

The Rhetorical Organization of Māori Discourse: An illustration

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Abstract

Almost 20% all Māori students in New Zealand schools are involved in some form of Māori-medium education. These students need to develop competence in using the language for a wide range of purposes. They need, therefore, to understand a range of written discourse conventions. In seeking to assist them in this task, elders and scholars are turning to the works of major Māori figures of the past, works composed when the language was used widely in a range of discourse contexts. However, scholars need ways of analysing these texts and of communicating their findings to others. The primary aim of this paper is to demonstrate one such approach. A single letter of condolence written in Māori is analysed here in terms of rhetorical discourse structure. On the basis of the analysis, a number of hypotheses concerning epistolary discourse in Māori are put forward. The primary hypothesis is that letters of condolence written in Māori by highly competent users of the language are likely to be characterized by an overall Problem-Solution rhetorical prototype involving spiral multilayering.

Introduction

Over the last five years, there have been substantial increases in the number of students enrolled in Māori-medium education in New Zealand. In 1997, for example, 19% of all Māori students in New Zealand schools were involved in some form of Māori-medium education and 14% of these students were studying in kura kaupapa Māori, that is, in schools that aim to provide a holistic Māori spiritual, cultural and educational environment. These schools are concerned not only that Māori should be preserved and revitalised as a vehicular language, but also that it should be used in a wide variety of contexts in ways that are culturally authentic.

There is, however, a problem. That problem relates to the fact that there was a long period during which students were not allowed to use the Māori language in most schools in New Zealand. Partly because they did not wish their children to be punished or disadvantaged, many Māori parents began to use English at home. Inter-generational transmission of the language suffered, the result being that almost an entire generation was denied the opportunity to acquire the language. Those who did often used English for written documents. There are, therefore, few recent authentic written texts in Māori that can be used as models in schools. Many of the recent texts that do exist are written by learners of Māori as a second language, and do not necessarily represent the best possible models. For this reason, elders and scholars are

turning to the works of major Māori figures of the past, works that were composed at a time when the language was used widely in a range of discourse contexts. These texts need to be carefully analysed in order to determine their discourse characteristics so that the new generation of Māori speakers can benefit fully from them. However, although there are a number of works dealing with the vocabulary and structure of Māori, very little research has been conducted on discourse genres and/or rhetorical discourse structure.

What is needed urgently is a methodology, a way of approaching the analysis of these writings. The aim of this paper is to demonstrate the role that the research of Hoey (1983) can play in meeting that need. The demonstration involves the analysis of a single letter written in Maori in terms of its rhetorical discourse structure. On the basis of the analysis, a number of hypotheses are put forward, hypotheses that can form the basis of one approach to corpus-based studies of epistolary discourses in Māori. The approach, however, need not be confined to epistolary discourses; it is equally appropriate for other types of discourse written in Māori and other languages. It is an approach that can be adapted for use in a range of different contexts (see, for example, Hoey 1989) and has been used for a range of different purposes (see, for example, Crombie 1985; 1987). It is, however, only one of a wide range of different approaches to the analysis of discourse structure. In particular, research in the area of genre has considerable potential for the analysis of discourses in Maori and has already been applied in a range of learning contexts (see, for example, Johns and Davies 1983; Dudley-Evans 1995; Johns 1995; Caudrey 1998; Paltridge 1999)

The Letter

Offering support at times of bereavement has always been a very important aspect of Māori culture. All of those who are in any way acquainted with the bereaved, or with members of his or her family or tribe, will try to visit the family marae (meeting house) where the immediate family will be gathered around the body of the deceased. There, visitors will be welcomed, fed and accommodated by local people and will, in return, give koha (gifts of food and money). In the past, it was very unusual for a family friend or member of the tribe not to appear in person. Now, however, geographical separation and employment demands are often such as to make it impossible for some people to visit the local marae to pay their respects in person. For them, being able to write a culturally appropriate letter of condolence in Māori can be extremely important. However, there are few surviving examples of this genre. One of these is the letter analysed here. It was written in the 1929 by Te Rangihira to his good friend Apirana Ngata (the first Māori graduate of a New Zealand university) following the death from dysentery of Apirana's wife, Arihia Tamate of Whareponga, and their eldest son, Makarini. The letter is regarded as an important historical, literary and cultural document and is included in the collection entitled *Na To Hoa Aroha* (From Your Dear Friend) edited by M. Sorrenson where it was translated into English by Bill Parker (1968). The letter, followed by the translation, follows:

Ki a Apirana T. Ngata,

E koro, tena koe i roto i te whare mate.

