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The School of Māori and Pacific Development

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TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

Tihe Mauriora!

Ko te whakaputanga tuarua tēnei o te kohinga kōrero o Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, e kīa nei *He Puna Kōrero*. Ka tukuna atu hei tirohanga mā te ao, hei miringa mā te ngakau aroha.

He tohu whakamaharatanga tēnei whakaputanga ki Tā Te Kotahi Mahuta, ko ia nei tētahi i tautoko nui i ēnei momo whāngai i te hinengaro, ā, i whakaae hoki ki tōna ingoa kia tū hei kaititiro. He whakamaharatanga anō hoki ki a Tipene August. He tauira a Tipene i roto i te kura, e whai ana i tōna tohu kairangi, ka mate. Ko rāua wahangū, engari ko ō rāua wairua ka mau tonu ake hei kaiārahi i te hunga e whai nei i te mātauranga.

Moe mai rā kōrua i te moenga roa.

Greetings!

This is the second volume of articles published by the School of Māori and Pacific Development called *He Puna Kōrero*, the Journal of Maori and Pacific Development. It is released for public reading, and comes with a tone of sadness.

This edition is dedicated to the memory of Sir Robert Mahuta, who not only gave his name to be on the Editorial Borad but supported wholeheartedly these endeavours. It is also dedicated to Stephen August, who was a student of the School pursuing studies towards a PhD when he died. They have departed but leave their spirit of dedication to lead those who pursue the couse of scholarship.

Professor Tamati Muturangi Reedy
Te Amokapua
Dean/Pro Vice Chancellor (Māori)
Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao
School of Maori and Pacific Development
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
The University of Waikato

Tuururu: *Owl Poem*

Tipene August
Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

Tuururu

He oriori te orooro
He orii he oro he orii he oro
Poo poo nei he pai he pai
Maarama a Hina raa
Mahara a Hine nei
Poo poo nei he pai he pai
Araa whakaarara
Araa whakaarara
Ruuruu ruuruu
Koukou kouko

Naa Tipene Akuhata

Te Ūkaipō

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Te Ūkaipō *Nā Te Kāhautu Maxwell*	
Matika taku wairua	My spirit arises
Ka hanake ka haere	Appears and departs
Matika taku wairua	To the motherland, my place of sustenance
Ka hanake ka haere	To the shimmering waters of Waimārama
Te ūkaipō	The landing place of my ancestral canoe
Karekare wai ana	Hence a resting place for my spirit
Waimārama, Waimārama[1]	From this world of complexity
Te Okiokinga o te waka	From this world of tribulation
Te Okiokinga o te wairua	I here lay myself to rest
I te ao wetiweti e	I here depart and bid you farewell
I te ao wetiweti e	
Ka whakatā hoki au i ahau	
Hei konei rā, Hei konei rā, Hei konei rā	

1. Ko Waimārama, he kāinga tēnei ki te taha tonga o Heretaunga. E ai ki te kōrero i ū atu ai a Tākitimu waka ki reira. Ko te ingoa o te whare rūnanga ki reira ko Taupunga. Ko te tikanga o tērā kupu ko te haika tonu o te waka o Tākitimu. Nō reira he tohu maharatanga te whare rūnanga ki te ūnga o Tākitimu waka ki Waimārama.

I titoa tēnei waiata apakura mō Tipene August he uri nō Ngāti Kahungunu. He tauira a Tipene ki Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato mai i te tau 1993 ki te tau 2000. I piki ake ia i te ara o Tawhaki ki te rapu i te mātauranga, i tae ia ki te Pae Kairangi, a, ka haukoti ohoreretia tōna hā ka riro koia ki te pō tē whakaarahia. Moe mai e te hoa ki roto i te huinga o te kahurangi ki runga o Tamakurangi te nōhanga nui o te kāhui wairua, haere, haere, haere atu ra.
Te Kāhautu Maxwell, 29 o Pepuere 2001.

