero mō ētehi o ngā mahi? Kāo? ka noho ko koe me tō kaiārahi?

NT: Ko te raruraru mōku ki te whakawhiti kōrero ki ētehi atu mō ngā mahi tapu nei, ka mimiti pea te tapu. Koirā noa iho tāku, kei tūkinotia te wairua, te tapu, te aha rawa rānei, kia oti rawa te mahi, āe, tērā pea, kua wātea au ki te kōrero mō te mahi, engari i te wā e mahi ana au i te mahi, kei roto i āku ringaringa, kei roto i a au tēnei mea te . . . kei au te mana o te tika o tēnei mea. Ki te kōrerotia ki tētahi atu, ki ētahi atu, kāore te mahi, tēnei o ngā mahi ake, he rerekē ō rātou whakaaro, kāore au i te mōhio . . .

JT: He tirohanga mai i waho, kāore i te āta titiro ki te horopaki o te mahi.

NT: Mm. Ehara ko rātou kei te noho, ki te mahi te mahi.

JT: Nā, ka hoki anō ki tēnei, um, ‘He aha ngā tino take, ngā tino uauatanga i roto i te mahi’. He whakaaro ōu mō ērā? Um, ngā kupu tawhito, ngā kōrero mō ētehi āhuatanga e kore e kitea i tēnei ao, ā, he mea nōnamata. He whakaaro ōu mō wērā?

NT: Āe. Waiho ake rātou ki a rātou. I te mea, ko rātou i mōhio me pēhea, he aha rānei, te tikanga o ērā kupu, o ērā kōrero. Ki te tīkina atu he kupu nō ērā wā me te whakahāngai ki tētahi āhuatanga o ēnei wā, pēnei i te whakaora i te mate, te tūpāpaku (indistinct), ērā mea katoa. Te patu tangata mā te māku, ērā mea katoa. Ki a au nei, waiho ake. Hei aha rā ērā kupu, hei aha te tiki mai me te whakahāngai ki tētahi āhuatanga o tēnei ao, o tēnei wā, i te tau rua mano tekau. [56.06] He rerekē ki ōku whakaaro, i te kōrero au mō te hongī. Āe, he tapu tonu tō te hongī, engari . . . Okay, [ki te] hongī te Māori ki te Pākehā. Kei te whakahāngia e te Māori te hā ora ki roto i iwi kē e patu nei i a tātou. He aha te tikanga o tērā? Kei te

hongī te Pākehā ki te Pākehā. Ka kite au i konei, ka kitea nuitia i konei, i te Whare Wānanga nei, me te kata anō hoki i te taha. Kei te whakanoatia te tapu, kei te tūkinotia rānei te tapu, nō tātou kē te hē ki te tuku i a rātou kia pērā ai. Hei aha mā rātou te hongī! . . . Ki te . . . i te mea, hei kata noa iho mā *rātou*.

JT: Pēnei i te haka, ērā mea. He maha ngā āhuatanga ka pērā.

NT: Nā reira, ki te kumea mai tētahi kupu, kōrero aha rawa rānei, ki konei, pēnei i te mōteatea, tino tawhito nei, hei mahi mā . . . wai rānei, . . . ko te utu ko te mate, engari ko wai kei te mōhio koirā te utu. Ko wai kei te mōhio, i utua te tangata, ērā tāngata, nā te kūare, e te kūare. Kei te mau tonu tērā mea te utu; te utu Māori ake nei. Ka kōrero au mō te utu, arā kē, te māku, te whaiwhaiā, ērā mea katoa. Ngā karakia tawhito nei, i mua i te taenga mai o te Pākehā. . . . Ki te rāwekehia e te kūare, e te tangata kore mōhio . . .

JT: Ka raru.

NT: Ka raru, ki ōku whakaro. Ka utua e te tapu o ērā mea. Ka whati, ka hapa, arā kē atu anō ērā kupu, hei whakamārama. Mm, he whati tikanga, me taku kī atu, kō wai ināiane i mātau ana ki ērā āhuatanga o mua noa atu. Ka pērā anō hoki ki te reo, ngā mahi a Te Taura Whiri, a wai rānei, ‘Anei he kupu tawhito, anei he āhuatanga hou, whakamoea, anā, kua whānau mai he kupu mō ēnei rā.’ He pai tonu tērā, engari, me mōhio ki te pūtake rawa o tērā kupu. [1.00.32] [Nā] te mea, kei te kōrerotia e ngā tamariki o ēnei rā ngā kupu nei. Kei te pai mehemea kua whakanoatia ērā kupu, mehemea kua tango mai te tapu, te tino tapu o runga i ērā kupu, i ērā kōrero, i ērā mōteatea, i ērā haka patu tangata, mōteatea whakamomori, rahu – he maha ngā kōrero, ahakoa kei te haere tonu ērā āhuatanga i ēnei rā. Ināiane kei te haka tātou ki te Kāwanatanga. Engari, ko ngā haka o mua kāore he Kāwanatanga, ko te mate kē te utu. Koirā tērā haka e kōrero ana mō te mate, ‘Ka Mate!’

JT: Āe. Engari he whakangahau i ēnei rangi.

NT: Mm. Āe.

JT: Ā, pātai whakamutunga. I roto i tāu mahi, i ētehi wā . . . ka tae mai ki tētehi rerenga tino . . . kāore i te tino mārama i tōna tikanga. Nā, ka waihongia, ka whakataiapatia, ka waihongia [pea], ā, mēnā ka whai wā, ka hoki atu ki te āta rangahau i ngā āhuatanga o tērā rerenga. Ki te kore, ka waiho, ka waiho kia noho reo Māori taua rerenga i roto i te tuhinga Pākehā. I pērā koe i ētahi wā, ka waiho tonu? Ka waiho me te kī, ā, me āta rangahau e au tēnei wāhanga. E kore e taea i roto i tēnei wā poto nei? Ka pērā hoki koe?

NT: Āe. He maha ngā wā. Ka pērā. Ētahi wā, kāore e kitea. Mm.

JT: Ko taua kupu rā, kāore e kitea?

NT: Mutu rawa te mahi, tukuna atu ki a wai rānei, ki ngā mea pīrangi ana, anā, ētahi wā, ka kitea!

JT: Ā, a muri!

NT: A muri. (Katakata) Me te whakaaro, ehara tērā i te wā tika hei kite i te . . . Anei kē, i waho atu o tērā horopaki, okay. Kia ora mō tērā. Mm. Mm. Koirā te pai

o ēnei mahi i ētahi wā, koirā te pai, kei te mōhio koe he kaiārahi i waho atu i a koe, i te tangata, e ārahi ana i a koe . . .

JT: E tiaki hoki i a koe.

NT: E tiaki ana i a koe, mā ngā mahi pērā, kāore au i te kite i te tikanga o tēnei kupu, engari kei te haere te taima, kei te pīrangī te tangata i tana mahi, tukuna atu, hoooh! Ka kitea. Me te whakamoemiti atu, 'Kia ora. Tēnā koe'. I te mea, he rereke, mm, i tāku i whakaaro ai i tērā wā. Anei *kē*. Mm.

JT: Ka pai. Tēnā rawa atu koe, Nātana. Tino pai. Tino pai. Tino pai rawa atu. Kia ora.

[01.04.49]

Haami Piripi: Wenerei, 26 o Kohitātea 2011 (Transcript 1)

[Can you talk about your involvement with translating sacred and/or sensitive texts?]

JT: So, you were saying . . .

HP: I'll just start at the beginning, the first sacred text that I've had any real involvement in translating really are, are hymns. So, it's the way I, probably the primary way I learned to speak Māori, was to translate hymns. And some prayers in church, 'cause my parents were religious people. So every Sunday was church day, and sometimes Sunday School day and sometimes another church and another church and [if] there's . . . other tangis on there'd be *more* church, you know, so, I'm real sort of tried and true in the Anglican faith. And as part of that I had a lot of access to Anglican scholars and elders who made a real great effort to translate hymns in such a way that they would bite in your heart. And that's really what hymns are designed to do. So, how I understand it is the hymn is, is, the line of, the lyric of the hymn is given to you in such a way as to minimize the amount of words that are required to ensure the concept that is being imparted hits the right spot. And you feel something within you. And you have, and you're mārama, you're mārama, you know. And there's lots of hymns have got that sort of thing in it. A lot of it is all about the Christian ethos, but nevertheless it's still a sacred element to it. So, a hymn like, ah, 'E Te Atua Kua Ruia' – (sings) *E te atua* . . . So that's one of the first things that was fed to me as a child. There's a lot of, to me there's a lot of deep meaning in those words. And they're contextualised by the circumstances by which they were written, and understood by the original scholars, which is over a hundred years ago. A hundred and *fifty* years ago. And they're reinterpreted and re-iterated over the generations, until it came to my turn, to gain my own, and my elders said, 'This is what this hymn means'. You know, so it'll be a simple line like 'Tahi anō te waiata'. So you say, oh, it's a simple line, 'Tahi anō te waiata'. But what that really means, is that everybody's singing from the same page. You know, so, it goes deeper than just a waiata and somebody's just, so, it's really a much more philosophical understanding, or what do you call it, it's a . . .

JT: It's not a literal understanding . . .

HP: Yeah not literal . . . Allegory, I think it is. So, and hymns of course are full of those. And, I grew up, so it was my bread and butter, on interpreting hymns. And I made a real thing of it. And it actually taught me how to speak Māori, because it gave me new ways of saying things [3.11]. So, that was my first real experience, and then, I guess, the prayers themselves, where you're sort of . . . But a lot of that was rote learning, and I think, prayers are perhaps slightly different. I don't know whether . . . I must have missed the real sort of theological scholars, I suspect. There's one or two around, but . . . It was all blind faith, by the time I came along (Laughs). It was just: "I don't know why, but you just do it, boy", you know. But, nevertheless, it didn't dampen my enthusiasm to try and understand. So, that's where my first real experience with translating of sacred texts came from. And

then, a bit later in my life, my teenage years, I was the boy in the community who was taken by my non-English speaking elders to the Land Court, to look at the land records, or to do things of that nature. So, I got to experience another kind of sacred text, if you like, which is really about whakapapa and history, pertaining to certain sites, certain tūpuna. And so I did a lot of work [with] kaumātua around that, and as a consequence learned about whakapapa. And whakapapa, I would say, is probably the most sacred of texts. So, when I was growing up . . .

JT: You don't really translate that though, do you. I mean it's, it is what it is.

HP: Yeah, it is. It is the *ultimate* in sacredness. Provided you're talking about a group of people, not [just] a bunch of names. That's the difference, sort of thing. So, I learnt to understand sacred texts, about sacred events and sacred people, in the context of whakapapa and history. And that is what gave me my, I think, my broader understanding about how the two are balanced off against each other – sacred and secular, I suppose. Um, and it gave me an insight into how to apply whakapapa. So, not just learning “ka moe a mea, ka puta a mea” – sounds wonderful, what does it really mean, you know. And so I worked with these old people and you learn, because they never have whakapapa unless it was for a purpose. So, I'm the sort of person, I don't write whakapapa down. I very, very rarely write whakapapa, unless I write a really, a little, small bit I want to remember for something, I might write it down. But I never write it down 'cause to me, if you have to write it down, you end up filing it away, never accessing it, never using it and it becomes a negative exercise. So, if you can't remember the person, forget it! If you can't remember your ancestor or ancestress, forget it! If you don't remember who she is or what she did, pass! Don't try and . . . So, that's the way I was sort of brought up, and so, even though . . .

JT: So, in a sense writing it down diminished, in some way, the wairua of that whakapapa . . .

HP: (6.20) Yeah, very much so, very much so. Well, not so much writing it down, but committing it to memory in that way. You know? 'Cause, so, you've got two ways of committing it to memory, you commit it to memory in a written script, or you commit it to memory in your, emblazon it in your thinking. You know. And if you're unable to emblazon it in your thinking, that means you rely on a written script, it's indicative of a failure in commitment. You know, so, and commitment is achieved, and this which is why in the old wānanga days, you had to prepare for these things. You had to . . . I remember as a kid watching people prepare for that sort of stuff, where it wasn't just, oh, turn up for a whakapapa session or, you know, you had to go through *days*, beforehand, getting ready, preparing, all these sort of, even down to the things you did. And you know, like, for example, a man couldn't *dare*, um, change a baby's nappy on the day he's going to a wānanga. 'Cause the two are going in opposite directions. And so, you're cancelling out your tapu, sort of thing. So, in order to get into that sort of wānanga you've got to get into a bit more of a tapu state. So, you've gotta leave the worldly things out and get into a more prepared, sort of, frame of mind. And then you can, *then* you

can absorb the stuff. I've got to be honest and say I've never been there myself (laughs). Well, I dunno, maybe I have and I don't realise it! You know, but, I've been in a lot of wānanga, but I'm not sure whether I've gotten to that, where I wanna be, that's where . . . 'Cause I've heard of stories of people . . . Uncle Ephraim's one of them. He, he, my dad told me that, when he went to talk to visit with Takou, the old man, in Pawarenga, he went there, he stayed there for three days, came back and he was a completely different fulla. All this new knowledge, and he did it all in three days. And I thought that was incredible! And you hear lot of people it's like, they get a gift. You know. And I think there's some truth to that. So, it's more than just you. There's something else, feeding you and helping you too, if you plug in right. So, that's the tapu side of stuff . . .

JT: And if you're selected, as a recipient . . .

HP: And if you're selected, yeah. If you're the right sort of person, doing the right thing. Got the right frame of mind. And then, then you can be very effective. I don't know, I think I can, I think I *am* effective at times, you know, I go to huis at maraes – mates [funerals] mainly – and I bring out whakapapa, and link people together . . .

JT: That's another purpose of whakapapa, though isn't it?

HP: Yeah. Yeah. That's not really the sacred part of it. Because when you get into the more ancient stuff, it's really, you're into deep wānanga. [9.00] Mm. So, by the time I left here, left home at 16, I had, sort of, done a lot of that. Yeah. Those are the first things I was really involved in. And then, um, learning karakia then, for use, was my next sort of, and mihi I suppose, part of mihi, the mihi role. I was speaking on the marae at twenty-one, so, that's, so you had to learn quickly to try and, at least sound like you've got something to say. You know. And I learnt a lot about Māori theology. I read a lot, read *heaps*, on atua Māori stuff. And then eventually . . . well, I don't know whether I've actually stopped being a full Christian. Because I still go to Christian church now and again, if there's a good reason . . .

JT: You never forget (Laugh). You hear it, and you know the words . . .

HP: Yeah, you know the words. It pops up and you kind of, it pops out of your mouth, you know. But that's, that doesn't worry me because that's okay, it's all good. But it's the deep fundamental belief, you know. And so, I remember, I think, when I stopped taking communion. And my dad was eighty then, I think, and I'd come home and go to church. I'd go to church with my father, even though I didn't . . . But it was my church, my tupuna built the church. And I remember him saying to me one day, 'Oh, how come I don't see you taking hapa? Yeah, [when it's time for] hapa, you don't go up.' 'Cause you notice, there's only about twenty of us there! And I said, 'Oh, Dad, that's because I've moved on.' And my dad was one of an old-school who always said, 'Don't go near atua Māori, it's too heavy, it's too tapu, you can't . . . It'll knock you over', sort of thing. And 'I've seen people go mad with it' . . . And I'm sure it's true. But as I said to him then, 'Oh that's because you fullas are all scared of it. I'm not scared

of it. You know, I want to understand it. And then I said to him, 'I don't take hapa because I don't believe it. I don't believe in Jesus Christ; I don't believe that Jesus Christ is our saviour; I don't believe that through his blood of his body we will be saved; I don't know where the hell he's going, but I'm not going there' (Laughter).

JT: That must have been hard for Dad.

HP: And he goes, and my dad's been the bell-ringer of that church all his life, he's eighty years old. And he goes, 'Yeah?' I said, 'Yeah.' He says, 'You believe that?' I said 'I believe that'. He said, 'Well don't come to our fuckin' church then.' And it shows how deeply ingrained they were in the Christian ethic. But I don't think it was any less tapu, than our Māori stuff. It's just that our pantheon stuff, Māori pantheon stuff, is more *potent*, I think. And I remember reading some old books, amongst old, early scholars, you know, late eighteen hundreds, where early Māori had a view on this idea of one atua. And they thought it was like a sort of pocket-book atua. You know, one atua to go and have kai, one atua, same atua to go to war, same atua to go to the toilet, same atua . . . even your enemy are using your atua. You know, and it was so *inconsistent* with their understanding of atua. And tapu. And the whole supreme energy force thing, being so tapu that even you *thinking* about it, dirties it, you know. And that's something *they* were into, real deep, theological, philosophical thought. Even beyond this planet. And that's what a lot of these early Pākehā fullas couldn't understand, where our tūpuna were at. And so, that was their way of thinking, they didn't just talk about atua like, 'Oh yeah, I'll go and have a shit now, I'll get my atua out!' (laughs), which is what Pākehā do, you know, one atua in your back pocket, out it comes. And it's even, it's hilarious. It *is* hilarious, because the world just doesn't work like that [13.26]. Anyone who has an appreciation of the natural world will understand that it's impossible to work like that. There are different atua for different aspects of our planet's existence, it's just so simple. And I teach my kids this: they say to me, oh, you know, 'Who is Papatūānuku?' And I say that Papatūānuku is the planet Earth. That's what she looks like, sounds like, feels like, you know. That's who she is, that's Papatūānuku. And it freaks them out, they say, 'No, Papatūānuku is a god.' No Papatūānuku's the planet. Tāwhirimātea is the atmosphere, that's who Tāwhirimātea is. And I teach them that personification, almost, of the elements. And it's a much better paradigm within which to see the world. And I think it's also a much better paradigm within which to understand Māori theology and the Māori paradigm. And the whole cosmological descent, right down to the creation of, you know, people. I've just uncovered some texts recently from an old chap called Hare Hongi, who went to a wānanga out here in Ahipara, at an old secret wānanga called Waitahapawa, which is now buried in sand. And he, one of the things he says about this wānanga is that he was expressly told by Nōpera Mumu, who is the person who was doing the wānanga, that it must never be written down. But he said he couldn't *not* write it down.

JT: He was an interesting fullah old Hare, wasn't he?

HP: He was. And [it was] the genealogy of the, of the sea current, of the trees. And it's all ours. He got it from here. You know, and so that was a fantastic, going through that text, for me, was fantastic. But, and I see, someone had a go at translating it. Not a very good go at translating it, I'm sure it wasn't him. But that's a good example of how you need context. Particularly if you're translating material that is not Christian. If you haven't got the context, you can get it very, very wrong. Yeah, so, that's been very interesting, so, this whole understanding of theological stuff has helped me interpret things a lot better, translate things a lot better in te ao Māori. So, a karakia that I may have learnt twenty years ago: *Tēnei au, tēnei au te hokai nei i taku tapuwae*, they're all well-known, well-traversed karakia, I realised just recently that I probably was only scratching the surface of understanding what they *really* meant, in my early use of them. And the power that they could invoke. You know, so, that's been very useful. Then, sort of, at that point, I got involved with the Taura Whiri, and got into translation, to translating, as a linguistic exercise, as opposed to a theological one. Although, in leading the development of the monolingual dictionary – have you heard of that? *Pātaka Kupu*?

JT: I've seen it, yeah.

HP: Well, that's the only truly monolingual Māori dictionary, which we did in the period that I was there. And one of the things we did in the dictionary is, we had a, a field for atua Māori. So every word must be associated with atua Māori. And, at first, the religious people said, 'Impossible. Where are you gonna put knives and forks, and cars and . . .', you know? And I said, well, if nothing, if it doesn't affiliate to an atua Māori, it can't exist!

JT: (Laugh) So we'll leave it out!

HP: Yeah. 'Cause what are you tied to?? You know? You gotta have some kind of . . . I had quite a debate with the linguists and the policy-makers, whether we should include it as a field in that dictionary. But I, myself, was absolutely determined that we should, and the most religious of our authors were dead against it. But I'm so glad we did it, even though, it hasn't actually come to fruition, as a field, I'm certain that in the future it will. And I've had enough linguists and language-developers come up to me and say that, by the completion of that monolingual dictionary, there, this language will never die, because it has the tools by which it can be maintained, within that monolingual dictionary. So every Māori word is described, and, in many other fields, in Māori. And you just think how hard it is, just, you know, how would you define the word *ngōngoro* i te reo Māori? You know. And you can see how difficult it would be.

JT: What about Te Papakupu o Ngapuhi. Does it aim to do that as well?

HP: Yeah, but it's not a dictionary. It's basically a wordlist. So, it's translating. And even then, so, a dictionary has got definition, part of speech, synonym, homonym, antonym, Latin, dah dah dah, dah dah dah, . . . So, and it's electronic as well [Pātaka Kupu]. So, you can intersect a point. You can get really specific

about your words, you know. And we designed it that way, so it would be able to be used like that. But the full use of it has yet to be fulfilled (Phone rings)
I'm just waiting for a call, that's all. Oh, it's my daughter
(19.05)

Haami Piripi: Wenerei, 26 o Kohitātea 2011 (Transcript 2)

HP: Yeah, so . . . That's the linguistic element of it. And that really, and I helped facilitate a few national hui of Māori linguists. And that's where I came across Ruia Aperahama's translation of um, the songs of Bob Marley. Which I thought weren't only fantastic translations, they were also fantastic interpretations of the words, to put them in enough context to understand them in exactly the same way as the English words were, you know.

JT: And then there's his *voice*, on top of all that.

HP: Yeah, that's right, yeah, yeah. And it was wonderful. And it's a great way to learn Māori, to learn songs like that. It's the same as the way I learnt Māori, learning hymns. You learn phrases you see. So, here's another phrase for my repertoire, and here's another phrase, and another phrase. They say with fifty phrases you can have a conversation. So, there you are, that's that part.

JT: What constitutes a sacred . . . Now. There's some discussion amongst my supervision team about this term 'sensitive'. I don't know what that term means to you, but . . . If you have any thoughts about it . . .

HP: Sensitive?

JT: What constitutes a sensitive, yeah, you don't strike me as someone who would find many things 'sensitive' . . . (Laughter).

HP: [1.32] Nah. Um. I mean, the only thing in a sacred text that may be sensitive is where people may have committed adultery or bigamy or, perhaps, things like that. Which is, ah, which is, does occur in every culture, of course, and it also occurred in ours. But, for me, um, anything that's been put in text, see 'cause once it's put in text, to me it's *captured*. It's, it's, and the purpose of the *capture*, is to *reiterate*. Um . . .

JT: It's not intended to be locked away somewhere.

HP: No. No. Otherwise you wouldn't *put* it in text. And this, these manuscripts that I'm working on . . . [the Takou Papers], the process we've been going through with those begins with the understanding that these texts were written for a reason. And the reason was, to be read (Laugh), you know. So they weren't written to be buried or put away or forgotten. They were written to be *read*. So, that in mind, to me, every text has it's own, has it's own . . . underlying objective, and that is to be read. That is why, in eighteen . . . nineteen [1819], eighteen twenty one [1821], something like that, Hongi Hika and Waikato developed the alphabet in England. Because they wanted to be understood. And make themselves understood. And he delegated his nephew, Pare, Pare Eruera, to become literate, and become their scribe. Which he did, he was the scribe of their [tribe] before the Treaty was signed [3.18]. So, they understood the importance of it also, the difference in genre between the written and the spoken. And I've seen a lot of old Māori karakia written down, but I don't understand it. Can't get through it. Can't . . . you know? But when I've learnt it off people, or listened to it and learnt it, it's much more pertinent and relevant to my, existence. Um, so that's, that's been an interesting exercise, to go through old knowledge, old

wānanga knowledge, and get it back to a point where it can be reiterated. There's a, and I think that is, that is, that is the, even when a text has been written and lost, we gotta bring it back and make it available again so people can, more people can read it, 'cause that's, that's the purpose of it. Although, the only thing about that, and I think it's why the Bible has been so singularly, sing-u-lar-ly successful, in, as a colonizing tool, um, is that, once you write it, you capture an idea in such a way, or a notion in such a way, that it can be transmitted across time and across space. Chapter, John, Verse 14: 'For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son, rah rah rah rah rah', yeah? So, exactly the same words, exactly the same notion spoken a hundred years ago, spoken now, spoken in Waimate, spoken in Auckland, spoken in Wellington. And so you're able to transmit a notion. And I know that our tūpunas were fascinated with that, the idea of transmitting a notion in its exact likeness. [5.07] And you can repeat it. And that's why *Rongo Pai* was so successful. Cause it was the same kōrero. Whereas, prior to that, in our, in our, customary environment, the kōrero was like a gas: flows and strength of it came and went, and, you know . . .

JT: And it changed with the teller and the telling and the time . . .

HP: That's right. Although, I would say that it was more accurate. Because it's, it's, it requires cross-referencing. You can't get away with saying 'So and so and so and so and so and so . . . ' and they'll say, 'Fuck off, that's not right! So and so and so and so and so and so and so.' You know? And so every time you stood up in public and made an assertion, you were open to challenge. Not so in written. Sometimes when you write something, it's the word. No, you can't say 'i [ee]' cause the book says you say 'e' [Māori pronunciation], you know? So in many ways, writing puts it in a cage, it locks it in time and context, which is exactly what the old St. James version of the Māori Bible does. The Māori is archaic, locks it in another context, in many ways. Mm.

JT: Okay. You got anything more to say on that? What constitutes a sacred text?

HP: Um. [06. 31] Yeah, a sacred text, I think, is really about people's identity. That's when you have to be, perhaps be a little bit sensitive. Sacredness derives really from the identity, I think, of a person. Well, in the Māori world anyway. From your whakapapa, where tangata, that's where it all comes from. You know, that's where you get it from. So, you can't trample that. And that's the only thing about it, you wouldn't want to deliberately trample, ah, people, or ideas or notions . . .

JT: Their beliefs.

HP: Yeah, their beliefs. So, I don't trample Christian beliefs if I'm not a Christian. Although some would say, just by not being a Christian I do (Laughs).

JT: That's alright. They can say that. Okay, haere tonu?

HP: Okay, ah . . .

JT: [Question 3] *How do you approach the translation of a text that you classify as sacred . . . or sensitive?*

HP: Well the first thing, ideally, is authenticate. So, I have to find out exactly who the author is. And where they sit in the whakapapa. So, that's the quickest way to identify a person. Where are you in the whakapapa. If you're not in the whakapapa, you must be a, [an] abomination (laughter). You know? So, that the first thing I do, where, dzz dzz dzz, okay, that person sits here. Now, then I focus on that person: who is that person? what did they do in their life? where were they born? how were they brought up? where did they go to school? dzz dzz dzz, you know. Sometimes this can happen very quickly. And then, basically you're establishing the credibility of your author. And when you get to the point of thinking to yourself, yes, this author is credible, then you get into cross-referencing. So, once you know that this person, what they write is worth reading, then you see what other people say about that person. What other people say about what they write. Who were their peers? Did they write anything together with anybody? Did they, what was their social circumstance, at the time? For example, the stuff we're doing with Robyn Kamira and the Takou papers, is we're dealing with a circumstance of time, where Catholicism and Māori paradigms were really competing with each other, you know. And how does, and so you see that reflected in the writing. So you have to understand before you even read the writing, otherwise you get the wrong . . . picture.

JT: He was younger, eh? Younger than Pene Haare. Slightly younger.

HP: Yes he was, yeah. But he started writing in 1902, and didn't finish till 1947. They were both part of the same wānanga. They actually worked together closely in the wānanga. And so, some interesting material they both were a part of. So, there's a good example, you see, there's Pene Haare, there's Takou, there you've got two people contemporaneous with each other. So, you can learn a lot from that [09.32].

JT: I had to because there was very little available when I was writing about Pene Haare. There was very little information . . .

HP: Oh, I'm sure it was repressed. I'm sure it was repressed.

JT: Repressed or . . . I don't think he was the type of person, what I gather anyway, he wasn't the sort of person to [promote himself].

HP: No, but he had a mission. It wasn't an individual effort. There were lots of them in the wānanga. And they were the two leaders. So they had jobs to do. And so, yeah, it wasn't just about him. Anyway, that's how they did it. And I've seen it happen myself on maraes, many times. Someone will get up and lay a whakapapa down and someone here will say, 'No, that's *completely* wrong. If you go back to dahdahdah, you'll see this person here didn't marry that one, they married this one dahdahdah. Often, you'll find they married both. So, but of course, what that does is brings enlightenment. It brings more information, more knowledge. And the more fierce and, not competitive but, the more, the more robust the discussion becomes, the better quality of information is delivered from the discussion. And that's the essence of Māori dialogue, and I think it's the beginning of how you approach a sacred text. So, once you've got the idea, all that, then you know, okay

right, so, you can't approach Ngakuru Pene Haare like you would approach Father So-and-so. Different worldview, different . . . So, you use a process of, of, of mixing and matching if you like, to find out where this person fits in the . . .

JT: The likely scenario. (Indistinct)

HP: Yeah. And then you look at the content. 'Cause you have to understand the content within all that. And, and, well what I do anyway, and I've already started to use old karakia from that material which I've found . . .

JT: (Indistinct).

HP: Yeah, at a rāhui round the beach – have you seen that around here? Yeah, well I laid the tapu for that, using those old karakia. And it worked. So yooohoo! (laughter). Well, it seems to have, you know. And when we did that, for example, the rāhui, the next day I had a [phonecall] from the Ministry of Fisheries office, saying, 'Oh, the Minister wants to know how you intend to enforce the rāhui?' 'Cause we just went and did it. We didn't ask [any]body, didn't seek anyone's permission. We laid the rāhui using our own mana, our own tapu, nobody else involved. Except, everybody else [has to] listen. And I said, 'Oh, we don't need to have anybody enforce the rāhui, it enforces itself.' He said, 'How can that be?' I said, 'Well, we've made it tapu'. They said 'So what?' I said, 'Well, it doesn't matter how ignorant you are as a Māori, as soon as someone says 'tapu', you go 'Oooh' (Laughter). Even if it's the only word you know! You go 'Ooh, shit', you know. So, it invokes a sense of personal responsibility, so it goes the other way. We don't need to knock anybody over the head, or monitor them, or check their . . . We just invoke a sense of personal responsibility. Say 'Yeah bro, if you think you're tough enough to break the tapu, go for it!' (Laughter). 'But *I'm* not'. 'Oh, I'm not either'. So you see how much more effective it can be. And the inverse of that is a similar approach to translating and interpreting texts. Because, by the time they get to real sacred texts, it's pure interpretation, I think. And pure interpretation can only be achieved by thorough context. [13.10] So . . .

JT: See, I think . . . I think all translation is interpretation.

HP: Yeah, there's a line there somewhere, eh. But I know, some of those old karakias and stuff, all the research in the world is not going to get you there linguistically. It's gotta be in here, in your heart, so . . .

JT: [Are you] talking about wairua? . . .

HP: I don't know about wairua, but I certainly know that if you're not meant to be doing it, you won't achieve it, in terms of translating, you know. Thank *God* I haven't been involved in anything, I haven't been sort of stalled half-way through because I've aargh, ooh, choke on that one. 'It wasn't me!' (laugh). But I've, I always take caution, too. I don't approach things like that lightly, you know. Because you're sort of opening a door . . .

JT: I was gonna say that, when you said you laid that rāhui, did you protect, how did you protect yourself? By using those karakia . . . you just . . . ?

HP: I just soaked them in.

JT: And just knew that you had the right intent to be . . .

HP: Yeah, I just knew that they're my karakia, I'm gonna use them. And, because I understood them. Well I thought I did. You know, think I did. So, and I'm . . . totally fascinated by them. The idea of splitting matter and space. That's all those old karakia are all about. About separating matter and space and creating something, you know. Fantastic! They're using things like lightening and thunder and, oh, bloody beautiful! I mean, it's the real deal (Laugh). Never mind this '*E tō mātou matua i te rangi*' stuff, you know, this is . . .

JT: There was that karakia that brought Ngātokimatawhaorua and Mamari across, eh, on a big wave . . .

HP: Yeah, that's right. '*E kau ki te tai e*', that's right. There you are, that's a perfect example of, of . . . I mean, Kupe, Kupe created the rough entrance to the harbor when he left. And burnt it. So that Nukutāwhiti would know when he came back, where the entrance was, and he'd know the karakia to get in. Well that's mana. You know, that's real sacredness. And you achieve that sacredness by being one with your pantheon of atua Māori. That's been my experience. Used to be a time when I'd go on a plane flight and when I get scared I'd go, 'Oh, God!'. Now I go, 'Oh, Tāwhirimātea!' (Laughter)

JT: He's the one!

HP: [15.41] He's much more relevant! Yeah, so that's, yeah, there is a sense of sacredness and sensitivity about it, but, I don't know, knowledge is knowledge. Once you've written it down, you've almost in a way betrayed its integrity (laugh), because it's no longer as fluid, and it becomes locked. Like *te maunga e tū mai nei*, you know, *lock* (laugh). So, it's a bit of a debate. I've seen some beautiful karakia people who work well with written stuff. But I find it bloody hard to learn written stuff with karakia. To me it's got to come from within. And it's not about getting every word perfect, it's about getting the intent right. So I focus on that. And I guess when it comes to translating texts, there's a bit of that in it too, getting the intent right. 'Cause you can see through context what they were trying to say. As I'm sure you found with the old boy's stuff. Mm. [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*] [18.23].

HP: Um . . . Yeah, so that's how I approach it, I get all that ready, get all that sussed, and *then* I go through it. And I'm sure I've never translated a text of that nature without reading it at least thirty times. Yeah. So, I read it, I soak it in, I read it again. Then I go away and I come back and I read it again, you know, and I check my understanding of it, I use a lot of dictionaries, a lot of historical information. If I see a word, you know, at the moment I'm working with a word, um, 'ngā tai o Whitireia'. So, I'm pretty sure that's a female component of, I know it ties in, got to do with Te Rerenga Wairua, but, so I've gotta find all that out, so I can finally get a real, catch on that phrase.

JT: Whitireia, hm . . .

HP: Whitireia's an old Kupe word, eh. It's a word he used about, it's also to do with Te Rerenga Wairua, when you leap, something to do with, one side or another. One's male, one's female. Whitireia's the female side . . .

JT: Yeah, there's some kōrero about it up at the point . . . [*Kāore noa iho he pānga o ēnei kōrero nei . . .*]

HP: [19.53] Yeah, so that's how I do it, and then I just, if I'm, working, and if, I feel like I'm not getting it, I'll go and talk to kaumātua and ask them about it. See, I'm heading out to Panguru in a couple of weeks to talk to a couple of kaumātua out there. They want to see me and, that's *wonderful*, because I just, you know, glean from them little tricks and approaches to understanding things. Everywhere I go I listen for new words, I picked a new word up on the weekend, 'mōwitiwiti', have you heard of that?

JT: Mōwitiwiti . . .

HP: Mōwitiwiti. It's like a sort of a, um, the sharpness of a cut. You get cut, and there's a certain sharpness to it, and that's 'mōwitiwiti'.

JT: Mōwitiwiti Untold words, eh?

HP: Oh, untold. Yeah. It's amazing how people are fantastic stylists, orally and in written form. Yeah. My teacher, Ephraim Te Paa, he was a brilliant, brilliant orator. In English *and* in Māori, he was just as eloquent in English. A *fantastic* speaker. Sometimes, boy, I remember thinking as a kid, 'Gee', I just. I've never seen anything since, of that calibre. There were a lot of them around, lots of them around. He wasn't the only one. But they're all dead now. So, . . . [*Ka kōtiti haere ngā korero i korā*] [22.22]

HP: . . . So that's, sacred and sensitive, um . . . 'different from other texts?' [*Does your approach or method of translating sacred or sensitive texts differ from your approach to other texts? If so, how?*]. Yeah, I think it does, um, although there's not *much* text that's not, sort of, got a sense of sacredness about it, for me, if it's Māori, if it's written in Māori. Because, generally, people who are prepared to write in Māori are usually for a purpose or reason. And more so as time has gone on, as the language has diminished, people have thought to put more important things into Māori. And, whakapapa books. I read a lot of family whakapapa books and stories and things like that, you know, the histories, and, it's interesting to see how every family's got a different take on things, you know, as families realize that, there's no one truth.

JT: That's right.

HP: You know. And, from someone's point of view, it was a bad day, from someone's point of view it was a good day. And that's just how it is.

JT: Depending on who won the battle.

HP: That's right, depending on who, who finished up on top. And it's just a, just a law of nature. So, most things I approach in a fairly sacred sort of way – at least with a respect for the author. So, to me, anyone who's taken the time to write in te reo Māori, for a significant issue, has gotta be respected. So that's my first thing: always with respect. Unless the Māori is *atrocious*, then it sort of changes my view, but. Then the linguistics come[s] in to it. You can tell from the linguistics whether a person's a native speaker or not. You can tell from the linguistics whether a person really understands their subject or not. And I have sometimes

thought to myself, 'This is garbage'. You know, I read a lot of that, we've just been through a whole claim process for the Whakaputanga claim. And this, I should send you a copy of my submission. But, and within that it had a lot of evidence from different people – which you would normally think to yourself would be fairly sacred. But a lot of it I thought was garbage, you know. And it's just people, joining a few dots, and coming up with a story – in *my* view, you know. I think 'God, I can't believe anyone would listen to that garbage', you know. But on the other hand, there's some magnificent material as well, that was produced. So, it's just a matter of being discerning, I think. And a lot of it is, a lot of it is, determined by the quality of the language. Good quality language usually results in a good quality piece of work. Bad quality language usually ends up in a poor quality piece of work (laughter), in my experience. So, linguistics comes into it a lot for me, as well as the credibility of the person, of course. There's a few people round here who, I wouldn't bother wasting my time reading what they wrote, you know.

JT: So, just as an aside, just for interest, you know Pene Haare's manuscript was entitled 'Ko te reo tawhito me tona whakamaoritanga ki te reo o naianei'. So, you know, my argument in my thesis was that he had himself interpreted those oral histories and things that he had been taught, into a kind of reo that would be accessible to people, and in that way, possibly . . .

HP: Palatable.

JT: Yeah, but, um, you know, as you said, there was a purpose that he did it, wanted it to be understood, he wanted it to be widely disseminated. [. . .] Well, I felt that he was shielding us from some of the more tapu elements of that, perhaps, of that original kōrero . . .

HP: Oh gee, you know, there's definitely a sense of, I suppose shielding is a way of putting it, there's definitely a sense of, of um, him being a bit of a go-between, an interpreter of it. Yeah. Although I haven't really sat down and compared his material to the old wānanga material that he was part of. That's been produced in a certain style. And it's not the style that he's written. So, I need to go through it properly, and have a good look at what the comparisons are. But, that's the style of the old wānanga, is very matter-of-fact. This happened, that happened, this happened, that happened, dza dza dza dza, you know. No argument. Whereas, he's more a philosopher, you know. And I *love* it. But it's a different genre. It is a different genre. I think everybody up here, recognises that. Recognises that, he wrote in a certain sort of genre. And some people even say, that he made a mistake doing that. [. . .] And that, as a result of that, his work is not really reliable. Because it's his interpretation of dz dz dz. But my research into the *man* .

. . .

JT: And his *status* . . .

HP: . . . and his status of the time tells me that his record is very reliable (laughs), you know. And if, old, him and Takou [Himiona Kamira] were in thick, they were the two leaders of the wānanga, then, you can be sure that his work is more than

reliable, it's *dependable*. Yeah. So, I'm a real advocate for the study of Ngakuru Pene Haare's work, both in English and in Māori. And, that should be part of our curriculum, part of every Māori student's curriculum, to study the texts, written by, you know. That's, that's *us*. That's really *us*. And it doesn't matter what iwi you are up here, Ngakuru Pene Haare is the man. And we should, there are others up here as well, of course. But we should acknowledge that. [28.37] And so, I got no problem with using sacred texts for teaching, 'cause I'm for learning – for the right people, in the right place, the right time. I'm a great believer in the imparting of knowledge. I don't, you know, I've seen so many whakapapa books buried over the years. I think to myself, what a bloody waste. They didn't write it down to be buried, they wrote it down to be remembered.

JT: People pass away, but the word can live on.

HP: Yeah, that's right. They buried cloaks, everything, oh my goodness. You know. I hope I never, I say to my children, 'If I die, take everything off, even the gold fillings' (Laughter) Sell the bugger, see what you can get (More laughter). . . So, that's how I *approach* it. Was that enough?

JT: Yeah. Heaps.

HP: Um, . . . *major issues and problems* . . . Yeah, okay. We've covered that a little bit, eh? Um, I think the biggest problem I've ever faced, is the ignorance of my own people. And, it's not a negative statement, it's just that, in the last, three generations, we've been steered away from this knowledge. Like, like, *actively*. It doesn't appear in schools; it doesn't appear on maraes; it doesn't appear in churches; it doesn't appear at hui. You know? Until you translated Ngakuru Pene Haare's work, I'd only just become aware of his work. But I should have grown up with that work, as part of my learning. You know? Not only him, not just the written work, but other deeds by our tupuna's and. Why aren't we educated into these things? That's our identity, and our, our potential. You know? And yet we don't, and I see this with [certain] papers: 'Oh, we can't, they're too tapu. We don't even want to *look* at them, they're too tapu'. And I say to that, 'Well, nothing's too tapu for *me*'. Because tapu is man-made.

JT: And tapu can be lifted, can be mitigated . . .

HP: Can be lifted, yeah. Can be mitigated, resolved, absolved. Whatever, you know? There's things you can do . . .

JT: And noa things can be made tapu.

HP: As long as you haven't got a black heart (laughs). You know, there's lots of things you can do. And so, I'm not afraid of it. I'm happy to take the bull by the horns and deal with it, you know. And I've done that, in lots of situations when I've been asked to do karakia, I say 'Oo, God, this is heavy'. But you [deep, strong breaths]. Right, you know. You get into it. [31.26]

JT: Yeah.

HP: So, that's the biggest issue. And people say, 'Don't do it', you know. There's a kaitiaki associated, for example, with Takou's work. And that's the green gecko,

kākāriki, you know. And I'm sure, Ngakuru had the same tohu. And of course, round here, if you ever see a green gecko, you go mad.

JT: Eh?

HP: Oh yeah, you gotta kill it straight away, cause it's too, it's too much of a bad omen, you know. But, of course, when you look at it, it's *fear*. And what are we afraid of? You know, we're afraid to open the door to our knowledge, really is what it is. So, what does a kākāriki mean, where does it . . . oh, to Whiro, da da da. I say well it's just, hey, that's our mātauranga Māori, you know. And so it's like when I was saying earlier when my old man, they were scared, they said, 'Oh, don't atua Māori', it's the same thing. 'Don't pull out this kōrero because it's too heavy for us', you know

JT: How do you know?!

HP: How come? You know. What's 'heavy'? Is there something wrong? (Laughs). You know. Sort of thing. So that's the *biggest* problem I have. But, I, I, I am finding it's changing slightly, because I do karakias around here. People come and get me when they want a non-Christian one. The Christians come and follow after me, but I always go first. I always give the first nod. And the lightning and the thunder separates . . (laughter) . . then you fullas can come in behind, sort of thing (laughter). That's how I see it, you know. And I'm pleased with that . . .

JT: A hierarchy of atua . . .

HP: Yeah, that's right. But I notice they say, 'Oh, can you come and do this thing', you know. And they want to do it, but they're not sure, and there's a bit of reticence there. And even when I do it, I can see almost a stunned 'How come I didn't know about this, stuff?'. They don't understand it, they haven't heard it before. Even though they do understand it, if they listen. If they listen to the words, it's very simple. 'Cause I compose my own karakia. I don't rote learn karakia, I compose my own. But I base it a lot on old karakia, you know, so I draw from them. And I

JT: What's appropriate for that occasion

HP: [33.49] Yeah, every time I do a karakia I do a new one. So, I don't just regurgitate the old ones. Some aspects of it I do, but generally not. Otherwise, play a recording! (laughter). [*He mea kōtiti haere anō ngā kōrero i konei*].