Kua wehe atu a Arihia raua ko Te Makarini. Kua haere raua i te ara takitini. I te ara taki mano, i te ara karere kore ki muri. E taea te aha i te ringa kaha o Aitua. Kaore he kupu, kaore he aha. He oti te mea, he mihi he tangi atu ki a koe e te hoa i roto i nga tau. Te tangi noa atu nei maua ko Makere i tenei whenua mamao ki o maua whanaunga kua riro. Kua oti ra te ki ko nga mate i runga o Koohi me tangi atu i Kawerau, ko nga mate i runga o Kawerau me tangi atu i Koohi.

Kati kia manawanui mai e te hoa, ma nga tau me nga mahi nunui kei mua i to aroaro e whakamama nga taimahatanga me nga mamae. Mehemea e taea, me haere mai koe i te kaupuke o Mei kia puhipuhia koe e te hau moana. Ki te haere mai koe ka mau mauaki Rarotonga nei. I muri o taua tima haere ai matou ki Manihiki. Ahakoa kia kite kau atu i to tinana mo nga haora torutoru, he orange ngakau.

Kia huria te mate ki muri, he wa tona a ka huri mai ki te hunga ora. Haere mai, kia kite kau iho i tenei iwi ou ka hoki atu ai ki nga mahi o te kainga. Kei te awangawanga atu au ki a koe, kei ruku atu koe ki roto i te hohonutanga o te mahi, a kai whakaaro kore koe ki to tinana. Haere mai kia rongo koe i te tangi o nga hau o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa a ma ratou whakahoki ora i a koe ki te kainga ki te hautu i nga waka e rua.

E Api kaore he kupu ke atu. He oi ano ra ko te aroha ki o taua mate e ngau kino nei i roto. Kia ahatia e te hoa, ko koe kei te ora mai.

Te Rangi Hiroa.

To Apirana Ngata,

Old friend, condolences to you in your house of mourning. Arihia and Makarini have departed. They have gone along the path of the many, along the path of the thousands, along the path from which no messenger returns. What can one do against the might of the hand of death. Words and all else fail me. All I can do is commiserate and weep for you, my friend, over the years. So Margaret and I grieve here in this distant land for our relations who have passed on. It is said that the deaths of Koohi should be mourned at Kawerau, and the deaths of Kawerau should be mourned at Koohi.

So be strong, my friend; time and preoccupation with the great developments before you should ease the burden and pain. If it is possible, come on the May ship and let the breeze comfort you. If you come, you could catch us here in Rarotonga. We are scheduled to travel on to Manihiki but not until after your ship arrives here. Just to see you in person for a few hours will do the heart good.

Perhaps, when you are able to put the deaths behind, you will turn to the living. Come, just to see these people of yours and after that return to your work at home. I am concerned about you, lest you dive into the depths of work and forget to look after yourself. Come and listen to the sound of the winds of the great Ocean-of-Kiwa which will return you home fresh and invigorated to guide the two canoes. [lead others in your two great works]

Api, I have nothing else to say. Except that grieving for our dead ones bites deeply within. Yet what really matters friend, is that you are alive and well.

Te Rangi Hiroa.

Analysis of the letter: overview

The letter is analysed in terms of discourse patterns (Hoey, 1983, pp. 31 - 168) and clause relations (Hoey 1983, pp. 19 – 30)

Hoey focuses on three basic discourse patterns: *Problem-Solution* (pp. 31 - 106), *Matching* (pp. 107 - 133), and *General-Particular* (pp. 134 - 167).

The ***Problem-Solution pattern*** has two obligatory elements: *Problem* and *Response to the problem*. There may be more than one Problem and more than one Response. In addition, there may be one or more *Evaluations* (positive or negative) of the response and one or more sections outlining the *Situation/s* that give rise to the problem.

Matching patterns involve comparison in respect of similarity (matching compatibility) or difference (matching contrast). ***General-Particular patterns*** involve Generalization-Example or Preview-Detail.