This song of mourning is dedicated to the memory of Tipene August of the Ngāti Kahungunu people. Tipene was a student at the University of Waikato, from 1993-2000. He ascended the pathway of his ancestor Tāwhaki in search of the sacred baskets of knowledge. Tipene was enrolled as a Doctoral Student when he passed away suddenly into the night of no awakening. Therefore my friend rest in peace within the myriad's of the noble, upon Tamakurangi where the spirits reside. Farewell.
Te Kāhautu Maxwell, 29th of February 2001.

(For a version of the song on CD, please contact Te Kāhautu Maxwell)

A Literary and Linguistic Critique of a Maori Lullaby

Tipene August

This article is based on work in progress by Tipene August, work that would have culminated in his doctoral thesis. In putting the article together, I have tried to remain faithful to both the spirit and the substance of the original. Tipene was a close friend and an exceptionally talented scholar with a passion for the artistic heritage of Maoridom. It is a privilege to have known him and to have worked with him. I hope that this introduction to one aspect of Tipene's work will provide readers with some insight into one man's dedicated search for understanding of his artistic and cultural heritage. The lullaby that is analysed here is one that Tipene was particularly fond of and seems to encapsulate much that applies to his own struggle to achieve perfection. I would like to thank those of Tipene's friends and family who have assisted in various ways in the preparation of this article.

Winifred Crombie

Abstract

Maori song poems surviving from pre-colonial times can provide a valuable source of information about the artistic and cultural heritage of Maoridom. However, they present a number of challenges for the contemporary analyst. On the basis of a stylistic analysis of a Maori lullaby, a number of hypotheses about Maori song poems in general, and the lullaby in particular, are put forward and it is suggested that these hypotheses could be tested in relation to a corpus of song poems. It is hoped that the approach to stylistic analysis adopted here will be of use to scholars of Maori song poems and, perhaps, also to others who are interested in indigenous art forms more generally.

1.0 Introduction

The lullaby is one of a number of different types of Maori 'song poetry' surviving from pre-colonial times. Lullabies were composed for children of the aristocracy by their parents or grandparents and included a recount of the child's lineage. They were written in the sacred, formulaic language used in schools of learning and provide historical information, including information about genealogy, tribal history and migration from the Maori homeland of Hawaiiki. Above all, they are a valuable source of information about the artistic and cultural heritage of Maoridom. However, they present a number of structural, stylistic and interpretative challenges for the contemporary analyst. In effect, they are equivalent to riddles whose solution is of fundamental importance if Maori are to appreciate fully, and build on, their artistic and cultural heritage.

The lullaby analysed here, a lullaby which also includes aspects of lament, was composed by Nohomaiterangi for his twin sons, Te Hauapu and PaniTaongakore and was written during a period of bitter inter-tribal warfare in the Heretaunga district (Hawkes' Bay). The text of this lullaby, along with an English translation, was first published in 1929 and was later included in *Nga moteatea, he maramara rere no nga waka maha,* a collection put together by Sir Apirana Ngata (1959, pp. 104 – 107).

In providing a stylistic analysis of this lullaby here, I aim not only to throw some light on its artistic composition, but also **(a)** to suggest a number of possible analytical approaches that could prove useful in relation to other works of a similar type, and **(b)** to formulate a number of hypotheses about the lullaby as a Maori art form, hypotheses that could be tested in relation to a corpus of lullabies. Some of these hypotheses will also be relevant to other types of song poetry and can, similarly, be tested in relation to a more extensive corpus

2.0 The lullaby

At the end of this section, the lullaby, along with the English translation, is printed (see ***Table 1***). Explanatory information about this lullaby was supplied to Ngata by Ihaia Hutana (Ngata 1959, p. 107). Although it is written out in lines (numbered 1 – 14), it must be remembered that lullabies were intended to be sung or chanted. Thus, representation as lines of verse is necessarily artificial. Nevertheless, these line divisions *may* capture something of the essence of the compositional techniques involved and will prove useful in the analysuis that follows. It should also be noted that there are aspects of the translation by Pei Te Hurinui Jones (e.g. the use of the word 'heavens') that suggest some imposition of aspects of the colonial culture. However, as Palmer observes in the *Foreword*: "the difficulty of translating from one language to another is a truism that needs no stress" but "one point should be remembered by all who read this volume. No matter how brilliant the translation, how apt the phrase or vivid the image, the English version is no substitute for the original Maori. We are reading the poetry of a people in the language of that people and the English version should aid to further and more intensive study of the Maori text" (Ngata, 1959, pp. v & vi).