Um, so that's the, that's the biggest issue. And of course, associated with that issue is, um, is the suspicion around making resources available. If I hear you got a whakapapa book, 'You got a whakapapa book, Auntie?' And she says, 'Oh yeah, but no, you can't, it's too dz dz dz dz'. And they don't know enough about the whakapapa to know that you have a right. And that sort of thing. You know, because, three generations has gone on and they don't know who's who and what's what anymore. And so a lot of synergy gets lost that way, 'cause every whakapapa book is one whānau's memory of events, and it's another perspective. And you put them all together, you get a bigger picture. You know, it's

wonderful. Yeah. And I've looked at most family's whakapapa books around here. But I always give them back.

JT: Oh, you're good.

HP: Yeah, well I have no need for them. What do I need them for. I read them, I understand how everything fits, oh, okay Aunty, click! the light's gone on. Give it back, I can't recall it again, but I know it's there. Been there, read it, seen it and done it, dz dz dz dz, it's alright, good, I'll carry on that track, I don't need to justify it anymore. And I use that, that methodology, if you like. Just sort of build. [Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei]

HP: Yes. Yes. So, um, *How do we resolve these issues?* Um, reo, reo, understanding. The more people get into te reo Māori – see, this is how I think we've been colonised out of our cultural identity, through the lack of te reo. 'Cause I firmly, you know, Sir James Henare used to say to us, he was one of our teachers too, and he used to say to us, 'It's impossible to impart the true depth of knowledge in a language other than [that in] which it was intended to be'.

JT: So, I think that has some big implications for translation, in general.

HP: It does.

[45.10]

Haami Piripi: Wenerei, 26 o Kohitātea 2011 (Transcript 3)

JT: Say that again please, ‘the reo . . .’?

HP: The reo is, is, the most important, um, the most important initiative that can be used to promote further understanding. It’s the gateway to understanding the meaning of the kōrero. So, if you don’t understand the reo, you will, you will become afraid, by your own ignorance. You know what I mean? I think that’s what’s happening, people are afraid by their own ignorance. Once you understand the reo, you become less afraid because you, kua *mārama*. And when you’re *mārama*, well, you can *whakamārama*. So, and there’s some texts, for example, that you wouldn’t even . . . go near, some people round here, because it’s just way out of their understanding. You know. But I know, the *karakia* that was composed for the Bahá’í faith that Ephraim brought back, that was a lovely *karakia*, I used a bit of that in the opening [*karakia hakatūwhera*], um, *E tōku atua, e tōku atua*. You know. That’s a wonderful line, if you like, he had the whole thing about unity, which I think he helped compose. So, in order to bring enlightenment, you have to have the vehicle by which you can achieve it. And so you can’t have enlightenment about Māori translation, unless you’re familiar with the vehicle. So, I don’t take too much truck with people telling me about translation who don’t speak Māori themselves. ‘Cause I think, how could you possibly know?? Even if you’re the world’s best translator, you might have some good principles there, but how could you possibly know? It’s not possible to know. But, having said that, linguistics is a different issue, language can be learnt outside of sacred texts, but you need language to understand sacred texts, certainly to translate it. Which is a very, very intricate and complex task, as I’m sure you’re well aware (laughs). ‘Cause every word can be interpreted in so many ways. And every phrase and then every sentence, and every page, just about. And there’s so much to the matrix.

JT: [02.16] You might have actually answered this, I think, earlier, but there’s this idea that, in the literature, that when you’re translating sacred texts, you know, they’re predominantly talking about religious texts, that it should be a literal translation. That’s a very long-standing idea, you know, approach to the translation of sacred texts, that they should be literal translations. Do you have anything to say about that? You talked earlier about . . . you know, that it’s more, organic . . .

HP: I’m not sure whether there *can* be a literal translation, like, it’s a . . . I just translated a *whakataukī* recently for a kaumatua. And it was *Tēnei au, tēnei au, ko te hōkai nei i taku tapuwae* . . . And I translated it as: ‘Here I am before you, my footprint em-, em- . . .’ I can’t remember how I used it, it was a real sort of flowery term. But it was perfectly appropriate for the way it was being used on that day. ‘Embossed’, I think was the term I used, ‘embossed’. And, you say, it’s a tricky, well, it conveys the meaning, you know . . .

JT: It’s got that sense . . .

HP: And I think every time, so not every translation's the same, even though, even if the words are the same, it's not the same translation. So I don't think there is such a thing as literal translation. I think you have to stay true to the syntax and to the structure – otherwise you can be writing your *own* story, you know, but, um

JT: That comes back to respect for the author as well.

HP: It does, respect for the. So you follow the tracks. But I don't think there's any real such thing as a literal translation. It's like saying, 'How do you translate God?', you know. So, we could be here all day. Still wouldn't get past the first letter.

JT: Ka pai. Kia ora.

HP: [03.59] And then the other thing, of course, is use. One thing learning the language, another one using it. And I notice, our marae in particular, when I was, twenty years ago, it wasn't uncommon for kaumātua to stand up on our marae and mihi in English. Now it never happens. Because we are, we are . . . sanctifying our reo, as the reo of our, what Uncle Ephraim used to call our 'sacred institution', of te ao Māori, the marae. Which is a pre-European institution, was here long before Pākehā ever came, and it'll probably be here long after they've become Māoris, I don't know. He called it an 'institution of our forebears', you know, and there's a few of them, that's one of them. So, if you stay true to that, and get into use, with it, then I think everyone will benefit from it, and then the real intended purpose of a translated text, or written text becomes achieved, through dissemination to the populace. Which is really what it's about. I think, nobody would have written it down if it was just gonna be for the priests [tohunga]. They would've just kept it to themselves, you know, so, it's meant to be for the populace. To be distributed and understood, as a tool by which they could survive in life. And I certainly believe that, Māori philosophy, theology. Ngakuru Pene Haare had some brilliant gems about surviving in life, you know. So, that's where it's at for me, so it's about polishing those gems up, and making them useful, useful to those, 'cause they're still the same gem. Still the same ruby under those words, you know. It's just a matter of just giving them a bit of a shine up and the right application and, oh, beautiful!

JT: Mm. Ka pai.

HP: [05.50] So, I think that's, um, oh, are we, ah, '*code of ethics*?'

JT: Oh, just, I added one on the end there, I don't know if you can even read it. Yeah, I'm just interested in policies and codes of ethics and these sorts of things, that maybe enhance or hinder the translator in their [mahi].

HP: [06.08] Well you have to have some kind of, um, you have to have some kind of yardstick, I think. Otherwise it's a bit of a free for all. You know. So, I think there needs to be a code of ethics, but for me the code of ethics is not so much about individuals, a code of ethics is about ethnicities. So, I would have great difficulty, for example, and I've been involved in the work that's been, translating the Qur'an. I would have great difficulty in translating the Qur'an

JT: Were you involved in that as well?

HP: Yeah a little bit, at the beginning. And some of my, of biblical stuff as well, it . . . it would be impossible for us as Māori people to think we could take the Qur'an and translate it. Even, as literal as we wanted to be. You know. That's bullshit. It would be a fallacy. So the idea is to work within the context. And it's the same with anything, whether it's an Egyptian text, or Samoan text, or any other text, you cannot do it unless you're in the context of the culture. And you cannot do it from outside the culture. A lot of linguists think they can, I think. But I don't agree. But I do agree that there are certain ethics around that, and that need to be adhered to. So, you can't just go and say, 'Oh, I think I'll translate the Qur'an'. And I'll tell you a good example of it is that, is that, um, *Instant Māori*, you know those little books? [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero . . .*]. Learn 'instant Māori', and it's a *really* offensive book, you know, but it's sold all over the country. And there's a good example of ethics being . . .

JT: Violated.

HP: . . . being violated. Yeah. So, those are the situations out there that can really occur, or maybe other things around personal details, [although I suppose] personal details [ought not] to be recorded in that way – unless it's Jesus or Allah, or something (laughs).

JT: So, what do you think about Shakil Monir? You know, he taught himself te reo over twenty years or so, using a dictionary and [. . .] he then came down and tried to have it authenticated or verified by qualified Māori translators. But what's your take on that?

HP: [08.25] I think it's wonderful. It shows . . . dedication, commitment, respect. And, um, but it doesn't, won't take a professor to work out what the result will be. You know. But still, you know, it's better than nothing. You know. We've got a whole country who can't pronounce five vowel sounds. So, shit, he's doing pretty good! (Laughter). Not can't, *won't*. Whole country that *won't* pronounce five vowel sounds. 'Cause everybody knows they can if they want to. They just won't. It'll always be 'Ku-pay'. You know. Or 'hu-pay' (Laughter). And until they learn the respect for us, they'll never learn the right language. You know. The two go together. [09.08] And this really brings us back to the starting point, that in a translation or interpretation of this nature, the two go together. Language goes with the people and the people with the language, hand in hand. Without the one, you can't do the other.

JT: Ka mutu ki reira. Kia ora. [. . .] Kia ora rawa atu.

[09.30]

Te Raukura o te Rangimārie (Raukura) Roa: Rātū, 01 o Poutūterangi 2011

JT: Okay. So, *Whakamārama mai koa ngā mahi kua whakaurua nei e koe hei kaiwhakamāori mō ngā tuhituhinga, mō ngā pukapuka e whakaarohia nei he 'tapu'*. I te whakaaro au mō ngā mōteatea o Ngāti Hauā.

RR: Yeah, nah, tuatahi, ehara aua waiata i te mea tapu. And, ko te whakamārama o te 'tapu' ko te 'rāhui'. Nō reira, kāore aua waiata rā i rāhuitia. Ko te tikanga o te mōteatea ko te tū me te waiata kia mōhio ai te ao, kia whakarongo mai te ao ki ō kōrero. Mō ngā mōteatea tangi, he tangi ki te hunga mate. Nō reira, ko ngā kōrero o roto he whakaputa i ngā kare ā-roto o te kaiwaiata, ā, me te whakarangatira i te tangata kua mate. Nō reira, ehara i te mea he tapu. [01.02] And by tapu I mean 'restricted', there's no restrictions on these waiata. Yeah, so, *kāore* au i whakauru ki te whakapākehā i ngā āhuatanga, ngā tuhituhinga tapu.

JT: Ki tō whakaaro, he āhuatanga āritarita, 'sensitive' rānei e pā ana ki aua mōteatea?

RR: Kāo. Kare kau. Umm, me i āritarita ngā waiata rā, kua kore i waiatatia. Nē? Kua noho ki roto i te whatumanawa o te tangata, kua kore i puta. Kua kore i waiata ki mua i te marea, ki mua i te whakaminenga. Kua waiho rānei ki roto i tētahi pukapuka, ka rāhuitia taua pukapuka rā. Engari ko ēnei waiata, kāre i pērātia. He mea whakaputa ki te ao. So, no, I wouldn't class them as sacred or sensitive.

JT: Pēhea ō whakaaro mō te pātai tuarua nei, 'Ki ō whakaaro, he aha ngā āhuatanga ake o ēnei momo tuhituhinga?'

RR: Ummm . . . he . . .

JT: What would you classify as a 'sacred text' or a 'sensitive text'?

RR: [02.27] Umm, well, something that you would want to keep secret. That you wouldn't want the public to know, you know. Um, yeah, perhaps there's a bit of social control in there, only certain people are allowed to know certain things.

JT: Okay, pēhea tēnei, mēnā ka tīni i taua kupu ['tapu'] ki te kupu 'sacred', he rerekē ō whakaaro ki tērā?

RR: [03.04] Yeah, ki te whakaaro, yeah, ki te whakahuahia te 'sacred', I would consider it something precious, something . . . unique, but something that holds our, our philosophies and our values – and I don't think that's necessarily sensitive. In some aspects it's probably public knowledge, these sacred aspects of our tikanga, and of Māori values and protocols and practices. And it's all embedded in our, in mātauranga Māori. And, in terms of mātauranga Māori, that's something handed down from the gods. It's not, ehara i te mea nā te tangata i waihanga, engari he mea i heke iho mai i te ira atua ki te ira tangata. Yeah. So, yeah, 'sacred' is yeah, definitely different to 'sensitive', they have different connotations for me.

JT: He whakaaro anō āu mō te 'sensitive'? Ō ake whakaaro mō tērā, te tikanga o tērā?

RR: Just, just that it's something that you won't, you don't want everyone to know about. That you want to keep kind of secret. Or, something that only certain people can know. So, for 'sensitive' I would use that as, I would say, he āhuatanga kua rahuitia, kua rahuitia ki te tangata. Engari mo te 'sacred' he āhuatanga tapu, nā, ko tēnā tapu he tapu i heke iho mai i ngā atua.

JT: Ehara i te mea kua rāhuitia. Okay, ooh rawe, ka pai. 'Whakamārama mai koa tāu nā ahunga ki te whakamāoritanga o te tuhinga, me kī, he 'sacred' te āhua.

RR: Me pono. Tuatahi, me pono ki te tuhinga, me te tangata nāna te tuhinga, me te iwi, nā rātou te tuhinga. Umm. Yeah, me pono, me tika. Mm.

JT: He rerekē tō ahunga ki ērā momo tuhituhinga i ērā atu?

RR: [05.50] No, me pērā mō ngā whakapākehā, whakamāoritanga katoa, ahakoa te aha, ahakoa he mea tapu, ahakoa i rāhuitia, ahakoa he mea whakaputa ki te ao, me pērā. That's the fundamental, for me, fundamental aspect of translation, is being *right*, and *honest*.

JT: Ka pai (Laughs).

RR: Very simple. Ngāwari ōku whakaaro.

JT: Okay, 'Ki tō mōhio, he aha ngā tino take me ngā taero e whakararu nei i a koe e mahi ana i ēnei mahi?' *Mēnā* he raruraru i roto i te whakamāoritanga o ngā tuhinga 'sacred', 'tapu', 'sensitive' rānei. . .

RR: [06.35] Um, ko ngā kupu pea, ko ngā kupu ake o aua tuhinga rā, ētehi wā, he kupu tawhito, ka nui ngā whakamārama mō aua kupu rā, nō reira, ko tēwhea te whakamārama pai hei whai māu. Ka rua, ko tēwhea . . . oh, well, ka rua, mā wai te tuhinga, mā wai te whakapākehātanga, mā wai rānei te whakamāoritanga, me pēwhea tō whakaraupapa i ō kōrero. Um, he aha te momo reo hei whakamahi māu, he reo ngāwari, he reo Kōhanga Reo, he reo tapu, he reo karakia, he reo Panekiretanga rānei. Nō reira, me whai whakaaro tuatahi ki te hunga ka pānui i te whakapākehātanga, i te whakamāoritanga rānei. Mehemea ko te hunga, he pāpaku te reo, kāre i te nui tō rātou mōhio ki te reo, nō reira, me ngāwari te reo, engari, me whakamahi i ngā, me whakauru i ngā whakamārama kei raro. So, if you've got, like, archaic words that have heaps of different meanings and connotations, choose the appropriate meaning or appropriate translation for the target audience, but then below, provide a gloss of all the other different meanings, um, all the other different possibilities and connotations that *that word* has in that *context*. And has for *that* iwi. And then, if other iwis have variations on that word, provide those as well. So, there's a, there's a . . .

JT: He maha te rangahau, i ētahi wā. . .

RR: Yeah. Yeah. But, he rautaki, well, koirā taku rautaki mō te whakapākehā, mō te whakamāori rānei, he whakauru i tētahi 'gloss', kia mōhio ai ki ētehi atu whakamārama mō aua kupu me aua rerenga.

JT: Nā, kua whakautua kētia pea tēnei pātai [*How are these issues to be resolved?*]

RR: Yeah. Mm, providing a gloss. But yeah, that's the major issue that I've come across is . . . yeah, when there are different . . . yeah, he rerekē ngā

whakamāramatanga mō aua kupu rā. Hei tauira, kei roto i tētahi o ngā mōteatea, e hara i te mea nō Ngāti Hauā tēnei mōteatea, engari nō wāhi kē, e whakamahia ana te rerenga, ‘he pae ruahine’, ‘pae ruahine’. Nā, i whakamahia anō nei ko te ‘pae ruahine’ he pae maunga. Ko ‘Ruahine’ te ingoa o te maunga, engari, so, he ngāwari ki te whakapākehā, you know, ‘the Ruahine mountain range’. Engari, te whakamārama o raro o taua kupu, kei te whakaritea te wahine i a ia anō ki tētahi maunga kua eke ki te kuiatanga, ki te ruruhitanga, kua kore e taea te whakawhānau tamariki, nō reira, kua mahue ia e tōna hoa. So, it’s not, kāore i te kōrero mō tētahi ‘mountain range’, kei te kōrero kē mō ia anake, he hōhonu ake. So, i roto i te ‘gloss’, ka whakauru i taua whakamāramatanga. She’s, you know, describing herself as a woman who’s gone beyond the childbearing stage. Yeah. So, koirā taku, that’s the issue that I’ve come across and that’s how I’ve resolved it.

JT: Kia ora rawa atu.

RR: Hmm, ‘ethics’ . . . [*Pēhea nei ō whakaaro mō te taha matatika e pā ana ki te whakamāoritanga o ēnei momo tuhinga?*]

JT: E pā ana ki te whakamāoritanga/whakapākehātanga o ngā tuhituhinga ‘sacred’, ‘tapu’, ‘sensitive’ nei.

RR: [10.55] I suppose, well, mehemea, I mean, ko ngā pukapuka Māori, ko ngā tuhinga Māori e whakapākehātia ana, me pūmau ki ngā tikanga Māori. Nā, i roto i āku mahi whakapākehā i ngā waiata tawhito, i ngā mōteatea o Ngāti Hauā, i mahi tahi au i te taha o ngā kaumātua o Ngāti Hauā. Koirā taku wiamarie. Nō reira, nā rātou ahau i ārahi i roto i ngā tikanga Māori. Katoa o ngā hui i whakahaerehia, o ngā wānanga i whakahaerehia, ko ngā tikanga Māori i te kawē mai i te tīmatanga tae noa ki te mutunga. Ko te mea nui hoki, he kanohi kitea au i roto i taku iwi, nō reira, i mōhiotia au e aku kaumātua. Nō reira, kāore rātou i āwangawanga ki te noho ki taku taha. So, yeah, me pūmau ki ngā tikanga Māori; me mahi tahi i te taha o te iwi nō rātou ngā tuhinga; ka mutu, kia mutu rānō ō mahi rangahau, me whai hua ai tō iwi i ō rangahau. Ki te kore rātou e whai hua, he aha te take? He aha te take? So yeah, koirā ōku whakaaro mō te ‘matatika’. Cool.

JT: Ka mutu ki reira? He whakaaro anō ōu?

RR: Kāo. Ngāwari. Ngāwari tēnei.

JT: Kia ora rawa atu koe, Raukura.

RR: Cool.

[12.45]

Waldo Houia: Rāmere, 11 o Poutūterangi 2011 (Transcript 1)

WH: Nā, ētahi taima he uaua aua kōrero nei [indistinct] he tapu, nē? Ko te mea kē, he aha tēnei mea te tapu. Ko te raruraru, kāore he mea tika, kāore he mea kotahi. Kei te nui ngā tirohanga a tēnā iwi, a tēnā tangata ki tērā kōrero, ‘he aha hoki te tapu’. Ka hoki aku whakaaro ki ngā tuhinga a ngā, a te pāpā a Apirana [Ngata], tētahi anō a ō mātou, Hotene Porourangi, me ētahi atu anō o mātou, ka rongo aua koroua rā e kī ana, ka kī mai tētahi koroua, tētahi wā, hoki atu au ki te kāinga, ko tana kuia, i te tīhore mai te pepa, me te kānara me te tahu i aua mea. Ka mea atu te koroua nei ki a ia, [indistinct], ka mea atu ki te kuia rā, ‘He aha tāhou e tahu ai te mea?’, ka mea mai te kuia, ‘He tapu.’ Nā te mea i haramai i a ia, and he tangata tohunga . . .

JT: Kia aroha mai, Matua, ko taku tamaiti terā ki waho rā Nā, haere tonu.

WH: [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero*]. . . . Hehehe, kia ora boy! . . . Kei te pēhea koe?

[02.31]

Waldo Houia: Rāmere, 11 o Poutūterangi 2011 (Transcript 2)

WH: [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*]. Tikina atu ia, ka wehia i ngā tuhinga e hia kē nei o ngā pukapuka o te pāpā o Apirana – rongonui – a Paratene, Paratene Ngata. Ka kī mai a Mea, ‘Purua katoatia ērā pukapuka i rō kāta’, ka taria e ia ki te Waiapu, ka makaia katoatia i roto i te Waiapu. I runga i te wehi ki aua pukapuka, te tangata nei. Ehara nō mātou. Engari ki a ia, te, ka tapu ērā kōrero, ka whiua e ia. Nā reira, ka kite koe, ko te tirohanga ki te tapu i ērā wā, he rerekē anō ki tēnei rā. Anō nei, te mea ko ērā kōrero, ehara mō ngā whatu o te katoa. Āhua pērā. Engari kei te mōhio kē a Apirana, nā te mea, nā Paratene, tētahi o mātou o tō mātou marae, waimaria! I mau i a au. He roa. Kua oti i a au te patopato. Engari, ngā tirohanga o wērā wā, he tapu aua mea rā. [01.47] Tērā pea, ka hoki mai anō ki tēnei mea te ‘sensitive’, nā te mea pea, kei te mōhio aua tāngata kei reira ētahi kōrero mō ētahi o ngā tīpuna, and, ehara i te kōrero māmā. Ētahi, he haehae. Ētahi he takahi. Ērā momo mea. Kāore rātou i pīrangi ki te, kia kataina, kia kitengia e te ao whānui, kei pāmamae wētahi. [*He kōrero tūmatawhāiti ēnei . . .*]. [04.24]

WH: Nā, ko au kei te pupuri, he nui ngā kōrero kei te pupuri au, pēnei tāku i kōrero nei mō te mea nei o taku [XXX], kāore anō au kia whakaputa. Nā te mea, kei te mōhio au i whāngaingia mai au ki ērā kōrero hei pupuri māku. Kei te kāinga anō ētahi o te whānau, kāore au e kōrero ana ki a rātou, ngā kōrero kei au e mōhio ana [. . .]. Kei pāmamae. Nē? Koirā te mahi a te pakeke. Me kī, he kaipupuri koe o aua kōrero tapu. Ina koa, e haere ana au, awau, e toru ōku [whanaunga], matatau katoa, ka mea atu au ki a rātou, ‘Eh, kua tae mai te wā i ā tātou haere nei, kua tae mai te wā kia tuku atu au he kōrero ki a tātou. Nā te mea, kua eke mai ki taku pakeketanga. O mātou mātua kua ngaro. Ka mea atu au ki a rātou . . . i a mātou haere tuakana-teina ki te kite tētahi anō o mātou, ‘Kua tae mai te wā kia tuku atu au he kōrero ki a tātou, nā te mea kua noho pakeke mai tātou’. And kātahi anō rātou ka rongu. [*Kōrero tūmatawhāiti . . .*]. Engari, kātahi anō rātou ka rongu. Nē? Ērā momo kōrero. Ka kite koe te, te tapu, te take i tapu ai, kia kore e hoki ki runga i ngā whānau. Nā reira, i mōhio mai ngā [whanaunga] rā, nā te mea, katoa o ō mātou mātua kua ngaro. [06.32] E whāngai ana ahau i a rātou ki ērā kōrero. Koirā hoki te mahi a te pakeke, hei pupuri. Te mea e tamariki ana, e tamariki ana ngā mea. Nā reira, koinā i noho-. Nā, he aha hoki te tapu o te tapu?? Ko te kōrero mai hoki ki a mātou, kia haere mātou ki ngā urupā, kua e mauria he kai, he aha rānei, kia tae koe ki mea, tangohia ō taonga, ka waiho ki te kēti. Ināianei kua kore. Engari ērā wā, hopohopo ana te ngākau. . . nērā, i ērā mea, i ērā tohutohu. Engari ināianei nei, he aha hoki tēnei? Nā reira, i ērā wā, te wā e tipu tonu mai ana mātou kei te kite atu au te take, nā te mea, kāore anō te tangata kia pīhau noa, kia patero noa, kua rongohia. Nērā? Nā, i tēnei wā, kua ngaro ērā āhuatanga. Kua kore e noho kōpiri. [07.57] Ko ngā tikanga o ngā wā o mua, kua ngaro. Hei tāpiri atu anō mō te tapu nei, tētahi mea, kia poroa au aku maikūkū, me haere rawa au te mea tāpuke. Ki te poroporongia au aku makawe, me whakawhāiti au, ka haere ki te tāpuke. Nā, kua ngaro ērā tikanga, ka mutu i a au. Kāore au i te kōrero atu ki aku tamariki, ētahi ka kataina mai au e aku tamariki. Ko tā mātou, nā te mea, ko tētahi

o aku tama, kaingākau ki te ao Māori engari he [indistinct], ‘That’s old hat, Dad.’ Kua, kua, ahakoa kī mai nei, ‘Ei, kua ngaro ērā tikanga.’ [08.42] Nā reira, wētahi taima, ko ētahi o ngā kupu e tirohia ana e tātou, kāore tonu te nuinga i te mōhio he aha tōna hōhonutanga. Ngā ‘korokeihana’, what I call ngā ‘korokeihana’ ki taua kupu: the ‘collocations’ ki aua kupu. Nā te mea, ko te ao o te ao pōhatu kei te mōhio au, ōku mātua, ō rātou mātua, kāore i mōhio te kōrero Pākehā. Ka rongorongo tonu au i roto ōku mātua, ōku pāpā, ōku kōkā, tērā āhuatanga. Ki a rātou hoki, ko te whare karakia, he tapu. Nāianeī kei te whakamoengia mātou ki te puaki, ā, ki te marae. Nē? Engari i ērā wā, ka hoki ōku māhara ki, ahakoa kei te mea, e mea noa ana au mō te āhuatanga o te tapu nei. Āa, ka tīmata, ka haramai tētahi minita ki roto i a mātou, rongonui te minita nei, Māori. Ka tīmata ia te, ka mau mai te kitā. Kei te hoki ōku māhara ki ngā kuia Morehū. ‘[K], he aha tēnei mahi?’ Engari ko te mea kē, nanakia rawa te tangata nei, te koro. He tohi whakamārama, hei whakapoipoi, hei whakamāmā i te kaupapa. [10.22] Me tana kī, ‘Mā tēnei ka uru mai ngā tamariki. Ērā momo, rawe tana whakamārama. Mōhio ia te kōrero a te pakeke, ērā mea. Nō te tuarua, tuatorutanga, kua kite mai ngā kuia rā, ‘O, kei te kiki haere te whare karakia’. Engari, ki ngā kuia rā, he tapu. Te whare karakia, he tapu. Ināianeī nei, kua ngaro tērā, kua ngaro tērā mea, kāore he wehi o tērā āhuatanga. Nā reira, ko te pātai, ‘He aha ngā kupu Māori kei te noho tapu?’. Nā, kī mai nā koe te kupu ‘mauri’. He nui āna tikanga. He aha te mauri? He aha te mauri o te mauri? He aha te tapu o te tapu? Nā, i ērā wā i noho tapu ngā mea. Ka kī au, nā te mea, he toto kei runga. Kia kaua e rere te toto. Koirā hoki au e nohopuku rā. Kua tīmata, mehemea i whākina atu e au kei te tamariki tonu hoki ngā mea, kua tīmata te, ‘Eii, ko taku pāpā tō koutou . . .’ Kua tīmata te, nē? Nā reira, nā, e pātai koe ki ō pakeke tonu, ‘He aha hoki tēnei mea te tapu?’ ‘Kei whea ōna tīmatanga, kei whea ōna mutunga? He nui ngā mea kei te hau hau atu ki roto ērā āhuatanga, kua huri nei, kei te huria ētahi o tātou ngā karakia pērā i tāhau i mahi mai nā. Me te pai. Engari, ētahi kua tīmata te whakauruuru mai i ētahi o ngā kupu o nga wā o mua, you know, ka mahi rātou te kupu ‘mauri’ noa iho, i roto i te mea ‘tuturu [whaka]mau[a] kia tīna’, ērā atu āhuatanga. He kupu tapu ērā, he kupu whakawātea rānei. Nē? [12.40] Koinā te mea hei . . . Anei ō kōrero nei, nē, ‘He aha hoki te kete kōrero tapu?’

JT: He aha ngā āhuatanga ake o ēnei momo tuhituhinga? Ki ō whakaaro.

WH: Koirā rā. Well, kei tēnā iwi . . .

JT: He aha ngā āhuatanga e kīia nei he tapu, he ‘sacred’ rānei, wērā . . .

WH: Nā te mea, kei te pā ki ngā atua, nērā? Koirā hoki ētahi o āku māharahara i te wā i karangangia au te tīmatatanga o te kura kaupapa Māori. Nā, [W] tō tētahi i reira, i taua hui. Ka tīmata rātou te tīmata te kī ā tātou tamariki me mōhio ki te karakia ki a Tangaroa, ngā karakia ki ngā atua, ērā momo mea, me taku kī atu, ‘I tipu mai anō koutou i roto i tērā momo mea? Kāo.’ Ki ngā mātua hoki, ki aua tīpuna rā, he pai ake te ngaro atu, me te hari atu i ērā mea. Ka pēnā tōu i āu nei, kua kī au, nē, te mea kōrau i mua atu rā, e kore au i te whakaheke ki aku tamariki ngā mea kei roto i a au e mōhio ana mō tēnei mea te . . .

JT: Ngā taumahatanga.

WH: Yeah. Nēra. Nā reira, koirā te pātai, mehemea te tapu hoki kei te pā ki te ao atua. Te tapu hoki kei te pā ki te ao atua. Ina koa, ka haere atu koe ki tēnā, ki tēnā iwi ki tēnā iwi, anā tō ētahi ōhau, anā tō . . . ko wai tana . . . mau mea [pahau] nei, ki roto o Ngāpuhi, e whakahaere ana . . .

JT: Hone Sadler?

WH: Hone Sadler. . . . [15.00] Well, ko tāhau, and koinā tō pātai ki a au, eh, ‘He aha te tapu o te tapu?’ Ka hoki anō ōku whakaaro ki tētahi o ngā koroua i kōrero mai ki a au, anā, kōtiro [T] nei, purei basketball nei, te tipua, nē. Ko [HT], nō tō mātou marae, taketake heke nō mātou. Kōrero tonu mai nei ki a au mō tana tama. Kei te tarai ia te mau tana tama ki ngā marae i a ia e tamariki ana, kāore i haere. Ka tipu haere, ka haramai, ‘He aha tāu?’, kāore i haere. Ka mea mai ki a au, kia tau rawa ia ki roto i Te Wai Pounamu, ka waea mai ia ki tana pāpā, ‘He aha tēnei mea te tapu?’ Kua mea atu te pāpā, ‘Kāore koe i te haramai tahi i a au, kia whakamārama atu au ki a koe. Nā, [indistinct] tae rawa tēnei wā . . .’ Nā ētahi kē i mea atu, nā, kātahi anō ka huri mai. Ka uaua, nē, kia kite i te tikanga ake. Nā, i te āhua, me tō ia ki tana tama, whakamaua ki tana tama, nā te mea, koia hoki ko tana tama, e, ka haere tonu au ki roto i tana iwi ināiane, ko te tama kei te tū mai, engari, me taku mōhio, nō muri nō mai ēnā mea. I roto kē te mātauranga. Ka āhua pēnei taku tama e kōrero mai nei ‘old hat’. You know what I mean? Old tikanga, nēra. Nō reira, ‘he aha tēnei mea te mea’. [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero nei . . .*]. Ko te mea kē, kei te tīkina atu ērā karakia kei roto i ngā pukapuka tahito kei te mahi mai. Ka hoki anō taku māhara ki a [XX] i kī, i a rātou i haere ai ki [XXXX], ngā karakia i mahia e tika ana mō rō whare me ngā tapu taonga, i te mahi kē wētahi ngā karakia waka! Kāre i te pā ki te kaupapa. Ka kite atu koe, koinei te raruraru, kei te hopu noatia atu ērā, ngā mea rā . . .

JT: Kāre i te tino mārama ki te . . .

WH: . . . ki te hōhonutanga ake o te mea. He aha hoki te ‘sensitive text’? Well, (giggle) tērā pea kua rongo koe te waiata nei e kī ana: [18.32] (sings) *Takiri, takiri, takiri, mahia mai ngā mahi, Ko Herua hei ariki te wahine punehune, Hua tipu te hue hue . . .* Arā. Ka hono tērā ki a mātou i roto o Ngāti Porou. Ka rū mate te moenga, engari, *tēnā koe. Tukua mai koe*, oreore. Tō mātou rangatira hoki o Ngāti Porou tērā wā haere ētahi ko [Mea] ko [Mea]. Arā, ko te tipuna o Mea, o [X] nei. [XX]. Ka haere atu au ki roto o Hukarere, ka rongo i ngā wahine, ka meatia ngā wahine, ‘Kāore e tika kia mahia koutou tēnā!’ (Laughs). Nā, koinā tāku i kōrero nei, ‘sensitive’. Kei te mahi noa wētahi i ēnei rā kāre i te mōhio, he sensitive te mea. Engari, he aha te ‘sensitive’?? Nā te mea, he kōrero hōhonu i roto i te kupu iti, wētahi wā. Kei konā ētahi kupu i roto pea te haeremaitanga o te Karaitianatanga, ka . . .

JT: Ka rerekē pea te . . .

WH: [19.54] . . . te tirohanga. Ka haramai te, ka hoki anō ōku whakaaro i a au i roto i Hawai’i, ka pānui au tētahi kōrero i reira i roto i te reo Pākehā, o te wahine

o tētahi o ngā mihinare i reira. Anei tana kōrero: i kī mai ia, i kōrero atu ia ki tana tāne, ‘Tiro atu ki ngā wahine ki waho rā e haere nei kāore he . . .’

JT: Kākahu.

WH: ‘Kāore he kākahu. Kāore i te tūkinotia e ngā tāne. Engari ki te pērā mātou ngā wahine o te, o tō tātou mea, ka tūkinongia mātou. Ka mea atu au, ko tēhea te mea tika, ko tā rātou, ko tā tātou rānei?’ Whai mai? Nā, koirā te, i kite rawa au tērā the Lyman Museum, somewhere. Noho ana au i reira ka haere noa atu mātou au ka pānui au te mea nei, e kōrero ana mō tērā, te kōrero a te wahine nei ki tana tāne mihinare. Kei te karangangia ngā Māori me ngā Hawaiians he iwi, he aha rānei ngā kupu a te Pākehā, mō te whakaiti, ‘barbaric’, ērā momo mea. Āhua pērā rā te wahine rā, ‘Ko wai te [mea]‘barbaric’? Ko rātou, ko tātou rānei?’ Nē? Me tana kī, ‘kāore koe e kitea ana’, nā te mea i konā anō ētahi tikanga, nē, and mōhio rātou, ētahi, ehara noa iho. Nā reira, koinei te urutanga mai o te Karaitiana hei, ko tērā anō hoki kei te whakararu. Nā, i roto anō i tērā, ka whakangarongia atu, nē. [21.48] Ka whakangarongia atu e ratou, pai kē ki a rātou kia kaua te tangata e mōhio. Pērā i a [Mea] e whakatika mai ērā ngā wahine nei e kore e mōhio nō, kōtiro e mahi nō mai nā, he Māori wēnei, you know, matatau wērā i te reo. Engari kāore rātou i te kite i te hōhonutanga ake atu o te tikanga kei muri. Nē, ‘He wahine . . . hua’, yeah. Kei konā anō ētahi, ka mōhio tuata koe . . . te taringa mōhio te whakarongo, ‘allo! ‘Takiri, takiri’ ko te ‘takiri’ hoki ko te oreore. Nē? Te mahi a te wahine. *He aha mā Pita, he aha mā Para, he aha Turei, aue whatiwhati tō hope, tei tū, tei whā, tei tei tō.* Nē? Ka mōhio tuata koe, nē, engari i te mahi anōtia i runga te reka o te, yeah [22.45]. Nō reira, koinā ētahi o ngā mea he uaua te kī, me hoki anō koe ki tētahi o tō iwi i mua tō whakapākehātanga, tō whakamāoritanga: ‘He aha hoki te hōhonu?’ Kei te mōhio rānei rātou i roto i ēnei rā, kāore rānei? [23.04] Ētahi wā hoki, ka whakaaro ana koe, kei ngā wahine anō wētahi. Nā, wētahi taima, ka kōrero noatia ngā mea. Ka hokihoki anō tātou ki te ao Māori e hekeheke mai i a Ranginui, ‘te whai ao, ki te ao mārama’, nā te mea, te kōpīritanga o Mea, kāore anō ka, kei roto tonu, i roto i te ao pōuri, ka whakawehengia mai, nā, ka puta ki te whai ao . . . ,

JT: Ki te māramatanga . . .

WH: Āe, nā, ko ērā momo mea. Koinā ō tātou tirohanga, i kī ai tātou, anā, ko Papatūānuku te tipuna, nērā, me Ruaumoko e mahia mai nei, i te hapū ia kei a Ruaumoko ērā mea, koirā te rū. Kāore, nā te haramaitanga, i te noho tahanga hoki, kāore he kākahu ka whakakākahungia e Tāne. Nā i whakakākahungia mā te pērā, eh, nā te paratī, nā te paratī ka whānau mai ngā tipu katoa, ngā āhuatanga katoa e kite atu ana tātou ki waho. Koirā te Māori tirohanga. Te ‘sensitivity’ rā, [e kore] koe e kōrero pērā ki te Pākehā. Whai mai?

JT: [He aha] tō kupu mō tērā āhuatanga [‘sensitive’]? He ‘āritarita’? He kupu anō āu?

WH: Well, ētahi ka ‘aritarita’, ki ērā momo, ko te āhua āritarita ko te ‘taupatupatu’, ne? Ko te āritarita, ko te, ka tīmata te kōhete. Ā, e tika rānei, pēhea rānei, ērā momo, koirā anō te tikanga o tērā . . .

JT: He momo rāhui anō pea.

WH: He momo, he tikanga i rāhuingia, i runga o rātou whakapono. Nē?

JT: E hāngai ana ki te tirohanga a te tangata, whakapono, te aha rānei.

WH: Te tirohanga o rātou. Engari, nā te houtanga o ngā tamariki roto i te mātauranga ka tuku, nā te mea, i te mōhio rātou i reira kē te orange. Nāwai rā, he *nui* ngā mea, ka, i rongo tonu au ki ētehi i kī mai nei ki a au, nā, Te Moni Taumaunu tēnei i kōrero mai nei ki a au. Ka, i ngā koroua nei, kōrero mai nei ki a au mō te kaha o wētehi o ngā koroua, te mea he rākau, ka makere mai ai te mea. Te karakia kia makere mai ai te, te mana o te rākau. Ērā momo mea [25.54]. Ka mea ake ia, ka mea anō ia, engari, nāwai rā, nāwai rā, i runga i te kore uru mai o ngā tamariki te whaiwhai i aua āhuatanga rā, ka whakangaro atu aua koroua rā ngā [mea] i a rātou, me ā rātou, nē? Nā te mea, kāore, nā te kura pea, nā te āhuatanga o te kura Pākehā, nāwai rā, ka ngaro atu rātou me ērā atu tikanga. . . . Nā rātou tō rātou i whakangaro atu nā te mea, kua kore rātou e whai mana ki roto i tō rātou iwi tonu. Nē? Nā reira, kua kite rātou, he ao kē. Kua kite rātou, kua uru mai he tikanga kē. Kua kore e tapu, nā te mea kua tīmata, nā te urunga mai o te reo Pākehā me ōna tikanga o te ao, o ngā kōrero Pākehā, ka ngaro ngā, e, ko te āhuatanga hoki o ngā kōrero tapu rā, ‘form of social control’. Nērā? Kei te mārama au tēnā, nā te mea tipu mai au i roto i te ao Māori . . .

JT: He mea whakawehi te tamaiti?

WH: [27.31] He mea, you know, ka whakapono atu mātou ki ngā kōrero rā, hei tiaki tō i a mātou. Nā, uaua tēnā te whakamārama, āhua roa ake tātou te mea. Engari, koirā te āhua o tērā wā. Te Māori *māori*. Koinei te mea, hei āwhea koe ka whakaaro iho, he ‘sensitive’ rawa tērā mea. Ko te āhuatanga o te ‘sensitive’, mehemea kei te pā ki ētahi iwi, see, koinā anō te kōrero mai o tētahi kuia, nā? Kia waiata mai koe tērā mōteatea, kia kaua koe e mau ki tērā marae (laughs), but, kua ngaro ngā mea o tērā marae. And kei te rongo au e whakamahingia ana i ngā wā katoa, nā te mea, kua ngaro ngā kuia, koroua o tērā marae e mōhio ana, kei te haehaengia ko rātou. Whai mai? And kei te mahi noatia atu wētahi mea nei i nāiane, kua paraiketengia atu. And ngā tapu i runga i aua mea rā, kua ngarongaro. Nā te mea, he ao kē anō tēnei. Pēnā tō i a au nei, wētahi taima, ka tū au tētahi marae nā noa nei, ha, ka mea atu au, e whakapapa ana au tētahi tama i roto te, nā? Nāna au i tono kia haramai au te, te kōrero atu ki a Tūhoe tana whakapapa. So, whakapapa atu au. Nā, i reira a Mea a muri i a au, Ngāpuhi. Ngāpuhi, kaua koutou e pāmamae ki āku kōrero. Ko ngā kaupapa o wērā wā, nō ērā wā. Heoi anō, ko ngā kōrero, ‘nā koutou i pēnei ai, nā te tama nei’, e haramai tahi nei tātou ki te tama nei. Nē. ‘Nā koutou mātou i tātā’, that sort of thing. ‘Haramai me ō koutou pū, ka, te pū pātete noa i a mātou’, that sort of thing. So, I say kaua ko, iti rawa anō ka hoki ki a rātou. I said, you know, whakangarongia atu wērā. Ka hoki anō aku māhara, te haramaitanga o Ngāpuhi ki te mārena o tētahi o Ngāti Porou, ki, ki, te wahine nō Ngāpuhi, ki tētahi o ngā tāne o te wāhi i tātāngia mātou i te pū o mea, kore rawa te koroua e haere ki te marae. Te koroua o te, te tipuna o te tama e mārena nei. Kāore rawa atu ia i haere ki te marae, nā te mea, te whakamau tonu ki

tērā āhuatanga. Nā te pū i rere te toto. [30. 22] Engari, e kōrero atu ana, te whakahokitanga mai, ka whakamakerengia te poi nei ki konei. Āe. Ka whakapapa atu au, and so on. [. . .] Okay. Nā, waiho ēnei kōrero ki taha ake. But I'm saying that, koinei te āhua o te 'sensitivity' nei. Nā, kua āhua pērā, ko wai . . . You know, pēhea tā tātou matakū ki a Tūmataunga i ērā wā. Pēhea tō tātou matakū i te kēhua i ēnei wā? Pēhea ō tātou wehi ki tēnei mea te wairua? Kua ngaro ērā mea. Engari, kite au roto ōku mātua, i reira tō ērā mea. Ka heipū mai tētahi, ka rongo koe i taku māmā e kī ana, 'He aha rā tērā tohu?' And it's just something small. Ka taka noa mai tētehi mea, 'He aha rā tērā tohu?' Ka kēkē noa mai tētahi mea, 'He aha rā tērā tohu?' Tohu katoa hoki ki a rātou.