Following Winter (1971), Hoey defines a clause relation (sometimes referred to as a 'semantic relation') as "the cognitive process whereby we interpret the meaning of a sentence or group of sentences in the light of its adjoining sentence or group of sentences" (1983, 18). He notes, however, that "the term 'sentence' in this definition should be interpreted as including part of a sentence, and that whereas "adjoining' describes the most likely position of related clauses . . . it need mean no more than 'within the same discourse'" (p. 18). He divides clause relations into two broad classes: *Logical Sequence* and *Matching*.

Logical Sequence relations "are relations among successive events or ideas, whether actual or potential"; matching relations "are relations where sentences are 'matched' against each other in terms of degrees of identity of description" (pp. 19 - 20). Direct reference is made here to the following Logical Sequence relations: *Time Sequence*, *Condition-Consequence*, *Instrument-Achievement* and *Cause-Consequence*.

The ***Matching relations*** directly referred to are: *Contrast* and *Compatibility* (pp. 19 - 30). Only these relations are highlighted in the analysis that follows because, as Hoey observes, "elaborate classifications of relations can sometimes obscure similarities and kinships" (p. 20).

The analysis begins with an outline of discourse patterning and clause relations in the letter (see *Table 1: Parts 1, 2 & 3*). Following that, there is an overview of the discourse patterning (see *Table 2*).

Table 1 (Part 1): Discourse patterns and clause relations - outline

Discourse pattern	Text: PART 1	Clause relations
<p>Response 1 to Situation & Problem 1</p> <p>Situation & Problem 1</p> <p>Problem 2</p> <p>Response 2 to Problem 1 & Response 1 to Problem 2</p> <p>Preview</p> <p>Detail/Preview</p> <p>Detail</p> <p>Matching Compatibility</p>	<p>Ki a Apirana T. Ngata, (To Apirana T. Ngata,)</p> <p>E koro, tena koe i roto i te whare mate. (Old friend, condolences to you in your house of mourning.)</p> <p>Kua wehe atu a Arihia raua ko Te Makarini. Arihia and Makarini have departed.</p> <p>Kua haere raua i te ara takitini. I te ara taki mano, i te ara karere kore ki muri. (They have gone along the path of the many, along the path of the thousands, along the path from which no messenger returns.)</p> <p>E taea te aha i te ringa kaha o Aitua. (What can one do against the might of the hand of death.)</p> <p>Kaore he kupu, kaore he aha. (Words and all else fail me.)</p> <p>He oti te mea, he mihi he tangi atu ki a koe e te hoa i roto i nga tau. Te tangi noa atu nei maua ko Makere i tenei whenua mamao ki o maua whanaunga kua riro. (All I can do is commiserate and weep for you, my friend, over the years. So Margaret and I grieve here in this distant land for our relations who have passed on.)</p>	<p>Consequence</p> <p>Cause</p> <p>Compatibility</p> <p>Cause</p> <p>Consequence</p> <p>Cause</p> <p>Consequence</p>

Table 1 (Part 2): Discourse patterns and clause relations - overview

Discourse pattern	Text: PART 2	Clause relations
<p>Evaluation of Responses 1 & 2 to Problem 1 & Response 1 to Problem 2 (Proverbial summation)</p> <p>Response 3 to Problem 1 (Injunction)</p> <p>Response 4 to Problem 1 (Injunction) Evaluation of Response 4 to Problem 1</p> <p>Amplification 1 of Response 4 to Problem 1</p> <p>Evaluation of Response 4 to Problem 1</p> <p>Response 5 to Problem 1 (Proverbial summation)</p> <p>Matching Compatibility</p> <p>Preview Detail</p>	<p>Kua oti ra te ki ko nga mate i runga o Koohi me tangi atu i Kawerau, ko nga mate i runga o Kawerau me tangi atu i Koohi. (It is said that the deaths of Koohi should be mourned at Kawerau, and the deaths of Kawerau should be mourned at Koohi.)</p> <p>Kati kia manawanui mai e te hoa, ma nga tau me nga mahi nunui kei mua i to aroaro e whakamama nga taimahatanga me nga mamae. (So be strong, my friend; time and preoccupation with the great developments before you should ease the burden and pain.)</p> <p>Mehemea e taea, me haere mai koe i te kaupuke o Mei kia puhupuhia koe e te hau moana. (If it is possible, come on the May ship and let the breeze comfort you.)</p> <p>Ki te haere mai koe ka mau maua ki Rarotonga nei. (If you come, you could catch us here in Rarotonga.)</p> <p>I muri o taua tima haere ai matou ki Manihiki. (We are scheduled to travel on to Manihiki but not until after your ship arrives here.)</p> <p>Ahakoia kia kite kau atu i to tinana mo nga haora torutoru, he oranga ngakau. (Just to see you in person for a few hours will do the heart good.)</p> <p>Kia huria te mate ki muri, he wa tona a ka huri mai ki te hunga ora. (Perhaps, when you are able to put the deaths behind, you will turn to the living.)</p>	<p>Compatibility</p> <p>Consequence (Injunction) Cause</p> <p>Condition Consequence</p> <p>Condition Consequence</p> <p>Time Sequence</p> <p>Cause Consequence</p> <p>Time Sequence</p>