As readers will note, there is no indication of vowel length in the representation below. The length of vowels may prove to have been fundamental to the artistic composition. However, no attempt is made here to infer vowel length. Although historical evidence indicates that this lullaby was actually written for twin boys, readers will note that the exortation (*E tama*) is in singular form, something that may have significance in terms of the metaphor of unity that pervades the poem.

The provenance of this piece is known (Ngaati Kahungunu). There is, however, little in the poem itself that is dialectically specific except for the use of 'mohou' rather than 'mou' (intended possession) and 'tipuna' rather than 'tupuna', usages that are associated with the East Coast dialect. Instances of sacerdotal language are common to a number of different iwi.

At the centre of the poem is the addressee, the child to whom the poem is addressed. There is one direct reference to the composer as agent *('naku i . . . '*). Otherwise, the narrative participants (animals, birds of land and sea, ancestors) are brought alive through metaphor.

***Table 1*: Lullaby with English translation**

Maori version	**English translation**
1 E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,	O son who arose in the winter's morn,
2 Piki nau ake, e tama,	Ascend and proceed onward, O son,
3 Ki tou tini i te rangi.	To your myriad (kinsmen) in the heavens.
4 E puta ranei koe, e tama,	Will you, O son, survive
5 I te wa kaikino nei?	These times of bitter strife?
6 Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori;	My son bestir yourself betimes
7 Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;	So that you may reach the sacred mountain waters o your ancestors;
8 Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhainga,	And they will unfasten and present you with the prized dogskin cloak.
9 Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.	A mantle 'twill be for you in the warriors' ranks.
10 Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara	The plume of the land I have already point-fastened
11 Ki te ake rautangi;	To this trusty weapon;
12 Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai	The plume of the sea I did pluck
13 I te huka o te tai;	From the surging waves;
14 Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.	It was about to disappear in the stormy seas.

3.0 Discourse structure

3.1 Discussion of discourse structure

The lullaby is in the form of a monologue. The first part (lines 1 – 6) is, in terms of discourse structure, ***hortatory***, that is, it is characterized by exhortation and by the vocative. The second part (line 7 following) is ***expository*** (that is, it is explanatory in nature) (Longacre, 1968; Beaugrande, 1980; Van Dijk, 1993).

Line 6 is central. It acts as a link between the hortatory and expository sections. It repeats, in different form, the invocation and exhortation in lines 1 and 2 and prepares the way for the exposition in lines 7 – 14.

The lullaby begins (line 1) with an ***invocation*** with an embedded ***informative***[1]***:***

E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri
(O son who arose on the winter's morn)

This is followed (lines 2 – 3) by ***exhortation*** in the form of a ***directive***[1]***:***

Piki nau ake, e tama,/ Ki tou tini i te rangi
(Ascend and proceed onward, O Son/ To your myriad (kinsmen) in the heavens)

Thus, the first line is made up of the vocative form of address (*E tama: O son*) plus a qualification (*i whanake i te ata o pipiri: who arose in the winter's morn*). The second line contains the main predicators (verbal elements): *Piki nau ake,/ Ascend and proceed onward*, *O Son*. The third line is locative, relating to direction: *Ki tou tini i te rangi/ to your myriad (kinsmen) in the heavens*.

In lines 4 – 5, the lullaby moves from the ***universal*** to the ***personal***. This second invocation is in the form of an ***elicitation***[1] rather than a directive. However, although the question is technically addressed to the subject (*E tama*), it is, in reality, a personal reflection that makes reference to the current situation, to these times of bitter strife:

E puta ranei koe, e tama,/ I te wa kaikino nei?

(Will you, O son, survive/These times of bitter strife?)

The direct address found in line 1 (*E tama: O son*) is repeated in line 4 where it is marked by a change in position (from initial position in the sentence to medial sentence position). Line 4 contains the invocation and the predicator (verbal element); line 5 contains the object of the sentence in the form of a reference to the *present (I te wa kaikino nei?: These times of bitter strife*?).