JT: Ko wai i mate atu, ērā āhuatanga. He tohu, mm.

WH: I could even go into that a bit more, tāhau i kōrero mai nā. Nā reira, ētahi o ngā mea nei ka mate i a au. Ka mauria au ki te, ka pērā anō ngā koroua rā, engari tā ngā koroua rā, pono kē atu ki te ao Māori i a au, nā te mea, kua noho au roto i te ao Pākehā me te ao Māori. Kia pono tō taku kōrero, kāre au i te mōhio he atua anō pērā āiane tētahi mea, pēhea rānei. Kāore au i te mōhio i tēnei wā, kei te noho taiepa au. Mehemea he atua ka aroha mai ki a au, kia matakū (laughs).

JT: Okay . . .

WH: No, no, no, i mea noa ana au, I'm trying to, te mea, 'kei whea te tapu o te tapu?', and 'the sensitive'. You know, ngā mea nei . . .

JT: Āe, āe. Pēhea tēnei whakaaro, mēnā ka whakawhitingia tō mātou reo ki te reo o tauwiwi, ka whakahuatia mai 'sacred', he rerekē anō tērā i te 'tapu'? [. . .] Pēhea nei ō whakaaro mō tērā [āhuatanga], i roto i te ao Māori?

WH: Ki te kī koe i roto i te Pākehā . . . 'he sacred ēnei kōrero Māori', kei te kī koe, kei te pā ēnei kōrero ki tētahi momo iwi mā rātou rawa e whakaae mai kia tuhia. Nā te mea, kei a rātou te tikanga. Mēhemea rā kei te mōhio rātou. Koinā kē hoki te raruraru o ēnei rā, kua kore noa iho, and tētahi . . . 1984, ka haramai te National Geographic ki a mātou. Ka pīrangi a ia, and remember kei tiro koe te 1984, kei roto ahau ērā momo mea . . .

JT: Kei te whare wānanga nei?

WH: [33.42] No, no, no, ki tō mātou marae. Ka purua a ia te mea i roto te, kei whakaahua ia, ka uru mai te kuia nei, ka kī mai, 'Kei te tango wairua koutou ki te whakamahi koutou i tēnā taputapu hei . . . ' Nē? Ki a ia, he tapu te tangata, ka tangohia tō wairua, ērā momo mea. Ko te pai, i tū mai tā mātou koroua, 'Kei te pai', nē, ka tuku tō mātou koroua, pai noa iho, pai noa iho ki a ia. Engari, ka mea atu te wahine, 'Āe, he tapu tā koutou mahi'. She's not even in the photo, she didn't come in (laughter), the kuia nei. Nā, you know, ki a rātou, koirā, eh. Ka whakaaro anō koe, te taputanga i tērā, ērā momo mea, so, you know, kei te pātai mai koe i konei, 'What would you say [are] the characteristics of those sort of texts?' Well, kei te pupuringia he kōrero tapu kei te pā ki ngā atua, me ngā pūremutanga. Nē, ka whakaaro ana koe mō, ka kōrero ana koe 'Māori worldview', nē, me hoki anō koe, even when I talk about fingernails, he aha i pērā ai? Well, Mahuika tērā. You see, te tangotanga a Māui i ngā, right? Kei te pā kē

tērā ki tērā āhutatanga. Ka pā anō, ka kōrero koe mō Hinetītama, nāwai rā ko Hinenuitepō. [35.32] Nā, he sacred wērā, or, engari, ki te Pākehā he ‘myth’ noa iho. Engari, anei tō tātou e kōrero nei i runga te marae, Hinenui, haere rā ki a Hinenuitepō, nērā? Nā reira, koirā rā ō tātou tirohanga, you kow, me te pūremu a Tāne ki tana tamāhine tonu, all those sort of things. Now, is that sacred? Mehemea ‘sensitive’ ā tātou kōrero ki te whatu o te Pākehā, nē, ētahi taima, āhua tapu nei. Because it’s ‘sensitive’. Nā te mea, kei te pā ki a tātou, kei whakaitia tātou. Nā reira, ētahi wā, koinā ētahi, pai ki a rātou te huri atu ki te Karaitiana ki te huri atu ki ēnei, nā te mea, kei konā ētahi kōrero, you know, he tapu. Nā te mea, he mea nui i ngā wā o mua te atua, or ngā atua rānei. Ēnei rā, kei runga anō i te kiringutu, just, he nui ngā āhua, heoi anō pea tētahi, kei te haere noa te karakia, going ‘oh, it’s just on my lips’. You know what I mean? [Indistinct] So, ‘*How do you approach the translation of texts that you classify as sacred?*’ Well, koirā. Kei runga anō i te āhua. Kei te pā ki ngā atua; kei te pā ki ngā mea ka kīia e te ao Pākehā ‘barbaric’ or he aha rānei wā rātou momo kupu haehae, ‘mythical’ is a, mythical. Now, pēhea koe mō tērā? A koe tonu, e kōrero nei, pēhea ō whakaaro mō tērā, you know, te kōrero atu mō ngā, cause he nui, nā te mea, ki a rātou, me kī, ngā mahi rā, he momo whakamārama he aha tātou te tangata, he aha tātou te tangata e mahi nei i ngā mahi nei kua tauira kētia mai e ngā atua. [37.52] Nē? Ērā momo mea, now, koinā te kōrero, now, kei te kōrero rānei koe mō ngā, roto te reo Pākehā, what *is* sacred i roto te reo Pākehā??

JT: Mm. Ngā mea o te hāhi.

WH: Well, and how sacred is that, or is it . . . ?

JT: Ki ētehi, he tino sacred . . .

WH: Āe, engari he aha i ‘tino’ ai? Now, should they not speak it?

JT: Nō. Ehara i te pērā, engari, he momo [tūā]kiri mō rātou, nē. He Karaitiana ahau, nā reira, he tapu tēnā ki ahau. Ka whai urunga koe ki tēnā kupu mēnā ka whakapono mai koe ki te hāhi nei. Yeah, he mea e pā ana ki te kiri o te tangata, te tūākiri a te tangata, nē, tana whakapono.

WH: Well, āhua pērā anō hoki wētahi āhutatanga, ko te tūākiri anō e pā ana ki ngā atua i noho ai tātou he atua, he tangata – ‘*he atua, he tangata*’. Nē. I kī ai tātou he hawhe atua tātou, nā te mea i heke mai hoki tātou i ngā mea rā, now you try and say that in mea, ‘Hey, we Māoris are demigods!’ (laughter).

JT: Ka whai huruhuru mātou!

WH: I suppose te kaupapa tāku e kōrero nei, how reliable and how valid is our classification of . . .

JT: Engari, ki a wai . . . ?

WH: That’s right, ki a wai. And then, kei te mahi koe mō te academic, mō te ao academic, ki reira pea e pai ai. But, ko tāhau e rapa nei ko ngā whakamārama, nērā? How do you try and translate that into English . . .

JT: Ehara i te mea e kimi ana au i te tino whakautu, engari ko tāku e tino whai atu nei ko ngā whakaaro rerekē o ngā tāngata kē ki te kaupapa kotahi. I te mea, ngā tāngata kua uiui kētia, he rerekē ō rātou tirohanga ā-ao, . . .

WH: Koia rā! Koirā tāku, it's the reliability, you see, koirā te raruraru. We've got forty tribes i roto o mea nei, you can go to forty of them they're all slightly different.

JT: Well, you've got people translating Māori who aren't Māori.

WH: Oh! (Laughter). Well, kei reira anō te raruraru, because kei te whāngai noa ake i ngā mea kei te whāngaia rātou, it's just the surface. Ki te Māori hoki, 'iti noa te kupu rā, kei te hōhonutanga'. Ā, nā te hōhonutanga rā runga o mōhio. Mō ētahi o ngā hītori kei te pā pea ki te kupu rā, ki te kaupapa i puta mai rānei aua kupu rā, right? So, *How do you approach the translation of a text that you [classify as sacred or sensitive]*? Well, ko te hoki anō ki te iwi, ki te whānau nō rātou ngā mea rā. Mehemea, and wētahi taima, I think you experienced that, I can remember you talking about tētahi wahine . . . ?

JT: Nō, nō, kāore ngā *tāne*, ngā *koroua* i te hiahia, i te . . . i te āhua whakamā rātou ki te whakahua mai, well, he take 'sensitive' tērā, engari ko te wahine, kua whakamārama katoa mai i ērā āhuatanga. He tautohetohe [. . . .] i te kāinga . . .

WH: Ko te roopū, [*kōrero tūmatawhāiti*].

JT: Āe.

WH: Te mea e kīia nei nā Te Kooti. Ngā mea a Te Kooti i puta mai i te Paipera, nē. Nā, kei reira anō wērā mea, if you think of them, kei te whakapākehā koe wētahi kōrero a Te Kooti, then you're not necessarily sensitive ki te mea Māori, but you're sensitive to the iwi. Ka pēnei tō i a rātou e sensitive nei ki a Elsdon Best. And yet, me i kore ake a Elsdon Best, kua kore . . .

JT: . . . te nuinga o ngā hītori . . . (Laugh).

WH: Oh, ngā hītori, ngā mōhio kei a rātou, i nāianeī tūturu. Me i kore ērā mea i tuhia, nē . . .

JT: Kua ngaro.

WH: Kua ngaro! Pērā anō a George Grey, ahakoa i a ia anō wāna i te āhua [indistinct] Now, those are sensitive. You see, and then you get John White, me wāna. Ka pai? And so . . . *How do you approach a text you classify as sacred?* Well, tuatahi, me mōhio koe . . . And of course the sensitive, and mehemea ka oho te ngākau o tētahi, koirā hoki tā tātou e mea nei, mehemea ka ohooho mai te ngākau, koirā hoki koe e hoki atu ai ki te iwi, ki te mea atu, 'Ei.' And ētahi ka kī atu ki a koe, 'Waihongia kia ngaro atu ana'. Nā reira, ka aha koe? E pīrangi tonu nei koe te whakamāori, te whakapākehā hei kitenga mai mā te ao? So, ka kite atu anō koe te raruraru o te hoki ki te iwi.

JT: Mm. Engari, kei a rātou te tikanga.

WH: Ki te kī mai rātou 'Kāo, ka hoki koe, e kore koe'.

JT: Ko wai koe ki te whakahē i tērā iwi?

WH: Yeah, but, engari ētahi kei te mahi noa i runga te . . . [44.46]

JT: Heoi anō, kua kitea e au, ki te kore e raru i taua wā tonu, ka raru anō i tua atu. Ki te kore e whakaāe mai te iwi, te whānau . . .

WH: And ka pātai mai koe he aha ai te ohooho o te ngākau, nā te mea, he kore mōhio tonu nō rātou . . .

JT: Ētehi wā ka pērā . . .

WH: Kei te mea mai . . .

JT: He kūare . . .

WH: Well, yeah, but i runga i te aroha anō, nē? Kei te kūare, nā te mea kāore hoki rātou i te mōhio, ka pai ake ki a rātou me waiho. Engari ko koe, kei te pīrangi kē ake kia kitetia atu e te ao Pākehā te ātaahua o aua mea rā. [54.29] . . . Nā reira mō tērā, me hoki atu. Mehemea ka ngākau ohoooho mai ngā tāngata, ka mōhio koe, okay, kei a koe a muri atu. Nā, tērā pea, ētahi wā, pai ake te whakapākehā, kātahi anō ka mau atu. Ko te mea kē, ko te āhua a te Māori, ko tāhou kē ko te mea atu, ‘Ooh, ko te wini kē i a rātou’. Nē. Mēnā kāore . . . you know, e kīia ana, ‘Ki te kore e hinga i a koe te hoariri, moengia atu’ (Laughter). Āhua pērā. Ka pērā anō i a mātou nei, ngā taitamaiti kō ake nā. I reira ngā koroua nā e ārai ana wētahi o ngā mahi. Kei te kite atu mātou, ‘Ooh, me haere’. I aha mātou? He mōhio nō mātou ka āraingia mai, haere mātou te kōrero atu, whakamārama atu ki wērā anō, i te mea, i haramai i a rātou, mā rātou kē e kōrero. Engari haramai kē ngā [indistinct] Whai mai?? So, wētahi taima, koirā te āhuetanga. Kua whakamāori, ‘Pēhea ki a koutou tēnei? Ki te tuhi pērā’, there’s another, nē, another tirohanga mō tēnei ao. You know, ‘I’ve translated this like this, so, would you have any objection?’ Whai mai?? Te hoki atu, i te mea, ‘Hei, pai noa iho te mea tēnei?’, ā, [ka] mea hoki rātou ‘āe’, ‘kāo’ rānei.

JT: He āhuetanga tēnā i raro i te kaupapa, i te maru o te matatika?

WH: Te mea, te ‘strategy’, nē, te rautaki.

JT: Well, he mea matatika anō tēna. ‘Ethics’. E tika ana ka pērā.

WH: Yeah, that’s right. Wētahi taima, pai ake te haere pēnā, ‘Hey, I’ve done this for you’ and it’s really . . .’ you know, and then, tāhou, he mirimiri i tō rātou kaokao.

JT: [*He kōrero e pā ana ki tētahi hoa i pērā tana mahi rangahau . . .*]

WH: Kia kite mai rātou, ‘Ooh, ka pai, eh!’ Ētahi taima, you know, ‘Kei te haramai au ki a koutou kua oti i a au tēnei te mea, kei te pīrangi au kia mātakingia koutou mēmea kua pai noa iho.’ Go thataway. . . .

JT: [XX]

WH: Yeah, I remember [XX]. I haramai rā i [XXXXX]. Now, kei konei au e kōrero ana: *Does your approach or method [to translating sacred texts] differ from [your approach to other texts]?* [48.44] It’s gotta be. Sometimes you’ve got to paraphrase, to hide some of the sensitivities; to use words that are, that are, say [in] Pākehā, ‘loaded’, in terms of depth of meaning

JT: Not explicit.

WH: Not explicit. But the intentions could be, the hidden, things could be there *in a sense*, just by the use of that . . . ? Nē? So, you’ve got to differ, you can’t translate literally; simply because a word, one word, holds a, a *book* of information. Nērā. Nā reira, you’ve got to – *If so how?* Well, by using, you know, that’s what Apirana [Ngata] does. Mēmea ka tiro koe ki āna kōrero, how he’s put it, you have a very good look at his mōteateas - cleverly written, tiro koe ki ngā kupu pākehā,

then you can see how he's disguised it, to make it eloquent and acceptable to the Pākehā academic.

JT: Palatable.

WH: Palatable, ka pai! Ki te Pākehā academic.

JT: O taua wā. Nē, o taua wā.

WH: And this time too. Nā te mea, sometimes though it hides the sensitivities that are behind it again. Because in order to try and, you know, mēnā ka whakanoa ake koe, ki te tae koe te whakamārama ētahi o ngā mea rā, it's a, pukapuka anō tera. Or another *chapter*, nērā? So, you've got to be able to summarise it in a *palatable* way. Ka pai, I like that. So, koirā . . .

JT: So, ki ō whakaaro, ko aua mōteatea i kohia nei e Apirana, he tapu o roto o aua mōteatea?

WH: [51.09] Āe. I konā anō. Engari, ēnei rā, kua āhua ngaro te, kei – you know, ka tiro atu koe *Te Matatini*, kei te mahi noa mai ngā mōteatea rā, and kāore rātou i te mōhio te hōhonutanga ake o ngā mea. Kāore rātou i te mōhio te pūtaketanga ake. I kī atu rā au ki a koe, wētahi o ngā mōteatea, kīia atutia mai ki a mātou kia kua mātou e hari ki whea; engari ēnei rā, kua ngaro hoki te iwi i te mōhio. Nē. Ā, nā reira, it's got to be different. It's got to be couched in a way that's palatable. Palatable to the Western mind, and sometimes even using Pākehā texts, ā, esoteric texts, that somewhat equals them.

JT: Āa, nā . . .

WH: Whai mai? If you look at Apirana that's what he's done. Sometimes you see him getting the Greek things. [.]. Tuarua, ka whakahuangia e koe ērā, i mōhio rātou i heke mai i whea. I mōhio i whea i whakamahia, ka pērā tō, you know, ki te mahi mātou, 'Hei ao tō koe waru ai', kei te mōhio mātou te hītori. But we may use it today, nē: 'Ko koe kei te whakararu i au'. Āe. Me te reka. Ki te mōhio koe te kōrero, you know, it's formulaic. Ā, engari, engari, hītori ano kei muri i a ia. Engari, ētahi hoki kua ngaro te hītori. Alright, so you, let's go back, ērā momo, so how, alright? *In your experience what are the major issues and problems that have arisen when translating texts [of a sacred or sensitive nature]* Well, putting your foot in it! (Laughter). The thing is you've got to win the trust of the mea, the iwi that you are translating for. And today I think, you haven't got that same sensitivity that existed say twenty, thirty years ago [54.30]. And as the older generations, you see the last bastion of Māoridom passing away, then those sensitivities . . . And if you take it back to the iwi and say, do it as a, make presentations of those texts to them and say, 'Hey, nā . . .' you know, ka rata mai rātou. . . . *How are these issues to be resolved?* Well, by going back and mirimiri ngā kaokao. 'Tickle their ribs' – well, that's how you train a horse. Koinā ngā kōrero a ngā mātua tīpuna, mirimiringia ngā kaokao. Whakaratangia – that's what they mean – to the kaupapa. So, you've got to go over there and tell them, 'This is what I've done. Congratulations, you know, on your tipuna's . . .'. Make sure they're feeling secure. So that's one *big* thing te hoki atu ki te iwi. That's

why I've just been talking, [TR] and I did the translations of the missionary papers. But it's been, you know, that was ten years ago we did it.

JT: What missionary papers were they?

WH: O, ngā reta i tuhia i roto i te reo Māori.

JT: Nō hea?

WH: Nō ngā mihinare katoa, I've just been saying to him . . .

JT: Oh, puta noa i te motu?

WH: Oh yeah. And I said to him, I just said to him now. And he had Huia Publishers, they were publishing it, and then something happened, would have been too expensive, or whatever. And kātahi anō au kia mea atu ki a [T], because that's what I wanted at that time, to go back to those families and say, 'Hey, your tipuna wrote this! Here's their letters', eh. [56.08] [*He kōrero tūmatawhāiti e pā ana ki taua kaupapa . . .*].

WH: Yeah. Hei whakaara ake. So, so anyway, alright, 'ethics'. . . . That's a big decision. Eh? I mean, ko the pātai o ētahi, 'Should you meddle with it?'

JT: . . . He aha te take??

WH: Well, mehemea kei te pono koe, ka puawai, it'll just come. Nā te mea, kei te mahi koe for the right reasons – hei whakanui i ngā mea nā rātou i tuhi. And the families; to make sure that they're conscious of it, you know.

JT: Pēhea ō whakaaro mō tētehi tangata, he tangata nō Pakistan, i akona e ia te reo Māori mā te pānui pukapuka, papakupu, kātahi ka tahuri ki te whakamāori i te Kurānu Tapu. Pēhea ō whakaaro mō tērā?

WH: [59.01] Yeah, i te mea mai rā a [Mea]. I haramai rā, I was here [Whare Wānanga o Waikato]. And then I got involved i roto i tērā o ngā hāhi . . . what's that? Umm . . .

JT: Bahá'í.

WH: Bahá'í. Mahi mai [T] i tērā. Then he got on to that one and I . . . Ki a au, if you're transferring these sort of things to those, kei hea tā te Māori ake?? You're giving support ki wā rātou. . . . Golly. First and foremost, in terms of that, you've got to determine how sacred it is. How do you *determine* that it's sacred? And how do you determine the sensitivities; what are the sensitivities, as you see it, as a consequence of . . . It totally depends on the text. Nā, kei te pā – and what *are* sacred texts? I know, kei te kōrero mai koe, 'manuscripts', engari, ētahi o ngā manuscripts rā, you see, mehemea ka kī koe mō ngā, ko wai te, Ua, Ua . . .

JT: [Haumene].

WH: Ua Haumene, nē. I tuhi rā ētahi o ngā mea rā, but some of those are already translated, so, were they sacred?

JT: Should sacred things not be translated?

WH: I think, mōku ake, there is a necessity for people who are in an academic field to do it. To take away the sacredness of it, because, in a sense, some would say that sacredness only lay between them and the wairua o te atua. You see. You know, he mea mea kē i waenganui i te atua me te tangata nāna rā tērā mea i, ka pēnei tō i a Mea, ko wai te hāhi i kōrero mai rā koe . . .

JT: Bahá'í?

WH: No, no, no. Te mea Māori i mea nei

JT: Ringatū?

WH: No, not the Ringatū. Ringa three, get it!

JT: Oh, Rātana.

WH: Rātana. How sacred is that? You see, and yet they treat it quite sacredly.

JT: Mm hm. Ki a rātou.

WH: Ki a rātou. See, I don't know enough about that. I mean, I'll tell you who you could start asking. Nō koutou. Ruia Aperahama.

JT: Aah, i whakaaro au ki a ia.

WH: He is *absolutely*, mōhio koe?

JT: Ooh, āe. Well, kua pānui au wētehi o āna kōrero i runga i te pae tukutuku o te hāhi Rātana.

WH: He'll be an excellent fullah to ask Because you can hear some of the quotes from Rātana. Cause he's a Rātana

JT: Oh, āe. Tūturu nei.

WH: Tūturu, eh. And they're beautiful. [Indistinct], they were appropriate to bring in there. [. . .] Koirā hoki tāku e kōrero nei, eh, in a sense: how sacred is sacred *today*??? Now, mēmea i pātai mai koe i a au twenty years ago

JT: Mm, he rerekē anō

WH: Kua rerekē, because i te mōhio atu au tō rātou ake mea who, you know, I mean, when I hear my own uncle say to one of his nieces, 'Kaua koe, ehara *māhau* au e horoi.' Āe, engari mā tētahi o āna tuahine further down the chain, one of, the *auntie* of that, to come, you see, they were still, i te pupuri tō rātou ērā mea, nā te mea, nō te tuakana tērā, she wasn't to come You get the idea? So you can see, there's tikanga behind it.

JT: Yeah. So, e pā ana ki te tuakana-teina

WH: Yeah, te tuakanatanga-tainatanga. But today, that's gone. Right? Kua kore ētahi o mātou e kī, 'E, e, kaua ko koe e mea. Māku kē, ko au te taina.' And even then, ka hoki au ki te marae, nērā. I went back in 1975 ki taku iwi. Next minute, mahi au te mea ki te marae, kei te karanga au ki ērā 'Hei, ko koutou kē ngā tuakana.' 'No, *māhau*.' Right. And they're the tuakana, beautiful speakers, but kāore i tū runga marae. But you see, now, now, but today, that sort of tuakana-tainatanga is gone. Even though we talk about it. Although I suppose ki ētahi wahine ki, ki a, ki a [P] mā, tērā pea kei te mau tō rātou ki tērā āhuetanga. *Pea*.

JT: Ngāi Tūhoe?

WH: Yeah. [*Me noho tūmatawhāiti ēnei kōrero*] Kei reira tonu ērā momo āhuetanga.

JT: Nā reira, ka taea pea te kī, it's a subjective thing? Te tapu, te 'sacredness', te, ehara pea, ko te 'sensitivity', engari ko tēnei mea te 'sacred'

WH: I don't think it's subjective. There is a[n] objectivity to it. Umm, depends on tō tikanga o te 'subjective'.

JT: I te whakaaro au mō te kōrero a tētahi e kīia mai nei, he tapu te Kurānu Tapu i te mea, i mea mai e ngā Arapi, Arapa, i kī mai rātou, he tapu. He tapu te Paipera nā te mea i kī mai te Karaitiana, he tapu. Ērā momo whakaaro . . .

WH: Ka pērā rā i te Māori, eh? Kore rawa ngā Māori, kāore e whakāengia ko ngā mea i raro i ngā tohunga kia whakaūa i a Io Matua, nē. Ka tūā hoki. You know. Ērā momo mea, nā, he tikanga tērā – engari kua ngaro. Kua ngaro rawa atu, nā te mea, nā ngā kura Pākehā tērā āhuatanga i whakangaro, eh. [.] [1.08.50] Alright, let's go back to, so . . . Yeah. Well . . . to me . . . it's up to the discretion of the researcher, who must be conscious of: what is tapu? how tapu is tapu? – of the thing – and the sensitivities *related* to it . . . politically, educationally, socially, ah, culturally . . . Nē?

JT: Mm. Kaupapa nui tērā.

WH: Yeah. Whai mai? Like, if it's done by a Māori, he'd be sensitive to that. If it's being done by a Pākehā, he won't . . . he won't have that, some might say, that 'baggage' that Māori still carry unconsciously. Or um, . . . how can you put it, that um, that's still burdening Māori today who are ambivalent about acknowledging that or not, let alone being conscious of the fact that they're ignorant about, about um, about tapu, because they've come through an education system that's knocked that right out of them. Other than those ones of course who have been taken through the religious schools, or been taught through the religious schools.

JT: Mm. I tipu ake koe i roto i te hāhi?

WH: Tōku māmā i tino mea.

JT: Tēhea? Karaitiana?

WH: He Mihinare.

JT: Oh, āe.

WH: And used to [sing tēnei] waiata: (sings) *Jesus bids us shine, dz dz dz dz dz dz; like a shining little candle burning in the night; In this world of darkness, so you must shine; You in your small corner and I in mine.* Koinei.

JT: (Laughter) Takitahitanga . . . ! (Laughs).

WH: Or, or: (sings) *When the roll is called up yonder; When the roll is called up yonder.* And, tērā nā taku māmā – *When the roll is called up yonder; When the roll is called up yonder I'll be there. On that bright and shiny* – You know, wērā momo mea i whakahoungia, ka tonongia mātou te karakia, eh. And wētahi taima koirā ana waiata. Nā te mea, he wahine whakapono; nā te mea, koirā āna mātua. Engari, ki te hāhi *kē*, ahakoa tana mōhio i te, i te . . . ōna mātua i te whakapono kē anō ki ō rātou atua Māori. Nā reira, engari kua uru mai te Karaitiana, ki roto i te whakatipuranga o taku māmā me tōna reanga. Engari, arā anō rātou, ngāwari noa ki a rātou te whakawhiti ki tērā ao. I mean, tētahi o ngā mea sensitive, I mean, 'pure', eh. Just 'birth'. Ka mea mai taku māmā, tā mātou taenga atu ki Ruatoria, ka mea mai ki a au, 'Nā, te 'h' konei, hēti konā'. Tērā taha. Ka mea mai ki a au, 'Mōhio koe, rua tekau mā tahi ngā tamariki a ērā tokorua'. Twenty-one. Ka mea mai ki a au, 'Ko te pāpā tonu i te . . .', this is my mum, 'Ko te pāpā tonu i te

whakawhānau ngā tamariki’ (Laughter). Taku māmā tēnei, ‘Ka whakamahia e ia āna pona.’ Right up to this day I wondered, are you saying? – i tipu mai hoki mātou i roto i te mea, you *dare* ask the question. Pīrangi au te pātai, ‘How did he do it, mum?? How did he use his knees to give birth??’ Up to this day, kāore au e tino mōhio. But koirā tana kōrero, and you dare ask questions. That’s one thing, i tipu mai mātou i roto. (1.14.16) [. . . .] So, these are some of these things, ‘sensitive’, eh. And how sacred *is* it? Ko te kōrero hoki ki a mātou, ‘ka hoki tō mai ngā mea i runga i a koe, ki te kore e pai tō mahi’. ‘Ko koe te papa’. You know? Ērā momo mea? And, oh yeah. Kei te rongo au wērā kōrero. So, I mean, just taking that one, eh, just this *one*. I mean I don’t know about circumcision and all that sort of thing. And what about kia, kia, we see and then you get the kōrero, koinēi te raruraru, when you get in, thing, when you get . . . I don’t know whether you’ve heard me talking ki te rōpū, he aha, you know, te haramaitanga a Māui ki a Hine-nui-te-Pō, āe? Why did, he aha i moe, i te moe kē a Hine-nui-te-Pō i mua i te taenga mai, cause she was confident, kua raru a Māui, she already knew it . . . She sent a mea, she knew the only way to defeat him, see, the Māori whakapono, eh, she sent first of all a mosquito to get his blood. Engari, te rongonga mai o mea e haramai ana, ka pā ki a ia, āe, ka pā ki a ia te waeroa, ka mate. Ka tatari ai, ka tatari ai . . . te kore hokinga mai o te mea. So, he aha te mea i tonongia e ia? Te namu. He aha te take? Cause it can’t be heard. See, tā te Māori. Gets it, brings it back to her, she slept. Mōhio atu ia kua raru ia. So, i te houtanga ka kataina mai i kukutia. And they say that’s why men have this [Adam’s apple], and the women don’t. Alright? And that’s why women have their mate. Because of that. You see, all that sort of thing? Now, that’s *sensitive*. Those, that’s sensitive knowledge for Māori, I mean, kei kataina rātou, you know, and yet koinā tō mātou whakapono. And many others that you can cite *pērā*. Now that’s sensitive. How do you – say, say that was it, just what I’ve told you now, it was all in Māori – undoubtedly disguised too.

JT: Metaphorical.

WH: Metaphorical. So how do you translate that, so it still maintains its perception? Right? And people don’t feel . . . So, you’ve got to use . . .

JT: Depends on your audience though, doesn’t it. Who you’re translating for. If it’s for a Māori audience, it’s slightly different than for a general audience. Wērā momo

WH: So, you would disguise it in a way? How do you try and do it?

JT: I would try to follow the style of the original, so if it was a metaphorical kind of language in the original, I would try to emulate that

WH: In a comparable, metaphoric English way?

JT: Yeah.

WH: But would that encapture, sometimes of course . . . ?

JT: Well, sometimes it’s not possible. But this is where the use of annotations and things come in. I believe. Because it’s important to make those distinctions.

WH: Yeah.

JT: Because then, ka mārama te tangata.

WH: Mm.

JT: Mm. Kua nawhe?

WH: *I think so. I mean, kāore he mutunga . . .*

JT: (Laughs) Koinā!

WH: Because there are other, you know, it's just not only in that, say, birth, and that sort of thing. You know, whakawhānau . . . So, I suppose it's things to do with us as human beings, the ordinary things that . . .

JT: That are unspeakable for some people (Laughter).

WH: That's right! Whereas i ngā wā o mua it wouldn't have been, it would've been just natural.

JT: Mm, yeah.

WH: So, the impact of religion [He kōrero ēnei e pā ana ki te mate Māori, me ngā mahi wairua].

JT: Ka pai.

WH: See, those sort of things, eh?

JT: Yep. That we can't talk about (laughter) in the everyday world. Kua mutu?

WH: Ka nui tēnā.

[01.23.41]

Appendix 14: Tom Roa Book of Mormon: Warm-up – Transcript 1

1 Tom Roa: Talking through the Book of Mormon, Mormon Chapter 1 Verses 13 to
 2 16, ah, and a process of translation, in that. So, Number 13: ‘But wickedness did
 3 prevail upon the face of the whole land insomuch that the Lord did take away his
 4 beloved disciples, and the work of miracles, and of healing did cease because of
 5 the iniquity of the people.’ The, ah, the first process is to read through the whole
 6 of the , ah, the text that’s in front of me, and then, what I might normally do, is
 7 find the text, from the Book of Mormon, or wherever it came from, and, ah, try to
 8 get a background about where this writer contextualises him- or herself, and, um,
 9 other items of background, like something about the writer, something about how
 10 come that person came to write this piece, and then, thinking about the audience,
 11 ah, for whom it’s intended in the source text, and, ah, part of my process also is to
 12 ask the client, um, who do they in turn view the work for. Um, for example, is it
 13 for a group of children; is it for a group of adults who are already Mormon, and so
 14 would have other understandings of the, um, the background contexts. I then, ah,
 15 make a start on, um, the translation of the, the text and consider firstly the type of
 16 register, the style, ah, that’s expected of this, even before the meaning, even
 17 before the, um, translating the words themselves. (02.55) Ah, because if I start
 18 with the words themselves, then I feel that, um, I’m missing the wairua, ah, of the,
 19 of the, ah, what is the message that the source writer is trying to convey to his or
 20 her readers, and then what is, how is that message from English best expressed in
 21 Māori. Ah, if this is a, to be just a, um, a very brief interpretation, rather than a
 22 translation, then I do it differently, like I just start on the words, say well, this is *a*
 23 brief interpretation. But if I’m doing a translation then I try to make sure that I’ve,
 24 um, followed all the signals, ah, not just in ah, the words themselves, but the
 25 contexts, the discourse. So, having all of those kinds of backgrounders, I start on
 26 the translation: ‘But wickedness did prevail upon the face of the whole land’ –
 27 um, ‘Engari, he nui te kino ki runga i te mata o te whenua katoa.’ ‘Insomuch as
 28 the Lord did take away his beloved disciples and the work of miracles and of
 29 healing did cease because the iniquity of the people.’ Ah, ‘Ina hoki he mea tango
 30 e te Ariki āna taupononga, ā, ka mutu te mahi merekara, te mahi whakaora, nā te
 31 nui o te hara, o ngā hara o te iwi.’ Fourteen (14): ‘Kāore hoki he takoha mai i te
 32 Ariki. Kīhai te Wairua Tapu i tau ki runga ki tētehi, te take, ko te nui o te kino me
 33 te whakapono kore, kore whakapono.’ Fifteen (15): ‘Mōku ake, āku tau, ka tekau

34 mā rima, taku āhua, he whai whakaaro, nō reira te Atua i puta mai ai ki ahau, nō
 35 reira, ka kāingia ai, ka mōhiotia ai ki te pai rawa o Ihu.’ Sixteen(16): ‘Kātahi au ka
 36 ngana ki te kauwhau ki tēnei iwi, engari ka kapia taku waha. Kīhai au i tukuna ki
 37 te kauwhau kia rātou, i te mea, . . . koia . . . ko tā rātou whakapeke . . . ki tō rātou
 38 Atua, me ngā pononga tau ka tangohia mai i te whenua, nā te nui o tō rātou kino.’
 39 (09.05) Ka mutu tērā tuhituhi, ka hoki anō au, me te pātai i roto i a au, kua pēwhea
 40 rā taku mahi, he tika te pātōtō? He tika te whakatakoto? He tika te kupu? he tika
 41 ngā tikanga? He tika te, ah, te whakamāori, he mārama, ah, ki te, te hunga ka
 42 pānui mai ēnei kōrero? Ah, kua, kua mau te wairua o te kōrero? Āh, me pēwhea
 43 rānei e au te whakatika i taku whakamāoritanga, kia tau rānō te wairua o taua
 44 kōrero nei. I te mea, he, he mea, ah, he tuhinga tapu, ah, me tapu rānō te reo, um,
 45 he tuhinga tapu i, o te reo Pākehā, me tapu rānō te tuhinga ki te reo Māori, ā, ki
 46 taua rehita. Ā, ko tētehi wāhanga kua whaia ai e au, ā, ki ēnei tūmomo
 47 whakamāoritanga, ka hui i te taha o ngā kiritaki, ngā kiriutu, ā, me te patapatai, ā,
 48 ki te, ā, te horopaki o te kōrero, ki tā rātou e mōhio ra rātou. Ka nui tērā. (12.00)

Appendix 15: Tom Roa *Book of Mormon*: TAPs – Transcript 2

1 Um, Tom Roa, one pm, second November Two Thousand and Eleven. Thinking-
2 aloud with the translation process, The Book of Mormon, the Book of Jacob, the
3 Brother of Nephi. My approach is to read through the whole text in English, to
4 check through that I have an understanding of what is intended by the source
5 author, and the various contexts. For example, I would ask a person of the, ah,
6 Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints about the Book of Mormon, its
7 backgrounds and I understand of course that Mormon is of the family of Nephi,
8 ah, excuse me, um, yeah, the family of Nephi, um, who was a, the leader of the
9 people who, um, escaped from the Babylonian, I believe, invasion of Israel around
10 600 odd BC, and, ah, Nephi was the son of Lehi I think, ah, who sailed, ah, across
11 the Pacific to South America, and Mormon was a descendant of Nephi who, um,
12 wrote the messages from God on gold tablets, buried them in a site in North
13 America, ah, where they were discovered by Joseph Smith, led there by, by God.
14 And Joseph Smith, of course, was the, ah, the founder of the, ah, Church of Jesus
15 Christ of Latter Day Saints. And was gifted with the ability to, by God, to
16 translate the Book of Mormon into English. So the English is a translation of the
17 original language which came from the Hebrew, um, in the story as I've related.
18 Now that's a sort of a historical background, and Jacob of course was the brother
19 of Nephi, two of the children of Lehi, who migrated from Israel. Um, I would also
20 look at the, um, the chapter and the verses in their contexts, just as a general
21 overview and a general understanding of, ah, the material, and, um, as I look
22 through it, I would jot down or note unusual, either vocabulary or phrasings – ah,
23 unusual to *me*, and again talk with a person of the Mormon faith about what their
24 understanding of those phrasings are, ah, for example, in Chapter 5, Verse 9,
25 there's a phrase '*that they may not cumber the ground of my vineyard*', and I, um,
26 I don't know this word 'cumber'. So, I also look it up, but discuss that phrasing
27 and that word with the, um, people of the faith. Ah, when it, when I begin my
28 translation, ah, um, I . . . would, I *do*, I look at the, ah, each phrase, and again the
29 context of that phrase, and try to fit the Māori to the, um, to its culture, so that, um
30 . . . the . . . ideal of a translation to me is that it doesn't *look* like a translation, it
31 looks as if it has come from that culture, but its messages are totally congruent
32 with the culture. Um, I have thoughts also regarding the, the style, the, um, the

33 linguistic, um, our linguistic analysis of the source text which pays attention to,
 34 um, semantic, semantics, pragmatics, etcetera, etcetera. Um, and how, um, the
 35 role of discourse relations, ah, sometimes referred to as semantico-pragmatic
 36 relations, rhetorical relations, etcetera, um, and the, the use of those and the
 37 signalling of those in the translation, so that there's a guiding from those relations
 38 of the Māori translation. Umm . . . I, ah, make a point of being very . . careful
 39 with the style, with the register, and that this is a sacred text, the style should be,
 40 ah, in English, the style should be, ah, he tapu anō ki tā te, he tapu anō ki te reo
 41 Māori, he tapu anō te reo, um, Māori, ah, kia tau ai taua tapu ki te reo Pākehā.
 42 (08.45) So if I, um, if I start with Verse Seven: 'And it came to pass that the
 43 master of the vineyard saw it . . .', 'Ā, tahi ka kitea e te rangatira o te mārawaina,
 44 ka kīia atu ai ki tana hāwini: Ki te ngaro i a au tēnei rākau . . . ka nui rawa atu taku
 45 pouri; nō reira, haere, kapohia ngā rākau mai i te rākau ōriwa tipu mai i te
 46 mohoa, whakahokia mai ki a au. Kātahi tāua . . . ka tango, ka tango ai i ngā peka
 47 o te rākau kua tīmata te pīrau, ka whiu ai ki te ahi.' . . . In this translation, um, I
 48 have the thought that, in the last clause, 'and we will cast them into the fire that
 49 they may be burned', I haven't translated, 'that they may be burned'. And the
 50 reason that I haven't translated it is that, in the Māori, well even in the English,
 51 'that they may be burned' is clearly understood, if you throw something into the
 52 fire it will burn. Ah, maybe I should say, 'ka whiua atu kia pau katoa ki te ahi.'
 53 Um, the signaling, ah, of those sequences in the language need to be given proper
 54 attention. 'And behold saith', ah, Verse 8, 'And behold saith the Lord of the
 55 vineyard, I take away many of these young and tender branches, and I will graft
 56 them whithersoever I will;' Ah, 'Ehara [rawa?] ko tā te Ariki o te mārawaina, ka
 57 tangohia e au te nui o ēnei peka . . . arotau, taihoa koa, rauangi, kātahi ka honoa ai
 58 ki tāku e hiahia ai. Ā, kāore he aha kei mate te pakiaka o tēnei rākau, ka
 59 purutia e au ōna hua ki a au anō; ka mutu, ka tangohia e au aua manga, aua peka
 60 rauangi ka honoa ai ki tāku e hiahia ai.' (14.04) Verse 9: 'Take thou the branches
 61 of the wild olive tree, and graft them in, in the stead thereof;' – 'Me tango e koe
 62 ngā peka o te rākau ōriwa mohoa, ka honoa ai, ka honoa kētia ai, ā, koinei ngā
 63 rākau i kato ake ka whiua e au ka pau ki te ahi, kia kore ai te papa o taku
 64 mārawaina . . . ah . . . that's my problem with this word 'cumber', ah, 'e haukotia
 65 ai', maybe! Verse 10: 'Ā, ka oti ai te hāwini o te Ariki o te mārawaina ki tā te

66 Ariki o te mārawāina i mea ai, ka honoa ai ngā peka, ka honoa *mai* ai ngā peka o
 67 te rau rākau mohoa. Ah, 11: ‘Kātahi te Ariki o te mārawāina, ah’ Taihoa
 68 koa. ‘Kātahi ka ea ai te kupu a te Ariki o te mārawāina, kia kerikeria, ah, kia kotia,
 69 ka whāngaihia ai, me te kī ki tana hāwini: Ki te ngaro i ahau tēnei rākau, kātahi ka
 70 nui pea taku pouri; nō reira, me tiaki e au ngā, ngana pakiaka kia kaua ia e mate
 71 ai, kia pupurutia ai ki a au anō, nā reira au i pēnei ai.’ . . . As I reflect on this, I’ve
 72 made a lot of usage of ‘ai’. And I think that, um, ah, there are, a usage in the
 73 English of this, ah, um, (19.02) almost Biblical text: ‘Unto his servant’; ‘It
 74 grieveth me that’; ‘Whithersoever I will’, etcetera, ‘bring them hither unto me’;
 75 um, ‘wherefore’, etcetera, etcetera. Um, . . . I’m, ah, trying to ensure that that style
 76 in English is reflected by a formality of style in Māori. And I guess that’s, um,
 77 that’s enough for this English into Māori. And let me now switch to the, um,
 78 Māori into English . . . which is the, um, ancient Māori poem by Tuhoto-Ariki. I
 79 should have mentioned that, um, I would also have, ah, searched out to see if the
 80 Book of Mormon has a Māori translation which perhaps I can refer to, and maybe
 81 make, ah, make other comment regarding [that translation].