Table 1 (Part 3): Discourse patterns and clause relations - overview




Discourse pattern	Text: PART 3	Clause relations
<p>Amplification 2 of Response 4 to Problem 1 & Response 1 to Problem 3</p> <p>Problem 3</p>	<p>Haere mai, kia kite kau iho i tenei iwi ou ka hoki atu ai ki nga mahi o te kainga. (Come, just to see these people of yours and after that return to your work at home.)</p> <p>Kei te awangawanga atu au ki a koe, kei ruku atu koe ki roto i te hohonutanga o te mahi, a kai whakaaro kore koe ki to tinana. (I am concerned about you, lest you dive into the depths of work and forget to look after yourself.)</p>	<p>Cause - Consequence Time Sequence</p> <p>Consequence </p> <p>Cause</p>
<p>Response 2 to Problem 3</p> <p>Evaluation of Response 2 to Problem 3</p>	<p>Haere mai kia rongu koe i te tangi o nga hau o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa a ma ratou whakahoki ora i a koe ki te kainga ki te hautu i nga waka e rua. (Come and listen to the sound of the winds of the great Ocean-of-Kiwa which will return you home fresh and invigorated to guide the two canoes. [lead others in your two great works])</p> <p>E Api Api, kaore he kupu ke atu.</p>	<p>Instrument </p> <p>Achievement </p>
<p>Problem 2 Matching (repetition and expansion) Contrast (involving exception)</p>	<p>He oi ano ra ko te aroha ki o taua mate e ngau kino nei i roto. (I have nothing else to say. Except that grieving for our dead ones bites deeply within.)</p>	<p>Contrast</p>
<p>Response (final) to Problems 1, 2 & 3</p> <p>Matching Contrast (involving concession)</p>	<p>Kia ahatia e te hoa, ko koe kei te ora mai. (Yet what really matters friend, is that you are alive and well.)</p>	<p>Contrast</p>
<p>Te Rangi Hiroa.</p>		

Table 2: Overview of discourse patterning

Discourse Pattern Overview		
Problem-Solution pattern	General-particular pattern	Matching pattern
Response 1 (to Situation & Problem 1)	Preview	
Situation and Problem 1	Detail/Preview Detail	Matching Compatibility
Problem 2		
Response 2 (to Problem 1) & Response 1 (to Problem 2)		
Evaluation (of Responses 1 & 2 to Problem 1) & Response 1 (to Problem 2)		Matching Compatibility
Response 3 (to Problem 1)	Preview Detail	
Response 4 (to Problem 1)		
Evaluation (of Response to Problem 1)		
Response 5 (to Problem 1)		
Response 1 (to Problem 3)		
Problem 3		
Response 2 (to Problem 3)		
Evaluation (of Response 2 to Problem 3)		
Problem 2 (repetition and expansion)		Matching Contrast
Final Response (to Problems 1, 2 & 3)		Matching Contrast

Overall, the letter exhibits a *Problem-Solution pattern*. Problem-Solution texts may involve *chained multilayering* (where each Response to a Problem/ Issue gives rise to a different Problem) or *spiral multilayering* (where there are repeated attempts to solve the same Problem/ respond to the same Issue). Where chained and spiral multilayering are combined, the text is said to exhibit *progressive multilayering* (Hoey 1983, 83 ff.). In this case, the text is characterized by *spiral multilayering*. There is one central Problem/ Issue (the death of Arihia and Makarini) and two related problems (the difficulty that Te Rangihiroa has in finding a way of responding; Te

Rangihiroa's concern that his friend will fail to take care of himself). Responses to these problems include: grieving and offering condolence, making reference to the healing properties of time and work, suggesting that Apirana travel to Rarotonga, and, finally, taking consolation from the fact that Apirana is himself alive and well. The possible visit to Rarotonga is associated with a range of possible benefits: being comforted by the breeze, meeting friends, being reinvigorated by the sound of the winds of the great Ocean-of-Kiwa.