Thus, the first three lines involve an exhortation to life and to action and an acknowledgment that all life, all action, culminates in joining the ranks of the ancestors. The second two lines are in the form of a direct question, a question that relates to the current situation, a question that places the child in the here and now of experience.

Following the personal, reflective focus of lines 4 and 5, the form of address changes in line 6 from the impersonal (*E tama: O son*) to the possessive (*Taku tamaiti: My son*). This is no longer *a* son, but *my* son, the bearer of the family line. Once again, we have an exhortation to action in the form of a *directive (Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori: My son bestir yourself betimes*).

In line 7, in spite of the grammatical continuation, the overall discourse orientation changes with a movement into ***exposition.*** This begins with a purpose clause (line 7) that makes reference to the journey of life (c.f. line 3), the journey towards the ancestors (*Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna: So that you may reach the sacred mountain waters of your ancestors*). Thus, the initial clause of the expository section of the poem is linked thematically (reference to the ancestors) and grammatically (sentence continuation) to the hortatory section. It enters into a ***means-purpose***[2] relationship with the previous line:

Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori *(My son bestir yourself betimes)*	***Means***
Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna *(So that you may reach the sacred mountain waters of your ancestors)*	***Purpose***

In lines 8 – 14, we have a sequence of chronologically linked events (chronological sequence)[2] that relate the past to the future. The plume of the land and the plume of the sea have *already* been prepared. The power of land and sea is to be imparted symbolically in the prized ear pendant (*'toroa uta'*) and the talisman (*'toroa tai'*) affixed to the trusty weapon. These will protect and help to ensure success in battle. What is to come in the future is the prized dogskin cloak that will be given in recognition of warrior status. Thus, preparations have been made for life's journey. The fulfilment of that journey will be recognition by the ancestors as their ranks are joined. The physical landscape will then be transformed into a metaphysical one, just as the waters of the sea (line 12) become the metaphysical waters of the sacred mountain (the sea of stars) (line 7).

Line 8, an ***informative***[1], is linked sequentially (the relation of ***chronological sequence***[2]) to line 7. Thus, *after* reaching the sacred mountain, the prized dogskin cloak will be presented. This is followed in line 9 by ***amplification***[2]. This is not just a dogskin cloak, it is the symbol of initiation into the rank of warrior: *Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.*

Lines 10 & 11 and 12 & 13 are in a relationship of ***matching compatibility*** [3]:

Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara/ Ki te ake rautangi;
Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai/I te huka o te tai
(The plume of the land I have already point-fastened/ To this trusty weapon;
The plume of the sea I did pluck/ From the surging waves)

This semantic parallelism is matched by grammatical parallelism (repetition with replacement):

Ko te toroa uta naku . . . / Ko te toroa tai naku . . .

Thus, the semantic and syntactic unity is matched by a rhythmic unity at the point where the composer refers directly to himself (lines 10 and 12).

In lines 12 – 14, the dangers of the sea are presented through the difficulty of obtaining the sea bird feather. In fact, the plume of the sea was in danger of disappearing:

Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.
(It was about to disappear in the stormy seas.)

This final section appears to carry additional metaphoric resonance. Water is the vehicle and symbol of purification, but purity must be internal as well as external. The sea is thus to be respected and feared in the journey towards the sacred mountain waters. The sea has already represented a threat to the achievement of warrior status: it may, in fact, have already represented a threat to the boys' survival.

Thus, the poem represents a physical and metaphysical journey from birth (line 1) through strife to honour, and finally to unity with the ancestors. The journey is, however, an uncertain one. At the heart of the poem is an implicit condition: if the appropriate talismans are earned, if the ancient rites of passage are endured, then the son will prevail and be honoured in the ranks of the great warriors. There must be physical, mental and spiritual development. That unity with nature that comes from understanding the land, the sea and the creatures that inhabit land and sea (represented by the feathers of land and sea birds and the dogskin cloak) must be achieved. Only thus can the talismans be earned, destiny fulfilled and unity with the ancestors achieved.