Appendix 16: Tom Roa He Waiata-Karakia: TAPs – Transcript 3

1 Um, turning now to an ancient Māori poem by Tuhoto-Ariki. Ah, the background
2 to this is given a, at the beginning, um, although there are . . . um, there are other
3 questions that I'd tend to ask about the author and the circumstances of the birth
4 of the grand-nephew, um, and of course, ah, Tuhoto-Ariki's status amongst the
5 iwi, yes. Um, so, again seeking through all those contexts I've then come, and
6 because, because, um, again there's a, there's an expectation in the first language
7 that there would be, um, terms and phrasings which would signal certain, um,
8 relationships, I, um, I would use those as much as I could. So, the thing reads,
9 'Nau mai e tama, kia mihi atu au, I hara mai ra koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata i
10 roto i te ahuru mowai . . .' I'm familiar with this, and know also of the, ah, the, ah,
11 translation provided for it. However, in terms of this exercise, how I would, ah,
12 approach it, is, um, is I had a, done a similar exercise with this very piece, um,
13 consulted with, um, people of Kurahaupō, um, not just of Kurahaupō, but also of
14 Te Arawa, who claim, some of whom claim Tuhoto-Ariki as a, a tupuna of theirs,
15 um . . . ah . . . ah . . . so into the translation: 'Nau mai e tama, kia mihi atu au, i
16 hara mai ra koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata i roto i te ahuru mowai.' 'Nau mai e
17 Tama': *Welcome, son. Let me greet you, your having come from the umbilical- . . .*
18 *the womb . . . and its . . . attendant . . . refuge.* Maybe not 'refuge', 'sanctuary'.
19 Um, peaceful. 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga tena a
20 Tane-nui-a-rangi i te one i Kurawaka, i tataia ai te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua, te
21 Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi. Ka karapinepine te putoto i a ia. So, some
22 of these are, some of these terms are, um, unfamiliar, ah, so I would look some of
23 them up in a number of dictionaries, and then try to give a sense of the Māori
24 which doesn't detract from the – and I believe this is a sacred text – from the, ah,
25 from the nature of that text. Um, 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri' Um, 'Huaki-
26 pouri', ah, brings about an image of, ah, the passage way, ah, the birth passage.
27 But 'te pae o Huaki-pouri' is the, ah, some might describe it as a barrier-way;
28 others might describe it as the, um, the, ah, oh gosh, I've lost the English of it, but,
29 I guess, in terms of the thinking-aloud of my procedures, I'd . . . consider the
30 many meanings of 'pae', and, um, a 'pae' is a, uh, is a, uh, can be considered as a
31 barrier, but it's also an entrance way, that one steps over, in order to enter into a
32 position, or a place, that one wishes to approach. So, the English would need to
33 reflect all those various meanings – metaphorical, poetic, and perhaps exercise

34 some poetic license. 'Nau mai e Tama, kia mihi atu au: *Welcome son. Let me*
35 *greet you, your having come from the . . .* , um, 'te kunenga mai o te tangata i
36 roto i te ahuru mowai', ah, *the very beginnings of mankind, within the [Indistinct],*
37 *um, place of peace. And the opening of Huaki-pouri is the, um, the house created*
38 *by Tane-nui-a-rangi in the sands at Kurawaka, where the Puhi-Ariki, the Hiringa-*
39 *matua, the Hiringa-tipua, the Hiringa-tawhito-rangi . . . ah, were . . . whew, um,*
40 *constructed.* The process that I'm describing would continue into the other, the
41 second stanza, as outlined in the, um, the work here Jillian, so, um, I would make
42 that a very rough draft, and then go through it again, and consider, ah, once again,
43 the audience for whom the translation is intended. And if the audience was a,
44 well, whoever the audience might be, a key ingredient is the, the sacred nature of
45 the text. So, the use of 'thee', 'thy', 'thine', 'thou', etcetera, is, um, is a, an
46 important option. 'Nau mai e Tama': *Welcome, Son.* I might include: *Welcome, o*
47 *Son.* I would not use, *Welcome, my boy*, because that takes it to a, to a different
48 register. Heoi anō, perhaps that's enough. And if there's something that you might
49 want to come back to me about, we could pick that up at another time. Um,
50 closing this off at, ah, 2pm, second November 2011. I'm hoping that this is
51 helpful, but am available for other, ah, um, cross-fertilisation of ideas, perhaps is
52 one way to put it. Heoi anō rā, ngā manaakitanga.

Appendix 17: Ray Harlow *Book of Mormon*: TAPs – Transcripts 1 & 2

Transcript 1:

1 Just about to start having a go at translating the passage from The Book of
2 Mormon. This, it's written in a version of English which is highly imitative of the
3 authorized version of the Bible, and so what I would do, in trying to translate this
4 would be, where possible, and or where easy to do, to look for parallel items and
5 so on, from the existing Bible translation. So, for instance, there's talk here of a
6 vineyard, wild olive trees, servants and so on, expressions like 'It came to pass',
7 and 'Behold' and so on, which are associated with Biblical language, so that's
8 what I will try and do. What I'm going to use is, the tools here would therefore be,
9 not just the standard dictionaries, meaning *Williams* particularly, but also online
10 *Ngata*, but an online version of the Māori Bible, which is available at Bible
11 Gateway.com, I think that's where it is . . . just let me check . . . It's at the
12 BibleGateway.com, which is a version of the Māori Bible which allows you to
13 search by verse, and so on, but in order to navigate that, I would need a
14 concordance or someway of searching the English Bible, and as it turns out I've
15 got that on my iPhone, through software called Olive Tree? I think it's called. And
16 it contains things like the, well, various texts of the Bible, but also a search
17 machine. So, for instance, since this is talking about 'the vineyard', the first thing
18 I want to do is establish what is the word used in the Māori Bible for 'vineyard',
19 and it turns out to be 'mārawāina', so I would use that throughout. Before I even
20 try and put pen to paper, I'm going to see what the normal translation in the Māori
21 Bible is for ideas such as 'behold' and 'it came to pass'. So I'll be, now I'm doing
22 a search on that in the English Bible . . . anywhere in the entire Bible, um, for
23 'behold' in the first instance, and we'll see what we get . . . And, the first thing
24 that comes up is a verse in the early parts of Genesis, and it goes, "And God said,
25 'Behold, I have given you [indistinct] . . .'" So that could be a good starting point
26 for that, so if I go to the Māori Bible, which I have on-screen, and try and search
27 by that, Genesis, Chapter 1, Verse 29, that was, and it turns out that 'Nā' is what
28 is used there. That had occurred to me already that that might be the function of
29 'Nā' in the Māori Bible correlating to 'Behold'. It's after all just a sort of
30 expletive in the text here, it doesn't mean something like 'Well, look at this!', it's
31 not as lexically content-full as that. Now I'm going to look up 'pass', to look for
32 instances 'and it came to pass', and again, Genesis still, this is the story now of

33 Cain and Abel, and the verse in English reads ‘And it came to pass when they
34 were in the field that Cain rose up against Abel.’ So I’ll have a look at that now in
35 the Māori text, Genesis 4, Verse 8 If we go there, we find that the Māori
36 Bible does it in the following way, just ‘Ā’. And again, you can see why this
37 should be. ‘It came to pass’ means no more than, ‘that’s what happened next’. It
38 translates a particular Hebrew expression I happen to know, which is pretty
39 content-less[?], it’s a stylistic thing. So, what I’m going to do is start this
40 translation, or start writing some text now, and in the first instance the heading
41 will be The Book of Mormon, ‘Te Pukapuka o Mōmona’. (05.13) Now, this raises
42 an interesting question already, and I don’t know how people treat this, I don’t
43 know what the church’s view of this, is the book written *by* somebody called
44 Mormon, or what?? Is it, um, or is it a book *about* Mormon? Anyway, I’ll leave it
45 as ‘o Mōmona’ for the moment. Same thing applies to the actual book within it,
46 which is ‘Te Pukapuka’, again, ‘of’ in English, it’s ‘*of* Jacob’, so I’m going to put
47 ‘o’ assuming this is more *about* Jacob than actually *by* Jacob, so, ‘o Hakopa’. And
48 it has an apposition here, ‘The Brother of Nephi’. Well, Māori doesn’t tell us, ah,
49 doesn’t allow us to say ‘brother’ of a man, um, in just so many words. You have
50 to choose between ‘tuakana’ and ‘teina’, and since I’ve got no idea which this is, I
51 will just plonk in ‘teina’. Ah, that’s an arbitrary decision, and one would need of
52 course to know a lot more about the book to perhaps make that decision. But for
53 the moment, let’s leave it like that. The word for ‘chapter’ in the Bible is ‘upoko’,
54 and the word ‘whiti’ is used for ‘verses’, so we’ve now got the heading. And that
55 is going to be, yep, how I head up this particular translation. Of course, leaving
56 the bits I’ve mentioned just now as not determinable for the moment, but a full
57 knowledge of the whole Book of Mormon would be a, would help to distinguish
58 between those two ideas.

59 So, we’ve got our Verse 7. The English says, ‘And it came to pass that the master
60 of the of the vineyard saw it and he said to unto his servant . . .’ That’s pretty
61 straightforward, so I’m not going to bother here to look for parallels in the Bible,
62 except, as I say, how ‘it came to pass’ could be treated; a word for ‘vineyard’; um,
63 ‘master’ I’ll call ‘rangatira’, this tends to be used in modern Māori at least for the
64 owner, say of a house or something, as well as for its more traditional one; and
65 servant will just be ‘pononga’, is a fairly standard term for that. So, putting stuff

66 on paper now: ‘Ā, i kitea e te rangatira o te mārawaina, ā, ka mea atu ia ki tana
 67 pononga,’. That’s pretty straightforward, that bit. What he actually says is: ‘It
 68 grieveth me that I should lose this tree . . .’ Um, now, ‘grieveth’ of course is one
 69 of these old-fashioned forms. Um, what it means is, he doesn’t want to lose the
 70 tree, um, it would be a matter of sorrow to him that he should lose the tree. So I’m
 71 going to treat this more as “I will be sorry *if* I lose the tree’, and what does it mean
 72 to lose a tree? The tree’s still there. ‘Lose the tree’ would be the tree dying. So,
 73 I’m going to say something like, ‘Ka pouri ahau i te matenga o te rākau.’ The text
 74 then goes on to say, ‘ . . . wherefore, go and pluck the branches from a wild olive
 75 tree’. Well, I’m not quite sure how to do ‘wild’ in Māori in terms of a tree. Um,
 76 ‘wild’ animals and so on, yes, but a ‘wild’ tree . . . So, this is where I go again to
 77 look at the Bible translation, because wild olives and wild grapes occur there as
 78 well. So, checking on instances of ‘wild’ in the Bible . . . Got ‘wild goats’, ‘wild
 79 beasts’ . . . Um . . . I think there are . . . here’s a ‘wild olive tree’ in Romans 11:17.
 80 Indeed, this might be quite useful, because words like ‘branches’ and ‘grafting’
 81 occur in it, as they do in the passage of the Book of Mormon that I’m looking at
 82 here. So, in the Māori Bible I’ll go to Romans 11:17, and I’m going to make notes
 83 at this point, to myself, which will just be in the same document, for the moment,
 84 as the translation itself, for ‘grafting’ and for ‘branches’, see what they’re use here
 85 . . . And the Māori says, um, ‘Engari ki te mea, kua whatia atu ētahi o ngā manga’
 86 – ‘manga’ for ‘branch’ is what we’ll use here, ‘ā, ka honoa mai koe te ōriwa
 87 ngahere’ – that’s what they use for ‘wild’ olive as opposed to the cultivated one.
 88 So, we’re going to use ‘ōriwa ngahere’ for this notion of ‘wild’ one. And the
 89 ‘grafting’, is ‘whiwhi ngātahi ki te pakiaka o te mōmonatanga o te ōriwa’.
 90 ‘Whiwhi’ here not in the normal sense that we’re used to in modern Māori, ‘to
 91 get’. But in the sense of . . . oh no, sorry! I’m misleading myself here, ‘whiwhi’ –
 92 I was looking at the wrong passage. The word for ‘graft’ used here is quite simply
 93 ‘hono’. The word ‘hono’ that occurs in this Māori text is the ‘grafting’ one. So, it
 94 puts me in a position now to try a translation for the rest of the first verse. We’ve
 95 got so far that the master of the vineyard sees something - this must be carried
 96 forward from the previous discourse – and he says I’m sorry, I’ll be sad if I lose
 97 this tree, if the tree dies. So he tells his servant, ‘Go and get branches from a wild
 98 olive tree’. (12.54) So I’m going to translate that as , ‘Nō reira, haere ki te kato i

99 ngā manga o tētahi ōriwa ngahere, kā . . . ’and bring them hither to me’, I’m
 100 going to use the ‘ka . . . ai’ construction that you can use for two, for the second or
 101 subsequent command in a string. So, ‘ . . . ka mau mai ai ki ahau’. I don’t usually
 102 use ‘ahau’ myself, but this is, it’s sort of, I think what the Bible tends to use, is
 103 ‘ahau’. And the English text goes on, with the master of the vineyard still
 104 speaking, ‘And we will pluck off those *main* branches which are beginning to
 105 wither away, and will cast them into the fire until they are burnt.’ So, we need
 106 here, ‘pluck off’, which can be again the same word as ‘pluck’ from before; ‘main
 107 branches’, I’m going to say ‘manga matua’ here; and for ‘wither’, I’m not quite
 108 sure ‘wither’, I’m going to *check* – ‘memeha’, that’s what springs to mind, but
 109 whether you can use that of a branch or a plant, that’s what I’m not sure of . . . so
 110 ‘meha’ in the dictionary, ah, ‘decaying, weak, evanescent’. Um . . . so I don’t like
 111 that. I’ll look, what I’m going to do instead in that case, is get a new page in my
 112 browser . . . new window, in fact, and go and get Ngata . . . which I haven’t got a
 113 bookmark of, *should* have, but I don’t seem to have Yes, here it is, Ngata.
 114 This is the Ngata Online Dictionary. With it, I’ll try . . . The search returns no
 115 results. So, I’ll just try ‘wither’ . . . Ah, ‘the leaf shall not wither’, ‘memenge’. So,
 116 ‘memenge’. In fact, a number of terms. So, if I check, if I go back to Williams –
 117 one should always, having looked up something in, say, Ngata, always go back to
 118 look at Williams, to see if they look as though they fit. And ‘menge’ and
 119 ‘memenge’ in Williams are to do with parts of the body. So I’m not really keen on
 120 using that. Other ones suggested by Ngata are ‘kautaka’, so see whether ‘kautaka’
 121 can help out here . . . ‘kautaka’ - ‘wither, wilt’. So to, something ‘wilt’, that
 122 suggests flowers, so I’ll use that, ‘kautaka’. Okay, back to the text, ‘we will’ ‘ka
 123 katohia e tāua’, this is the master talking to his servant, ‘ngā manga matua e
 124 kautaka . . . e kautaka . . . because it’s progressive, I’m going to put in ‘haere nei,
 125 kautaka haere nei, . . . ā, ka whiua ki te ahi kia wera ai’ (17.34) and I’ll make that
 126 do for the first verse. . . . Okay, leave that there for now.

Transcript 2:

1 Okay, continuing now a bit more, I will have a look at Verse 8. In this one the,
2 um, master continues to speak instructions to his servant, and he says and
3 ‘Behold, saith the Lord of the vineyard, . . .’ Well we’ve already seen ‘behold’ is
4 going to be ‘Ā.’ ‘I take away many of these young tender branches and I will graft
5 them whithersoever I will.’ These are the young branches of the wild olives that
6 he’s sent for. Okay. The hard bit in here would be how to translate ‘tender’. Um,
7 in the Bible, the English Bible, there’s a reference to ‘tender branches’ in Job, but,
8 that, nothing appears equivalent to that in the Māori Bible. It just, ah, it’s just the
9 new branches. . . . Uh, forgotten where that was, I’m going to have to go back
10 now and have a look in the search . . . in, um, in my [i]phone . . . searching for
11 ‘tender’, the reference to ‘tender . . . branches’ in there was, uh, 14.7, and the
12 Māori 14.7, it doesn’t, um . . . well, ‘pihi’, how about ‘pihinga’, in fact. Look up,
13 one remembers now that John Moorefield’s books, and the idea that ‘te pihinga’ is
14 the young growth. It’s ‘a shoot, or a sprout’. Um . . . it’s not really the same as a
15 tender branch. So the thing to do here is look at something like ‘soft’. Ummm,
16 and, for suggestions about ‘soft’ I’m going to go to Ngata . . . and ‘soft’ has ‘soft
17 words’, ‘soft answer’, ‘lead is softer than steel’ – ‘ngohengohe’. I think
18 ‘ngohengohe’, ‘soft butter’ is ‘kūteretere’ . . . ‘soft bed’, ‘ngohengohe’ looks like
19 something which is soft to the feel. So I use ‘ngohengohe’. Um, ‘young’ – this is
20 going to have to be ‘hou’; any other words referring to ‘young people’ are not
21 going to do for ‘branches’. So I’m, now put in what I’ve got so far, which is, ‘Ā,
22 ka mea atu te rangatira o te mārawaina . . . mārawaina . . .’ – ‘I take away many of
23 those . . .’, well, the, this is often a problem with quantifiers like ‘many’ in Māori,
24 um, and often the way to do that is to make a predicate of it. So, something like,
25 um, ‘many are these young tender branches, which I will, which I take away’, and
26 that’s how I’m going to do it . . . ‘He maha ēnei manga ngohengohe . . . manga
27 hou e ngohengohe ana’, so we’ve got ‘Many are these young branches which are
28 soft, which I will take away’- ‘ka tangohia e au’ -‘e ahau’, I should say, ‘ka
29 honoa’ – ‘and I will graft them wheresoever I will’ – ‘ka honoa hoki e ahau ki āku
30 wāhi e pai ai au’ - ‘to the places which I approve of, which I like.’ (05.32) The
31 English continues, ‘And it mattereth not that if it be so, if it so be that the root of
32 this tree will perish, I may preserve the fruit thereof unto myself.’ Well, the whole

33 beginning of this, ‘It mattereth not that if it so be that . . .’ all of that, I believe, can
 34 be done in one word in Māori, and this is ‘ahakoa’. Ah, all this is saying is he’s
 35 going to preserve the fruit even though the root might die. Now, there was a
 36 passage in one of the Psalms, um, was when I was looking up just now, um,
 37 ‘roots’ and that, um, there was something about the root dying, somewhere in Job,
 38 Job I think it was. But I’m just going to say ‘mate’ for, for that. So, starting
 39 ‘Ahakoa, ahakoa . . .’ – it mattereth not that the root will die. ‘Ahakoa mate pea te
 40 pakiaka o tēnei rākau, ka . . .’ Now, ‘I will preserve the fruit thereof unto myself.’
 41 ‘To preserve’ is something like ‘pūmau’, I want to say ‘Ka pūmau ki a au ngā hua
 42 . . .’ Or ‘ka riro’ pea. ‘Ka riro i a au . . .’ ‘Riro’ is translated, ‘be got, acquired,
 43 become’, so it’s not really quite what I want. ‘Pūmau’ in, looking up Williams
 44 here, ‘pūmau’ is ‘fixed, constant, permanent’ . . . so, that’s not really what I want
 45 either. So, ‘preserved’, I’ll go to Ngata and see what he has to say about
 46 ‘preserve’. . . . And he has got things like ‘tiaki’, which is not really [what I]
 47 want, and then he’s got ‘the muttonbirds were preserved in fat’, that’s not really it
 48 either . . . Um, ‘mau’ is one of the things he’s got by itself, or ‘puri’, ‘puri’. So,
 49 that’s a good one, for ‘preserve’ – ‘to keep’, so I’ll use that. And ‘Ka puritia e
 50 ahau ngā hua māku . . . ake’ – ‘for myself’. ‘Wherefore I will take these young
 51 parts and I will graft them wheresoever I will’. So it’s very much the same, um,
 52 very much the same message before, which I’ll therefore repeat, so it’s: ‘Nō reira,
 53 ka tangohia e au - ka tangohia e ahau’ - ‘these new shoots’ ‘ēnei . . .’ I’m not
 54 going to bother with ‘tender’ again this time, just ‘new’, ‘ēnei manga hou, ā, ka
 55 honoa . . .’ and then repeats exactly the line we’ve just had above, in the same
 56 verse, because that’s what the English does here, ‘Ka honoa . . . e ahau . . .’ and so
 57 on. And that’s verse 8.

58 (09.52) Okay verse 9, he turns to the servant and he says, ‘Take thou the branches
 59 of the wild olive tree, and graft them in the stead thereof.’ These, ‘instead of’,
 60 that’s in the place of the young branches which he has cut off, I might actually
 61 have to, um, no, what he’s doing, actually, it’s not altogether clear, whether he’s
 62 putting these wild branch-, wild olive branches in where he’s taken away all the
 63 old withered ones, that’s the one which makes sense. In fact it must be. They, ah,
 64 because then he goes on to talk about the ones that he’s plucked off that he’s
 65 going to cast into the fire. So, using a lot of vocabulary that we’ve already got,

66 we're just gonna go, 'Tangohia ngā manga o te ōriwa ngahere, ka hono mai ki te
67 wāhi o ngā mea kua katohia.' I think it's easier actually to be explicit at this point,
68 where the English says 'in the stead thereof' – in other words, 'where they were',
69 so I've put 'I've attached them to the place of the ones that have been plucked
70 off.' 'Ā', and, 'those which I have plucked off, I will cast into the fire and burn
71 them.' 'Ā, ko ngā manga kua katohia e ahau, ka whiua ki te ahi kia wera ai, ā . . .'
72 and it goes on, 'they may not cumber the ground of my vineyard.' 'Cumber' is
73 being in the way, so, something like 'pōrearea'? See whether is an appropriate,
74 um, idea, alternatively, 'that the ground of my vineyard might not be full of them',
75 so, might take, um, so, that one in the end. 'Pōrearea' - probably just about
76 people, and 'cumber' - getting in the way of things 'Porearea' – 'tiresome,
77 importunate' . . . umm, yeah, it's more, I think, people. Um . . . something in the
78 way, something to be in the way. Well, I'm going to put just 'kī': 'Kia kore ai
79 hoki e kī te papa o te māra i aua manga.' – 'So that the ground of the vineyard is
80 not full of these branches' (13.56). Let that be for verse 9; verse 10 now . . .

81 'And it came to pass that the servant of the Lord of the vineyard did according to
82 the Lord of the vineyard and grafted in the branches of the wild olive tree.' Well
83 there's certainly a lot of repetitive stuff, um, here; the English repeats the
84 expression 'the Lord of the vineyard', so I'm going to do that in the Māori as well.
85 It's probably a bit stilted in both languages, so anyway here goes, 'Nā . . . 'Did'.
86 Well for this I'm going to say, 'it was achieved by the servant of the vineyard, of
87 the Lord of the vineyard, what the Lord of the vineyard said. So, something like:
88 'Ka tutuki i te pononga a te rangatira o te mārawaina tā te rangatira o te
89 mārawaina i whakahau ai . . . ' - bit wordy, but there you go. Nā, ka tutuki i te
90 pononga a te rangatira o te mārawaina tā te rangatira o te mārawaina i whakahau
91 ai.' – 'what he ordered.' 'Ā . . . 'and grafted in the branches of the wild olive
92 tree.' 'Ā, ka honoa e ia' - that's the servant – 'e ia ngā manga o te ōriwa ngahere.'
93 Verse 10. Okay, verse 11.

94 (15.48) Let's have a look at verse 11: 'And the Lord of the vineyard caused that it
95 should be digged about, and pruned and nourished, saying unto his servant, it
96 grieveth me that I should lose this tree, wherefore that perhaps I might preserve
97 the roots thereof that they perish not, that I might preserve them unto myself . . .'
98 (16.08) Um, 'I have done this thing'. Pretty awful English. And the Lord of the

99 vineyard caused that it should be ‘digged about’. Well, ‘causing’ here is, um, is
 100 giving an order, and that it should be ‘pruned’ and ‘nourished’. Well, this sort of
 101 thing is very reminiscent of what goes on in Psalm, I think it’s 50, um, which is
 102 the one, reproaches to Jehovah for planting a vineyard in, um, in, and then
 103 ignoring it. And so I’m just checking again where in the Psalms that actually is,
 104 and I’ll go to the Māori translation of the Psalms and see if there’s useful stuff
 105 there. Oh, no, it’s, it’s um, 80. Okay, so I’ll get the Māori text to Psalm 80 . . . in
 106 the online Māori Bible. Psalm, Psalm 80 . . . Okay, and it’s rather late in it. So
 107 we’ve got, ah, that Jehovah brought a vine from Egypt, um . . . and he planted it,
 108 put a fence round it and all that sort of thing . . . Its branches spread out . . . um,
 109 can’t see anything here for ‘pruning’. . . so I’ll have to go to Ngata to find out
 110 about pruning . . . Yeah, there’s nothing in that Psalm that’s going to be useful, so
 111 I’m going to use ‘whāngai’ for ‘nourish’ . . . um, but for ‘pruning’, I’m just going
 112 to say I don’t know if there’s a specialist term for ‘pruning’ in Māori, so I’ll have
 113 a look at that in Ngata . . . and, what comes up of course is the fruit . . . ‘kokoti’ is
 114 down here as, um, the, um, as a word for pruning trees. So I’ll use that, this is in
 115 Ngata, ‘kokoti’. So, ‘And the Lord of the vineyard . . .’, Ā, ka whakahau te
 116 rangatira o te mārawaina kia keria te . . .’ Well, to be ‘digged about’, it’s not ‘dug
 117 up’, better be sure that ‘keri’ doesn’t, actually something like ‘ngako’ is better, I’ll
 118 look up ‘ngako’, occurs between, ‘ngaki’ I should say, ‘cultivate, clear away
 119 weeds’ . . . I’m going to use ‘ngaki’ for this, because that’s the sense, ‘digged
 120 about’ to, um, is the soil, so ‘ngaki’, ‘kia ngakia . . . kia kokotia, kia whāngaia.’
 121 Okay. ‘Ā, ka mea atu ia ki tana pononga . . . ka mea atu ki tana pononga . . .’, ah,
 122 here’s what he says, what he says is ‘it grieveth me . . .’ again, ‘grieves’, so that’s
 123 ‘ka pouri ahau i te matenga o tēnei rākau’, ‘wherefore’- ‘that’ perhaps, I might,
 124 done, ‘wherefore that perhaps I might preserve the roots thereof that they perish
 125 not, that I might preserve them unto myself, I have done this thing.’ Well, we’re
 126 going to have to put this thing, doing this thing first, is a much more natural order,
 127 I think, for Māori, so, ‘Nō reira, nō reira ahau i mahi ai i tēnei mahi kia taea ai pea
 128 ngā pakiaka te pupuri kei mate rawa, ā, kia puritia hei, hei . . .’ What? ‘To
 129 preserve them unto myself.’ Well, a bit earlier up, I said, further up, I said,
 130 ‘preserve unto myself’, ‘ka mau ai . . .’ no, hang on, um, where was it, it was in
 131 verse . . . 8, where I said ‘ka puritia e ahau ngā hua māku, ka puritia . . . ah, just

132 ‘māku’ perhaps: ‘Ka puritia māku’. Okay, that’s the whole thing now, ‘Ae, i kitea
 133 e te rangatira o te mārawaina, ā, ka mea atu ia ki tana pononga, ka pouri au i te
 134 matenga, ka pouri ahau’, it’ll be, ‘ahau i te matenga o te rākau, nō reira, haere ki
 135 te kato i ngā manga o tētahi ōriwa ngahere, ka mau ai ki ahau. Ka katohia e au, e
 136 tāua ngā manga matua e kautaka haere nei, ā, ka whiua ki te ahi kia wera ai. Ā, ka
 137 mea atu te rangatira o te mārawaina, he maha ēnei manga hou e ngohengohe ana,
 138 ka tangohia e ahau, ka honoa hoki e ahau ki āku wāhi e pai ai. Ā, kua mate pea te
 139 pakiaka o tēnei rākau, ka puritia ai e ahau ngā hua māku ake. Nō reira, ka tangohia
 140 e ahau ēnei manga hou, kia honoa hoki e ahau ki āku wāhi e pai ai. Tangohia nga
 141 manga o te ōriwa ngahere, ka hono ai ki te wāhi o ngā mea kua katohia, ā, ko ngā
 142 manga kua katohia e ahau, ka whiua ki te ahi kia wera ai, ā, kia kore ai hoki e kī te
 143 papa o te mārā i aua manga. Nā, ka tutuki i te pononga o te rangatira o te
 144 mārawaina tā te rangatira o te mārawaina i whakahau ai, ā, ka honoa e ia ngā
 145 manga o te ōriwa ngahere, ā, ka whakahau te rangatira o te mārawaina kia ngakia,
 146 kia kokotia, kia whāngaia hoki.’ I’d better put in the tree, probably last here, ‘te
 147 rākau.’ Um, probably is intelligible without, but it makes it clearer, I think, ‘Ā, ka
 148 mea atu ki tana pononga, ka pouri ahau i te matenga o tēnei rākau, nō reira ahau e
 149 mahi ai i tēnei mahi . . .’ – ‘That’s the reason I made it . . .’ ‘ . . . kia taea ai pea
 150 ngā pakiaka te pupuri kei mate rawa.’ – ‘That it may be possible, may perhaps be
 151 possible to preserve the roots, so that they don’t perish, and that they could be
 152 preserved for me.’ So, that’s going to be my translation of the passage from the
 153 Book of Mormon, into [Māori]. So I’ll stop that now, and I’ll do the Māori to
 154 English another time (25.52).

Appendix 18: Ray Harlow Book of Mormon: Typed translation

Te Pukapuka o Mōmona

Te Pukapuka o Hākopa, te teina o Newhi

Upoko 5, Whiti 7-11

7. Ā, i kitea e te rangatira o te māra wāina, ā, ka mea atu ia ki tana pononga, ‘Ka pōuri ahau i te matenga o te rākau. Nō reira, haere ki te kato i ngā manga o tētahi ōriwa ngahere, ka mau ai ki ahau. Ka katohia e tāua ngā manga matua e kautaka haere nei, ā, ka whiua ki te ahi kia wera ai.’

8. Ā, ka mea atu te rangatira o te māra wāina, ‘He maha ēnei manga hou e ngohengohe ana ka tangohia e ahau, ka honoa hoki e ahau ki āku wāhi e pai ai. Ahakoa mate pea te pakiaka o tēnei rākau, ka puritia e ahau ngā hua māku ake. Nō reira, ka tangohia e ahau ēnei manga hou, ka honoa hoki e ahau ki āku wāhi e pai ai.

9. Tangohia ngā manga o te ōriwa ngahere, ka hono ai ki te wāhi o ngā mea kua katohia; ā, ko ngā manga kua katohia e ahau, ka whiua ki te ahi kia wera ai, ā, kia kore ai hoki e kī te papa o te māra i aua manga.

10. Nā, ka tutuki i te pononga o te rangatira o te māra wāina tā te rangatira o te māra wāina i whakahau ai, ā, ka honoa e ia ngā manga o te ōriwa ngahere.

11. Ā, ka whakahau te rangatira o te māra wāina kia ngakia, kia kokotia, kia whāngaia hoki te rākau, ā ka mea atu ki tana pononga, ‘Ka pōuri ahau i te matenga o tēnei rākau, nō reira ahau i mahi ai i tēnei mahi, kia taea ai pea ngā pakiaka te pupuri kei mate rawa, ā, kia puritia māku.’

Appendix 19: Ray Harlow He Waiata-Karakia: TAPs – Transcript 3

1 Ray Harlow: I'm about to have a go at translating a short passage from a
 2 mōteatea, traditional song, here, um, so resources I probably will be using in the
 3 course of this are, um, the Williams dictionary of course, but also because it is a
 4 type of traditional song, cross-referencing to places, to the Ngata/Te Hurinui
 5 volumes [Ngā Mōteatea] will possibly be useful from time to time. Um, so just
 6 scanning the first, it's only the first nineteen lines to translate, the whole thing is a
 7 longish looking poem though, um, goes on and on and on. Um, 135 lines. Um, the
 8 text I've been given is provided with some notes, um, which I'll be making use of
 9 as well. I've always, myself, avoided getting involved with songs because I find
 10 them very very difficult, but ah, I'll have a go. It's well known of course that
 11 many songs of this sort have been translated by, um, Pei Te Hurinui, and form
 12 part of the four-volume edition of Ngā Mōteatea, based on Ngata's collections.
 13 His translations though tend to be, try to be very poetic and archaising, I won't be
 14 trying to do that at all. It'll be a matter of, um, really, just ah, providing maybe
 15 what we could regard as key to the Māori text, I suppose. Now this is labeled He
 16 Waiata-Karakia, this is a type of song of which I'm not familiar. In fact, it really
 17 actually looks more like what's called an 'oriori', loosely translated into English
 18 as 'lullaby', this is a type of song addressed to a child, and usually contains a great
 19 deal of reference to ancient history, mythology, um, it's a kind of instruction to
 20 the child, ah, it's an identity for the child, and so on. Um, now, it turns out that
 21 this song actually is in the Ngata edition, but I will certainly, I'll be trying NOT to
 22 look at Te Hurinui's translation, in guiding me here, I'll try and do this from
 23 scratch. (03.02) Um, the first few lines look pretty straightforward, and, um, relate
 24 to the child's birth. Um, in the first few lines there is only one thing really which
 25 is not all that clear to me, and that's, um, who 'Huaki-pouri', in line 4, might be.
 26 So, I look at the notes . . . and the note tells me that that line signifies that 'before
 27 the womb has conceived, a barrier is fixed, it's sacred. On conception a girlhood
 28 ceases, motherhood begins.' Nonetheless, I'll look up, 'Huaki-pouri' is marked
 29 here as a proper name, but, 'huaki' does mean of course 'to open'; and 'pouri' is
 30 'darkness', so, if this is a personification of the first opening of the woman's, um,
 31 the woman's, um, you know, birth canal, etcetera, um, 'huaki-pouri' is not in
 32 Williams . . . 'Huaki-pouri' as a name, obviously occurs here . . . and only here, in

33 Ngā Mōteatea. So, I'll have to, um, leave it as is. Okay, here goes. Um, the first
 34 few lines, um . . . the first few lines, indeed, let's try the first verse, or most of it.
 35 [Paper rustling. Tape stopped?]
 36 (05.11) Um, before I do have a bash at the first few lines here, a couple of words
 37 that I'll need to check in the dictionary, um, what the sense of 'tatai' in this
 38 section is, that's in Verse [1, Line] 6. 'Tatai' . . . so, just looking in, um, Williams
 39 . . . according to Williams, 'tātai' as a verb is 'to arrange in order', that fits fine
 40 here because what's being talked about here is the, um, is the creation of woman
 41 by Tāne. Okay, and another one I'm not sure about is 'karapinepine', last line of
 42 the first section . . . 'karapinepine' . . . ah, is in the dictionary as 'assemble, to
 43 gather together'. Okay, and then finally, 'putoto' is there, it, 'putoto' might be two
 44 words in fact, let's have a look. 'Putoto' . . . Well, there are three items, 'putoto'
 45 here, um, in Williams: one is an adjective meaning 'bloody' or 'raw'; ah, next one
 46 is 'a horn for sounding'; and third one is 'a particular bird', well, of these only
 47 birds really can 'gather', I'd say. But I'll just check the note, . . . and that's in
 48 what I've been given, in case there's help here about the um . . . the view of . . .
 49 No, in fact, the, whoever's written these notes has taken the 'putoto' here to be the
 50 'blood' one. What's recorded is this whole line plus the next one, 'Ki roto te
 51 whare wahi-awa', signifies 'the in-gathering of blood in the place where the
 52 embryonic child is formed into a man-like shape', the 'wahi-awa' being the
 53 placenta, that's the place where the child is, and the vehicle which enables him to
 54 have a satisfactory, um, exit from his mother'. (08.06) So, the first section, even
 55 though there's no punctuation, seems to go as far as, and include Verse 10 [Line
 56 10]. So let's have a try here, ah, this is the beginning of the text. 'Welcome, o son,
 57 that I may greet you; You have come from the, um, the, um, 'kunetanga' is,
 58 'kunenga mai' is, sort of, the embryonic stage, 'you have come from the
 59 embryonic stage of humankind in the womb'; 'ahuru mowai' is, we are told in the
 60 notes, 'the womb', but it suggests, um, a place of comfort and security. 'The
 61 barrier of Huaki-pouri has fallen. This is the house built by Tāne-nui-a-rangi' –
 62 the note rightly points out that the reference here is to the woman's womb – 'built
 63 by Tāne-nui-a-rangi, in the sand in Kurawaka, where were, um, arranged, Te
 64 Puhī-ariki, Te Hīringa-matua, Te Hīringa-tipua, Te Hīringa-tawhito-rangi. The
 65 blood is gathered together from him, into the . . .' – ah, or from her probably,

66 actually, this would be the mother I expect, ah, ‘. . . into the, um, the house, ‘wahi
 67 awa’, that divides, literally, divides the river’, but, again, the note points out that
 68 what’s meant here is again the womb, the place, the placenta, ah, into the, so the
 69 blood is gathered in her, into the placenta. Ah, I’m going to take a pause at this
 70 point (10.19).
 71 [My note: It appears from what follows that *Matua* Ray took a break in order to
 72 read the ensuing section and consult the notes and dictionary.]
 73 (10.21) Okay, proceeding again, with the help, very much, of the dictionary and of
 74 the notes, the next 9 lines seem to be about the stages of birth and formation,
 75 culminating in the child emerging to what’s called the ‘ao-turoa’, mm, which is
 76 this present, permanent age. So now going from verse, from line 11 here, first
 77 reaction to ‘ka whakawhetu’, is to, um, ‘to make himself into a star; to become a
 78 star’. But in fact the dictionary points out that ‘whakawhetu’ has a more general
 79 sense than that. ‘Whakawhetu’ in Williams is ‘wakeful; sleepless’. Okay. So, this
 80 line here would be ‘the awakening of the child in the womb’. And then, um, we
 81 have some proper names added, which are personifications of stages: ‘Rua-i-te-
 82 pukenga’ is ‘the child’s form within its mother is now complete’, and ‘the child is
 83 endowed with full knowledge’. This is contained in ‘pukenga’ here. So, starting at
 84 line 11 for a couple of lines here: ‘The child awakes, and receives Rua-i-te-
 85 pukenga’, that is to say ‘full knowledge’; ‘Rua-i-te-horahora’, and Rua-i-te-
 86 horahora is associated here in the notes with the idea of the child’s form being
 87 complete. So, the next bit is to, um, is the progress of the child to, um, to birth, to
 88 this world. So, continuing in verse [line] 13, um, ‘the child stretches himself out;
 89 this is the stretching of Rauru-nui’. ‘Rauru’ is the umbilical cord, according to the
 90 dictionary. Ah, the note does not indicate this, but the word ‘rauru’ is a word for
 91 the umbilical cord, um, so ‘the umbilical cord extends: the big umbilical cord; the
 92 great umbilical cord extends. ‘Rauru-whiwhia’, extends, ‘whiwhi’ is a term which
 93 crops up a great deal in the genealogy of the present world. of the cosmos, um,
 94 and it’s often associated with Te Kore, for instance, Kore-Tē-Whiwhia – ‘the
 95 whiwhia-that-cannot-be-grasped’ is often how that’s translated. So, the umbilical
 96 cord, which, the grasping, umbilical cord. The note says, um, ‘This is a vexing
 97 child, that is, he thrusts his foot through his mother’s passage, or his hand, doing
 98 this to assert his sacredness’. I don’t myself see that in here, but the idea is the,

99 um-, this is the extending of the umbilical cord, with the notion of grasp in it.
 100 Um, line 15, um, 'Rauru-a-marua-aitu', we're told that this signifies a, um, a
 101 stillborn child. Um, it seems rather odd here, I don't know really what to make of
 102 that at all. Um, the, um, the child itself is not stillborn, so checking now in
 103 Williams again, in case 'marua-aitu' has another meaning (14.46) apart from that
 104 indicated in the notes here 'marua' is there, there is no 'marua-aitai' – 'aitu' .
 105 . . umm, at this point, I'll have a look at whether 'marua' or some form like that is
 106 anywhere else in Ngā Mōteatea. I do this by means of the dictionary of, index of
 107 words and names which I produced many years ago . There's no 'marua'. There's
 108 'Mārua-roa', that's the name of a month, and it occurs in the same song later,
 109 actually. I'll see whether 'rauru-marua-aitu' occurs elsewhere . . . No, only here,
 110 and this is the sort of reason why I've always tried to avoid involvement with
 111 mōteatea, for me they are just, they are far too difficult, for what knowledge I
 112 have of culture and reference and so on. So I'm just going to have to leave that
 113 last one as a name. Um, I'll go back in a little while and try and do a running
 114 translation of this whole text. Proceeding, though, for the moment, line 16: 'Tama
 115 stretches out in the path', 'namunamu' – the notes tell us that this is the, passing
 116 through the passage, the birth canal, to the outer world. 'And the child thrusts
 117 himself into the present, the, into the world, into the present world. O son.' Okay,
 118 I'm going to try and run a translation of the whole thing:
 119 'Welcome, o son, let me greet you; You have come from, from the, um, from the
 120 embryonic stage of mankind, in the comforting womb; The barrier of Huaki-pouri
 121 of the womb has fallen; This is the house built by Tama-, ah, by Tāne-nui-a-rangi,
 122 in the sands of Kurawaka; Where were formed Te Puhi-ariki, Te Hiringa-matua,
 123 te Hiringa-tipua, Te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi; The blood collects together, gathers
 124 together, ah, from her, into the placenta; The child awakens, and acquires
 125 knowledge and fullness of form; the child stretches, extends himself; The
 126 umbilical cord is extended, the child, um, the umbilical cord, which grasps, is
 127 extended; Also extended is Rauru-a-marua-aitu; The child stretches out into the
 128 birth canal, towards the present world; The child thrusts himself out into the world
 129 which stands tall; O son.'
 130 (18.53) Just for interest, here's the translation that Pei offers:

131 'Welcome, o son, let me greet you; You have indeed come from the origin of
132 mankind; From the cosy haven emerged; Out from the barrier of darkness ajar;
133 Out of the abode fashioned by the reknowned Tane-of-the-heavens; On the sands
134 at the Crimson-Bowl; Wherein the exalted one rejoiced; In the implanting of
135 parenthood; Sacred-implanting, Heavenly-implanting in times remote; 'Twas then
136 blood welled forth flood-like to the house exit; Thus like the stars, o son, were
137 you conceived; Acquired the recess of the mind, the recess of the spirit; You then
138 strived, o son, strived for a rauru of reknown; Strived for a self-possessed rauru;
139 Strived against the fate of a stillborn rauru; You, o son, remained steadfast on the
140 narrow path to the wide world; Then, o son, you leapt forth into the [enduring]
141 world; O son, ah me!'