In addition to the *Problem-Solution patterning*, there are internal examples of *Matching* and *General-Particular patterns* which operate in combination with the Problem-Solution patterning. The *General-Particular patterns* involve *Preview* and *Detail*; the *Matching patterns* involve *Contrast* and *Compatibility*.

Discourse patterning: analysis of segments

In order to make the discourse patterning clearer, three extracts from the letter (the first involving omission of two sentences) are analysed below (see *Table 3: Parts 1, 2 & 3*).

Table 3 (Part 1): (Matching Compatibility in the context of General-Particular (Preview – Detail) and Problem – Solution (Problem-Response-Evaluation))

Text	Problem-Solution pattern	General-particular pattern	Matching pattern
E koro, tena koe i roto i te whare mate. (Old friend, condolences to you in your house of mourning.)	Response	Preview	
Kua wehe atu a Arihia raua ko Te Makarini (Arihia and Makarini have departed.)	Problem/ Issue	Detail/ Preview	
Kua haere raua i te ara takitini. I te ara taki mano, i te ara karere kore ki muri. (They have gone along the path of the many, along the path of the thousands, along the path from which no messenger returns.)		Detail	Matching Compatibility
Te tangi noa atu nei maua ko Makere i tenei whenua mamao ki o maua whanaunga kua riro. (So Margaret and I grieve here in this distant land for our relations who have passed on.)	Response		
Kua oti ra te ki ko nga mate i runga o Koohi me tangi atu i Kawerau, ko nga mate i runga o Kawerau me tangi atu i Koohi. (It is said that the deaths of Koohi should be mourned at Kawerau, and the deaths of Kawerau should be mourned at Koohi..)	Evaluation (of response)		Matching Compatibility

Table 3 (Part 2): General-Particular (Preview – Detail) in the context of Problem-Solution (Response – Evaluation)

Text	Problem-Solution pattern	General-particular pattern	Matching pattern
Mehemea e taea, me haere mai koe i te kaupuke o Mei kia puhipuhia koe e te hau moana. (If it is possible, come on the May ship and let the breeze comfort you.)	Response/ Evaluation (of response)	Preview	
Mehemea e taea, me haere mai koe i te kaupuke o Mei kia puhipuhia koe e te hau moana. (If you come, you could catch us here in Rarotonga. We are scheduled to travel on to Manihiki but not until after your ship arrives here.)	Response (amplification of response)	Detail	

Table 3 (Part 3): Matching Contrast in the context of Problem-Solution (Problem – Response)

Text	Problem-Solution pattern	General-particular pattern	Matching pattern
. . . kaore he kupu ke atu. (I have nothing else to say.)	Problem/ Issue		Matching Contrast (involving statement-exception)
He oi ano ra ko te aroha ki o taua mate e ngau kino nei i roto. (Except that grieving for our dead ones bites deeply within.)			
Kia ahatia e te hoa, ko koe kei te ora mai (Yet what really matters friend, is that you are alive and well.)	Response (to Problem/ Issue)		Matching Contrast (involving concession)

Interaction between discourse patterning and clause relations

There are interesting connections between structural elements and clause relations. Thus, for example, *Problem* and *Response* sections are generally linked by *Cause-Consequence* relations and there may also be *Cause-Consequence* relations within *Response* sections (see *Table 4*):