3.2 An outline of discourse structure segments

Table 2 (following) outlines the primary discourse constituents of the lullaby. ***Table 3*** provides an outline of speech acts. The semantic relationships between the speech acts are outlined in ***Table 4***.

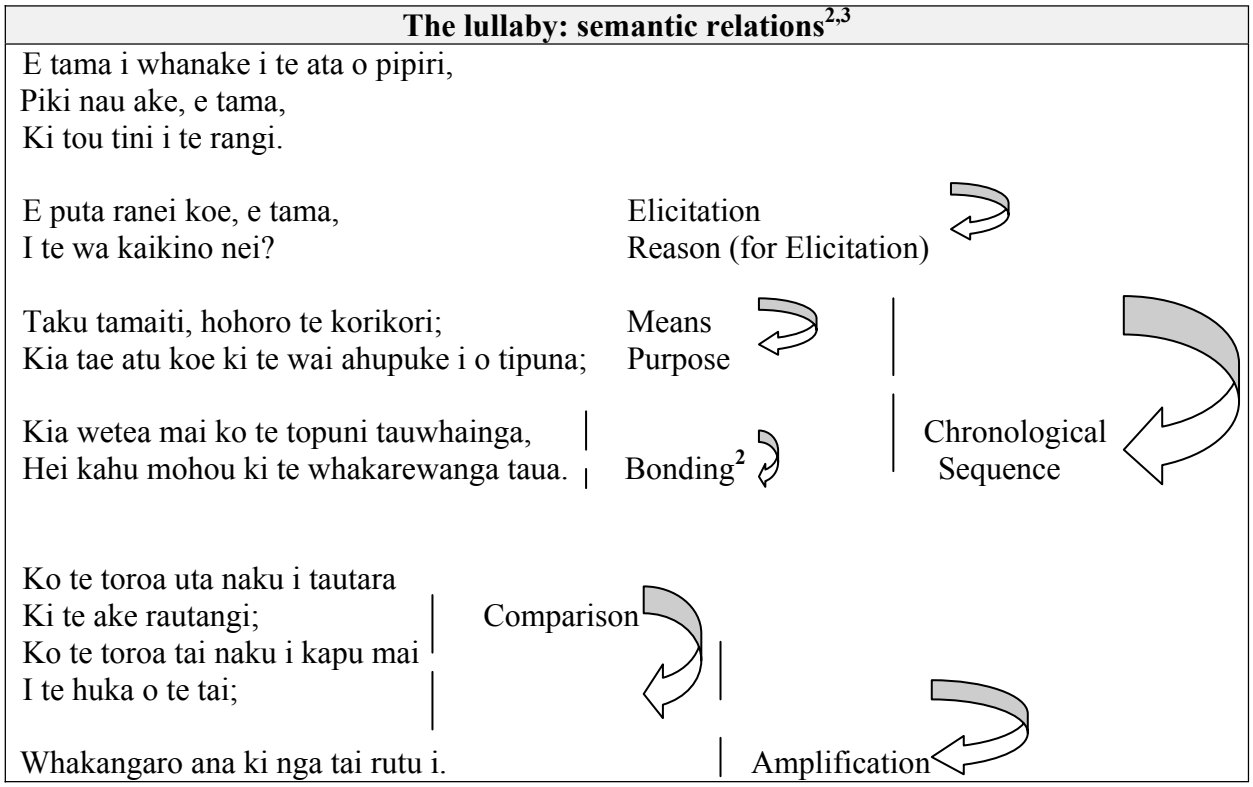
***Table 2*: Overall discourse structure**

The lullaby	Overall discourse structure
1 E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri, 2 Piki nau ake, e tama, 3 Ki tou tini i te rangi. 4 E puta ranei koe, e tama, 5 I te wa kaikino nei? 6 Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori; 7 Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna; 8 Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhainga, 9 Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua. 10 Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara 11 Ki te ake rautangi; 12 Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai 13 I te huka o te tai; 14 Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.	**Hortatory** ↓ (Universal; Personal) **Expository** ↓

***Table 3*: Speech acts**

The lullaby: speech acts[2]	
E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,	**Invocation** (with embedded ***informative***)
Piki nau ake, e tama, Ki tou tini i te rangi.	**Exhortation** (in the form of a ***directive***)
E puta ranei koe, e tama, I te wa kaikino nei?	**Invocation** (in the form of an ***elicitation***)
Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori; Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna; Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhainga, Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga taua.	**Invocation** and **Exhortation** (in the form of a ***directive***)
Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara Ki te ake rautangi;	**Informative**
Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai I te huka o te tai;	**Informative**
Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu i.	**Informative**

***Table 4*: Semantic relations**



The following hypothesis is put forward on the basis of the analyses in ***Tables 1 – 3***.