Appendix 20: Enoke Murphy Book of Mormon: TAPs – Transcripts 1 - 3

Transcript 1:

1 Ā, tēnā koe, e te hoa e te tuahine, e Jillian. Tēnei au ka titiro ake ā ki te pukapuka
2 Mōmona, arā, te pukapuka a Hākopa, te tuakana teina a Nīwhai. Ā i te wāhanga
3 tuarima nei, ūpoko tuarima me kī, wāhanga tauwhitu ki te tekau mā tahi. Ā, mm.
4 Ōku whakaaro, i te tirohanga atu ā ki ēnei kōrero, ā tuatahi, e āwangawanga ake,
5 ha (laugh), mēmea rānei e taea e au, um, ā tērā tuatahi. Ā, he āhua āmaimai
6 (laughs) ā, i te korenga pea i āta pakeke āku pūkenga ki tēnei mahi nei nā. Ā, heoi
7 anō, ka titiro ake au ki te kōrero nei, ā, nā ka tūpono kitea te kupu ‘vineyard’ nē,
8 ka whakaaro ake e au, aha, me tahuri rā te tiroiro, he aha te kupu Māori mō tēnei
9 kupu. Ā, ā, nā reira . . hei whakamāori ake i te wā, i te kōrero, i te rerenga tuatahi
10 nei nā, me tahuri ake au ki te kimi ake . . ā, i te kupu Māori mō ‘vineyard’ . . . ā, te
11 toenga atu o tēnei rerenga kōrero, he mārama! Ā, ā, nā reira, ka kimi atu au i te
12 mitīni nei, kei hea te ‘pause’ (laughs), āe, o te mea? Pēwhea rā? Ā, taihoa ake nei,
13 okay, dah dah dah dah dah, ‘volume’ Āiii. Okay. Kia aroha mai, me kimi me
14 pēwhea rā te, te, te whakataihia i te mea nei. . . Āi, pēwhea rā . . ? Must be tua
15 atu o tēnā . . . E tama, [indistinct] Oh aroha mai . . . um, ‘hold’ . . . Mēmea ka
16 ‘stop’, me ‘hold’ pea? [02:33]

Transcript 2:

1 Ā nā reira, ā, ko te wāhi, ko tētahi tikinare pai, e rua pea. Ā, ko te *Reo Tupu*,
2 tuatahi, tuarua, ko te *Wakareo* . . um, ngā . . . ngā tikinare pai. Ā nā reira, kua
3 totoro atu au ki tērā, ki te *Wakareo*, me kī, ki te kimi ake, ā, i te kupu nei mō, mō
4 ‘vineyard’. Okay, taihoa . . . ehara ko tērā, by jingoes, me pēwhea rā? [Technical
5 problems? It appears he has ‘paused’ the machine]. Um, kua āhua rima miniti
6 ahau i āiane i kimi kau ake ana me pēwhea au e tae atu ai ki te ‘Google’, kia pai
7 ai taku kuhu atu ki te, um, ki te *Wakareo*! Engari ka mea atu te purari ‘Google’
8 nei, nā, oh man, ehara kau i te ‘Google’. Aiii! Nā reira anei au e raparapa ake nei,
9 e āhua hēmanawa haere nei, i te roa o te kimi noa iho me pēwhea au e tae atu ai ki
10 te ‘Google Search’. Okay. [Appears to have stopped the tape here to consult with
11 ITS].
12 Ā, tahi ka kite ake a te *Wakareo*, hahanga kuwāta haora au e kimi haere ana i a
13 ‘Google’, ka mate au ki te waea atu ki ITS, ā, kuhu mai e rātou ki te whakatikatika
14 haere. Ā, te kupu a te *Wakareo* mō te ‘vineyard’ ko te ‘māra wāina’, ā, kāti, ā . .
15 ‘And it came to pass that the master of the vineyard saw it, and he said unto his
16 servant, It grieveth me that I should lose this tree, wherefore go and pluck the
17 branches from a wild olive tree and bring them hither unto me, and we will pluck
18 off those main branches which are beginning to wither away and we will cast
19 them into the fire that they may be burned.’ Alright. Mmnn. . . . ‘And it came to
20 pass’ I wonder, you know, me taea rānei tēnei, tērā kōrero rā i roto i te kupu noa
21 iho, ‘na’ (laughs)[indistinct]. Nā, ka kitea rā e te rangatira o te māra wāina, ā, ka
22 kīia iho ai tana pononga, ā, e mate ana au te ngaronga . . . ā, o tēnei rākau. Ā, ka
23 mutu, haere kakato ai koe i ngā manga, ā . . . o . . . tētahi rākau ōriwa, ka
24 whakahoki mai ai ki a au. . . . Ā, mā tāua e kato iho ngā peka e tāmātemate ana .
25 . . ka porowhiua, ki roto ki te ahi, pungarehu ai. Ā, ko te huarahi whakamāori
26 noho i tēnei whiti, āa, he whakamāori kau i taku e titiro nei. Pēnā au i noho ki te
27 āta tuhi i tērā whakamāori, hei kōnā au kua tahuri au ki te whakahāngaingai haere
28 ki tāku e, i pīrangi ai, engari kāre au e mōhio mēnā koinā tō hiahia, kia tuhia
29 rawahia tāku whakamāori ake, he pai kau rānei te whakamāori kau i tāku e titiro
30 ai. Nā, ka heke ki te whiti tuarua: Ā, kāti, te kupu a te atua o te māra wāina, . .
31 māku . . . ‘I take away many of these young and tender branches, and I will graft
32 them whithersoever I will. And it mattereth not that if it be so- that if it so be that

33 the root of this tree will perish, I may preserve the fruit thereof unto myself,
 34 wherefore I will take these young and tender branches, and I will graft them
 35 whithersoever (laughs) I will.’ [reading under his breath] Āe. Um, [reading
 36 under his breath]: *Ka haria atu e ahau* . . . ā, taihoa, um, ka tahuri kētia pea tēnei
 37 kōrero . . i te mea, ko te ‘many’ i konei, nē, ā, kāore te tikanga o tēnā ‘many’ e
 38 kapi i te kupu ‘ētahi’ ā, ina rānei e kapi pai i te kupu ‘nuinga’. ‘I take away many
 39 of these young and tender branches.’ Ā, ka whakaaro ake ai au mō te kupu
 40 ‘pihinga’ nē, he ‘pihinga’, engari te mate, ā, ko te ‘pihinga’ kāore pea i te hāngai, i
 41 te mea kua tupu kē te take o te rākau. Nā, ko te ‘pihinga’ tērā, kia mangamanga,
 42 kia pekapeka, nā reira harekau ko te ‘pihinga’ pea i te kupu tika, mō te ‘young
 43 branches’. Ā, nā reira me noho iho au ki te whakaaro ake me pēwhea, aaaah, tēnei
 44 kōrero e whakamāori *hāngai* tonu ki tā ngā kupu Pākehā e kī ake nei. . . Tēnei au
 45 e noho ake nei ki te whiti tuarua tonu nei, ā, e whakaaroaro haere ana, te kupu i
 46 whakamahia atu e ahau mō te ‘master’ nei ko te rangatira. Tae mai ki te whiti
 47 tuarua, arā, a waru [Verse 8], kua hurihia te kupu ‘master’ ki te ‘Lord’, kua atua e
 48 ahau, atuatia e ahau, ummm, me te whakapae, ko te ‘master’ me te ‘Lord’ nei, ā,
 49 he kotahi tonu te tikanga. Tērā tērā. Ka mutu. Ā, e taea pea, mō te wāhi tuatahi o
 50 tēnei kōrero, te kī ake ‘Ā kāti’. Te kī um, umm, ‘Ā kāti’. . . . Yeah (laughs), e kite
 51 ake ana, um, ka nui pea ngā, āhuatanga whakatakoto i tēnei kōrero, kua pēnei kē
 52 pea: *Ka kī ai iho te rangatira*- atua rānei, te rangatira me kī, ā, *o te māra wāina*,
 53 *kāti, māku tonu e kāwhaki atu te nuinga o ngā peka nonohi* Kātahi, nā, i roto
 54 i te ‘nonohi’ nā, um, ākuanei, kei te, kei te tino kapi te kupu ‘young’, um, anā, i
 55 roto i tēnā kupu ka whakaaro ake ai au mehemea ka kapi anō te kupu ‘tender’ i
 56 roto tonu i tēnā kupu te ‘nonohi’. Ā, kua tiki atu au i te kupu ‘kāwhaki’ – inā rā,
 57 ko te kāwhaki rā he tiki atu i tētahi mea ka haria atu . . Ā, nā nā nā nā, ka titiro atu
 58 ai au ki te kupu ‘graft’ nei, ā, me te whakaaro iho, he . . āe rānei, he āta ‘whao’
 59 tērā, he ‘poipoi’ rānei? Nā reira, me tahuri au ki te kimi ake i roto i te, um, tikinare
 60 Pākehā, ā, ki te tikanga ake o te kupu nei ‘graft’, ā . . ‘whithersoever’, ā, me tiro
 61 anō e au te āta tikanga o tērā kupu, kia pai taku whakamāori, ā, i tērā kupu, nā
 62 reira, kua tahuri au ki te raparapa ake ngā tikanga o ēnā, mō ēnā kupu. [He
 63 appears to have ‘paused’ the dictaphone at this point to consult a dictionary].
 64 Āe, tahi au ka kite i te tikanga o te kupu ‘graft’ nei, waimaria i āta titiro! I te mea
 65 kua rerekē atu i tāku i whakaaro tuatahi ai. Taku wh- um, te huarahi pēnei ai au,

66 hoki haere ai au ki te ‘Google’ ki te kimi i tētahi tikinare, kātahi au ka māhara. Me
67 huaki noa iho au i tētahi ahh, ‘Word document’, ā, ka tuhi te kupu, anā, ka haere
68 ki te kimi, āaa, nā reira, kei te kite au i te tikanga o tēnei kupu. . . . Ā, nā reira,
69 umm, kua ara ake he kaupapa anō, me wawe rā taku haere, ka mutu, ā, kua hoki
70 mai au ki tēnei mahi, ā, a te ata. [11.19]

Transcript 3:

1 Āe, ā, tēnei te hoki ake, ā, ki te Pukapuka Mōmona, ki te wāhanga tuawaru. Um . .
2 taihoa . . Nā, me taku mōhio kua, ā, inanahi ake nei, i tīmata rā ki te whiti tuarua
3 nei, ā, heoi anō, he, he hoki ake nē: ‘And behold, saith the Lord of the vineyard’,
4 um, *Kāti te kī a te rangatira, ā, o te māra wāina*. Ā, (under his breath) ‘I take
5 away many . .’ *Kāwhakina ai e au ko ngā . . .* aii, me tahuri au te kimi ake . . oh,
6 me noho ake au ki te whakaaro ake, um, i te mea kua hanga wareware i a au tāku
7 kupu mō te ‘young branches’. Me noho au ki te rapa ake i te tikanga o tēnei, he
8 aha rānei tētahi kupu mō tēnei. Ākuanei kua pātai au tāku whanaunga, i tipu rā i te
9 ngahere, ākene kei a ia tētahi kupu mō tēnei. Taihoa [He goes to consult with
10 this person].
11 Āe, hēoti, hēoti, ā, ka haere au te pātai i taku whanaunga, i a [XX], nā, a ia i, ā,
12 tahi nei ka puta i te ngahere, ko tana kupu hoki, ko te ‘māhuri’, me taku māhara
13 ake, i whakaarongia ake inanahi ki te kupu ‘te pihinga’, ā, engari ko te ‘pihinga’
14 ko te putanga noa mai o te kākano mai i te whenua, ā, nā reira, kāre i te āta eke i
15 tērā. Ko te māhuri’, i tana kotahi kāore e eke, engari ki te hoatu te kupu ‘peka’, te
16 kupu ‘manga’ rānei, ki te kupu ‘māhuri’ ā, kei konā pea, ā, ka kapi ai te tikanga o
17 te, te whakamāori ake i te ‘young and tender . . branches’. Nō reira, *Kāwhakina ai*
18 *e au ko ngā peka māhuri, ka tūhonohonohia . .* Now, ‘I will graft them
19 whithersoever I will’. Yah, nyeah, um, *kāwhakina ai e au ngā peka māhuri, ka*
20 *tūhonohonotia ai e au . . .* [reading under his breath] . . . ā- ‘And it mattereth not
21 that it, if it so be that the root of this tree will perish’, ā, umm, *hei aha, hei aha*
22 *atu*, mmm, ā, i te whakaarongia ake tēnei (cellphone ringing) Alright,
23 um, um, ‘it mattereth not’ . . . nyeah, (chuckle), mm . . . ā, taihoa . . . Yeah, mō te
24 ‘graft’ rā, kua tīkina atu e ahau te kupu ‘tūhonohono’ nē, he tūhonohono rā ki
25 tētahi rā-, te tūhonohonotanga o tētahi rākau ki tētahi rākau. [04:29] Konei he
26 kupu pai atu, he ‘whakatupu’ pea, ā, *ka tūhonohonotia e au*. See, ki te kī ake ‘ka
27 whakatuputia’ kāore tērā i te whakaatu atu i te, i te ‘graft’, nērā. Heoi anō. Ā, nā,
28 kia tae ake ki te ‘And it mattereth not’, ā, *ki te pīrau ngā taketake o te rākau*
29 huh (chuckle), um, ko te wāhi nā ki whea te ‘And it mattereth not’, nēhā, kua taea
30 te hoatu tērā ki mua, ki muri rānei, ā, ‘And it mattereth not that if it be so-’ oi, ‘if
31 it so be’ āe, ā, *ki te, ā, pēnā ka pīrau te takenga o te rākau*, or *hei aha atu ka pīrau*
32 *ana*, oh no, that- *hei aha atu pēnā ka pīrau te, te takenga o te rākau, ka purutia e*

33 *au te hua o taua rākau, ā, ka purutia e au tonu te hua o te rākau*, ‘wherefore I will
 34 take these young and tender branches’, *ka haria atu e ahau; ka kāwhakina atu e*
 35 *au, ngā peka māhuri, ā, ka tūhonohonotia ai e ahau*. Kāore au i te mōhio
 36 mehemea taku ngākau i te āta rata ki tērā, ā, engari, ā, ka haere tonu. Kua tae mai
 37 ināiane ki te wāhanga tuaiwa o tēnei, umm . . . wāhanga. ‘Take thou the branches
 38 of the wild olive tree and graft them in’ Now, ‘Take thou’, see, kāore au e
 39 mōhio- kāo-, oh, me haere tonu, um, okay, ‘Take thou the branches of the wild
 40 olive tree and graft them in, in the stead [stead] of, oh thereof, and these which I
 41 have plucked off I will-’ oh okay, so, ‘Take thou the branches of the wild olive’.
 42 Now, he aha tēnei rākau i runga ake nei, he *fruit* olive, okay, ‘the branches of the
 43 wild olive tree.’ *Heria ko ia ngā manga-* peka rānei- *o te rākau ōriwa*. Ko te
 44 ‘wild’, he ‘mohoao’ . . . pea, nē? Mēmea tēnei kupu te ‘wild’ kei te kī ākuanei
 45 kāore taua rākau rā i whakatō, engari he mea i tupu taua rākau, he mea taka iho
 46 taua rākau i te waha o te manu, i te, i te rere kau rānei a te hau, taka iho ai taua
 47 kākano rā, tupu māori atu ai, ā, tupu mohao atu ai te rākau nei, kāti. *Heria ko ngā*
 48 *rākau-* ai, *ko ngā māhuri, ko ngā peka* – ai, aroha mai – *Haria ko ngā peka* . . . o te
 49 rākau . . . ā, ōriwa, ka tūhonohonotia ai- ‘in the [stead] thereof.’ Kei te āhua raru au
 50 te tikanga o tērā kōrero, ‘and these which I have plucked’: *me ēnei kua katohia e*
 51 *au, kua poroa e au ki te ahi pungarehuhia ai*. . . *E kore e-* ā, *kia kore ai taku*
 52 *māra wāina e tūkinotia* . . . ā, *e tāhawahawatia*. Ko te ‘tāhawahawa’ kē pea te
 53 kupu pai atu, hāngai atu i te ‘tūkino’, nā reira, kua tāhawahawa nē. Kua tatū mai
 54 tēnei ki te tekau: ‘And it came to pass that the servant of the lord, of the vineyard,
 55 did according to the word of the lord of the vineyard. Servantofthelordof
 56 thevineyarddidaccordingtothewordof thelordofthevineyard, hahee! (chuckle).
 57 Alright. *Ā-* or *Nā* *Ā, nāwai rā, ka hāpaia ngā kupu a te rangatira o te māra*
 58 *wāina e tana pononga, ā, ka tūhonohonotia e ia ngā peka, ā, o te rākau ōriwa*.
 59 Mmm, nyeah, um . . . see just he whakakuhu atu i te ‘wild’ nei eh . . . um, ‘of the
 60 wild olive tree’: *o te rākau mohao* . . . *o te rākau ōriwa mohao nei*. Ākuanei
 61 kua pērā, nē. Um, anei kua tae mai ki te tekau mā tahi: ‘. . . digged about and
 62 pruned and nourished’, okay . . . ‘caused that it should be, *digged about* and
 63 *pruned* . . . and nourished’. (11:00) *Tā te rangatira o te māra wāina, Manaaki i te*
 64 *rākau nei, ka kerikeria-* Me tahuri au ki te kimi ake i te tikanga o te kupu
 65 ‘pruned’, ā pea rānei te kupu ‘prune’ nei. Kua titiro atu au, kua huaki noaiho au i

66 te, kua oti kē pea i a au te huaki i tētahi mea ‘Word’, Word document, tuhi atu au
 67 te kupu ‘pruned’- p-runed, tiro atu e ahau me pēhea te tuhi i tēnā kupu, ‘pruned’,
 68 ā, ka haere ki te mea, ki te ‘look up’. . . . ‘prune, pruned’, oh, kāo! Kāore. Tō
 69 rorirori hoki Enoka! Ehara. Ka haere kē ki, ki mea, ki, ki, ki ‘Google’, ka rapa atu
 70 i te *Wakareo* Ina rā, ko te, ko te ‘prune’ nei, e āta manaaki rā, nē? Kei te- oh
 71 taihoa, me tiro ake. Ā, kua haere atu au ki te ‘Easy Search’, tuhingia ake e au te
 72 ‘prune’. . ‘prune’, [indistinct] pea te tuhi i taua kupu rā . . ‘prune’, ‘pruned’ . . .
 73 aand ka tirohia atu . . . ‘pruned’, *paramu kūreherehe*, he he he (chuckle), āe,
 74 *kokoti, kokotia* . . *whakaheke, kaikawa-* oh okay, ‘trim, prune’ *kaikawau* . .
 75 ‘prune’, that’s interesting um, *kokoti* . . *kokotia* (13:15) See, he momo kokoti
 76 rā, ko te ‘prune’ kei te katikati haere koe. Nērā. Kua noho ake au ki te *kokoti*, ina
 77 rā, ka titiro au ki te *kaikawau*, kāore au i āta kite i te tikanga . . i roto i te kupu, ā,
 78 me āta kuhu ki a *Wiremu*, ki a wai ake ki te kimi ake he aha he ‘kaikawau’ ai. Ā,
 79 he ara roa tērā, nō reira ka noho ai au ki te, ki te kupu nei, ki ‘kokoti’. *Kia*
 80 *kerikeria*, hēoti anō, he take i kerikeria ai, arā, ‘digged about’, kei te kī tērā ki a
 81 au, kia mahi ai te māheuheu nē, ā, *kia koko-*, nā reira ā, *kia kokotia* . . *kia*
 82 *whāngaia* . . ā, ‘saying unto his servant: It grieveth me’: Me tāna anō ki tana
 83 pononga. ‘It grieveth me that I should lose this tree.’ *Ka mate au ki te ngaro i a au*
 84 *tēnei rākau*. ‘Wherefore, that perhaps I might preserve the roots thereof that they
 85 perish not, that I might preserve them unto myself I have done this thing.’ Mmm.
 86 . . . Okaay. ‘Wherefore’, ‘arā’ pea. ‘That perhaps I might preserve’, *kia puritia ai*
 87 *e ahau ngā taketake* . . *kia kore ai* . . ā, ‘that they perish not’: *kia kore ai ia e*
 88 *pīrau noa*. Kei te nui ngā kupu e taea rā mō te kupu ‘perish’ nei, heoi anō, ‘pirau
 89 noa’ pea tētahi kupu pai, kāore e kore he kupu pai kē atu. Umm . . . harekau pea te
 90 kupu ‘memeha’ i te kupu pai, engari ‘memeha’ he kupu pai mō ētahi atu horopaki.
 91 ‘That I might preserve them unto myself’: *Kia purutia e ahau* – *kia purutia aua*
 92 *taketake rā, nē* – *e ahau, tēnei kua oti noa* . . *tēnei kua oti anō i ahau*. Oh well,
 93 tērā taku whakamāori ake, ā . . i tēnei wāhanga . . i tēnei te ūpoko tuarima, ngā
 94 wāhanga whitu ki te tekau mā tahi o te pukapuka a Hākopa, teina, tuakana rānei a
 95 Nephi. Um, mehemea ko tāku mahi ake nei i tēnei kua āta tuhia e au, kua hokia,
 96 kua hokia, kua hokia, kia pai, kia rata ki taku ngākau, kātahi ka āta oti i a au. Nō
 97 reira, tērā tērā.

Appendix 21: Enoke Murphy He Waiata-Karakia: TAPs – Transcripts 4 - 6

Transcript 4:

1 'Nau mai e tama kia mihi atu au': Ah, *Welcome to you, my son, that you may be*
2 *greeted*. 'I hara mai rā koe i te kūnenga mai o te tangata i roto i te āhuru mōwai':
3 *You who have come from the very beginnings of mankind, ah, from within the*
4 *womb*. Now, ki te . . hāngai pea te whakapākehā kei te 'ahuru mōwai', um,
5 another word needs to be added to 'womb' . . . um, *You whom have come from*
6 *the very beginnings of mankind . . in, ah, from, um . . from the . . huh* (chuckle),
7 kei te āhua raruraru au, ee, *from the . . eternal* (laughs) - kei te rorirori noa iho au!
8 – eternal, um, mmh . . warmth of the womb, or . . . mmnngh! 'Ka taka te pae o
9 Huaki-pouri ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi': In the birth, ah,
10 mm, 'Huaki-pouri', ko te puapua tēnā, um, and um, as the, ah, and the, the, um,
11 see [indistinct] tino māramā au ki tēnei kōrero 'ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri', see
12 the baby's just been born and um, and, um, the womb closes . . But, it's really the
13 *channel*, the birthing channel, um, closes. *As the birthing channel closes, this,*
14 *indeed, is the man-making house of Tāne-nui-a-rangi*. And I know that sounds
15 quite sexist, eh (laughs), um, but I can't see at the moment what else it may be, ā,
16 heoi anō. 'I te one i Kurawaka i tātaia ai te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua, te
17 Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi, ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia.' *From the*
18 *sacred sands of Kurawaka*, and um, me āta titiro au, me haere au ki ngā
19 whakamārama, kia tino hāngai ai, ā, taku whakamārama haere, ā, i tēnei kōrero.
20 Ā, nō reira, taihoa, te hoki ai. Ah, interesting that, ah, it is being called a 'poem' . .
21 . it would seem to be *clearly* a karakia . . and ah, wareware ake i a au me- . .
22 mēmea kotahi te whiti hei whakapākehā, e rua rānei ngā whiti hei whakapākehā, ā
23 hēoti anō. . . [Reading] ' . . the embryonic stage of man's formation . . the womb,
24 being the place where no harm can be', yees, 'Ka taka te pae' . . 'before the womb
25 has conceived barrier's fixed sacred is it is' Yees, alright, um, taihoa, taihoa ake te
26 hoki, ā, me puta au tētahi wā, ka hokia mai. [He has apparently taken a break here
27 and then returned.] Ā, i tēnei wā kua taka anō mai tētahi mahi, ā, me hoki mai anō
28 ai au ki te toenga atu o tēnei mahi a taihoa, ā, āe, nō reira, ā, ki tētahi kōpaki atu
29 anō pea tēnei, ā, te wāhanga tuarua ake o tēnei, nō reira ka stop here e ahau, anā,
30 ka tīmataria anō a kō ake nei. Kia ora mai rā. (21:05)

Transcript 5:

1 *Nau mai e tama kia mihi atu au i hara mai rā koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata i*
2 *roto i te āhuru mōwai. Ka taka te pae ki o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga*
3 *tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi i te one i Kurawaka i tātaia ai te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-*
4 *matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia.*
5 Tēnei karakia, he karakia kua kite noa anō ahau i roto i ngā tau. Mō aku tamariki
6 ake nei, ahh, i te whānautanga mai, he karakia pēnei tēnei te tākinga atu. Engari,
7 tīkina atu ko te mea āhua māmā, ā: Nau mai e rea mai te kunenga mai o te tangata
8 ka taka te pae ki Huaki-pouri ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi. He
9 putanga ariki, he putanga tauira ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama tihei mauriora.’
10 Engari, tērā anō te karakia o mua iho, ā, ngā karakia anō hoki o muri, engari, ko te
11 whakarāpōpototanga tērā. Āaa, tēnei karakia nei nā. Mō te āhua ki te
12 whakapākehā, ‘Welcome son . . . ah, into this world so that you may be um . . .’,
13 hah, I want to say ‘blessed’ but ah . . . ‘so that you may be, ah, welcomed, hm. You
14 who have come from the beginning ah of mankind, from the creation’, ahh, *o te*
15 *tangata i roto i te āhuru mōwai*, ‘from the beginning of mankind, in abs-’, oh,
16 something like ‘absolute tranquility’. *Ka taka te pae ki o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare*
17 *hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi* ‘And as the horizon of the . . . womb . . .
18 closes, this is the . . . house, the house of creation or something, of Tāne-nui-a-
19 rangi, ahh, that was created at Kurawaka, on the sands at Kurawaka.’ Ahhhh, *te*
20 *Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi ka*
21 *karapinepine te pūtoto i a i.* Now, ah, for these last three lines, I have to umm,
22 have a look ah for umm, I’ve forgotten I think. Tēnei karakia nei, he mea wānanga
23 e mātou hoki ah, i roto i te pepa a [WM], te ingoa o taua pepa rā ko te, um Ngā
24 *Hāhi o te Wairua me ngā Hāhi Māori*. Ā, nā ko tēnei karakia nei nā tētahi o ngā
25 karakia i wānangahia e mātou, he mea āta wāwāhi e [WM] tēnei karakia, ā, ka
26 wānangahia ake e mātou. *Ki roto ki te whare wahi-awa ka whakawhetū tama i a*
27 *ia ka riro mai a Rua-i-te-pukenga, a Rua-i-te- horahora kua hokai tama i a ia*
28 *koia hokai Rauru-nui koia hokai Rauru-whiwhia*
29 *koia hokai Rauru-a-maru-aitu. Ka mārō Tama i te ara namunamu ki tai ao,*
30 *ka kokiri tama i a ia ki te ao turoa e tama e.* Āe, ā, kei te kitea ehara au e noho au
31 te tohunga whakapākehā heoti noa. Me hoki mai anō au ki ah, ki te wānanga haere

- 32 i tēnei ah . . . ah, a tētahi wā anō. Heoi anō he wāhi tīmatanga noho rā [?] tērā, ka
33 hoki mai, ka hoki mai anō [indistinct].[04:01]

Transcript 6:

1 Āe, tēnei te hoki ake, ā, ki te waiata-karakia nei nā. I tae ake ngā whakamārama,
2 ngā whakapākehā, me kī, ki . . . ā ngā rārangi nei, *hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-*
3 *rangi i te one i Kurawaka i tātaia ai te Puhi-ariki*. Um, and so, *ko te whare*
4 *hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi*, ā, ‘in the, in the’ . . yes, I think I already did
5 that (laughs). Ā, *i the one i Kurawaka*. Um, ‘from the sacred lands [sands?]of
6 Kurawaka, where . . . umm, where woman, where umm, where mmm . . . whence
7 um . . ah . . yes Yes, ah, kei te kimi rā me pēwhea (hehe). ‘From the sacred
8 lands of Kurawaka, where . . . the . . sacred prestige, something, ah . . . sacred,
9 sacred, um, prestige, of woman, was endowed’ hehe (laughs), ah, yeah, now, I’m
10 starting to see that, ha ha, I may not be able to do this to a . . . Yeah, kei te āhua
11 raruru au, ah, ah, i tēnei. . . But um really, um, ‘where woman was-’ ah, gee . .
12 . . Well I’m a little bit stuck on that Mmm, yes, I’m a little bit stuck on this
13 and it’s like um, stuck on, um, te āhua ki te whakatakoto ki te reo Pākehā, ah, ēnei
14 kōrero. . . . STUMPED . . may be the appropriate word. Ah, and soo, *ka*
15 *karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia ki roto te whare wahi-awa ka whakawhetū tama i a*
16 *ia ka riro ma-* yeah, yees, *koia hokai Rauru-nui koia hokai Rauru-whiwhia koia*
17 *hokai Rauru-a-maru-aitu. Mārō tama i te ara namunamu ki tai ao, ka kokiri tama*
18 *i a ia ki te ao turoa e tama e*, ye-es (laughs), I’m gonna have to have a good think
19 about this, um, mō te pēhea, mō te whai kupu Pākehā *hāngai*. And I’m not even
20 sure if I possess that (laughs). Heoi anō, I’ve pushed ‘start’ on this because I
21 thought that I had it sussed, but ah, (laughs) but I clearly don’t. Ah, so, I’ll just
22 have a bit of a look at this and um, yeah *ko te whare*
23 *hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi*, ‘that’, ah, ‘the house-’ ah, jeepers, ‘the
24 creation, the house’, *ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi*, ‘that is the
25 house, the cre-’ mm, by jingo! This is um . . quite challenging. *ka taka te*
26 *pae* ‘of the-’, golly gosh. . . I really am struggling with this. Really really really.
27 Unggghh! And I’m not quite too sure about, um, whether, um, by myself I can do
28 it. . . . And so what I would do if I was given this to, and I had to, um, translate
29 this, I would team up, or go and consult others, and probably and you know like
30 [TR], [HM], um, [WM], um those that have um, that are more experienced than I
31 at this work, and I would sit down and, um, because it’s only a couple of verses,
32 um, you know, try and do it with someone else. And then I think that, you know,

33 just the conversation and exchange of ideas, that we would come up with a pretty
34 good translation to this. But, that's what I would do, if, if, if I *had* to um, translate
35 this, these two verses. Um, I've been looking at this for a little while now and,
36 press pause and think about it and have a look at the whakamārama, and um, yeah,
37 I'm just, it's a *little* out of my league I think. Um, yeah, so this might be *it*, um, I
38 will ah ring ah you up and discuss this with you and see where to go forward. Kia
39 ora. [06.58]

Appendix 22: Wharehuia Milroy *Book of Mormon*: TAPs – Transcripts 1 & 2

Transcript 1:

1 [Rustling of papers] I ahau e titiro ake ana ki ngā kupu o roto i te puka
2 Mōmona, arā i te pukapuka o Hākopa, ā, kāore au e mōhio mehemea he tuakana,
3 he taina rānei nō Nīwhai. Heio anō kei te wāhanga tuarima, kei te whiti whitu ki te
4 tekau mā tahi, ah, ēnei kupu. Nā reira, wāku whakaaro i a au e titiro iho ana ki ngā
5 kupu nei: tuatahi, ko au e pēnei ana nā, he tangata whakatō huarākau ahau, ahakoa
6 he aha te huarākau, ka kimihia e au he wāhi hei whakatō māku. Nā e titiro ake ana
7 ahau ki ngā kupu nei, ā, ka kite ake ahau i te āhua o ngā whakaaro o te tangata nei,
8 otirā, o te ariki o te, o te māra-wāina, i a ia e kōrero ana ki tana pononga, ā, me te
9 whakatakoto i ana whakaaro. Ā, ko te āhua nei ki au he tangata kua tau noa ki tāna
10 mahi i roto i ngā wā e maha. Ko te āhua o te takoto o ngā kupu, me āhua tūpato
11 tonu te, te titiro a te tangata ki te whakatakoto o ngā kupu Pākehā nei. Me taku
12 whakaaro anō, āe rānei kei te whai tūturu i te reo Hīperu i tuhi ai ēnei kōrero i te
13 tuatahi, nā ngā Mōmona rānei i tango tonu mai i roto i ā rātou nā
14 whakapākehātanga o ngā kupu a ngā Hurae. Ā, koinā kei te tuawhitu nei e toko
15 ake ana ērā momo whakaaro. Nā, ka hoki anō ōku whakaaro ki te raruraru kua pā
16 mai, ā, ki te huarākau e kīia nei he ‘kiwifruit’. Ina hoki kua pā mai tētahi momo
17 mate ki aua rākau. Kua tīmata te hōrapa haere atu mai Katikati, ahu atu ki Te
18 Puke, ā, ko te rongo atu kei te huri haere kua tae kē atu ki roto o Opotiki, ahu atu
19 ki te Whānau-a-Apanui. He wāhi whakatō katoa ērā i ēnei momo rākau. Nā, i a au
20 e titiro iho ana ka kōrero ake te, ngā kupu nei mo te ‘tahutahu’, i ētahi o ngā rākau
21 nei pēnei te mea nei, kia kaua ai e pā atu he mate ki ngā rākau e pakari tonu ana te
22 tipu, otirā, e ora tonu ana, kia patu ake te mate ki roto i te ahi. Ae, he nui ki au ngā
23 kōrero mō tēnei mea mō te ahi me te wai kei roto i te Paipera, ahakoa ia ko te
24 Paipera a ngā Mōmona, ko te Paipera rānei a ētehi atu . . hāhi. He mea tango katoa
25 mai te hua . . i te wāhi kotahi. Nā, ka titiro ake au ki te tuawaru. Ahhh, nā, he pērā
26 anō āku nā mahi, ka tīmata au ki te . . tapahi i ngā wāina i te wā kua mutu te hua.
27 Kua ngahoro ngā rau o ngā waina, kua tīmata au i tērā wā i te tapahi ētahi o ngā
28 peka, o ngā manga. Ā, mehemea au ki te hiahia kia maha atu āku rākau, pērā,
29 pātītī ai au ki roto i te oneone, ka waiho au ki reira, kia toro ai he pakiaka mai aua
30 motunga rā. Nā, kei te pērā taku kāinga i tēnei wā tonu nei, e titiro ake nei au ki te
31 whiti tuawaru o ngā rerenga nei, ka kite ake ahau, āe, āhua pērā ana anō te takoto
32 o ngā whakaaro o te tangata, te ariki, *nāna* te māra, nāna anō hoki ngā waina. Āaa,

33 ki te kore hoki ia e pērā, ā, tērā pea ka pā mai te mate ki ana, ki ana rākau. Nā, kua
 34 kite ake au ki te tuaiwa, e kōrero ana mō te ‘rākau ōriwa’. Engari, ko te rākau kei
 35 te tipu noa iho i te, i te koraha. A, ka mea ia me hono e ia ētahi o ngā peka o ērā ki
 36 ngā mea tawhito, um, ka ruke atu ki roto i te ahi, kia kore ai e pā mai ngā mate ki
 37 roto i ngā oneone o te māra nei, ka mate ai te, ngā . . ngā rākau wāina nei. Ā,
 38 hāunga ia te tuaiwa, te tekau tērā e whakatau ana i tērā whakaaro o te ariki o, o
 39 ngā mārawāina nei. Nā, ka titiro atu ki te, te rau, ki te rākau ōriwa nei, ā, ka karia
 40 ake, ka tapahia, ā, me tana whakaaro ana i roto i a ia anā he pērā hoki ōku
 41 whakaaro, ka pouri katoa au mehemea ka kite atu au i āku rākau e ngoikore haere
 42 ana nā te mea kua pā mai tētahi mate ki aua rākau rā. Ā, kua kakama au ki te haere
 43 i te tiki ētahi rongoā, ki te kore e taea te tiki ētahi rongoā, kua tapahia au te mea rā
 44 kia tata atu ki ngā, um, pakiaka o taua rākau rā mehemea kei te . . . mahuri tonu te
 45 āhua o te rākau, engari mehemea kua pakari, kua mātotoru te, te take o te rākau,
 46 pai kē atu pea kia tapahia, kia tata atu, me kī, he putu pea, e rua putu rānei mai i te
 47 oneone, ka waiho ai kia kitea mehemea ka hoki mai anō ngā peka . . arā, ngā ihi,
 48 ngā hihi rānei o te rākau kua toro ake i roto i te take rā. Āaa, otirā, koinei te
 49 wairua kei roto i te tangata nei ki tāku mātakitaki ake. Nā reira, um . . āe, hāunga
 50 ia te whakamāori, ko au tonu e whai atu i ngā kōrero i a au e titiro ana ki ngā
 51 kupu, kei te titiro kē au ki te āhua o te *takoto* o ngā kupu, me te rerekē o te takoto
 52 mai i te whakatakoto Pākehā o ēnei rā. (08:00) Engari ki te āta pānuitia e te
 53 tangata, ka kitea ake, ā, he māramatanga anō kei roto, ka waia ana koe ki te pānui
 54 i tēnei momo whakatakoto o te reo Ingarihi, ah, e taea ana te whaiwhai haere te
 55 wairua o roto. Heoi anō, kāre au e mōhio mehemea ka mau i a au, mā roto atu i te,
 56 i te reo Māori. Ā, waiho ēnei kōrero ki konei, kia kite au ka pēhea rā i a au e
 57 tīmata ana ki te whakamahi i aku whakaaro, te whakatakoto ki runga i te pepa.
 58 (08:38)

Transcript 2:

1 Nā, kua tīmata au ki te . . te whakamāori haere i ngā kupu nei. Ka mutu nei te
2 paopaohia e au ki runga i taku rorohiko te wāhi au e whakamāori ana. Nā reira
3 mehemea kei te hoihoi atu ētahi wāhi o aku, te wāhi au e kōrero nei, nā te mea kei
4 te rāwekeweke ahau i taku rorohiko. Ā taihoa ake, kia oti ake au te whaiwhai
5 hoki, nā, ka tīmata au ināianei. *Te Pukapuka a ngā Mōmona* . . [typing] . . A, kua
6 hē hoki te whakatakoto i ētahi o ngā . . . kia whakara- . . Nā. Kua tika ināianei. Ā,
7 ko te ūpoko tērā [typing] . . *Te Pukapuka a Hākopa* . . *te tuakana a Nīwhai*. Me
8 pērā taku whakatakoto. . . [typing]. Kaua au e wareware ki te whakatakoto i ngā
9 tohutō. *Te wāhanga tuarima* . . - auē . . . *wāhanga tuarima* Ā, *ngā whiti whitu*
10 . . . *ki te tekau mā tahi*. Kei te whiti tuawhitu ahau ināianei, e titiro iho ana, nā
11 reira kei te tiro iho ki ngā kupu Pākehā nei . . . *Ka kite iho te ariki* . . . *o te māra*
12 *wāina* . . *mārawāina, kātahi ka* . . . *kī atu i tana pononga* . . Oi . . . *Ka nui taku*
13 *pouri ki te mate te rākau nei* . . . Ā, he wāhi kei konei, auē, kua hē . . ko te ‘semi-
14 colon’ tērā . . . ā, *Nā reira, me haere koe ki te whawhati* . . *mai* . . . *i ngā peka o te*
15 *rākau ōriwa* . . *o te rākau ōriwa* - oh, kāo, o *tētahi rākau ōriwa* . . *tētahi rākau*
16 *ōriwa* . . *kei* . . *te koraha noa e tipu ana* . . . *kātahi ka hari mai* . . *i aua peka* – auē
17 – *i ahau* Oh, me, me whakaoti ake au pea te reo Māori i konei, ahakoa
18 kāore te reo Pākehā i te takoto pērā mai, ā, ehara i te mea ka ngaro te wairua o ngā
19 kōrero, nā reira kua hoatu he . . kua hoatu au he . . irakati ki reira, ka tīmata mai
20 anō ai i te wāhi ‘ . . and we will . . ’. Ki ahau. *Kātahi tāua ka whati* – auē, kua hē
21 au - ‘whatiwhati i ngā . . ’ nā, he aha te kupu mō ngā ‘main branches’ nei? Kua
22 wareware i a au ‘branches’, ā, kei te pai te ‘peka’ . . he aha te ‘main branch’
23 (08:14) . . um . . wareware i a au . . . te kupu Māori . . main branch . . [indistinct] .
24 . um . . . ko te ruha . . Ai! *Ka whatiwhati i ngā* . . - me pēhea- . . *ngā kaupeka. Ka*
25 *whatiwhati i ngā kaupeka kua tīmata nei, te* . . *maroke haere* . . ? ‘Wither away’?
26 ‘Maroke haere’, ‘wither away’, um . . ehara i te mea kua pirau . . um, he aha tētahi
27 kōrero? . . ‘Kua matiti haere?’ . . . Ā ka wareware hoki. Um, ‘kua komeme
28 haere’ pea. . . . ‘Kua tīmata te . . riorio haere’, (10:09) koinā tētahi o ngā kupu e
29 māhara ake au, ‘riorio haere’. Um, *Ka whiu atu ai e tāua ki roto i te* . . . *ahi, kia*
30 *wera atu ai. Kia wera atu ai*. Ko tērā tērā. Haere au ki te tuawaru . . o ngā whiti.
31 ‘And behold saith the lord of the vineyard, I take away many of these young and
32 tender branches, and I will graft them whithersoever I will, and it mattereth not

33 that if it so be that the root of this tree will perish, I will preserve the fruit thereof
 34 unto myself, wherefore I will take these young and tender branches and I will
 35 graft them whithersoever I will.’ *Ā*, he aha te tikanga o tērā kōrero?
 36 ‘Whithersoever’. *Kātahi* rā! Um, ‘whithersoever’ . . . [turning of pages] . .
 37 ‘whithersoever’ . . . *Kāore* tonu au i te mārāma tūturu ki tērā kōrero, engari tērā
 38 pea ko te *wāhi*, ki ngā wāhi e hiahia a ia, e hiahia *ai* ia . . ki te hono atu i aua peka
 39 rā. Nā *Nō konā* . . , kei te whakamā-, kei te whakaaro Māori kē hoki au i ēnei
 40 kōrero, ‘And behold . . .’, ‘*Nō konā*’, ehara i te mea mea ana au, ‘Ka mutu . . .’;
 41 ehara i te mea mea ana au, ah, ‘E hoa . . .’. Pai ake ki a au mēnā e whakatakoto
 42 pēneitia ana au te kōrero, nō te mea kei te whai haere i ngā, i te rere o ngā
 43 whakaaro, i roto i te wāhanga i te whiti tuatahi, kua whakatakotoria. Nā reira ka kī
 44 au, ‘*Nō konā* . . .’ . . taihoa, taihoa, kāo. Me tīmata mai i tēnei kōrero, *Ka kī* . . .
 45 *Kātahi ka kī . . ka kī te ariki o te mārā rā, te mārā wāina rā* Me wehe ake
 46 nei, ka hoatu he, he pū matua . . I mua i te pū matua me hoatu he tohu kōrero. *Nō*
 47 *konā, ka kawea e ahau ngā peka* . . – he aha, he aha te kōrero, um, *ngā peka* . . .
 48 *ngā peka* Oh, ‘te maha’ – ‘the many’ – *te maha o ngā peka* . . He aha tēnei?
 49 ‘Young and tender branches’. Young and tender branches. Pēhea he kōrero,
 50 Whare, kia tika ai te takoto i roto i te reo Māori? Young, tender . . . Ummm
 51 . Me pēnei pea: *Te maha o ngā peka* Ākene kua mate au ki te haere ki te . .
 52 te tango kupu mai māku i te, te papakupu . . *o ngā peka rauangi nei ka hono*
 53 *atu* – auē, *atu ai . . ki ngā wāhi e hiahia ana ahau ki te* Mmm, ka hōhā au ki
 54 te kupu ‘hono’ i ngā wā katoa. ‘Ki te . . tuitui? Ki te aha, ki te ‘tuitui’, ki te
 55 ‘haumi’ rānei, he aha tētahi kupu . . . umm, te ‘āpiti’ . . . *e hiahia ana au ki te*
 56 *āpiti?* ‘Atu’? Ae pea, *āpiti atu* . . . Umm *Otirā*- me hoatu he mea ki konei,
 57 he ‘semicolon’ – *Otirā* . . . – colon ki korā nei. Ah, ‘It mattereth not that if it so be
 58 that the root of this tree will perish . . .’: *Otirā, kāore he āwangawanga . . . kāore*
 59 *he āwangawanga, ah . . . mehe ia . . ia-* auē, ‘mehe ia’, i hē taku whakatakoto atu i
 60 te (19:30) te koro, i te koru. *Kāore he āwangawanga mehe ia ka . . pirau? ka*
 61 *mate*”? Me hoatu au ko te ‘pirau’. *Kua pirau te take o te rākau* Oh
 62 shucks, ko te tuaruahia ai au, *pirau, te . . te more? . . te more o te*’ Tēnā,
 63 ā, *Nō konā ka kawea e au, e ahau te maha o ngā peka rauangi nei, ka hono atu ai*
 64 . .- uuu, kua hē taku mahi tuhi ai au – *ka hono atu ai ki ngā wāhi e hiahia ana*
 65 *ahau ki te āpiti atu*. ‘O te rākau’- me pērā ai au taku kōrero, ahakoa kāore i *reira*