Table 4: Interaction between discourse patterning and clause relations

Text	Discourse pattern	Clause relation
Kua wehe atu a Arihia raua ko Te Makarini. (Arihia and Makarini have departed.)	Problem/ Issue ↑	Cause ↑
E koro, tena koe i roto i te whare mate. (Old friend, condolences to you in your house of mourning.)	Response (to Problem/Issue) ↓	Consequence ↓
Kaore he kupu, kaore he aha. (Words and all else fail me.)	Problem/ Issue ↑	Cause ↑
He oti te mea, he mihi he tangi atu ki a koe e te hoa i roto i nga tau. (All I can do is commiserate and weep for you, my friend, over the years.)	Response (to Problem/ Issue) ↓	Consequence/ Cause ↓
Te tangi noa atu nei maua ko Makere i tenei whenau mamao ki o maua whanaunga kua riro. (So Margaret and I grieve here in this distant land for our relations who have passed on.)		Consequence ↓
Kua wehe atu a Arihia raua ko Te Makarini. Kua haere raua i te ara takitini. I te ara taki mano, i te ara karere kore ki muri. (Arihia and Makarini have departed. They have gone along the path of the many, along the path of the thousands, along the path from which no messenger returns.)	Problem/ Issue ↑	Cause ↑
Kati kia manawanui mai e te hoa, (So be strong, my friend;)	Response (to Problem/ Issue) ↓	Consequence ↓
ma nga tau me nga mahi nunui kei mua i to aroaro e whakamama nga taimahatanga me nga mamae. (time and preoccupation with the great developments before you should ease the burden and pain.)		Cause ↓
Kei te awangawanga atu au ki a koe, (I am concerned about you)	Problem/ Issue ↑	Consequence ↑
kei ruku atu koe ki roto i te hohonutanga o te mahi, a kai whakaaro kore koe ki to tinana. (lest you dive into the depths of work and forget to look after yourself.)		Cause ↓
Haere mai kia rongu koe i te tangi o nga hau o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa a ma ratou whakahoki ora i a koe ki te kainga ki te hau i nga waka e rua. (Come and listen to the sound of the winds of the great Ocean-of-Kiwa which will return you home fresh and invigorated to guide the two canoes.)	Response ↓	Consequence ↓
. . . kaore he kupu ke atu. He oi ano ra ko te aroha ki o taua mate e ngau kino nei i roto. (. . . I have nothing else to say. Except that grieving for our dead ones bites deeply within.)	Problem/ Issue ↑	Cause (concession) ↑
Kia ahatia e te hoa, ko koe kei te ora mai (Yet what really matters friend, is that you are alive and well.)	Response (to Problem) ↓	Consequence ↓

Signposting of clause relations

Clause relations may be contextually implied rather than signalled or signposted. However, where they are signalled, this signalling may occur in a variety of forms. It may involve subordinators, conjuncts, certain types of lexical item, or a combination of repetition and replacement (Winter, 1968). Thus, for example, the *condition* member of a *condition-consequence* relation may be signalled by 'mehemea' or, in certain contexts, by 'ki te' (which also performs other functions in different contexts):

Mehemea e taea . . . (If it is possible . . .)
Ki te haere mai koe . . . (If you come)

In the following extract, 'ki te' signals the *Instrument-Achievement* relation:

Haere mai kia rongo koe i te tangi o nga hau o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa a ma ratou whakahoki ora i a koe *ki te* kainga *ki te* hautu i nga waka e rua.
(Come and listen to the sound of the winds of the great Ocean-of-Kiwa which will return you home fresh and invigorated to guide the two canoes.)

The *cause* member of *cause-consequence* relations is often signalled in Māori by 'i te mea (hoki)', 'nā/nō te mea (hoki)' 'tā te mea' or 'he mea (hoki)'. Here, however, 'he oti te mea', where 'oti' signals completion, is appropriate in the context of the finality of death:

E taea te aha i te ringa kaha o Aitua. Kaore he kupu, kaore he aha. *He oti te mea*, he mihi he tangi atu ki a koe e te hoa i roto i nga tau.
(What can one do against the might of the hand of death. All I can do is commiserate and weep for you, my friend, over the years.)

Although 'no reira' and 'na reira' are frequently occurring signals of consequential connection in Māori, there are other ways of signalling this type of relationship. Here, 'kia' (roughly translated as 'desirable') in the context of an injunction appears to function in this way. The causative relationship is reinforced by the occurrence of 'kati' (roughly 'so be it') at the beginning of the sentence:

Kati kia manawanui mai e te hoa, ma nga tau me nga mahi nunui kei mua i to aroaro e whakamama nga taimahatanga me nga mamae.
(So be strong, my friend; time and preoccupation with the great developments before you should ease the burden and pain.)

'Ahakoa' ('however'/'although') in the following example signals that the *cause consequence* relation is a *concessive* one:

I muri o taua tima haere ai matou ki Manihiki. *Ahako* kia kite kau atu i to tinana mo nga haora torutoru, he oranga ngakau.

(We are scheduled to travel on to Manihiki but not until after your ship arrives here. Just [in spite of this] to see you in person for a few hours will do the heart good.)