66 te kōrero e mau ai *Otirā kāore he āwangawanga mehemea ia ka pirau te*
 67 *more . . .* Ohhh, ka taka ko mārama ki a au, kei te honoa atu te, ah, peka o te rākau
 68 Me tau iho ana au ki tēnei, ēnei kōrero, te āhua nei kei te hono atu
 69 ngā peka o te ōriwa . . ki te take o te wāina . . kia taea ai te whakatō ōriwa anō . .
 70 nā te mea, ahakoa ka *mate* te rākau i tangohia mai ai . . e te ariki o te mārawāina,
 71 ko te ōriwa ka ora tonu nā te mea kua honoa atu ki te, ki te take o te wāina, ahakoa
 72 he aha te wāina, ahakoa he, ko ngā wāina pango, ko ngā wāina kākāriki rānei. Te
 73 āhua nei kua hono atu ia, nā reira ko te rākau e hiahia ana ia kia whakaorangia,
 74 kāore hoki au ka titiro ki ngā, kāore āku paipera Mōmona, engari ko te rākau e
 75 titiro atu ana au, kua kite iho ana au i roto i ngā kupu nei, e hiahia ana a ia kia ora
 76 tonu, ko te rākau ōriwa, ahakoa i katohia mai e ia i roto i te koraha i te mea nei e
 77 tipu ana, ka herea mai e ia, ka honoa atu e ia ki, koinei te wairua e kite iho ana au,
 78 kua honoa atu e ia ki ngā take o ngā wāina, ah, me ōna momo here, kia, kia, kia
 79 rere ai te wai rākau ki roto, i ngā hononga, atu, e ora ai taua ōriwa rā. Nā reira ka
 80 mīharo ake ki te hunga koirā tā rātou nā mahi. Ngā mea e noho nei i roto i ngā
 81 whenua, āhua koraha kē nei ngā whenua, ā, kāore hoki e tipu he mea i tua atu o
 82 ngā wāina. Kei te āhua tonu o te ora o te whenua ka tahi, me te wai ka rua. Ā nō
 83 reira, koinei ngā whakaaro e toko ake ana i roto i a au ko te whakamāoritanga o
 84 tēnei mea, me āta pānui rawa anō, kia kite atu ai tōnā tino pūtake. Ā. Koia tēnei.
 85 Kia heri ake anō e au ngā mea nei kia āta kite ai au, nā te mea āhua pouri ana te
 86 wāhi e noho nei rā. Um, ā tēnā, kia whakaoti ake au āku whakaaro. Kua oti nei i
 87 au te kōrero ēnei heoi anō ko tāku e paopao ināiane, ah, *Otirā kāore he*
 88 *āwangawanga mehemea ka pirau te more o te, o te rākau . . [typing] . . matua . .*
 89 *arā, te ōriwa-* me taku mōhio kāore ēnei kupu i roto engari, taku hinengaro kei te,
 90 kei te whiriwhiri, koinei te wairua o ngā kōrero nei, kāore hoki he horopaki i
 91 homai ki a au o mua, o muri, kāore hoki ōku paipera (26:52), ā kāore hoki e kitea
 92 iho ana ēnei kōrero i roto i ngā paipera a te hāhi Mihinare, e *au*, kāore i kitea he
 93 aha. Koinei te mate o te tangata kore whakapono, pea. Nā, ah, . . *ka pirau te more*
 94 *o te rākau matua, arā, te ōriwa. . .* Te mea nui kē, te mea- ohh, [indistinct] *te mea*
 95 *nui kē . . ah, e tiki ake taku ringa ki ngā peka nei, he aha, ko te mea nui kē . . -* he
 96 aha? *ka puta he hua, ah, ka puta he hua i ahau, mai i ēnei peka.* Mm. Ah, he
 97 aha muri atu o tērā? ‘Nō reira’. *Nō reira, ka haria e au, e au, ēnei peka rauangi . .*
 98 *rauangi, yep, ah, ka hono atu ai i ngā . . rākau e hiahia ai ahau i te . . e hiahia ai*

99 *ahau ki te . . āpiti atu- oops- āpiti atu, . . o te māra nei . . o te māra nei.* Kāore
 100 ēnei kupu i reira engari kia mārama ai te takoto o ngā kōrero Māori nei. Nā, tēhea
 101 tērā, tuawhitu, tuawaru. Nā, *Haere koe*, [typing] *kawea ngā peka o te rākau ōriwa*
 102 – kāore i kuhuna atu au tana kupu ‘wild olive’. Kua oti kē hoki tērā te
 103 whakamārama i runga ake nei. Kua mōhio tātou kotahi tonu anō te rau ōriwa- a, te
 104 rākau ōriwa e kōrerotia ana. Ā, koia ēnei āna kōrero ki tana pononga: *Haria koe*
 105 *ngā, kawea koe ngā peka o ngā, o te rākau ōriwa nei* [typing], *ka hono atu ai . . .*
 106 *. kia tipu he ōriwa kē atu.* Nā koinā hoki tāku e kitea iho nā, ko te wāina te take
 107 matua e hono atu ai, ah, ngā rau-, ah, ngā rauangi nei. . . . Ae. Ahh, kei hea?
 108 *Ka tipu . . ā, ka hono atu ai ka tipu ai he ōriwa kē atu. Ko ēnei kua*
 109 *whatiwhati nei e ahau . .’- ‘e au’ rānei, me waiho tērā ‘au’ ki taku ‘ahau’ – . . e*
 110 *au, ka whatiwhatihia nei e au, ā, ka whiua e au ēnei ki te ahi . . kia takuna ai. . .*
 111 Right. Oh, *kia tahuna ai*, taihoa, kāore anō oti te whakaaro: *kia kaua ai, kia kaua*
 112 *ai . . . kia kaua ai e . . -* kāore au e mōhio he aha te ‘cumber’ engari ko te āhua o
 113 taku whakaaro he pēnei ana, nā, ko te ‘cumber’ he, um, e pēnei te mea nei: kia
 114 kore ai e *kino* te whenua, umm, i te mate, ah, e pā ana ki te wāina, koirā pea te
 115 āhua o te kōrero nei . . ki a au. Umm, aua! Whakatau, whakataumaha pea;
 116 whakauaua rānei, te ‘cumber’, ‘encumber’, koinā pea te āhua o te- *kia kaua ai e, e,*
 117 *um . . . kia kaua e whaka- . . . kia kaua ai e whakapōrearea, whakapōreareatia?*
 118 [Typing] *. . e whakatōmuritia te tipu . . ā, kāo. Kāo, . . kia kaua ai e . . e hawa i te*
 119 *whenua . . hawa i te whenua o taku māra wāina.’* Ā, kua tae mai āku mokopuna.
 120 Me tinei au i tēnei wā. [37:42] Kia ora boy!

Appendix 23: Wharehuia Milroy He Waiata-Karakia: TAPs-Transcripts 3 & 4

Transcript 3:

1 Ā, kua tae mai ki te, ah, mōteatea i whakatakotoria ai e Tuhoto-ariki, ah, mō te
2 āhua ki tana mokopuna. Ah, ko te reo e takoto mai nei i mua i taku aroaro e titiro
3 iho ana au he reo nō te ao tawhito o te Māori. Ka tahi. Tuarua, mōku tonu, kei roto
4 ētahi whakaaro- kua pānui hoki ahau i te karakia nei- kei roto ētahi whakaaro, tērā
5 pea, kāore au e mōhio nā wai i whakapākehā – mehemea he whakapākehātanga
6 ōna, engari kāre au e mōhio nā wai i whakapākehā. Heoi anō, ahakoa ngā
7 whakapākehātanga a ētahi atu, ko au anō e whakaaro ana, kei au anō *ōku*
8 whakaaro, he aha te wairua e whaia ana e te kaitito o tēnei waiata karakia. Kei te
9 mārama kē ahau i te whiti tuatahi, tua- oh, te- āe, te whiti tuatahi tonu, me te whiti
10 tuarua kei te takoto i mua i taku aroaro nei, ah, ko te āhua o tēnei ko te
11 whānautanga mai o te, o- kāo, ko te āhua tēnei o te hanganga mai i roto i te kōpu o
12 tōna whaea, i te, i te pēpi, ā, me ngā āhuetanga o tōna whakakikokikotanga i roto i
13 te kōpū o tana whaea, ā, me tētahi wāhi nui tonu ki te taha wairua o roto o taua
14 whakakikokikotanga. Arā, koia tēnei ka titiro iho ki ngā kupu nei me taku
15 whakaaro ake, ā ko te tangata māna e . . whakamārama ēnei kupu, he tangata me
16 mōhio ki te āhua mai i te whakatōkanga o te, um, tōhua e te wai-tātea a Tāne ki
17 tōna ira. Mai i taua wā ka tīmata te hanga mai o tēnei mea o te tamaiti i roto i te, i
18 te whare tangata. Ā ko ngā kupu ēnei i waihangatia ai e tōna kaitito e ai ki tāna
19 titiro, me te whakanoho hoki, ki ahau, e ia, o ngā tapu, o ngā hōhonutanga o roto i
20 tēnei karakia, nō te mea e mōhio ana au ki ngā kōrero e pā ana ki tēnei mea ki te
21 tohi o te tamaiti, ki ngā karakia e whakatakotoria ai i te wā o te whānautanga mai
22 o te tamaiti, ā, ka mutu i te wā hoki e karakiangia ai e te tohunga taua tamaiti, kia
23 whakatōkia mehemea he tāne, ko ngā . . aheinga e hiahiatia ana e tōna whānau, e
24 tōna hapū, e tōna iwi, kia uru ki roto i a ia, ka tahi, tuarua, ko te tohi atu i taua
25 tamaiti rā kia whakamau atu ki ngā atua Māori e hiahiatia ana e te tohunga, kia
26 taka atu ia ki roto, mehemea ko Tūmatauenga, ā koia ngā wāhi ka whāia e te
27 tohunga, hei whakatō ki roto i te tamaiti nei i taua mauri, i taua wairua rā. Tērā
28 tērā. Ā, tuarua, e mōhio ana anō au i roto i te takoto ētahi o ngā kupu nei, ehara i
29 te mea ko ēnei kupu, i mua i a au nei e takoto ana, he kupu i noho toka noa iho,
30 koirā anake tō rātou nā whakamāramatanga. Kei konā anō ētahi atu whakaaro e
31 toko ake ana i roto i a au mō te āhua o ēnei kupu, he aha te mahi a ēnei kupu. Ki a
32 wai? mō wai rānei- e mōhioia ana *mō* wai, engari mō wai *atu* ngā kupu nei, *mā*

33 wai? Um, atu i ngā tohi, i ngā pure o roto i ēnei waiata-karak-, i *tēnei* waiata-
 34 karakia, he aha atu ngā mahi a te kupu nei, a ngā kupu nei. Āe rānei, he kupu he
 35 whakareretanga iho ki roto i ngā whare wānanga? Āe rānei, he kupu ārahi i te
 36 whānau, i te hapū, i te iwi, i roto i te āhua o te whānautanga mai o tēnei mea te
 37 tamariki, me te tohi o tēnei mea te tamariki, he aha ngā mahi a te karakia nei, he
 38 aha ngā mahi a te waiata-karakia nei, hei ārahi i ngā whānau me te, me te tamaiti
 39 ki tōna whakatutukitanga i ngā wawata, i ngā, um, āki, i ngā whakahau a ngā kupu
 40 o roto i te karakia nei. Nō te mea, e kite iho ana au, ā, ko te whakanoho tēnei o
 41 tētahi momo *mauri* ki roto i te tamaiti. I ngā kupu tuatahi tonu i mua i taku aroaro
 42 nei, kei te kite iho ana au, koinei ētahi o ngā whakaaro o te tohunga e whakatō ana
 43 i ēnei, ah, i tēnei mauri, ā, i tēnei wairua hoki ki roto i te tamaiti nei. Me te hoki
 44 anō aku whakaaro i a au e titiro iho ana ki ngā kupu nei, tērā anō pea tētahi kōrero
 45 hei whaiwhai atu māku. Ā, mōhio ana au, kua whakatakotoria au tēnei whakaaro
 46 ki mua i te aroaro o ētahi kē. Ko te pātai e pēnei ana nā: I te wā o te hanganga mai
 47 o te, o te kūao, o te tamaiti i roto i te kōpū o tōna whaea, āe rānei, e whānau, e
 48 hanga mai ana te āhua o te tamaiti rā, kāore he wairua, kāore he mōhio o roto i a
 49 ia? Koirā te pātai. Nā ka titiro iho au ki ngā kōrero nei, ka whakaaro iho au, kei te
 50 kōrero rānei te tamaiti nei- ah, te tohunga nei- *ki* te tamaiti; kei te kōrero rānei ki
 51 tana mōhio; kei te kōrero rānei ki tōna wairua? He aha te tikanga o ngā kupu? He
 52 aha te mahi a ngā kupu nei? E kōrero kē ana rānei ki te whaea? E kōrero kē ana
 53 rānei ki a wai? Koinei ngā, whakaaro e toko ake ana i roto i a au mō te āhua o ēnei
 54 kupu. Mā wai ēnei kupu?? Mā wai *ake* ēnei kupu? Kei te rongo mai te tamaiti rā?
 55 Nō te mea, ko ngā kupu nei kei te kōrero kē atu ki te tamaiti kei roto i te kōpū,
 56 kāore anō kia whānau mai. [08:06] Nā reira, āe rānei, he mōhio o te tamaiti, kāore
 57 rānei he mōhio o te tamaiti? Tērā tērā. Nā reira, i runga i tērā āhuatanga, me ōku
 58 whakaaro ake ki te āhua o te takoto mai o ngā kupu nei, kāre ahau e whaiwhai atu
 59 i ngā whakamārama mai a ētahi kē atu, engari ka whaiwhai au i *tāku* e hiahia ana
 60 au ki te whai, nō te mea, ko au kei te rongo i ētahi o ngā whakahau a ngā kupu
 61 nei, he rerekē pea taku rongo i ngā whakahau o roto i ngā kupu nei i a ētahi e titiro
 62 iho ana, e rongo ana rānei ō rātou taringa ki ngā kupu. Nā kia titiro ake au, engari
 63 me kōrero Māori tonu au, kaua au e whakapākehā . . pea. Pai ana tērā? (to me. My
 64 response: Kei te pai.) Me kōrero Māori tonu au. Ā, ngā kupu tuatahi tonu nei:
 65 ‘Nau mai e Tama.’ He aha te tohunga e mōhio ai, he tama? Tērā rānei, ko te

66 karakia nei, he karakia kē mā ngā tamariki ka whānau mai a muri ake. Kaua i taua
 67 wā tonu rā, i te wā e hapū ana, engari he kupu hei karakia i ngā wahine kua hapū
 68 kua mōhio rātou, ā, kua hapū, nā reira ka hoatu ngā karakia nei ki a, ki te, ki tērā
 69 wahine ki te tamaiti i roto i tana kōpū. ‘Kia mihi atu au.’ Kei te pai tērā. Mārama
 70 ana ‘kia mihi atu au’. ‘I hara mai rā koe i te kūnenga mai o te tangata i roto i te
 71 āhuru mōwai.’ Nā. . . Ka tūtaki te wai-tātea o te tāne ki te tōhua o te wahine; ka
 72 moe te tokorua rā, i roto i te moenga whakakōtahi rāua i a rāua, koinei ōku
 73 whakaaro e kite iho ana, ka whakakotahi rāua i a rāua, nā, koirā ki au ‘te kūnenga
 74 mai o te tangata’, ko te wā i tūtaki ai tētahi ki tētahi. Ā, i reira, ka moe rāua ki a
 75 rāua. I te moetanga, ka noho – ki ōku whakaaro – ka noho he taha wahine ki roto i
 76 te tangata, he taha tāne ki roto i te tangata – ahakoa ka whānau mai he wahine, he
 77 tāne rānei, kei roto tonu tētahi wāhi o te wāhine i te tāne, kei roto tonu tētahi wāhi
 78 o te tāne i te wahine. Engari koinei taku, taku whakaaro ake. I roto i tēnei karakia,
 79 taku mōhio ko te kōrero, te whakaaro o Tuhoto-ariki e whakatakoto ana ia i te
 80 karakia nei mō ngā tamatāne, ka tohia ki ngā karakia o te toa, tuku atu ana ki a
 81 Tūmatauenga. He uaua ki te kitea he kupu kē atu e karakia ana i te tama kia uru
 82 atu ki ngā mahi a Rongomātāne, engari kei te tohia ki roto i ngā karakia hei
 83 whakauru atu i a ia ki roto i te kāhui o te hunga ka, ka mau i ngā rākau a
 84 Tūmatauenga. He aha te kaupapa? Ki te kore e parea atu ngā mate ka whakahekea
 85 mai ki ngā, i te whānau i te hapū i te iwi, arā, ngā riri mai a ētahi, ki te kore e taea
 86 te pare atu, tērā ka ngaro pea koutou i raro i ngā mana o tētahi kē. Nā reira, koinei
 87 tētahi o ngā momo whakatō i te mauri o tōu ake whānau, o tōu ake hapū, o tōu ake
 88 iwi i te mauri i whakanohoia ai ki roto i te tangata mai anō i te wā i tūtaki ai te
 89 tōhua me, me te wai-tātea o te tāne ki a rāua. Koia tēnei, ki a au, āku
 90 whakamārama e titiro iho ana ki ngā kupu nei ‘Nau mai e Tama kia mihi atu au.’
 91 Nā, pātai au ki a au anō, he aha i pērā ai ‘kia mihi atu au’? Ko te ao Māori tērā ki
 92 a au, he pēnei te āhua o te, te ao Māori ki te, i te kōrero te *Māori*. I roto i ngā kupu
 93 ‘kia mihi atu au’ he *mīharotanga* kei roto – Haaa, kua oti, te tamaiti nei ki te
 94 whakatinana mai i te tūtakitanga o te wai- o te wai-tātea rāua ko te tōhua ki a rāua.
 95 Ka moe rāua i a rāua, ko te otinga mai ko te tamaiti nei, ‘Nau mai e Tama’. He
 96 manako kei roto i te kaikarakia; he manako tōna kei roto- ki a au, koinei ōku
 97 whakaaro, mehemea ko au e haria nei i ngā kupu nei, ka pērā ōku whakaaro: ‘Nau
 98 mai e Tama!’- he *mīharotanga*, kua homai tēnei, tēnei *taonga*, tēnei kura. Tēnei

99 kura. He kura katoa ēnei, ngā, ngā tamariki nei. He kura katoa ēnei whakaaro. 'I
 100 hara mai koe i te künenga mai', kei te mārama tērā, i te tīmatanga mai, ā, ko te
 101 whakakotahitanga tērā e kōrero ake nei au o te tangata 'i roto i te āhuru mōwai'.
 102 Kei te reo Pākehā tētahi kupu: 'sanctum'. Koirā ki au, i roto i te reo Pākehā, te
 103 tikanga o te 'āhuru mōwai', nō te mea, ko te wairua o tērā kupu e pēnei ana nā:
 104 kei roto i te kōpū o te tangata . . o te wahine, te kōpū o, te whare tangata o te
 105 wahine. Kei reira tētahi āhuatanga e taea te kī ko te whenua tauri-kura, ko te
 106 whenua houkura. Ki a au. Koirā ōku whakaaro. He whenua hoki te wāhi e noho
 107 ana te, te tamaiti rā i roto. Nā reira, ka hoatu au i ngā kupu nei 'he whenua
 108 taurikura, he whenua houkura', e ai ki ngā whakapono a te Māori, koirā tētahi
 109 wāhi e kore e rangona tēnei mea te riri, te kino, te aha rānei, ngā mea . . kore e pai,
 110 he kino katoa, ki te, ki te tangata. Koirā te wāhi kore rawa ērā āhuatanga e pā ki
 111 taua wāhi rā. Nā reira, e noho ana te tamaiti rā i roto i tōna āhuru mōwai. Kāore he
 112 aha, kāore he aha. Engari, āāā, kei au ētahi kupu, o tētahi, um, tētahi momo
 113 karakia: 'Kia māi te whare; kia māiriri te whare'. Me waiho ana au ki ērā o ngā
 114 kupu. Nā mehemea au kei te kōrero mō te whare nei, 'kia māi te whare, kia māiriri
 115 te whare', e āhua rite tonu ana ērā kupu e rua, te 'māi' me te 'māiriri', ko te
 116 'māiriri' hoki, ehara i te mea e riri ana, engari ko tētahi pito kē tērā o te whakaaro,
 117 ko te, ah, mutunga kore o tēnei mea, o te rangimārie, o te āhurutanga i roto i te
 118 tangata, kāore he riri, kāore he kino, kāore he aha. Ā, koia tēnei, 'kia māi te
 119 whare' - nā, 'kia māi te whare tangata', ā, 'kia māiriri te whare tangata'. Ahakoa ka
 120 here ai koe tērā, ērā kupu mō te whare tūturu, pēnei tēnei nei, engari, i roto i ōku
 121 whakaaro pēnei anō i ēnei e takoto nei i roto i te, i te pepa nei, ā, ko tōku mōhio ki
 122 tērā, he wairua kē atu anō kei roto i aua kupu rā. Koia tēnei. Ā, 'o te tangata i roto
 123 i te āhuru mōwai': koirā tāku whakamāoritanga mehemea koe e mōhio ana he aha
 124 te 'sanctum', ko te 'sanctum' ko te wāhi tapu o ngā wāhi tapu katoa, engari, i roto
 125 i taua tapu rā, tētahi rangimārietanga mutunga kore. Kāore he kino e uru atu ana ki
 126 reira. Āhua rerekē pea tērā āhuatanga i roto i ēnei wā, kua tīmata nei ngā wahine
 127 ki te kai tarutaru, kua uru ki roto i te āhuru mōwai taua āhuatanga rā, nā, koinei
 128 ngā whakaaro kei te toko mai i roto i a au. Engari te ao o koro mā, o kui mā, kāore
 129 i pērā. Kāore hoki rātou i kai i ērā mea. 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare
 130 hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi'. Nā! Kia māhara ake, ka noho a Tāne,
 131 [indistinct] ka pukepukengia e ia . . te oneone. Ka pukepukengia ai ia te oneone

132 [cellphone rings] ka pukepukengia e ia te oneone rā, āaaaa, nāwai,
 133 nāwai, ka whakatōkia ki roto i taua pukenga rā, i te hā o te ora, he mauri ora,
 134 whakatōkia e ia ki roto. Nā, tērā pea, kāore au e mōhio, engari, nā te *aha* i
 135 whakatō ki roto i a Tāne te mōhio ki te hanga, ki te puke i te āhua o te wahine, kia
 136 pērā i a Hineahuone rā? Nā te aha? Mehemea au ka whaiwhai haere i ngā kōrero
 137 mō te haerenga o Tāne ki Kurawaka, me ana mahi i oti ai i a ia a Hineahuone, tērā
 138 pea i roto i taua āhuatanga rā, eee, he mea hoatu e *wai* rā? Kāore au e mōhio *e*
 139 wai, engari he mea hoatu e Io rānei, e wai rānei, he māramatanga ki te atua nei, ki
 140 a Tāne. Kia mōhio ake, kia maumahara ake tātou, ko ngā atua Māori nei, he hapa i
 141 roto i ētahi o rātou. Ehara i te mea, i hanga mai, kore rawa he hapa o roto i a rātou.
 142 I hē ētahi o ā rātou mahi, pēnei anō i a Tāne nei, i hē ētahi o ana mahi, nā te mea, i
 143 te wā i a ia e kimi ana i te wāhi tika o runga i te tinana, o roto i te tinana o te
 144 wahine nāna rā i pukepuke, haere kē ki ngā taringa ki te ihu ki ngā karu, ērā wāhi
 145 katoa, kāore rawa i haere ki te wāhi tika. Engari, kia tika rānō, kātahi anō ka taea e
 146 ia te āhua o tēnei mea o te, o te whakahapū i te wahine. Nā, [20:00] koia tēnei e
 147 mea ake nei au, nā te aha i mōhio ai a Tāne, ee, koinei te, te hanganga mai a ana
 148 ringaringa i te huarahi e taea ai te whakaputa mai ki te ao i tētahi āhuatanga, pērā
 149 anō i a ia rā, i tōna āhua. Nā, kāore au i te hiahia ki te whakarite ēnei kupu ki ngā
 150 kōrero o roto i te Paipera. Kei te kōrero noa iho au ki, nā te mea, kei roto i te
 151 Paipera e mea ana, ‘and created in his own image . .’ Ah, ko au kei te kī, i hangā
 152 mai e ia te āhua o te wahine nei, ka mutu ka pukea e ia te uha, te wahine. Ka
 153 pukea e ia. Nā, koinei taku kite iho, koinei ngā mea e toko ake ana i roto i a au i
 154 ngā kupu nei, ‘Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri’. Mehemea ko au kei te
 155 whakamārama he aha te kupu ‘Huaki’, ngā kupu ‘Huaki-pouri’, he pēnei au i te
 156 kōrero mō te Pō: *Haere, haere, haere atu koutou ki te Pō*. Nā, mōku tonu,
 157 mehemea ko au kei te whakamahi ērā kupu, *Haere ki te Pō; ki te Pō-uriuri, ki te*
 158 *Pō-tangotango . .*, ehara i te mea he ‘pō’ pēnei: ‘*a te ahiahi ake nei ka pō*’, engari
 159 ko te pō e mōhio ana au, ko te kore e taea o tōu, e tōu hinengaro te whātoro atu ki
 160 waho atu o ngā mea e rongō ana koe, e kite ana koe, e whakaaro ana koe. He wāhi
 161 tēnei, kāore e taea koe te whakaaro atu. Nā reira, kei te noho, pouri tonu, kei te
 162 noho kūare tonu koe ki taua āhuatanga rā, koirā ki au ‘te pō’. Anā ko te ‘Huaki-
 163 pouri’ tēnei e kōrero ki te ‘pae’- kāore i kī ‘ki roto’- engari ki te ‘*pae*’, ko te wāhi
 164 e tae atu ai koe ki reira. He tīmatanga tēnei. Koirā āku whakamāori ki ērā kupu.

165 'Ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tāne-nui-a-rangi'. Nā. Kātahi anō ka kitea e
 166 Tāne, āe, i māhara koe i taku kōrero, ka haere ki ngā kaokao, ki ngā . . taringa, ki
 167 ngā, ki te waha, ahh, ki ngā karu, umm, a Tāne, ki te kimi i te huarahi o te
 168 hangahanga mai i tēnei mea i te tangata. Kātahi ano ka tika i a ia, kātahi ano ka
 169 hapū i a ia tana wahine. Nā, koia ki au tēnei te tikanga o ēnei kōrero. Ā, 'i te one i
 170 Kurawaka' [23:15] Āa. Ka hoki aku whakaaro, he aha i tapaina ai te 'kurawaka'?
 171 He aha te tikanga o te 'kurawaka'? Ko au tēnei e kōrero nei, he nui aku whakaaro
 172 kei roto i a au me taku hiahia anō, māku tonu anō e whaiwhai ko *ōku* ake, kaua e
 173 whaiwhai au i ētahi atu. Engari, mehemea ko au . . i te, ki te noho ki te kupu
 174 kotahi, 'kurawaka' – kaua te ingoa, engari ko te kupu – ki te noho ki te kupu
 175 'kurawaka', mōku tonu, ko te 'kura' e kōrerohia ake nei, he taonga, he āhuatanga .
 176 . . . tapu. He āhuatanga e manako nuitia, e manako nuitia ana, he āhuatanga e whai
 177 hua ai ki te tangata. Koirā aku whakarāpopoto rā. Āa, atu i tērā, ko te kupu 'waka'
 178 nei, he nui ngā whakamahinga a te Māori tērā kupu, mō ngā momo āhuatanga [e
 179 hiahia?] ai ana. Tāua, tāua te tangata, he waka tāua nō ngā whakapono, he waka
 180 tāua nō ngā whakaaro o tāua matua, o tāua tīpuna. He waka, ahhh, he waka . . a
 181 koe, i waihangatia mai e o mātua, hei kawē i ngā mātauranga, hei kawē i ngā
 182 mōho, hei kawē i ngā aroha, hei kawē i ngā pouri, hei kawē i ngā āhuatanga katoa
 183 o roto i tō whānau . . . o tō hapū, o tō iwi. Nā reira, he kurawaka koe. Tērā tērā.
 184 Engari kia huri tāua ki tētahi āhuatanga o te wahine. Ia marama, kua pā mai te
 185 mate wahine ki te, ki te wahine. Nā, ki te titiro koe ki te toto, he kura anō tērā. Nā
 186 he kurawaka. Kua hoatu tērā ki te āhua ki te wahine. Eee, koirā tētehi o ngā tino
 187 rerekē o te tāne me te wahine, i te mea ka hoatu, ah, i te hanganga mai, ka hoatu
 188 tērā aheinga ki te wahine, kāore i homai ki te tāne. Nā reira koinei tāku
 189 whakamārama ki tēnei, ko 'te one i Kurawaka' e rua ōna aronga: he tino tino tino
 190 taonga te wāhi, ki te . . hanganga mai o tēnei mea o te tangata, kei te wahine;
 191 engari, tuarua, ko tērā āhuatanga, he kurawaka- i ngā wā hoki ka whānau mai ngā
 192 tamariki, he parapara toto anō ka puta mai i te taha o te, o te tamaiti. Ehara i te
 193 mea he kino, engari koirā te āhua o tēnei mea o te whānau mai o te tamaiti – he
 194 wai, ko te wai, he parapara toto. Ehara i te mea me whero, engari he para katoa ērā
 195 e puta mai ana. Ā koia tēnei, 'i te one i Kurawaka, i tātaia ai te Puhi-ariki, te
 196 Hiringa-matua'. He aha te 'Puhi-ariki'? Ā, mōku tonu, ko te 'Puhi-ariki' ki a au,
 197 kāore au e whaiwhai atu ētahi whakamāramatanga, engari ko te 'Puhi-ariki' ki a

198 au, ahhh, ko te tapu, me te āheinga ki te whakatū i taua tapu rā. Mai anō i te
 199 tīmatanga mai o te, o te ao, o te orokohangahanga mai o te ao, ka hoatu taua tapu
 200 rā ki reira, i reira e noho ana, e noho pītōmata ana i reira. Nā, he huarahi hei
 201 whakaoho ake i taua pītōmata rā. Ā koia tēnei, ko te Puhi-ariki, ki a au, ko te wāhi
 202 tapu, ko te *mana* e whakanohoia ai ki roto i te tamaiti. Te ‘Hiringa-matua’, nā,
 203 tērā pea, ka pātai ētahi, he aha te ‘hiringa-matua’. Ka piki a Tāne ki Tikitiki-o-
 204 rangi, ā, ko te kaupapa i haere ai ia kia tūtaki ia i reira i a mea, i a mea, i a mea, i a
 205 mea, ka mutu, i roto i taua tūtakitanga rā, he hiringa kei reira, he hiahiatanga, he
 206 manakotanga tērā i whiriwhiringia ai i taua wā e te ao Māori. Anā ko te ‘hiringa-
 207 matua’ nei, ah, tēnei nā, he aha te tikanga? Kāore au e mōhio he aha te
 208 whakapākehātanga i roto i te, tā ngā tāngata i whakapākehā ai i ēnei kupu, engari
 209 mehemea ko au e kī ana, he aha te ‘hiringa-matua’, ko tāku whakamārama ko
 210 tēnei nā: um, he manakotanga i whakatutukingia ai e ngā ihi, e ngā wehi, e ngā
 211 tapu, e ngā mana o te ao tawhito, mai anō i te orokohanganga mai o te ao, ka
 212 whakanohoia tērā āheinga ki roto i a tātou i te tangata, otirā, ki roto i ngā taonga i
 213 tīmata mai ai i a Io-matua-kore. Nā, te ‘hiringa-matua’ nei, ko tēnei nā. Ko ētahi
 214 pea ka kī, i noho ai he mātua o te tamaiti. Ko au ka kī, ko te ‘hiringa-matua’, ko te
 215 whakanoho, tuatahi, i te mana ki roto i te tangata. Ko te ‘hiringa-tipua? Nā, pērā
 216 anō. He mana anō tērā. Ā, ko te ‘tipua’ nei, ko tō āhei, mehemea koe e mōhio ana
 217 ki ō kōrero, ki ngā tohutohu, ki ngā akoranga mai ki a koe, mehemea koe mōhio
 218 ana ka taea ai koe taua hiringa-tipua rā te whakaoho ake, hei āwhina i a koe i roto
 219 i ō mahi, ahakoa e haere ki te pakanga, e haere ki te hī ika, e haere rānei ki te mahi
 220 ētahi mahi, he karakia kia ora te tangata – he ‘hiringa-tipua’ tērā. Ā, te ‘hiringa-
 221 tawhito-rangi’, āa, tōku whakaaro ki ērā kupu i pēnei ana nā, he mea āta tiki rawa
 222 atu, āa, i te, te tuauriuri, i te whāioiotanga: te ‘tawhitio-rangi’, arā, he mea tiki atu
 223 ngā momo tapu, ngā momo, ngā mana, ah, o roto i te ao Māori, o te ao *atua*. Te ao
 224 atua. Tiki atu i roto i te ao atua aua mana, aua tapu rā hei ārahi, hei āwhina i a koe
 225 i roto i ngā wā e hīkoi ana koe i runga i te mata o te whenua. E mōhio ai koe, ki te
 226 mahi i ō karakia, kia, kia herea mai ai taua āwhina rā ki a koe. Koia tāku
 227 whakamāori te ‘tawhito’ rā ‘Ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia’. Nā. Kei roto i tētahi
 228 kīanga, pēnei ana nā: ‘ka tūtaki te wai-tātea ki te tōhua o te wahine’, ah, ‘ka toto,
 229 ka tahe, ka whakaikura, ka whai ringaringa, ka whai waewae, ka whai tukimata,
 230 ka whai taringa, ka whai ūpoko, ka whai, ahh, ah! Koia, ka whai ūpoko. Ā, anā,

231 kua oti te tamaiti i tērā wā'. Ā, koirā taku titiro, ko te karapinepinetanga o te
 232 pūtoto tērā, kua oti mai te tamaiti rā. Koinei ngā mea ka tuhi ai au ki roto i aku
 233 whakamāoritanga, aku whakapākehātanga rānei. Kia haere ki te, te wāhanga
 234 tuarua, ki te whiti tuarua: 'Ki roto te whare wāhi-awa, ka whakawhetū tama i a ia'.
 235 Hāngaia te 'wāhi-awa', ka hoki aku whakaaro ki te kōrero mō te waka o
 236 Mataatua. Nā, te waka o Mataatua, umm, kāo, ko te waka . . . Āe, ko te waka o
 237 Mataatua. E rua ngā kōrero, e kī ana tētahi kōrero, nā Wairaka i ora ai te waka o
 238 Mataatua, kāore i pakaru. Ko tētahi kōrero e kī ana, kāo, nā tana whaea,
 239 kārangatanga whaea, nā Muriwai kē taua kōrero rā, 'Kia whakatāne au i ahau.' Ā,
 240 ahakoa ko tēhea o rāua, ā, ko tētahi e kī ana, kāore i taea e Wairaka, nā te mea
 241 kōtirotiro tonu ana ia, kātahi anō ia, tana, tana, ah, mate wahine ka pā mai ki a ia.
 242 Ko tētahi anō e kī ana, kāo, ko te whaea kē, ko Muriwai te mea, *nāna* te waka i
 243 ora ai. Ahakoa ko tēhea, kei reira te kōrero nei o te 'wāhi awa', nā, ko te 'wāhi-
 244 awa', kei waho mai o Whakatāne rā, kei tēnei taha mai, kei, kei um, Matatā, tētahi
 245 wāhi e kīia ana ko 'te Awa o te Atua'. Ā mehemea koe ka āta whakaaro ake i tērā
 246 kupu, ērā kupu 'awa o te atua', ko te awa o te atua ko te aroaro tērā o te wahine. E
 247 rere mai ai ngā tapu i roto i a ia. Nā, ko te 'wāhi-awa' nei, ki a au, ko te 'wāhi-
 248 awa' ko te huarahi mai o te tamaiti ki waho. He wāhi-awa. Nā, kia mau ki tērā
 249 kōrero. Ka tīmata te wahine ki te whakamamae . . . tana tamaiti. Kua whakamamae
 250 te wahine i tana tamaiti. Kua kōwhanawhana te tamiti i roto i te, te kōpū o te
 251 wahine. Āaa, nā wai rā, nā wai rā, nā wai rā, kua eke te wā kua pakaru te wai, kua
 252 tīmata te whakaputa haere mai o te tamaiti rā, e whakawhānau ana koe i tērā wā i
 253 tō tamaiti. [34:48] Āa, he rite tērā ki te hekenga mai o te waka mai tōna, um . . . i
 254 tōna- he aha te kupu e hiahia ana au- mai tōna tīmatanga, ki tōna putanga ki te, ki
 255 te moana whānui. Pēnei anō i te tamaiti ka whānau mai, kua whānau mai koe ki
 256 te, te ao nei, ki te taiao nei, um, me tō kore mōhio he aha te aha, nā te mea, kei
 257 reira ētahi hei opeope i a koe, hei-. Nā, te 'wāhi-awa'; 'ka whakawhetu tama i a
 258 ia'. Ki a au, ko te 'whakawhetū' i konā, ehara i te mea . . . ko te whakamaunga
 259 kē atu o te whakaaro o te whānau ki taua tamaiti rā. Koirā te whakawhetūtanga ki
 260 au. Arā, kua *muia* te whaea, kua muia te tamaiti, e ngā whanaunga. Koirā te
 261 whakamaunga whakaaro, whakamaunga kōingo, aroha atu, a te whānau, koirā ki
 262 au te whakawhetūtanga, arā, koia te mea e whakamau atu ana, pēnei anō i tō kite
 263 atu i tētahi whetū marama i te rangi, e tau kapokapo mai ana i te pō. Anā, he

264 whakamaunga whakaaro atu tērā. Ā, koirā te ‘whakawhetū’ ki au o tēnā kupu ‘. . .
 265 tama i a ia, ka riro mai a Rua-i-te-pūkenga, a Rua-i-te-horahora.’ Ā. Ko taku
 266 mōhio i tēnei wā, ko te tīmata o te tamaiti ki te mōhio. Nā te mea ko ‘Rua-i-te-
 267 pūkenga’, ko ‘Rua-i-te-horahora’, ko ngā āhuatanga katoa tēnei o te mātauranga
 268 kei te whakauru mai ki roto i te tamaiti. Kei roto i a ia te pitomata e noho ana, te
 269 mahi a ngā mātua, a te whānau, he opeope haere i a ia, kia puta mai ai taua
 270 pitomata rā kua whakatinanatia i roto i te tamaiti rā – he tamaiti mōhio, he tamaiti
 271 kakama, he tamaiti-, ngā momo kōrero katoa, ngā ‘positives’ katoa o tēnei mata
 272 tamaiti. Āaa, ‘ka hōkai tama i a ia’, nāaa. Kāore anō kia puta mai ki waho, kei te
 273 whakamau te whānau, me te hiahia o te whānau kia . . . kia whānau mai, kia puta
 274 mai ki waho. I tērā wā, koinei te wā e kōwhanawhana ai e te tamaiti nei, anā, he
 275 hōkai, he hōkarikari rānei te āhua o, te *kupu* e kīia ana, ko te whakatikatika pea o
 276 te tamaiti a ia mōna, ka tīmata ki te whakaputa haere mai te wāhi-awa rā, ā, ki
 277 waho. Āa, ‘Rauru-nui’, ā ‘Rauru-nui’, ā, ‘Rauru-whiwhia’. Nā. Tērā tētahi kōrero
 278 e kīia ana, ‘ka whānau mai te tangata, e whānau mai ana me te tohu o te mate i
 279 runga i a ia.’ E rua ngā āhuatanga: ‘rauru-nui’, . . . ‘rauru-whiwhia’. ‘Rauru-nui’,
 280 ko ngā mōhio kua homai ki a koe; ‘whiwhia’, ko ngā mea kei roto tonu kua
 281 whakanohoia ki roto i a koe i roto i ngā karakia nei. Ka whakawhiwhia koe ki
 282 ētahi āhuatanga hei ārahi, hei, um, āwhina i a koe ki te whai haere i ngā mea kua
 283 tohua e te wā hei mahi māu. Ā, koinei ōku whakaaro i a au ka titiro iho ki ngā
 284 kupu nei, ah, ‘koia hōkai Rauru-a-maru-aitu’, nā, ki a au, ko *tērā*, ko te taha mate
 285 tērā. Ahakoa pēhea, e kore e taea te karo i tēnei mea te mate. Kua tuhia kētia e te,
 286 e te wā. Ka pērā tātou. He aha te kaupapa? Ōku whakaaro tonu, he aha te kaupapa,
 287 e kore e pai kia whānau tonu mai te tangata, kia whānau tonu mai te tangata, kia
 288 kaua e taikuiatia, kia kaua e taikorouatia, engari kia noho tamariki tonu, kāo,
 289 kāore e pērā. Kāore e pērā. He wā ka noho koe ki te whakaputa i ōu uri, kia taea ai
 290 e rātou te kawē i ngā āhuatanga o tō rātou ao, engari kua whakarerea iho e koe ki a
 291 rātou, ki tōku mōhio, whakarerea iho e koe ki a rātou *ētahi* huarahi hei whakamahi
 292 mā rātou e kore ai rātou e mate . . i ngā raruraru o te wā. ‘Ka mārō tama i te ara
 293 namunamu ki taiao’. Nā, ki a au, [40:07] koinei te wāhi kua tīmata te tamaiti rā,
 294 kia a au hoki, tāku whakamāori i tēnei mea i te ‘namunamu’, he wāhi iti, ehara i te
 295 wāhi, he wāhi iti. Nā, kua tīmata ia te whakaputa haere mai mā tētahi huarahi iti
 296 noa iho o waenganui i ngā, i ngā tikihope o tana whaea, he wāhi iti noa iho. Pai

297 ana ngā mea iti pea ngā tinana ki te whānau mai, engari ko ētahi he āhua . . rahi
 298 tonu. Nā reira, ko te ara namunamu nei, ko te wāhi e puta mai ai, engari he aha te
 299 tohu ki a au o te ara namunamu. Ko te ‘ara namunamu’, ko ngā kōpāpātanga o te
 300 wā e tangata ai koe. Ngā kōpāpātanga, ko ngā uauatanga, ko ngā wāhi pakeke o
 301 roto i tōu ao e tohe ai e koe. Ki te whānau mai koe, ki te puta mai koe i roto i taua
 302 āhutatanga rā, [ka] puta pai mai koe, ā, ka taea pea e koe te whakatūtaki i aua
 303 uauatanga, i aua raruraru rā, i aua mate rā. Ā, mehemea i makere noa iho mai koe,
 304 ā, kāore he raruraru. Engari mehemea he kaha te uaua, ā, ka mōhio koe kei mua i a
 305 koe ētahi āhutatanga engari kua taea e koe. Taea e koe te, te whawhai i ērā mea.
 306 ‘Ka kōkiri tama i a ia ki te ao turoa, e tama e i’, anā kua puta mai ia te tamaiti rā ki
 307 waho. Koirā taku, ngā mea kei te kite iho au i au e whakapākehā ana, whakamāori
 308 ana rānei i ngā kōrero nei. Koinei ngā mea e kite iho ana au. Kāore au e tino whai
 309 atu ana i ngā whakatakotoranga mai a ētahi, engari ka noho kē ahau ki te titiro iho
 310 ki ngā kupu, me taku mōhio ki ngā āhutatanga o tēnei mea o te hapūtanga o te
 311 wahine, o te whakawhānautanga mai hoki o te, o te tamaiti i te wahine. Ā koia
 312 tēnei ko te āhua o ngā kupu, o te tangata nāna i tito ngā, te karakia nei. Nā
 313 Tuhoto-ariki *pea* te, ngā kupu, engari ko taku whakapae - taku whakapae tēnei –
 314 me matua kōrero rawa ia ki ngā wahine kia mōhio ai ia ki ngā āhua i pā mai ki
 315 ngā wahine. E mōhio ai ia mehemea nāna *ake*, motuhake, i tito. Tērā pea, nā ētahi,
 316 nā tētahi, ētahi wahine rānei, ētahi whakaaro i whakatakoto, *nāna* ngā kupu
 317 whakaotinga. Engari koinei taku whakapae i roto i a au, kāore a Tuhoto-ariki i
 318 mōhio noa iho, engari mā te kōrerorero ngātahi, mā te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro
 319 ka mōhio ia me pēhea. ‘E tama e i!’ Hoi anō rā, ērā mea ‘E tama e i’, e pēnei ana i
 320 te mea nei: ‘Aiiiii, taku mokopuna, taku tamaiti kua whānau mai!’ Arā. Pērā noa
 321 iho te mea nei. Kei te āhua tonu o te tangi o te reo o te tangata e mōhio ai koe, he
 322 aha te wairua kei roto i ngā kupu. Nā, ko tēnei, he waiata-karakia, engari, he
 323 waiata hei whakatō, ki *a au*, hei whakatō ki roto i te tamaiti . . iiiii . . i tōnā ao
 324 Māori. Nā, māu te whānuitanga atu o taua ao Māori rā e whakakīki ki ō whakaaro,
 325 engari, koinei *ōku* mō te waiata-karakia nei, ngā, ngā kupu tīmatanga mai nei,
 326 koinei *ōku* whakaaro mō tēnei waiata. Me te mīharo. Ehara i te mea e mīharo ana
 327 au ki a Tuhoto-ariki anake, e mīharo ana au ki ngā mea nā rātou i whāngai a
 328 Tuhoto-ariki ki ngā mōhio i taea ai e ia te tito i ēnei kupu. Ehara i te mea i haere
 329 noa iho mai te mōhio nei ki a ia, ā, nāna i hanga mai. Ko taku whakapae, arā atu

330 ngā tāngata, nā rātou ētahi o ngā whakaaro i mōhio ai a Tuhoto-ariki me pēhea te
 331 whakatakoto i ana kupu, ka tahi. Tuarua, mehemea hoki kāore i *hāngai* ki te
 332 mōhio o ngā wahine ki ēnei āhuatanga katoa, e kore pea e taea tēnei waiata te
 333 whakaora ake. Āaa, nō konā, ahhh, Jillian, um- āā, mahi nui tēnei ki te-, engari,
 334 nōku ēnei whakaaro. Ahh, ko ētahi pea ka whakaāe, ko ētahi kāore pea e whakaāe
 335 ki ōku whakaaro, engari, kāore e rerekē ake ōku whakaaro. Ko au hoki tēnei e kite
 336 iho nei i ngā kupu nei i tēnei wā, ka titiro ake au, ka mea au ki a au anō: Te
 337 Wharehuia, mehemea ko koe i roto i te ao nei, he aha ngā whakaaro e whakamahi
 338 ana koe? He aha ngā whakaaro e mōhio ana koe? He aha te wāhi Māori i roto i a
 339 koe, e kapohia mai ana i ngā kupu nei? E tōia atu ai koe ki roto i tōnā wairua e
 340 tika ana hei whainga māu? Ā, koia tēnei ko ngā mea e kite iho ana au i roto i ngā
 341 kupu nei. Ehara i te mea- kāore au e pīrangī ki te titiro i ngā kupu Pākehā, kei riro
 342 mā ngā kupu Pākehā ahau e whakakōtiti atu ki tētahi huarahi kē. Koinei ōku
 343 whakaaro, Jillian, e whakatakoto atu ana au, mēnā kei te hē, ah, ki ā ētahi atu, ā
 344 koia tēnā, engari, nōku ēnei mō ēnei kupu karakia.
 345 JT: Mmm. He pātai tāku. I roto i tō uiuinga, i mea atu koe, te mea tuatahi mōu ka
 346 kite koe i tētahi tuinga, ko tō pātai tuatahi: *pēhea te wairua o ēnei kupu?* Ana, ka
 347 whakaaro anō koe- oh, tēnā pea, i mua i tēnā, ka karakia koe. I pērā hoki koe mō
 348 ēnei?
 349 WM: Ko tēnei o ngā karakia, kua mōhio kē au. Nā reira, ehara i te mea me karakia
 350 anō au, me karakia anō- engari mehemea tuatahi kua kite au i ngā kōrero nei, āe.
 351 Ah, ka kite iho au ka uia mai au: *he aha ō whakaaro?* Hei reira, kua āta noho au,
 352 ki te whakaaro anō ki au ‘*kāo*’, tuatahi me whakarite koe i a koe kia mōhio ai koe.
 353 Nā te mea kei a au te reo o, um, o . . . Temuera? . . . Paora Temuera? Te tangata . . .
 354 JT: Nē? He whakapākehātanga?
 355 WM: Kāo kāo kāo, ko ia kei te kawē . . .
 356 JT: Oh, nē . . . ?
 357 WM: . . . i te karakia nei. Āe. Ko ia kei te kawē i te karakia nei, mai i te tīmatanga
 358 ki te whakaotinga. Ka waiatatia e ia. Āa. Nō Ngāti Raukawa nei te tangata nei a
 359 kua waiatatia- kei runga, kei runga . . . kua wareware au kei whea . . .
 360 JT: Tētahi kōpae?¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ *He Waiata Onamata: Songs from the past* – A collection of ancient tribal waiata from the Radio NZ archives, compiled by Brad Haami.