Temporal sequence may be indicated by 'mutu' or 'muri' in Māori as in the following extracts:

I *muri* o taua tima haere ai matou ki Manihiki.

(We are scheduled to travel on to Manihiki but not until after your ship arrives here.)

Kia huria te mate ki *muri*, he wa tona a ka huri mai ki te hunga ora.

(Perhaps, when you are able to put the deaths behind, you will turn to the living.)

Matching relations are often encoded in language that combines repetition and replacement as in the following examples of *Matching Compatibility*:

Kua haere raua *i te ara* takitini. *I te ara* taki mano, *i te ara* karere kore ki muri.

Kua oti ra te ki *ko nga mate i runga o* Koohi *me tangi atu i* Kawerau,
ko nga mate i runga o Kawerau *me tangi atu i* Koohi.

Response sections (occurring as *consequence* members of *cause-consequence* relations here) may take the form of injunctions:

Kati kia manawanui mai e te hoa, . . .

(So be strong, my friend . . .)

These injunctions may be linked by repetition:

. . . me *haere mai* koe i te kaupuke o Mei . . .

(. . . come on the May ship . . .)

Haere mai, kia kite kau iho i tenei iwi . . .

(Come, just to see these people of yours . . .)

Haere mai kia rongo koe i te tangi o nga hau o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa . . .

(Come and listen to the sound of the winds of the great Ocean-of-Kiwa . . .)

Cyclic Response and Proverbial Evaluation

Overall, the letter has a *Problem-Solution* structure involving spiral multilayering. Contained within the spiral multilayering are *Matching patterns* that exhibit syntactic, lexical and thematic repetition. This repetition is not confined to contiguous sentences. In fact the fifth sentence (part of the second problem) is echoed towards the end of the letter:

Kaore he kupu, kaore he aha.

E Api, kaore he kupu ke atu.

It is not only the words that are echoed, but also the sentiments. In each case, reference is made to grieving. In the second case, however, there is an additional element. What is added is the final consolation for the writer himself: his friend is alive and well.

Syntactic and lexical repetition occurs in this letter in sections where there is also overall thematic continuity. That thematic continuity is itself, however, marked by shifts in emphasis, or by the addition of comments that subtly move the argument forward. For example, Apirana is at first exhorted to set sail and let the breeze comfort him. On the next occasion, he is advised to set sail and be renewed and reinvigorated by the winds of the great ocean.

The lexical and grammatical repetition in this letter underpin its rhetorical effectiveness. They create a rhythmic patterning that gives a sense of unity and harmony to the prose and provides a sense of balance and continuity within which subtle developments and changes of direction can take place. This sense of linguistic balance and thematic continuity is reinforced by the sense of historical continuity that results from the occurrence of proverbs at critical stages in the text. On each occasion, the proverb occurs in the context of *Evaluation*. In the first example below, the writer presents the fact that he is grieving at a distance as appropriate in terms of the belief that grief should not be confined to the immediate locality of the deceased. The proverb itself takes the form of a *Matching Compatibility* relation:

Response:

He oti te mea, he mihi he tangi atu ki a koe e te hoa i roto i nga tau. Te tangi noa atu nei maua ko Makere i tenei whenua mamao ki o maua whanaunga kua riro.

(All I can do is commiserate and weep for you, my friend, over the years. So Margaret and I grieve here in this distant land for our relations who have passed on.)

Evaluation of response (proverbial):

Kua oti ra te ki ko nga mate i runga o Koohi me tangi atu i Kawerau, ko nga mate i runga o Kawerau me tangi atu i Koohi. (Matching Compatibility)

(It is said that the deaths of Koohi should be mourned at Kawerau, and the deaths of Kawerau should be mourned at Koohi.)

In the second example, the proverb, also functioning as *Evaluation*, occurs as the *Achievement* member of an *Instrument-Achievement* relation:

Response:

Haere mai kia rongo koe i te tangi o nga hau o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa . .
. (Instrument)
(Come and listen to the sound of the winds of the great Ocean-of-Kiwa)

Evaluation of response (proverbial):

. . . a ma ratou whakahoki ora i a koe ki te kainga ki te hautu i nga waka e rua. (Achievement).
(. . . which will return you home fresh and invigorated to guide the two canoes.)

These proverbial *Evaluations* operate as markers of closure. The first occurs at the end of a section dealing with the initial response: grieving and commiseration; the second rounds off the section in which Apirana is urged to seek consolation and look to the future.

Conclusion and Hypotheses

This letter of condolence exhibits overall the *Problem-Solution* rhetorical prototype with internal *Matching* (*contrast* and *compatibility*) and *General-Particular* (*Preview-Detail*). The *General-Particular* patterning is marked by *spiral multilayering* (repeated responses to the same problems/ issues) involving *repetition with amplification*. The repetition with amplification that characterizes *Problem* and *Response* sections of the text is matched by *Evaluation* sections that themselves involve lexical, syntactic or thematic repetition. Thematic closure is marked by proverbial summations. Once again, syntactic, lexical or thematic repetition characterizes these sections. Responses involving injunctions are marked by a combination of *repetition* and *amplification*. The repetition provides thematic and linguistic unity; the amplification involves thematic development.

Relations of *Cause-Consequence* occur within *Problem*, *Response* and *Evaluation* sections and serve to link *Situation* and *Problem*.

Matching relations involving *compatibility*, marked by *repetition* and *amplification*, occur in the context of *Evaluation* or *Problem*. In the latter case, they amplify the *Problem* in the context of an internal *General-Particular* pattern, providing *Detail* relating to a previous *Preview* section. *Matching* relations involving *contrast* occur in the context of *Problem* and *Response*, either linking a *general statement* (kaore he kupu ke atu/ I have nothing else to say) to an *exception* (He oi ano ra ko te aroha ki o taua mate e ngau kino nei i roto/ Yet what really matters friend, is that you are alive

and well.), or expressing *concession* (He oi ano ra ko te aroha ki o taua mate e ngau kino nei i roto. Kia ahatia e te hoa, ko koe kei te ora mai./ Except that grieving for our dead ones bites deeply within. Yet what really matters friend, is that you are alive and well). This final concessive link is a significant one, representing the writer's personal consolation in the context of concession. It contains the phrase 'kia ahatia', a phrase that appears in northern districts to carry a sense of completion combined with acceptance.

Condition-Consequence relations occur in the context of *Response* or, in combination with *Instrument-Achievement*, link *Response* to *Evaluation*. *Instrument-Achievement* may also link *Response* to *Evaluation*.

The relation of *Time Sequence* occurs in *Response* sections. In two of the three cases, it links important stages in the process of reconciliation following bereavement in Māori culture, that is, returning to the world of the living after a period of communing with the dead and taking time out from duties to be with friends.

Based on the analysis of this letter, a number of hypotheses are listed below. These hypotheses could form the basis of a corpus-based research project.

The following Letters of condolence written in Māori by highly competent users of the language are likely to be characterized by:

- an overall *Problem-Solution* rhetorical prototype involving *spiral multilayering*;
- *internal Matching* and *General-Particular (Preview-Detail)* patterns;
- *Problem*, *Response* and *Evaluation* sections characterized by lexical, syntactic and thematic repetition;
- a combination of *repetition* and *amplification* marking *Responses* involving *injunctions*;
- proverbial summation marking thematic closure;
- relations of *Cause-Consequence* occurring within *Problem*, *Response* and *Evaluation* sections and serving to link *Situation* and *Problem*;
- relations involving *Matching Compatibility* being marked by *repetition* and *amplification* and occurring in the context of *Evaluation* or *Problem*;
- relations involving *Matching contrast* occur in the context of *Problem* and *Response*;
- *Matching* relations amplifying *Problem* sections of the text tending to co-occur with internal *General-Particular* patterns, providing *Detail* in relation to an earlier *Preview*;

- relations of *Condition-Consequence* typically occurring in the context of *Response* or, in combination with *Instrument-Achievement*, linking *Response* to *Evaluation*.

The analysis provided here is intended to do little more than provide a methodological starting point for the examination of texts written in Māori and other endangered languages. The hypotheses forwarded here relate specifically to letters of condolence in Māori. It may be that further study will invalidate them. Equally, several of them may be found to apply more generally. What really matters, however, is not the hypotheses themselves, but the fact that the methodology that underlies their derivation can be applied to a range of text types and can help to reveal their similarities and differences. Understanding how texts written by competent users of endangered languages are constructed, and being able to communicate this understanding to language learners, could prove to be an important aspect of language revitalisation.

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