361 WM: Āe. Te karakia nei e waiatatia ana e te kaumatua nei. Ā, i tīmata au ki te
 362 ako engari . . . aaagh! (Katakata mai) . . . He roa rawa! Kāore i mau i a au te katoa
 363 (Katakata). Tērā pea ka mau i a [PG]. Engari, hei whakautu i tō pātai, i te mea kua
 364 kite kē au i ngā kupu nei, kua mōhio kē au ki ngā kupu nei, ā ka mutu, ahhh, kua
 365 nui te whāwhātanga a te tangata, kei te pai noa iho ki a au. Engari, mehemea i
 366 haere tuatahi mai ēnei kupu ki a au, kāore anō au ka kite i mua atu, āa, kua noho
 367 au ki te whakarite i a au. Nō te mea, ko wai ka mōhio. Ki te hiahia au ki te
 368 whakamahi i ngā kupu nei, me pēhea e taea ai e au mehemea kāore anō au kia
 369 whakamoemiti, kia inoi rānei ki te wāhi, ah, i hua mai ai ngā kupu nei, kia taea ai
 370 e au te whakamahi, i roto i ētahi āhuatanga, ah, e hiahia ana ahau. Nō te mea, ki a
 371 au, ah . . . ka kōrero au ki a koe. Kei a mātou kei roto i tā mātou rōpū o te
 372 Panekiretanga tētahi atu rōpū: he rōpū karakia. He rōpū mahi i ngā karakia whare,
 373 te tāinga o ngā kawa o te whare, o ngā waka, ā, kei te kuhuna atu au ētahi karakia,
 374 um . . . mō te tinana o te tangata, whakaora tinana, um, arā atu, arā atu, arā atu. Ngā
 375 momo karakia e hua mai ana, ā, ko te tohi, ko te pure, ko te, eh, ko te tūā – iriiri
 376 tērā, te tūā, ko te iriiri, um, a, heoi anō, he nui ngā momo karakia, nā reira, ko te
 377 hiahia, a tōna wā, ōku, kia akona e rātou te karakia nei. Hari atu au te reo o te, te
 378 kaumatua nei, he roa hoki e mahi ana i tana mahi. Āe. Hoi anō, pātai mai, i te wā
 379 kei konei koe, pātaihia mai ki a au, he aha atu ētahi pātai e hiahia ana koe te ui i a
 380 au. Kei wareware i a au, he tika tō pātai, āe, engari i te mea, kua whāwhā kē au
 381 tēnei karakia i mua noa atu, kua pai noa iho ki a au, nā te mea kāore he aha i pā
 382 mai ki a au. Engari, mō ētahi atu, mehemea tauhou ana au, kāo. Ka noho au ki te
 383 takutaku i aku whakaaro i te tuatahi, ā, e whakawātea i a au, kātahi au ka, ka
 384 whāwhā. Mm. . . . Okay?
 385 JT: Āe. Ka mutu ki reira?
 386 WM: Ka mutu ki reira. Koinā noa iho ngā mea e hiahia ana koe? . . . You got a
 387 big job! [51:03]

Transcript 4:

- 1 [Reading from the annotations provided with *He Waiata-karakia* in the JPS
2 version] Anei, anei e mea nei: ‘Signifies a vexing child’, um, oh no, let’s have
3 another one: ‘Signifies that all thoughts, knowledge and wisdom, as set forth . .
4 now become established in this world and are absolutely immovab-unmovable by
5 any influence whatever, unmovable even if a god tried to move it.’ Well, pai ana
6 nā, nāku, engari me mōhio koe ki te titiro a te *Māori* ki tēnei mea ki te atua. . .
7 ngā atua o te ao Māori, hāngai ai ia te atua Karaitiana. Engari, pēhea tō titiro ki
8 ngā atua Māori nei? He aha ngā, ngā whakawhiu, ki te hē tō mahi, ha aha ngā
9 whakawhiu ki runga i a koe a aua atua rā? Ki te tika tō mahi, he aha ngā painga ka
10 homai e taua atua rā? E aua atua rānei? Koirā ētahi o ngā āhuatanga o te mea nei.
11 Koinei au e mea ake nei, mōku tonu, ā, kāre tonu au i tino hiahia kia riro mā ngā
12 kupu Pākehā au e ārahi haere, nō te mea, ka whai kē au i tā te Pākehā kupu e
13 whakatakoto mai ana, kāre au i te whakatakoto i tā te *Māori* kupu e kī mai ana ki
14 a au, tāku, tōku e mōhio ana, ki aua kupu Māori rā. Mehemea ko te kupu Pākehā
15 kei te ārahi au, āe rānei kei te tuku tika ngā kupu Pākehā, e aha ake ana rānei. . . .
16 Yeah. So.
17 JT: Ka pai.
18 TeWH: Pai tērā?
19 JT: Āe. Kua mutu. [01.50]

Appendix 24: Jane McRae He Waiata-Karakia: TAPs-Transcripts 1-3

Transcript 1:

1 Right, beginning after the test . . . So, this ancient Māori poem, Tuhoto-Ariki, I think
2 I'll, what'll I do, I think I'll read it through, quite quickly, and see roughly what it's
3 about and what is on all these pages. . . . Gives whakapapa, 'Nau mai e tama, kia
4 mihi atu au'. So, it *looks* like one of the waiata types that are in *Ngā Mōteatea*, could
5 be useful. . . [presumably reading] . . . Lots of references to places, presumably in
6 Hawaiki . . . possibly lots of concepts, like Hiringa-te-tipua Mmm . . .
7 [shuffling papers, presumably reading] And looks like all those older terms
8 and esoteric things, that will need a bit of research . . . lots of names I don't know,
9 that will need some research . . . I think, I will probably, be best to give it a go . . .
10 And see if perhaps I can make up a quick draft *first* and then . . . do some research
11 probably, and just see if I can make sense of what is a difficult - ooh, there's some
12 notes, Whatahoro, and a translation by George Davies. Okay, so it gives meanings of
13 various phrases . . . Oh, that's really useful! Okay, so these are notes, that won't help
14 necessarily to find a nice translation, but they're really helpful. Okay, so I
15 can use those as I go along [paper rustling] [Indistinct] that's good . . . Mmm,
16 so I wonder where all this is *from* . . . the Whatahoro papers maybe in the Turnbull.
17 George Davies translation, is that just a translation of the notes . . . Is this whole
18 thing, in fact, in *Ngā Mōteatea*? It *is* in *Ngā Mōteatea* because it's got the line
19 numbers like *Ngā Mōteatea* has. . . . So, I guess what I'll do is *just* maybe try and
20 translate a couple of verses, then I'll see if I can make sense of the phrases from the
21 notes that are here, and then go to *Ngā Mōteatea*. I guess if it's in *Ngā Mōteatea* it
22 will be useful for meaning, but one has to do the translation oneself I guess. Okay.
23 Let's just try typing out verse one and see what happens: [typing] 'Nau mai e tama . .
24 .' *Welcome son, let me greet you, you who came from the – kunenga*, what's
25 'kunenga' exactly? Where's Williams Hmmm, 'i te kunenga mai o te tangata i
26 roto i te ahuru mowai'. [5.45] He sprang from – relevance? 'I hara mai ra koe i te
27 kunenga mai o te tangata i roto i te ahuru mowai'. Okay I need to know what 'ahuru
28 mowai' is. 'Ahuru' – *shelter*, I suppose. . . . 'Mowai' . . . 'moist; calm of sea;
29 solitary'. I guess 'ahuru mowai' is probably an idiomatic phrase . . . calm. *You who*
30 *came*, 'I hara mai ra koe' *who came forth from the* 'te kunenga' *from the source*
31 *of mankind, within the, within the* . . . *from within the, perhaps, sheltered haven*. 'Ka
32 taka te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi'. 'Kua

33 taka te pae o Huaki-pouri', mmm 'ka taka te pae' – does it mean 'taken the
 34 course'? From? Hmm . . . 'horizon; line'; what else does it mean?
 35 Won't worry about that – *of Huaki-pouri* – have to find some way of dealing with all
 36 of these names, will you translate them or *not* – *the house of* – hm, what to do with
 37 lines here, maintain the line of the Māori I'd say, built, *that was the house built, that*
 38 *was the house of* – this is tricky – *Tane-nui-a-rangi, built on the sand at Kurawaka*; 'i
 39 tataia ai' *from which came* – I assume, this is a line of genealogy – 'i tataia ai Te
 40 Puhi-ariki' – Oh. What's this 'Te Hiringa-matua', is it a name? Is it a personification?
 41 Is it the original parent or something? 'Te Hiringa-matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-
 42 tawhito-rangi' Mmm, okay have a look at the notes. . . . Oh, here we have 'te
 43 kunenga mai o te tangata', I forgot about that: 'Signifies the embryonic stage of
 44 man's . . .' [10.54] Okay, so, *let me greet you. You came forth from* – 'i hara mai ra
 45 koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata' – 'i te kune-' . . . 'embryonic stage of man's
 46 formation', *you came forth from the . . . womb*, perhaps? *of mankind, from within* 'i
 47 roto i te ahuru mowai' – oh, that's the womb, 'signifies the womb, that being the
 48 place where no harm can reach the child'. *You came forth from the* – 'embryon-'
 49 *beginning*, perhaps, *of mankind within the* – 'sheltered haven' – I've got 'i roto i te
 50 ahuru mowai', 'signifies the womb, that being the place where no harm can reach the
 51 child'. [11.48] Okay, *from the sheltered haven*. Maybe that's alright, in the meantime.
 52 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri': 'Signifies that before the womb has conceived, a
 53 barrier is fixed, sacred it is, on conception her girlhood ceases, motherhood begins.'
 54 So that's a bit rare, 'cos it says 'Nau mai e tama'. And then it says 'on the birth of his
 55 grand-nephew'. Mmm, unless it, these are, well they're not, I know its Pā Whatahoro,
 56 why is he using it – 'Signifies that before the womb has conceived, a barrier is fixed,
 57 sacred it is, on conception her girlhood ceases, motherhood begins.' This seems
 58 . . [presumably reading] . . 'ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi':
 59 'Signifies the first woman made by Tane . .' Okay, that makes sense, oh, at, yes, at
 60 the beach, out of the sand or out of the earth. Okay, on of the sand, that should be, *out*
 61 *of the earth at Kurawaka. From which came*, 'signifies' – 'I te one i Kurawaka' –
 62 'signifies that the first woman was made on Te Puke-o-Papa-o-Tuanuku, which Puke
 63 is called the soil at Kurawaka.' That's fine. 'Tataia ai te Puhi-ariki': 'Signifies that
 64 now commences the bestowal of god-like mana to that woman who was first formed
 65 by Tane.' Okay - not really okay but, 'out of the earth at Kurawaka, from which

66 came te Puhi-ariki . . . te Hiringa-tipua' . . . 'Signifies that Tane endowed that
 67 woman who was made by him with sacred mana.' . . . 'Hiringa', nah it's not in the
 68 [dictionary?]. 'Hiringa-tipua', could be all kinds of mana, *power*. 'Te Hiringa-
 69 tawhito-rangi', 'Signifies that the god-like mana of forming man, that is a child, was
 70 bestowed on this first woman.' Okay, so, this is not referring to the *son* at this stage,
 71 this is just going back to the origin of . . . humans, well, origin of women. 'Nau mai e
 72 Tama, kia mihi atu au', *Welcome son, let me greet you*. 'I hara mai ra koe i te
 73 kunenga mai o te tangata', *You who came forth from the beginning of mankind, from*
 74 *within the sheltered haven*, 'i roto i te ahuru mowai.' 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri' .
 75 . . . *And trod*, perhaps, *the horizon*, could try that . . *of*, or *trod the*, mm, the
 76 [indistinct], that was the house of Tane - no, no, no, no, no, no, something's wrong
 77 here. 'Ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi'. Uh, okay, *That was the*
 78 *house that Tane-nui-a-rangi . . . built*, or is it 'at', *at* . . . 'Nau mai e tama, kia mihi
 79 atu au. I hara mai ra koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata i roto i te ahuru mowai. Ka taka
 80 te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi i te one i
 81 Kurawaka. I tātaia ai Te Puhi-ariki . . . ' [16.31] I tātaia . . . [Rustling of papers,
 82 presumably searching Williams dictionary] . . . Surely, 'line of ancestry' – *which*
 83 *gave rise to*, perhaps? *From which came, which gave rise to; from which came, which*
 84 *gave rise to*, let's try that as well, as an alternative, *te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua, te*
 85 *Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi*. [Rustling of papers] . . . 'Te Hiringa-
 86 tipua: Signifies that Tane endowed that woman that was made by him with sacred
 87 mana. Te Hiringa-tawhito-ariki [sic]: Signifies that the god-like mana of forming
 88 man, that is, a child, was bestowed on this first woman.' . . . This is difficult.
 89 I don't know what these concepts mean, really. . . . Okay, so is this te Puhi-ariki here
 90 regarded as the first woman born? Or is she a tupuna of Tu-tere-moana? Oh this is
 91 *definitely* in *Ngā Mōteatea*, I'm *sure* it's in *Ngā Mōteatea* . . [indistinct] I'm sure
 92 there's a waiata about Tu-tere-moana in *Ngā Mōteatea*. Okay, umm . . . so, *te Puhi-*
 93 *ariki*, and then – what shall we call this 'te Hiringa-matua', [Rustling of paper,
 94 presumably checking the notes] . . . it's the, um, first parent . . . let's try that . . . 'te
 95 Hiringa-tipua' – the Hiringa-tipua . . . 'Hiringa' also means 'perseverance, energy,
 96 determination', so 'hiringa' is the, rising up, spring up, the origin of something . . .
 97 [Rustling of papers, presumably checking dictionary] 'tipua' hmm . . . 'Te
 98 Hiringa-matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi'. . . . These terms are

99 extremely difficult, to understand and translate. Te Puhi-ariki; Hiringa-tipua; okay,
 100 I'm just going to call it *that* at the moment - *Te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi* – the question
 101 is, whether you would actually leave them as personifications, as names like that, or
 102 whether you would find an equivalent in English, I suppose. 'Ka karapinepine te
 103 putoto' [Rustling of paper, presumably checking dictionary and notes]
 104 . . 'putoto i a ia' mm, 'putoto' – 'bloody, raw'. Okay. [Rustling] 'Ka
 105 karapinepine te putoto i a ia': 'Signifies the ingathering of blood to the place where
 106 the embryonic child is formed into a man-like shape, that wahi-awa being the
 107 placenta, that is the place where the child is, and the vehicle . . enables . . exit from
 108 his mother'. Um . . . [typing] *which*, or *where* - shall we call it *the gathered blood*?
 109 This looks like a line change? [Rustling papers] . . . Oh, I see, that's verse one, this is
 110 verse one, number one. 'Ki roto i, ki roto te whare wahi-awa' [Rustling] Hm,
 111 okay, *in, him into the placenta*. 'Ka whakawhetu tama i a ia' [24.40] [rustling
 112 papers] . . . *wait for the sleepless* . . . Hmmm. What does that, I wonder what that
 113 means, in fact. Wonder what this is doing here, I mean, 'Nau mai e tama kia mihi atu
 114 au, I hara mai ra koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata i roto i te ahuru mowai. Ka taka te
 115 pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi i te one i
 116 Kurawaka, I tataia ai Te Puhi-ariki, Te Hiringa-matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-
 117 tawhito-rangi'. So, so all these things are formed up and gathered into the blood-
 118 essence, 'i a ia' within him, or something, into the sl-, centre, 'ki roto te whare wahi-
 119 awa'. That's got something to do with the '*living veins*' or the '*living core*', think
 120 about these concepts. 'Ka whakawhetu tama i a ia' – that makes him a star of a lad,
 121 but 'whakawhetu' means 'to be awake' – 'whakawhetu' – 'wakeful, sleepless'. 'Ka
 122 whakawhetu tama i a ia', [typing] *That makes him* – just very literal - *a wakeful lad,*
 123 *boy*. 'Ka riro mai a Rua-i-te-pukenga, a Rua-i-te-horahora, ka hokai tama i a ia.' 'Ka
 124 riro mai a Rua-i-te-pukenga, a Rua-i-te-horahora': 'Signifies the child's form within
 125 its mother is now complete . . . child is endowed with full knowledge.' *So, so is*
 126 *acquired*, [typing] *so is acquired Rua-i-te-pukenga*, ah, *and, -pukenga, and Rua-* I
 127 break the line here – *i-[te] horahora*. 'Ka hokai tama i a ia, koia hōkai Rauru-nui,
 128 koia hokai Rauru-whiwhia, koia hokai Rauru-a-maru-aitu, ka maro tama i te ara
 129 namunamu ki tai ao, ka kokiri tama i a ia ki te ao turoa, e tama e i.' I think I need to
 130 read Best's *Whare Kōhanga*, heaps of things, to understand what's going on here.
 131 [Rustling of papers] Who are those 'hokai', 'Ka hokai tama i a ia' – 'Signifies that the

132 child being endowed with knowledge', okay, 'see 12, commences to stretch his out
 133 the', 'hokai' stretch out, so this boy stretches, forms out, stretches out . . yeah. 'Ka
 134 hokai': *And the boy stretches*. So, all these 'hokai Rauru-nui': 'Koia hokai Rauru-
 135 nui': 'Signifies a well-developed healthy child when formed from his mother.'
 136 [Indistinct] 'Rauru-nui' . . . Rauru-nui' - ah, 'the end of the umbilical chord attached
 137 to the mother'; Rauru motu [motū?]: 'a stunted, puny child', okay, so Rauru-nui,
 138 'well-formed child'. Okay, *stretches, becomes, a, and is a well-formed child*,
 139 stretches, argh, 'Koia hokai Rauru-nui': *and stretches to, and stretches and forms*,
 140 *and stretches to a well-formed boy*. [29.51] 'Koia hokai rauru-whiwhia': seemingly
 141 that's one who's quite possibly large, or, 'rauru-whiwhia', where's the note:
 142 'Signifies a, mm, a vexing child, that is, he thrusts his foot through his mother's
 143 passage, or his hand, doing this to assert his sacredness.' 'Koia hoki rauru-maru-aitu:
 144 signifies a still-born child.' So, does this mean that *any* of those are possible.
 145 When that child develops, and he can form up, stretch, hokai rauru-nui, to a well-
 146 formed, *to be well-formed*, [typing] *to be* . . . 'rauru-whiwhia' - a vexing child . .
 147 thrusthisfootthroughhismother's passage . . . doing thisasserthissacred, sacredness,
 148 'whiwhi' . . . 'an able child', 'whiwhi, whiwhia' - 'whiwhi', one acquires things
 149 [indistinct], 'whiwhi' . . . why is 'whiwhi' 'vexed'? Why is 'whiwhi' . . ? One seeks
 150 things perhaps, goes after things, 'signifies a vexing child, that is, he thrusts his foot
 151 through his mother's passage, or his hand, doing this to assert his sacredness.'
 152 'Whiwhi' - 'Entangled', 'whiwhi' 'possessed of, acquiring', 'acquiring child, well, he
 153 is perhaps a *questing* child. Let's try that [typing]. And, 'Koia Rauru-a-marua-aitu' . .
 154 . [rustling papers, presumably referring to notes] . . . 'maru-aitu': 'a still-born child' . .
 155 . . [rustling papers] . . . 'urupā' . . . 'aitu' . . Ooh, I guess I need the Concordance from
 156 *Ngā Mōteatea*, look up some of these words, see how they're used in different songs.
 157 Okay, so it says, and hence [32.59] [typing] *and hence a still-born child*. I guess the
 158 song is talking about all the possibilities, from which they could come, from which
 159 they can come. 'Ka maro tama i te ara namunamu ki tai ao': 'Signifies the passing of
 160 the child through its mothers 'namu', passage, to the outer world.' So, 'Ka maro', ah,
 161 so he stretches out, 'mārō' - 'straight, stretch out, steadily . . So, and that's the, *so he*
 162 *moves along the . . path* - let's call it a path - to the 'tai ao', the long, 'taiao', the long
 163 'tai ao' 'the world', but it's a world . . . 'tai ao', to the world of *light*, I
 164 suppose. [Typing] . . *to the* 'Ka kokiri tama i a ia ki te ao turoa' - yeah, that's

165 what I'm thinking of, the 'ao turoa', um, 'ka kokiri tama' and so he *pushes* out, 'ka
 166 kokiri', so [indistinct] 'kokiri' . . . [typing], so, tama, *so, the boy* . . . not 'charges', 'ka
 167 kōkiri', '*propels himself*' [typing] *propels himself into the longstanding world. Oh,*
 168 *son.*
 169 [34.55] Okay, Verse two. Okay, let's just look at [Verse] two. 'Hara mai e tama,
 170 whakaputa i a koe ki runga te turanga matua ' Okay, so then he's putting
 171 his hands out to the kits of knowledge, this is the second verse, so he's acquiring
 172 things, is he, yeah. 'Hara mai e tama, i te ara ka takoto i a Tane-matua kia
 173 whakangungu koe ki nga rakau matarua na' . . . Ookay . . . [presumably reading]
 174 . . . 'Whakarongo mai e tama, kotahi tonu te hiringa i kake ai Tane ki Tikitiki-o-
 175 rangi, ko te hiringa i te mahara,' so, his mind is forming . . . 'Haramai e tama,
 176 whakapau to mahara, ko te mahara o Tane-matua i tokona ai ngā rangi ngahuru
 177 ma rua . . . ' Mmhmm . . . [presumably still reading]. What's the last verse, 'Hara
 178 mai e tama, e huri to aroaro ki te uranga mai o te ra, ki Turanganui-a-rua, ki
 179 Whangara. E hara i konei, he ingoa whakahua no Hawaiki nui a Rua-matua . . . '
 180 Mm, so, here is he coming to the *real* world, perhaps. So these are various stages
 181 of his development. So, this *first* verse is really the formation of him in the womb,
 182 and 'ka kokiri tama i a ia ki te ao turoa' and *out* into the world. Okay. But how do
 183 I, mm: 'E tama': *Welcome oh son; Welcome, oh son; oh son*, 'kia mihi atu au', *let*
 184 *me greet you, you who came forth* – 'I hara mai ra koe i te kunenga mai' – *from*
 185 *the very origin of mankind* [37.15] . . . 'i roto i te āhuru mōwai', *from within the*
 186 *sheltered haven . . . the sheltered haven of the womb* – but that seems a little bit . .
 187 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri'. 'Ka taka te pae' – what does that mean *exactly*?
 188 'Signifies that before the womb has conceived, a barrier is fixed', oh okay, 'sacred
 189 it is, on conception her girlhood ceases, motherhood begins' – I don't follow that .
 190 . . . [rustling papers] . . . 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga
 191 tēnā a Tane-nui-a-rangi' What does *this* mean? 'Ka taka te pae'. Oh, is this
 192 'pae' a threshold? And, *reach the threshold? of Huaki-pouri?* I have to look up
 193 that, what is a 'huaki-pouri', who would have that, where would I find that? I'm
 194 gonna look at Best's *Māori Religion and Mythology 2*, and I need to look at all
 195 those and all these terms, how they're used in *Ngā Mōteatea*. And 'taka' – 'ka
 196 taka te pae o Huaki-pouri ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tane-nui-a-rangi':
 197 'That was the house . . . of', so 'Huaki-pouri' is Tane-nui-a-rangi's house, built –

198 'ko te whare hangahanga', what does 'whare hangahanga' mean? Being built here,
 199 look on these . . . [rustling of papers] 'Huaki-pouri'
 200 'That was the house that Tane-nui-a-rangi built' . . . oh, 'that was the house of
 201 Tane-nui-a-rangi', let's forget about the 'built' . . . 'on the beach', this is –
 202 [typing] *on the . . . sand at Kurawaka, from which came, or which gave rise to –*
 203 Is 'Te Puhi-ariki' here the first woman? Well, formed. And 'I tatai ai te Puhi-ariki,
 204 Te Hiringa-matua, Te Hiringa-tipua, Te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi. . . . So were all
 205 those *elements* of the person, or, I suppose that means 'which gave rise to all those
 206 elements of the person'. . . sacred manas . . . ah! I'm not sure about that but anyhow
 207 let's keep with that [41.48] . . . There's a, a something about the punctuation here
 208 I think I'd have to change that somehow. 'I tatai ai, te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-
 209 matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi.' I'm going to change the
 210 punctuation here, in the Māori - 'Nau mai e tama comma nau mai e tama kia mihi
 211 atu au. . . . I hara mai ra koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata i roto i te ahuru, ahuru
 212 mowai. Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri' – I think there's a full stop after 'mowai' –
 213 'Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri ko te whare hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi i te
 214 one i Kurawaka comma i tataia ai Te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua' – I'd have that
 215 upcase 'te' myself – 'matua' comma, 'Te Hiringa-tipua', comma, uppcase, Te
 216 Hiringa-tawhito-rangi full stop. Ka karapinepine te putoto i a ia' – *Where, where*
 217 *there was, where there-* 'Ka karapinepine te putoto i a ia' – *Where his, where the*
 218 *lifeblood gathers* 'ki roto' – I'd bring those lines together – 'Ka karapinepine te
 219 putoto i a ia ki roto te whare wahi-awa'. . . . Mm *where the lifeblood gathers*
 220 . . . 'ka karapinepine te putoto i a ia ki roto i te whare, ki roto i te whare wahi-awa'
 221 – *where the lifeblood gathers, in, to, gathers in, in, into the* 'karapinepine?' *is*
 222 *brought together, where the lifeblood, is brought together, into the placenta, into*
 223 *the 'wāhi-awa'.* 'Wāhi awa' [papers rustling] 'placenta' – hm, it's in the JPS,
 224 some reference to it here. Might need to look at that, note that down: 'wāhi-awa' .
 225 . . . um . . . J.16:54 'ka karapinepine te putoto i a ia ki roto i te whare wahi-
 226 awa' – *where the lifeblood is brought, is brought* 'karapinepi-', 'is drawn, is
 227 drawn in, what about that, is drawn in, is drawn into the placenta. Except it's a bit
 228 plain. Let's try that now, 'Ka whakawhetai [sic] Tama i a ia, ka riro mai- Ka
 229 whakawhetu Tama i a ia', comma, so, and which makes, it makes a more wakeful
 230 boy? Don't know. *So is acquired 'Rua-i-te-pukenga' and 'Rua-i-te-horahora' . . .*

231 *and it makes a wakeful boy* – This is not the boy himself yet, is it? It's just any
 232 boy. Um . . . so, 'Ka riro mai a Rua-i-te-pukenga, a Rua-i-te-horahora' – I'd put
 233 that on the next line - well, it depends on whether the lines are for chanting or . . .
 234 I'd be inclined to put it on the next line. . . . And, who, I don't know who 'Rua-
 235 i-te-horahora' is – mm, what does the note say, that's another . . . [referring to
 236 notes] [47.10] . . . 'Rua-i-te-horahora' . . . Oh yes, 'Signifies the child's form
 237 within its mother is now complete, and the child [indistinct]'. Yeah, 'Rua-i-te-
 238 pukenga' is the *knowledge*, and 'Rua-i-te-horahora' - okay. So those could be left
 239 as personifications and footnotes given for what that . . mean, what they mean.
 240 Um, 'Ka hokai tama i a ia': *And so*, [typing] *that boy. . . stretches himself*, with
 241 very little, 'hokai i a ia' [typing], fullstop. 'Koia hokai Rauru-nui; koia hokai
 242 Rauru-whiwhia; koia hokai Rauru-a-marua-aitu'. So, are these three possibilities:
 243 *And stretches to a well-formed boy*; 'Koia hokai Rauru-whiwhia', *to a questing*
 244 *boy*; 'Koia hokai o', *And . . . so . . moves a well-formed boy; a questing boy, so*
 245 *moves* [typing], so – this doesn't really make sense – 'Ka maro tama' *But, but*
 246 *tama, but, son, but my son, but son*, 'ka maro' *stretches out, stretches forth*
 247 [typing] . . . we need to find better words for this but let's just get the meaning –
 248 'ka maro tama', so he's *not* the still-born child, 'ka maro tama', so son stretches,
 249 *but son stretches forth from, on the*, 'ka maro tama' *on the, along the,*
 250 *along the path to the world of light*, 'i te ara namunamu ki tai ao'. 'Tai ao' [Rustling
 251 paper, presumably consulting notes or dictionary] . . . 'Tai ao'- what's the
 252 difference between 'tai ao' – 'an outer world', okay: *to the, into the, along the*
 253 *path to the outer world*. So, why, 'ka kokiri tama i a ia', *So the boy propels*
 254 *himself into the long-standing world, Oh son!* Oh son, mine, 'e i'. What about
 255 *son of mine?* Is that going too far? This is a real boy now, okay, so this child, is
 256 being told where he came from, and the nature of how, of his origin, the nature of
 257 conception, of, the growth of the child, what he has acquired in the womb, and
 258 now he's, from *possible*, mm, this is really- are these three possibilities, 'Koia
 259 hokai Rauru-nui; koia hokai Rauru-whiwhia; koia hokai Rauru-a-marua-aitua,
 260 aitu, maru-a-aitu' – does this mean that he has moved beyond that, passed that
 261 stage, mnoo . . . [paper rustling]
 262 Mm, I'm not sure. I think to understand this, verse I'm
 263 going to have to do quite a lot of reading, and some more waiata-karakia like this .

264 . . and, maybe there's one in *Ngā Mōteatea* . . . See what's there and see what I
 265 would do with it perhaps Let's try another one around: 'Nau mai e tama,
 266 kia mihi . . . ' [54.04] . . . [intermittent typing, then silence] 'Taka'.
 267 'Ka taka te pae' – would that be 'trod'? Have a look [paper rustling]
 268 Mmh . . [pen clicking] I really don't think I'll get much
 269 further than- perhaps I'll read this second verse more carefully
 270 . [rustling papers; followed by long silence, presumably reading?]
 271 Mm, no it's just the same. It presupposes lots of knowledge about .
 272 . the origins . . the gods; the acquisition of their skills and . . qualities . . . [paper
 273 rustling]. It's just, it's a matter of understanding those and then finding the words
 274 in English which, seem best to convey that, which might be different from they
 275 are in *Ngā Mōteatea* I suppose . . . So that's what I think I need to do next, is to do
 276 some reading about those origins and perhaps look at *Ngā Mōteatea* version – if
 277 it's in *Ngā Mōteatea* – and look at anything, JPS material, that might . . .
 278 illuminate it. See if that's translated elsewhere, see if I can understand some of
 279 that phrasing which will be, bound to be formulaic . . . I think that's the only way
 280 to do it a bit clearly [?], to go over each phrase really . . . carefully, and read it a
 281 few times out loud, that's probably a good idea, at some other stage, to read it all
 282 again and again to see how it . . . sounds. . . Right, I think that will do for the
 283 moment while I think a bit more about it. [01.00.37]

Transcript 2:

1 Right, starting again on Wednesday 23rd at roughly 9.20. Now, *now* I've got some
2 information about this waiata-karakia, and, so, it's in *Ngā Mōteatea*, it's translated
3 there, and some information here seems to be included in it, so, this makes things
4 a little different, I'm not starting from scratch at all, I'm doing a retranslation of a
5 classic text. So . . . I'll have a look at what I did yesterday, in light of *Ngā*
6 *Mōteatea*'s translation and, I've also got Best's *Whare Kohanga* and his *Maori*
7 *Religion and Mythology* and I think what I'm going to try and do is, find out the
8 meanings of these terms, what they mean in *Ngā Mōteatea* and any other
9 information from Best and see if I can get a full understanding of them, and then I
10 think I should try and, well I have to decide what sort of translation I want, so I
11 think in the first instance I'll go for understanding the terms and getting them in
12 some sort of English, and then, the next stage I'll look at some *refinement* and the
13 kind of language I *want*, but at the moment I think I'm going to go for the
14 meaning of these terms. Okay, let's look at what I've got in comparison with *Ngā*
15 *Mōteatea*. First line of course, it's the same as mine, because it's pretty easy, what
16 else would you put, translate . . . and the second two lines, it seems to me I've got
17 a *sense* of what, the same *sense* as *Ngā Mōteatea*, now, I've found that 'Huaki-
18 pouri' was indeed Tāne-nui-a-rangi's house, and that, this says, 'Huaki-pouri was
19 named after the emerging from the gloomy realm of the children in the parental
20 embrace'. So that's an added meaning to think about there. And, *Ngā Mōteatea*
21 has, yes that the house was *on* the sands, not *from* the sands, *on* the sands at
22 Kurawaka, so that's the sands, of *course*, that, where the first form, human form –
23 I think it was, or is it the form of the woman? – was made. Okay, 'on the sand at
24 Kurawaka'. And now these lines are problematic: 'I tataia ai . . .' and, *Ngā*
25 *Mōteatea* has 'tātaia', long 'ah' here, 'Te Puhi-ariki, Te Hiringa-matua', well I
26 think that these terms need to be lower-case. I think I'd make better sense of them
27 if it was 'te puhi-ariki' – I kept thinking that was the name of a person – and 'te
28 hiringa-matua', and so that these concepts, te hiringa-matua, te hiringa-tipua, te
29 hiringa tawhito-rangi, hmmm, [indistinct] *Ngā Mōteatea* has 'the implanting of
30 parenthood . . . sacred implanting, heavenly implanting when time is right', that
31 seems to me fairly literal. Not quite sure what . . . it really depends on what this
32 'tātaia' means uh? [04.36] And, does that relate to the house? 'Ko te whare

33 hangahanga tena a Tane-nui-a-rangi i te one i Kurawaka. I tātaia ai te puhi-ariki,
 34 te hiringa-matua, te hiringa-tipua . . .’ Does that ‘tātai’ mean ‘where there was set
 35 in order’?; where there was . . . ? Or . . mm mm. There’s a ‘tātai’ in *Williams*
 36 [dictionary] which has an example using Tāne, and it means ‘To apply as an
 37 ornament’. Ka mauria mai a Tāne ngā kura. Ka tataia, tātaitia, ka tikina ngā
 38 whetū, ka kawea, ka tātaitia - they were set as ornaments in the sky. So, is it on
 39 the sand at Kurawaka, where there were, which was decorated with te puhi-ariki .
 40 ? Ngata and Hurinui have ‘Where the exalted one rejoiced.’ Mmnot sure
 41 about that. ‘In the implanting of parenthood, sacred implanting, heavenly
 42 implanting, when time is right’. . . . ‘Te puhi-ariki’ . . . Has a ‘puhi-ariki’ in Best,
 43 *Kōhanga*, it gives it as a name, but there’s no explanation about it. . . . ‘Te
 44 hiringa-matua’? . . . Mmm . . . Right, just go on for a moment. ‘Ka karapinepine
 45 te putoto i a ia’. ‘Where the blood, lifeblood is drawn [indistinct] blood flows
 46 forth flood-like to the house exit.’ . . . So does this mean that, does this mean that,
 47 this ‘putoto’, it gathers within the child? ‘karapinepine te putoto i a ia’? ‘Ki roto i
 48 te whare wahi-awa’. ‘flood-like to the house exit . . house exit,
 49 ‘whare-awa’: ‘This describes where the child is [indistinct] by which it emerges’ .
 50 There . . . [indistinct] Okay, ‘where the life-blood is drawn into the
 51 placenta, into the [paper rustling] . . into the living, into the centre . . .okay,
 52 full stop. ‘Ka whakawhetu tama i a ia’. Yeh, I think this is, I *like* that sense of
 53 ‘star’ in this. And, okay, the notes here say ‘acquires shape in his mother’
 54 and Ngata and Hurinui have ‘Just like the stars, oh son’. ‘Ka whakawhetu
 55 tama i a ia’, *and so*, [typing] *forms as a star*, [don’t know?] what to do with
 56 that image, but I’d quite like to keep that, some sort of imagery like that; ‘ka riro
 57 mai’, *and acquires, and so acquires* . . . [typing] . . now these *are* I think, for sure,
 58 ‘Rua-i-te-pukenga’, these are personifications I think. Ngata has: ‘Recess of the
 59 mind and recess of the spirit’ So, what Ngata does is turn those into a
 60 sort of Anglicised form of Rua-i-te-pukenga . . . So, I think this will have to be
 61 footnoted . . . *either* way, whether you did it like that or not. And what say if I, if
 62 you did it, *and so acquires recess of the mind, recess of the spirit* - what is this
 63 ‘horahora’? Mm, doesn’t have any other *esoteric* meaning that [indistinct] I
 64 can see. ‘Rua-te-pukenga’, something that comes out of ‘pukenga’. ‘Horahora’ is
 65 spread out, so it’s a sort of sense of the, knowledge and dissemination of

66 knowledge, or something, is it . . . ‘pukenga’, of course, the repository, yes, ‘Rua-
 67 i-te-pukenga’: ‘The source of knowledge, the repository of knowledge’, ‘Rua-i-te-
 68 horahora’, well, what is this ‘horahora’? Is that the ‘horahora’, is to *use*
 69 it perhaps? You have the ‘pukenga’, the source of it, the ‘rua’, and then the
 70 ‘horahora’, the dissemination of it, the use of it, the . . hm. . . . [Typing]
 71 Okay, some of these need some work. And this thing will need to be footnoted -
 72 where, okay, where would I footnote so far? That’s alright . . . We have to
 73 footnote ‘Huaki-pouri’, one there; we have to footnote ‘Kurawaka’; we’ll have to
 74 footnote ‘Tane-nui-a-rangi’ – um, actually what I think you could do is have one
 75 footnote for ‘Huaki-pouri’ *and* ‘Tane-nui-a-rangi’, just put that one there;
 76 ‘Kurawaka’ and, maybe ‘Puhi-ariki’ but it depends on what meaning we
 77 choose here, for these concepts. We need one for those concepts. Okay, the
 78 formation of those elements of the child in the womb don’t seem to me to be,
 79 quite clear, but we need something for ‘Rua-te-pukenga’, well we could have one
 80 for *both*, and ‘Rua-te-horahora’, which I need to find out more about. ‘Koia hokai
 81 Rauru-nui’. Okay . . . *somewhere*, there was *something* about ‘Rauru’ Okay,
 82 so Ngata has ‘Rauru-nui’ as ‘the sign that the child is healthy and strong’. And he
 83 prefers ‘rauru’ 4. in *Williams*, what’s ‘Rauru’ in *Williams*? [Papers rustling]
 84 . ‘Set aside’. Hm . . . translation is: . . . ‘Strived for a rauru of reknown; strived
 85 for a self-possessed rauru; strived against the fate of rauru.’ Okaaay. [16:30]
 86 [indistinct] What does this say? [Papers rustling] Right,
 87 *Whare Kōhanga* says: ‘rauru’: ‘expression [indistinct] denotes a normal birth.’
 88 Okay, ‘rauru-whiwhia’: ‘prolonged in labour, difficult birth’, and ‘rauru-aitu’: ‘the
 89 still-born child.’ ‘Rauru’ is one of three names given the umbilical cord
 90 ooh, ‘rauru-whiwhia’ means an entangled umbilical cord, okay. . . . so, ‘ka hōkai
 91 tama i a ia’, *the child stretches himself*, ‘koia hōkai’ *and moves i-* mmmm. . .
 92 Let’s talk about the possibilities of what could be. And so the boy,
 93 ‘ka hōkai tama i a ia’. Okay, so with this, the resources of the mind and Rua-i-te-
 94 horahora, ‘ka hōkai tama i a ia’, *the child starts to . . . move*. And he is, ‘Koia
 95 hōkai rauru-nui’ *he is a strong child, or he is . . a ‘rauru-whiwhia’* . . . so, these
 96 are, either/ors here aren’t they? *So moves a well-formed boy, so moves a*
 97 – ‘whiwhia’ – *questing*, that’s what I decided, wasn’t it, *so moves a questing boy*,
 98 putting a limb out, trying something. *So-* well that can’t be ‘move’, *so there can*

99 *be*, ‘koia hōkai, hōkai rauru a maru-aitua’. [Typing] ‘Ka maro tama’, now this has
 100 got a capital ‘T’ here, should that be? I think this ‘tama’ looks, all the way
 101 through, it should be [thus?] lower-case. So it’s a diffi-, a bit difficult to hear:
 102 ‘Nau mai e tama’ That’s a vocative but what happens when it gets further on,
 103 ‘ka whakawhetu tama i a ia’, that’s, that’s talking in the third person about tama.
 104 It’s only the first address and the last address, ‘e Tama, e i’, that ‘*Oh son*’. In
 105 between, it’s a reference to *any* child. Or, is it? Second line, second person, you,
 106 ‘koe’. Okay, *you have come from the origin, from the very origin of mankind*
 107 *from within the sheltered haven, and trod the threshold of Huaki-pouri, that was*
 108 *the house of Tane-nui-a-rangi, on the sand at Kurawaka, which gave rise to – or,*
 109 *from which came – te puhi-ariki, te hiringa-matua, etcetera, where the lifeblood is*
 110 *drawn into the epicentre, and so the child, and so . . .* can say ‘Ka whakawhetu
 111 tama i a ia’ and be anything other but in the third-person. So here it drops to third:
 112 *So the child forms, ah, forms as a star – ooh, I like that image, and acquires Rua-*
 113 *i-te-pukenga and Rua-i-te-horahora, and thus . .* ‘Ka hōkai tama i a ia’. Let me
 114 see, he then ‘strived, oh son, strived for a . . .’, okay, so using ‘hōkai’ as ‘strived’.
 115 This is, this is different, it’s actually . . . I suppose you can *choose* ‘extend’
 116 So, here you’d have to decide what are you going to do with the child,
 117 are you going to, are you going to shift from second-person to third-person here,
 118 and just talk about the child: *You have come forth from the very origin of mankind*
 119 *from within the sheltered haven of the womb and trod the threshold-* No. That’s
 120 wrong, because what’s happened here is something different now I know about
 121 ‘huaki-pouri’. Okay [24:07], ‘Ka taka te pae o huaki-pouri’: *The* ‘Out from
 122 the barrier of darkness ajar’ Um, I think, I *think* this means that, ‘Ka taka te
 123 pae o huaki-pouri’, that the threshold is, oh ‘taka’, the ‘barrier’, has fallen, from . .
 124 . . ‘Ka taka te pae. . .’ ‘ . . . pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga tēnā .
 125 .’, so, the ‘screen’, ‘taka’ has fallen. Okay that’s because he has emerged from the
 126 womb, from the dark of the womb, into the light. So the screen, something like
 127 this, of huaki-pouri has fallen, has dropped down, and he’s in the light. Then it
 128 explains what ‘huaki-pouri’ *is*, ‘that was the house of Tane-nui-a-rangi on the
 129 sands at Kurawaka, from which came [25:57] this ‘tātaia’, yeah, which, this, I
 130 would’ve thought this ‘tātaia’ is, is, genealogical, ‘I tātaia ai . .’ *in which came te*
 131 *puhi-ariki – oh, well that would make sense of using these as personifications,*

132 okay. So maybe we should leave them like *that*. I just need to find out more about
 133 what they really *are*. Okay. That's if 'tātaia' is . . that kind of 'tātai'. But it
 134 could also be the other one because, these things *emerged* from there as well and
 135 these are, these *are* adornments for the child, these are things the child is to
 136 *acquire* and . . Okay, so, light has come into the house, of Tane-nui-a-rangi, on
 137 the sand at Kurawaka. And it could, does that 'ai' refer to Kurawaka? I tātaia ai i
 138 Kurawaka, did those things also come from Kurawaka, that's what I need to find
 139 out. Okay. . . . So, 'Ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia'. . . . That 'i a ia' . . ah, so the
 140 lifeblood, or blood is drawn 'ki roto te whare wāhi-awa'. So the reference there
 141 too, Journal 2 [*JPS?*], so I should look at that at some stage. Perhaps I should,
 142 uhh, I wonder *So the child*, 'ka whaka-, ka whakawhetu tama' . . . *forms as a*
 143 *star . . . hence* Mmmm I think I still think that, the
 144 portions between the first two lines and the last lines are describing what happens
 145 to a child, and are not, I don't know that I would choose, as Ngata and Hurinui
 146 have done, to speak directly to the son there. 'Thus like the stars, o son, were you
 147 conceived', that's nice. 'Ka whakawhetu tama i a ia'. *Thus the child forms like a*
 148 *star, and acquires Rua-i-te pukenga, and Rua-i-te-horahora; and the child moves*
 149 . . . , 'hōkai', mmm. Wonder if we looked at another verse whether we'd see
 150 what's happening there, in the second verse. 'Hara mai e tama, whakaputa i a koe
 151 ki runga te turanga matua . . ', what's happened here. And it's addressing the child:
 152 'Hara mai e mau to ringa ki te kete tua-uri, ki te kete tua-tea . . . '. But that's
 153 definitely got the form: 'E mau tō ringa . . ', it's definitely speaking *directly* to him
 154 [31:00]. And there's some other 'tama's, then the one in the last line 'E tama e i'
 155 of course. First line's 'E tama'. First two lines, is addressing the child directly.
 156 And the third verse . . and then there's discussion of, while other things are going
 157 on, 'E tama' [papers rustling] . . . That's done. . . . [papers rustling].
 158 . Mmmm. . . . Mostly it seems to be addressing the son where there's evidence of
 159 the vocative, or the second-person, but in the *first* verse, he addresses the son,
 160 even when it *looks* like it's just referring to 'the child' as opposed to that very
 161 boy. So, okay, that's, that has to be worked out too. . . . So where am I? This
 162 'hōkai', (32:43) the hōkai's still got me . . puzzled (papers rustling) . . .
 163 This, if anything, this Best [saying?] 28:16 'Ka
 164 hōkai tama i a ia': *And so the boy stretches, moves, and he is . . . a healthy child*,

165 so there's the health-, well-formed healthy boy, we'll have to call him [typing].
 166 'Whiwhia': '“whiwhia” describes prolonged labour and difficult birth’; so he’s
 167 working his way through something. But in another explanation it’s ‘putting out
 168 his hands’ . . . Ngata says, ‘a sign of a strong-willed child which will thrust out its
 169 legs and hands by way of the mother’s uterus’, ‘self-obsessed *rauru*’, is his . . . I, I
 170 think ‘questing’ will do at the moment, perhaps, this child reaching out, and so,
 171 this is really, and so there can *be*, also, I mean, so you can *have* a healthy boy, you
 172 can have this questing boy, you can have a stillborn child, in here also, *and there*
 173 *is a stillborn boy*, [typing] the ‘lifeless’ perhaps you could say, [typing]. But tama,
 174 ‘Ka maro tama . . .’ - uppercase in this, but *lowercase* in Ngata, *the boy* – ‘maro’ –
 175 [typing] *goes forth, goes directly forth*, that’s not very good but anyhow
 176 *along the path* ‘i te ara namunamu ki tai ao’, *to the outer world*. ‘Ka kōkiri tama i
 177 a ia’: *So the boy propels himself into the long-standing world. Oh, son of mine.*
 178 Right. Now the question is, what to do with these still. Might just bold them. Ah,
 179 then ‘tātaia’, *which gave rise to*, got to find out more about ‘puhi-ariki’, and these
 180 ‘hiringa-matua’, etcetera, and what I’m going to do with them. And, I’m going to
 181 find, if I’m going to use them as a personification, decide whether to use them -
 182 what’s this ‘Rua-i-te-horahora? And, what about the line-breaks? I need to
 183 look up Bruce’s ‘rule of eight’ or just take them as- Ngata is the same in Line 1,
 184 Line- changes breaks in the, Ngata’s are different. So, line-breaks have
 185 to be decided as well, in the English. [Typing] Query for those Mm, what
 186 about that first line, ‘Nau mai’, ‘Nau mai e tama’? ‘Come’ rather than ‘welcome’,
 187 *Come oh son, let me greet you*. Ah, it’s got a *feeling* I want here, okay
 188 Whatahoro says that the first verse is a karakia. So this is helping to *promote* the
 189 birth of the child; the child’s not, so, is not like ‘*Come* out, come to me’. It’s just
 190 talking about really where the child *is*. What happens in the second verse, ‘Hara
 191 mai e tama, [39.36] whakaputa i a koe ki runga te tūranga matua, marama te ata i
 192 Ururangi, marama te ata i Taketak- . . . Hara mai, e mau tō ringa ki te kete
 193 [rustling of papers] . . . So, is this *all*, is the whole waiata a karakia to the *unborn*
 194 child? Well, Ngata says that the fourth verse is a *tohi* rite for
 195 the child [rustling of papers] I’m going to read all of Ngata, and
 196 read a bit more of *Te Whare Kohanga* and *Māori Religion and Mythology*, and
 197 read till, I’ll read these things and see if I can’t find out a bit more about these . . .

198 . concepts, but I *think* what I want to do is . . . keep the, vocative word *is* in the
 199 Māori, but talk about the child as kind of *any* child when it's in the middle of the
 200 text explaining how the child is formed and the concepts and elements to its
 201 make-up, I think I would keep that. So, the boy, the boy, the child, um . . . very
 202 *hard!* 'Ka maro tama i te ara namu-'. So [rustling of papers] 'Ka maro
 203 tama . . .': 'You, o son, remain steadfast on the narrow pathway to the wide
 204 world' Mm that's nice. 'Ka kōkiri tama i a ia': 'Then, o son, you leapt forth
 205 into the enduring world'. So I guess that's, it's some sort of poetic license that you
 206 can take. [rustling of papers] . . . Now you have to make a decision about
 207 that. And it might be easier to make when you've done several of the verses and
 208 seen just how much description in the middle there is of [the] background I
 209 don't think that I could do any more with this until I know a bit more about those
 210 concepts. But then there has to be some sort of decision about how to make it, in
 211 *some* way, ah, poetic, and, *modern*. 'Nau mai e tama kia mihi atu au', that's no
 212 problem, *Come, o son, let me greet you*. 'I hara mai rā koe i te kunenga mai . . .'
 213 *You who came forth from the very origin . . . ' . . . o te tangata i roto i . . . ' . . . of*
 214 *mankind, 'i roto i te ahuru mōwai' from within the sheltered haven of the womb.*
 215 What did Ngata have? 'From the cosy haven emerged', full stop. [44.22] 'Ka taka
 216 te pae o Huaki-pouri': *The screen of Huaki-pouri has fallen*, so . . I suppose you
 217 could turn this around: *The screen of Huaki-* . . . mm, that's alright, *The screen of*
 218 *Huaki-pouri has fallen; that was the house of Tane-nui-a-rangi on the sand at*
 219 *Kurawaka*. Footnote. From which came te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua, te
 220 Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi. Footnote all those concepts when I've
 221 worked out what they are. Now, 'Ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia ki roto te whare
 222 wāhi-awa' . . . 'Ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia ki roto te whare wāhi-awa'. So, no
 223 that's not where [typing] *where life surging*, 'pūtoto' *the life*
 224 *that's surging within, into* 'te whare wāhi-awa': *into* . . . 'wāhi-awa' [indistinct]
 225 the placenta [indistinct] get that 'whare' in there. *To the sphere of*
 226 *placenta*, just need another word for 'placenta'. Got to be a better word
 227 [indistinct]. So just . . . *and into the sphere of the placenta* . . . *Now forms the*
 228 *child, like a star, acquiring . . . the . . . acquiring . . . the resources of the mind,*
 229 *and the resources of . . . and the resources of the spirit* – that's using Ngata, but
 230 I'll query it. 'Ka whakawhetu . . . [indistinct] . . ka riro mai . . . [indistinct]. Thus,

231 so are ‘hōkai tama i a ia. . .’ *So, the boy stretches himself, ‘Koia hōkai . .’ and*
 232 *there can be* [typing] *and there can be a well-formed, healthy boy, a questing boy,*
 233 *or, indeed, a lifeless boy.* E tama, *but son* – now that’s taken back to the, it has the
 234 actual *child* addressed, *But son*, [indistinct] *goes directly forth, goes straight, goes*
 235 *directly forth along the path, along the* – ‘namunamu’ is ‘narrow’, [paper rustling]
 236 there’s a nice word for that, *along the* ‘narrow’, what was the word? *constricting*
 237 *path to the outer world So son propels himself into the long-standing world.*
 238 I think it would be alright to do that, to bring Son, with a capital ‘s’ in as *the* child
 239 now, as opposed to *a* child that can be formed in the womb, and the possibilities
 240 of being *this* kind of child or that child, or even, in fact, a stillborn child. Okay,
 241 that’s not, that’s edging along a bit [papers rustling] . . Okay, so there’s
 242 footnote matter; line-breaks; [typing] footnotes; concepts; and personifications, to
 243 do some reading about. . . . And, okay, there’s also, then there’s the language to
 244 deal with. Once I’ve got all those right, then I look at better language. And, what
 245 else, well I suppose there has to be also *some* kind of decision about . . mm, play -
 246 poetic, if that’s at all possible; . . what else needs to be done? Well I suppose I
 247 should really look for, I wonder if there’s another- oh, what I need to do is to look
 248 at all the . . references in *Ngā Mōteatea*, see if I can’t get some more information
 249 from the *JPS* and so forth. So, it’s going to be another *version* of the waiata,
 250 trying to get it perhaps more *simply* expressed, perhaps more, um, mm, modern,
 251 whatever that means; more *clarity* as to actually what’s going *on* here, and that,
 252 perhaps that could only come with the footnotes. . . . And if you could find just
 253 simple nouns for te Puhī-ariki, te Hīringa-matua, te Hīringa-tupua, as qualities that
 254 a child acquires, or are essential for the formation of a child, then you could, you
 255 wouldn’t need to footnote them, or. But could you *do* that, is the question.
 256 Anyway, I don’t think I will want to do any more on this until I’ve really read
 257 through all those, ah, references, so I’ve got a better idea, and so also had a really
 258 good look at the whole waiata as it is in *Ngā Mōteatea*. So, suffice for now.
 259 [54:51]

Transcript 3:

1 Right, on to session 3, on the 23rd of November, at around about 2.30. Starting again,
2 now having looked at *Ngā Mōteatea*, and going through it again. And ‘i hara mai rā
3 koe . . .’: *you were conceived as all man- . . . [typing] . . . were conceived, as all*
4 *mankind, within the haven of the womb*, okay. Ah, okay, ‘the screen of Huaki-pouri’,
5 *now*, I know more about this. So this I think is a traditional reference to that image of
6 light and dark, it’s so common in the waiata. Actually, Ngata refers to it as ‘a loss of
7 virginity’. I don’t know whether that’s, more modern but . . . So, I think that dark, that,
8 suggests that the screen of Huaki-pouri falls, clears the way, light comes in, child is
9 conceived. And I think that ‘Huaki-pouri’ must also refer to the womb. ‘From the
10 dwelling created by Tane-nui-a-rangi’. Now this I think, this *whare*, cause I notice
11 that Ngata says ‘abode’, so this ‘*whare*’ . . . is perhaps a womb, again. Created by
12 Tane-nui-a-rangi on the sand at Kurawaka. So that’s a reference to the first woman
13 formed. And I think this, I think this ‘tātaia’ here, *where there emerged te Puhi-ariki,*
14 *te Hiringa-matua, te Hiringa-tipua, te Hiringa-tawhito-rangi*, okay, I think I’m
15 going to leave that. I think that ‘tātaia’, I’m going to take that ‘tātaia’ to mean ‘tātai’,
16 giving the whakapapa for these three, ‘te Puhi-ariki, te Hiringa-matua . . .’, etcetera.
17 So I would *leave* them untranslated, and put them in a footnote. I think in this I want
18 to leave names as they are and footnote them. It’s going to be impossible to get all
19 this in the text, of the, of the waiata. Ahh, ‘Rua-i-te-pūkenga’ – and I think because
20 they also have, what’ve they got, the personal article in front of them, so I think I
21 would leave *them* as names too. ‘Ka riro mai a Rua-i-te-pukenga’: *And acquiring*
22 *Rua-i-te-pukenga and Rua-i-te-horahora*, and I’d put them in footnote too: *Resources*
23 *of the mind; resources of the spirit*, query. That’s what Ngata has but, I don’t know
24 about that, I can’t get ‘horahora’ and ‘spirit’, something to do with the ‘rua’ is the
25 ‘pukenga’, ‘source of knowledge’; the ‘rua’ is the ‘horahora’, it seems to me the
26 dissemination of knowledge, but I don’t know, it’s a query. ‘Ka hōkai tama i
27 a ia’: *Now moves the boy* – I’m going to leave this ‘boy’ and not call him ‘son’ at this
28 stage. ‘Koia hōkai rauru-nui’ [04.21] Rauru-nui. And I’m going to leave that as, as
29 these *kinds* of, children, this is, ‘rauru’, the name for the umbilical cord, okay . . .
30 Think that’s alright. And then I’m going to have ‘tama’, I think I’ll put a capital ‘t’
31 for this Tama, as I would in English: *But Son goes steadily ahead along the narrow*
32 *path to the outer world; and Son propels himself into the longstanding world. Oh son,*

33 'of mine' I'm going to add, perhaps that was a little bit pushing the translation a bit
 34 far, but hhm . . okay. Now, since I've made those changes I think I need to transcribe
 35 the Māori, and think about line-breaks – transcribe the Māori and put in some
 36 punctuation, okay. [Typing] And what Ngata does here . . hmmm,
 37 don't know where he put that . . . 'o te tangata'. [typing] I
 38 think you have to sing this to know where the line-breaks come too [planted?] . .
 39 [typing] Right, so if I put 'Nau
 40 mai e Tama' - suppose I put that with a capital 't' . . . I think I prefer it like this: 'Nau
 41 mai e Tama kia mihi-' *Come son* ' . . kia mihi atu au': . . . *so that I may greet you.*
 42 Now he starts telling him, what, now he starts *instructing* him, well in a way he starts
 43 restating what's going on I suppose. 'I hara mai rā koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata i
 44 roto i te āhuru mōwai. Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a
 45 Tane-nui-a-rangi – Tane . . nui . . . a . . rangi – i te one i Kurawaka. I tātaia ai' - Then
 46 there's three names: te Puhi-ariki; te Hiringa-matua; te Hiringa-tipua; te Hiringa-
 47 tawhito-rangi, which I think are to do with the origins of what? parental? sacral?
 48 Tawhito-rangi's the . . . Is that 'tawhito', as in genitals perhaps? . . Ummm,
 49 procreation? Is good. And I think that's better as a footnote. I think. 'Ka karapinepine
 50 te putoto i a ia.' Alright . . . 'Ka whakawhetū tama i a ia'. Now this is, this
 51 'whakawhetu', somewhere there's a note that says that, the, the idea was that the eyes
 52 formed the first part of the body. So that 'star's' presumably the light of the eyes,
 53 shining from them. *The boy* . . . Not sure about my translation there: *Now forms the*
 54 *boy like a star.* *Now shines the boy like a star*, perhaps. Doesn't say that he's
 55 forming, but, but there is a sense that he's forming up. Mm, what does Ngata say?
 56 [10.30] 'Thus like the stars, oh son, you were, were you conceived.' Mm. . . . Right,
 57 keep going . . . [Typing] . 'Ka riro mai . . . a Rua-i-te-horahora' – I think I'll leave
 58 those as names too. Now, 'Koia hōkai Rauru-nui, hōkai Rauru-whiwhia . .' – I don't
 59 think these are names as such, there's no, no personal article in front of them – 'Koia
 60 hōkai Rauru-a-marua'itu.' Then, 'Ka maro, *mārō* Tama' – put that with a capital 't', to
 61 make the distinction between the 'tama' – 'i te ara namunamu ki te taiao', that's right,
 62 'Ka kōkiri tama i a ia ki te aotūroa; E, capital Tama – capital 't' – e i', this is *my* son,
 63 the *very* son. . . . So, that, what, now, the line-breaks have to be done. How am I going
 64 to do this? I need to probably look at Bruce's rule of eight, but I don't know whether
 65 it applies to karakia as well. Maybe it's how it sounds: Nau mai e tama kia mihi atu

66 au i haramai ra koe i te kunenga mai o te tangata i roto i te āhuru mowai.’ Quite like
 67 *that* to be like *that*. Try that. ‘Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri, ko te whare hangahanga
 68 tēnā a Tane-nui-a-rangi i te one, i te one i Kurawaka, i tataia ai te Puhi-ariki.’ That’s
 69 alright, quite like those alright. ‘Ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a ia ki roto te whare
 70 wāhi-awa ka whaka- ah, we have a comma there, ‘. . . ki roto ki te wāhi-awa, ka
 71 whakawhetū tama i a ia’ – what *with* that sustenance from the placenta. Then what
 72 happens? ‘Ka whakawhetu tama i a ia’: ‘Then just like the stars, oh son, were you
 73 were conceived’. I think that’s, yeah, ‘Now forms the boy . . .’ I’m not sure it’s ‘*like*
 74 a star.’ That’ll do meantime. *And acquiring Rua-i-te-pukenga and Rua-i-te-horahora*
 75 *now moves the boy, and becomes then a well-formed boy, a questing boy or a life-less*
 76 *boy. But Son goes steadily ahead along the narrow pathway to the outer world, Son*
 77 *propels himself into the long-standing world. Oh Son of mine.*’ Don’t know about
 78 that ‘of mine’, but . . . ‘Oh Son . . . Oh son, he,’ What am I going to do with that ‘. . . e
 79 i.’? ‘Oh son’. . . Meaningless syllables at the end of the line of waiata – do we have to
 80 translate them? Oh son, oh. Oh son, e i.’ Why can’t we just leave them as they are, ‘e
 81 i.’ So, the line-breaks need some check. The footnotes . . . the footnotes: ‘Huaki-
 82 pouri’ has to be one. So we have a reference to light and dark and perhaps this is
 83 similar to the opening up of the womb to the creation, so that’s on two levels of both
 84 the original creation, of the children of Rangi and Papa, *and* the creation of the new-
 85 born child, okay, well the, mm hm. From the dwelling, so this is why Ngata uses
 86 ‘abode’ here, and a ‘house’ is not quite right, because you’re talking about a nest
 87 really, ‘dwelling’ or the ‘nest’ created by Tane-nui-a-rangi on the sand at Kurawaka,
 88 where there emerged- no, no he create-, so that’s a reference to Tanenuiarangi
 89 creating the first . . . *womb* I suppose, *on the sand at Kurawaka, where there emerged* .
 90 . . ., okay I’m going to sit with that . . . ‘tātaia’, I think I’m going to have to footnote all
 91 those, and I have to find out more. ‘Puhi-ariki’ seems to me, okay, as the first woman,
 92 so I can quickly write a note about *that*, and the other ‘Hiringa-matua’, ‘Hiringa-
 93 tipua’ and ‘Hiringa-tawhito-rangi’, I’ve still got to find out what exactly those *are*
 94 [17:12] and to do with some *elements*, essential *elements*, let’s just try that, [typing]
 95 ‘essential elements in the first . . . of humankind’, I suppose, so that could be ‘matua’,
 96 parenthood, as, I think that’s what Ngata and Hurinui have: ‘. . . implanting of
 97 parenthood, sacred implanting, heavenly implanting in times remote’, I’m not exactly
 98 sure what that means [Presumably reading] . . Oh, okay, yeah, ‘The implanting

99 of the power of procreation in the first woman . . .’ So will that be the ‘Hiringa-
 100 tawhito-rangi’? Procreation, okay the power of procreation? And the ‘matua’ is the
 101 ‘parent’ and the, what’s the ‘tipua’? Where does that fit in? The parent is the one to
 102 do the creating . . . is the ‘tipua’ the sort of sacral element that *enables* that, don’t
 103 know, umm, the heavenly progenitors, the *first* progenitors, perhaps, the ‘tawhito-
 104 rangi’, a central element sort of the human, perhaps these are, to keep them, to keep . .
 105 . mm the race . . continuing, maybe. Okay, alright [indistinct], I have to find out more
 106 about those ‘hiringa’ . . um, and this ‘pūtoto’, ‘pūtoto i a ia ki roto i te whare wāhi-
 107 awa’. This, Best says, this is ‘the coalescing of the clots to form an embryo’, so I
 108 think ‘the lifeblood’ is alright here, ‘gathers in the sphere of the placenta’. ‘Ki roto i
 109 te whare wāhi-awa’: ‘sphere’? I think that’s alright, for the moment. ‘Ka whakwhetū
 110 tama i a ia’: *Now forms the boy like a star* . . But this is going to have to have a
 111 footnote because I’m going to have to say something about that reference, to the eyes
 112 being the first formed . . . But perhaps because it’s so brief it’s alright to say: *Now*
 113 *forms the boy . . . like a star*, because his eyes, if they form first, there is a star-like
 114 quality to the embryo, and then, it, it, when it acquires Rua-i-te-pukenga, and Rua-i-
 115 te-horahora, then it, then it’s able to move, that’s what’s going on here. Now, this is
 116 what Ngata’s saying, is 9. ‘When the child is completely formed, the mind is
 117 implanted.’ Ah, *when* it’s completely formed, okay. . . . Ah, well ‘Thus like the
 118 stars o son were you conceived, acquired the Recess-of-the-mind, the Recess-of-the-
 119 spirit, you then strived o son, strived . . .’ . . . But Ngata has something else, he talks
 120 about this blood: ‘ . . .then blood welled forth flood-like to the house exit’ – he’s
 121 talking about the birth [indistinct], talking about the *nourishment* of the child. . . . Oh
 122 no, cause ‘welled forth’, okay . . . okay. Mmhmm
 123 [Indistinct] again. ‘Nau mai e Tama kia mihi atu au, i haramai rā [indistinct].
 124 Ka taka te pae o Huaki-pouri’: *The screen of Huaki-pouri falls . . falls from . . the*
 125 *screen falls from* . . how about: *The screen falls from Huaki-pouri* . . ‘Ka taka te pae o
 126 . . .’: *the dwelling, the dwelling created by Tanenuiarangi* . . . ‘Te whare hangahanga
 127 tēnā . . .’ *of the sand-* where is that *from* the sand? ‘ . . i te . .’ Of course it was
 128 created *out of* sand . . An alternative here, *from the sand, at Kurawaka* [23:50], where
 129 then emerged- ‘i tātaia ai’ . . and then emerged? *And* then emerged – this is the
 130 *consequence* of his creation of the whare, is te Puhī-ariki, the first . . woman, the
 131 three essential elements perhaps of humans . . so that’s a reference *back* to the origin,

132 and the child's progress is compared with that, now becomes, now it becomes more . .
 133 more of the *actual* conception, of growth of the child. 'Ka karapinepine te pūtoto i a
 134 ia . . ki roto te whare wāhi-awa'. . . . So . . and with that, 'pūtoto', the boy can form
 135 . . And this needs a footnote to say how that formation of the child was perceived by
 136 Māori, traditionally. So I'll have to check that out again with, well, it's in *Te Whare*
 137 *Kohanga, and acquiring Rua-i-te-pukenga and Rua-i-te-horahora, now moves the*
 138 *boy*. So, what am I doing, I think I'm trying to make the English very *simple* . . and . .
 139 *understandable*, and I'm going to rely on endnotes, footnotes to explain the
 140 personifications, and . . the sort of underlying references [25:50], you can't avoid it I
 141 don't think. . . Um, so if I keep the text fairly spare and pretty close to the Māori, but
 142 leave anything . . that is, well, anything that has to be explained by tradition in a
 143 footnote, then I've got a clearish text, and I don't think there's any way of avoiding
 144 that, given the terseness of the language, given that it presupposes the knowledge of
 145 so much, they've got to be in footnotes, you can't get all *that* out of the text, in a
 146 translation, unless you happen to have an audience who were really well-versed in the
 147 tradition, it's just, gonna be a bit unlikely. So I think those are my . . goals here . . . to
 148 give as full a possible explanations of those- well they *are* all names in effect-
 149 footnotes. I would have to, have to explain 'Huaki-pouri' and the 'screen'; I have to
 150 explain Tānenuiarangi and the formation, and the story and Kurawaka, formation of
 151 the first woman; ah, and those elemental forms. And I think that, because this is 'te
 152 Puhī-ariki', 'te Hīringa-matua', they're names one after another after another, as in a
 153 whakapapa, I think they should *stay* like that, as if chanted in a whakapapa, and then
 154 the explanation of the meanings of those names has to be given. The other alternative
 155 is to do something like Ngata and Hurinui have done and that's where they translate,
 156 what do they do, they translate the names, uum, 'crimson bowl' for 'Kurawaka', and
 157 so on. It's quite . . rich, I think it's very, yeah. . . Mm. Well, I think I'll do it the other
 158 way around. Naming that, okay so I'd leave those names as is in the whakapapa . .
 159 um, I don't think I need to note anything: *The 'lifeblood' gathers in the sphere of the*
 160 *placenta, now forms the boy like a star*- I think that connection in English is probably
 161 okay, the nourishment of the child by the placenta, the formation of the boy, but the
 162 'whetū' aspect has to be I think explained, so, a note for that. Now, since I'm sort of
 163 establishing a pattern of leaving names, and 'Rua-i-te-pūkenga' is a personification,
 164 I'm going to have to . . have a footnote for that, but it doesn't work so well here

165 because I can't quite tell what, what he acquires in the English . . . Hmm That
 166 could be [indistinct] an acquiring knowledge and spirit, and, perhaps, knowledge of
 167 the spirit, maybe . . . Let's try that: [Typing] . . . *Now moves the boy* – is it a
 168 consequence? Well, it is in a way [30:02]. Knowledge and spirit. Will that do?
 169 If I can find how this 'horahora' comes from, 'Rua-i-te-horahora', I need some more
 170 information about that. Um, *Now moves the boy and becomes then a well-*
 171 *formed boy, a questing boy, or a life-less boy.* It's actually the result. Will I have to
 172 footnote those terms? I don't know, I *think* it's kind of clear . . . *But Son, Tama -*
 173 capital 't', capital's' – goes ahead steadily, goes steadily, 'mārō', straight ahead,
 174 steadily ahead. I don't think I need the 'but'. 'Ka mārō . . .', *Son goes . . Son*
 175 *goes steadily ahead along the narrow pathway to the outer world* . . . Okay so my
 176 line-breaks are a bit funny here. Maybe I should just do that. 'Now moves the boy' is
 177 a separate line. Or could it go up to here . . . And as a consequence of that knowledge,
 178 *Now moves the boy Son goes steadily ahead along the narrow pathway to the outer*
 179 *world and Son propels himself into the long-standing world, Oh Son, e i. . . Oh Son-*
 180 *what about the 'of mine'.* [Typing], little bit, pushing it a bit much? Leave that there.
 181 Mmhmm Right. What's going to go in
 182 the first reference, 'Huaki-pouri' is ah . . . it has to be, um, it has to have [typing] 'A
 183 reference to, um, Rangi and Papa, and dark to light. Perhaps it has to have a reference
 184 to Ngata's idea of being figuratively a reference to the loss of virginity, but I wonder
 185 about that, I'll just query that. It has . . it has to have a literal translation of it, which
 186 will make it reasonably clear too. . . . Um, 'open, up, open up the dark'. Okay. So
 187 maybe that comes first, 'literal meaning'; and then references to Rangi and Papa;
 188 references to dark and light, [typing] as motifs in traditions; Ngata's reference to . . .
 189 what else? Um, 'Huaki-pouri' . . . um, whatwasIgoingtosay about that? Oh yeah, and
 190 also a reference to, a reference to [typing] Rangi and Papa, and first children to the
 191 light. . Okay, reference to light as a motif, *dark* and light as a motif- recurring motif-
 192 in traditions, songs, stories, other things. Okay, maybe that's enough at the moment,
 193 and reference to Ngata's suggestions, the, what is it, 'the loss of virginity' ohh,
 194 there's 'loss' . . . What is he saying? 'It's a figurative reference to the loss of a
 195 woman's virginity and her pregnancy ' Okay, which fits back with the Rangi
 196 and Papa idea I suppose. Alright, ...um . . maybe if I have . . What am I going to
 197 say about Tān-, I need to say something about Tānenuiarangi: who he is – [typing]

198 role as god . . . um, the creation of- no, do that in the next one. Role as god
 199 Okay, let's just do that. Then, okay, 'Kurawaka': the place, or where, place of the
 200 original, first woman, out of sand, out . . of . . sand, by Tāne. . . . Then, the third
 201 footnote is to do with 'Puhi-ariki', and those essential elements, just describing what
 202 they *mean*, and what the names stand for I guess. . . I don't think I need to . . say
 203 anything about the next line. Don't know about whether I need to say something
 204 about 'whakawhetū tama . . .', although it's quite a nice image, and I think perhaps it
 205 would be quite good to make the point, yes, that [typing] 'Māori traditionally suggest
 206 the eyes formed first'. . . . Um, 'ka whakawhetū tama i a ia', now, maybe make that
 207 more explicit in the text: *Now the eyes, now the eyes of the boy. . now the eyes of the*
 208 *boy like a star and acquiring knowledge and spirit. Now moves the boy* . . What about
 209 that? . . . I think that might be alright. And suppose we don't leave these
 210 personifications here: 'Rua-i-te-pūkenga', 'acquiring the . . ' What's that, Rua-i-te-
 211 pūkenga, 'the source of, repository of knowledge'. Why not just 'knowledge'? And
 212 'horahora'. What's *that* 'horahora', could understand that better: *And acquiring*
 213 *knowledge, now the boy's, now the eyes of the boy like a star, and acquiring*
 214 *knowledge of the spirit, now moves the boy*. Oorgh- never mind, the idea is okay I
 215 think. Ah, perhaps I could have, I *could* have a footnote for these 'Ruas' if I'm just
 216 gonna use the noun then I could put the 'Ruas' in a footnote, and explain [40:34]
 217 [typing] that . . they . . personifications. Okay. [Typing] *And comes*
 218 *then a well-formed boy*, what does that mean, 'hōkai'? Does the child strive? No? just
 219 results. 'Hōkai'. . 'emerges . . extends out'. Emerges? I'd better make that 'emerges'
 220 then . . 'hōkai', spreading out, forming out, a well-formed . . what's this 'rauru-nui',
 221 'rauru-nui' is literally 'the cord, and refers to an easy labour, normal birth and a
 222 healthy child. Rauru-nui.' So presumably that's a *strong* cord. What about, a well-
 223 formed, why have I got 'well-formed'? What about 'healthy'? Mm, 'nui' [pages
 224 turning] . . . 'Great; superior', hm. Don't think 'well-formed' 's right. What did Ngata
 225 have? 'You then strived, o Son, strived for a rauru of reknown' 'nui', oh, 'important',
 226 'rauru-nui' . . . strong . . . important . . . 'whiwhia', this is the one that puts the hands
 227 out . . . means the cord's tangled . . and this the hand, leg – I think 'questing' might be
 228 okay for that, *looking* to acquire something, *looking* to get something, *questing* – or a
 229 life-less boy, 'still-born', is that right? 'Maru-aitu'. . . . [Papers rustling, presumably
 230 cross-referencing or looking for definition of the term] 'Sign of misfortune' I

231 suppose it is ‘sickness, a sign of trouble, sign of . . .’ I think, ‘maru-’, a sign of
 232 trouble, misfortune. ‘Rauru-nui’, something great, ‘rauru-whiwhia’, something
 233 searching, seeking, questing; ‘rauru-maru-aitu’ . . . something un . . . fortunate, okay I
 234 think ‘lifeless’ is alright but I don’t like ‘well-formed’. *A strong boy, a questing*
 235 *boy or a lifeless* ‘Thrusts’? ‘Thrusts into’, ‘propels himself’? but prefer
 236 maybe ‘thrusts’, *thrusts . . into*, not ‘himself’, it’s not just himself, *And Son thrusts*
 237 *into the longstanding world*, how about that? ‘E Tama e i’ *Oh Son of mine*, don’t
 238 know about that ‘of mine’ Mmh Yes. I think that’s, I think
 239 that’s, ‘ko te whare hangahanga tēnā a Tanenuiarangi i te one i Kura-’: ‘*from the*
 240 *sand*’ ‘Kurawaka’, do we need to have that place-name literally, literal
 241 meaning too . . what *does* it mean literally? ‘Kurawaka’: ‘Crimson Bowl’;
 242 ‘kurawaka’: ‘container for something precious.’ Is that another, does ‘kurawaka’ also
 243 mean the womb in effect, from which woman was born, perhaps? [Typing] ‘Precious
 244 container . . .’, that should go in the note . . . Well now, quite a lot to explain in this.
 245 ‘Huaki-pouri’ - definitely goes right back to the origin of Rangi and Papa, and it’s
 246 reiterated thereafter every time, the time of conception, opens again, the screen falls
 247 from . . it. Light is let in, light and life, light and life: light, dash, life. Um, then
 248 ‘Tāneinuiarangi’, that’s who he is and his role. ‘Kurawaka’- interesting ‘kurawaka’,
 249 ‘cause that is, a figurative too, so that needs to be explained . . ‘huaki-pouri’ . .
 250 ‘kurawaka’ – wonder if it really *does* mean that, that this is the . . [rustling of papers] .
 251 . I think there was a . . hm, I wonder if it does mean that ‘from the sand at
 252 Kurawaka, and then arose’, ‘tātaia’, [49:14] . . . I think they use ‘tātaia’ it’s, in a, ‘to
 253 set in order’ . . . There’s a ‘whakapapa’ tātai . . Is ‘emerge’ a good word then?
 254 *And then came* . . .? And then *came* . . . [turning of pages] . . Look at ‘tātai’ . . . Look
 255 at ‘tātaia’ It’s all [indistinct], ‘I tātaia . .’ *From which are named from the*
 256 *sand at Kurawaka*. ‘I tātaia . .’ Where is it? ‘I tātaia ai . .’ *from which can be named*
 257 *. . from which are recited . . where – ‘the dwelling created by Tānenuiarangi from*
 258 *the sand at Kurawaka and from which came*, mm, *came- ‘tātaia’, ‘recite in the right*
 259 *name’ . . from the sand at Kurawaka, ‘i tātaia ai’ . . . ‘i tātaia ai’ . . . ‘arranged in*
 260 *order’, from which came*. Created by Tāne . . . and from which came – [Typing] *And*
 261 *from there came* *te Puhi-ariki* – the whakapapa; footnote, explain. Explain
 262 meaning of the name; explain ‘Puhi-ariki’, okay, literal meanings . . [typing] ‘Puhi-
 263 ariki’ . . ‘primal woman’? No, ‘ariki . . .’ [Turning of pages] ‘First-born. First-born

264 woman' [52:57] . . . it's got to have some sense of um
 265 'puhi-ariki', 'high-born woman'. [Typing] [indistinct] *woman, high-born,*
 266 *first high-born,* no, I think I'm, just 'puhi-ariki', *leading woman,* 'te puhi-ariki':
 267 *progenital woman,* how about that? [Typing] Then each of the 'Hiringa', we need a
 268 literal and explanatory meaning, yet to come. Okay. 'Ka karapinepine te pūtoto . . .',
 269 'pūtoto' . . where is that 'pūtoto'? [Turning of pages] Okay is it 'bloody; raw' . . what
 270 if it's 'pū' 'toto'? 'Pū toto': 'the central, life-giving . . ' well got 'life-blood' is alright.
 271 'Swirls'? 'Karapinepine'? 'Gathers; forms . . .' [turning of pages, presumably reading]
 272 . . . 'gathers' . . 'karapinepine'. Well that's alright. 'With the sphere . . ', is
 273 that a good word? 'Ki roto te whare wāhi-awa' . . . 'wāhi-awa' . . . [turning of pages]
 274 . . . Okay . . *think* it's right, 'te whare . . ' But see it's not perhaps the *best* way but I
 275 mean th- 'in the . . heart of . . ' in the . . *bowl* of'? . . 'Sphere' . . 'Sphere', where have
 276 I chosen it . . [turning of pages] mm I'm not sure
 277 'sphere' is right actually. If this was 'whare' then- 'i roto i te whare wāhi-awa', 'the
 278 core of . . '? 'The core', forming up 'the child . . ' *Now the eyes . . . 'ka*
 279 *whakwhetū tama i a ia' . . . Now the eyes of the boy . . . Now the eyes of the boy are,*
 280 *the eyes of the boy like a star and then . . . then acquiring . . knowledge . . and*
 281 *acquiring, 'and' acquiring spirit, now moves the boy, and emerges . . then a strong*
 282 *boy and a questing boy or a life-less boy. Son-*'but', don't know about that 'but', *But*
 283 *Son goes steadily ahead,* he's not a life-less boy, making a comparison [pages
 284 turning] . . 'Ka mārō tama'; 'ka kōkiri tama' . . . So I should try to keep those the
 285 same 'Son' *goes steadily ahead, along the narrow path to the outer world.*
 286 *'Son' thrusts in to the long-standing world. Oh Son of mine.* I really don't need those
 287 'ands'. . . Mm [01:00:30] *But Son goes steadily-* I like the
 288 'but'- *along the narrow path to the outer world. 'Son' thrusts- 'And' Son- And Son*
 289 *thrusts in to the long-standing world. Oh Son of mine.* Using that 'of mine' in the
 290 meantime. Right. So, what remains: I need to look at, should *still* look at the line-
 291 breaks; write out the footnotes; clarify the meanings of the 'Hiringa' and 'Rua-i-te-
 292 horahora'; . . . the line-breaks in Māori . . have to be looked at . . . Okay. Getting
 293 clearer. . . . Kāti nei. [01:01:13]