<u>Hypothesis 1</u>
Maori lullabies composed in the pre-colonial period are marked by:

- **a combination of hortatory and expository discourse, involving a movement between the universal and the personal;**

- **a combination of invocation and exhortation (with the optional additional combination of exhortation and elicitation) in the first segment and informative (involving logical sequence and comparison/ contrast) in the second segment.**

3.0 Lexical and grammatical parallelism and the role of cohesive devices

Cohesive devices are lexical and grammatical devices that are indicative of the overall unity of a discourse (Halliday and Hasan, 1985). Where these devices form links or chains, they create a cohesive harmony in the text (Halliday and Hasan, 1985, pp. 70 – 96). Thus, for example, cohesive chains are established in relation to water, battle and manhood.

In this lullaby, one of the major cohesive devices in lines 1 - 6 is the repetition of '*e tama*' and its variation in '*taku tamaiti*'

E tama *i whanake i te ata o pipiri,*
Piki nau ake, ***e tama****,*
Ki tou tini i te rangi.
E puta ranei koe, ***e tama****,*
I te wa kaikino nei?
Taku tamaiti*, hohoro te korikori . . .*

In lines 8 and 9, there is a referential link (*'ko te topuni tauwhainga'/ 'Hei kahu mohou'*) the second reference being signalled as a specific future possession.

In lines 10 & 12, there is a combination of grammatical and lexical parallelism which involves both repetition (*'Ko te toroa . . . naku'*) and replacement (*'uta'/ 'tau'*):

Ko te toroa uta naku . . ./ Ko te toroa tai naku . . .

Cohesion is also achieved through symbolic reference. Thus, there is a symbolic relationship between line 1 (*E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri*) and line 5 (*I te wa kaikino nei?*). The star '*pipiri*', visible in the early morning, rises in the eleventh month of the Maori almanac and ushers in winter (Tomoana, 1920) and winter was traditionally the time of both learning and war. The boys, born in winter, were born to achieve learning through warfare. Thus, the symbolic relationship between '*ata o pipiri*' and '*i te wa kaikino*' provides a link between birth and strife, strife and learning. There are additional symbolic resonances here. '*Pipiri*', according to Williams (1975, p. 283), has the meanings of 'joining in battle' and 'clinging together'. One meaning of '*piri*' is to wrap one's arms and torso around one's drawn up knees (as if to fend off cold): 'pipiri' is, thus, additionally symbolic of defensive action. Thus, the time of the boys' birth is symbolic of their mission.

The grammatical elements that mark and connect discourse segments all perform a cohesive function, a cohesive function that is reinforced by phonological parallelism. Thus, for example, the repetition of '*i te'*, '*ki te*' and '*ko te*' reinforces the persistent rhythmic beat of the poem (see 6.0 following).

The analysis in this section leads to a second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2
Maori lullabies composed in the pre-colonial period are marked by:

- **the achievement of poetic effects (including lexical, grammatical and phonological parallelism) through the selection and positioning of cohesive devices (lexical and grammatical);**

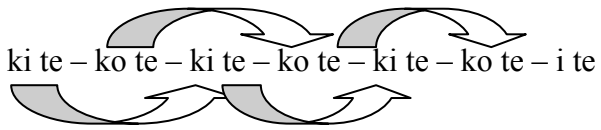
- **the use of symbolic reference as a cohesive device.**

4.0 Rhythmic structure

4.1 Rhyme scheme

Many compositions such as this one were recorded in verse lines when they were first written down. It is difficult to determine whether this was simply due to the influence of European poetry or whether it represents a response to something inherent in the works themselves. A careful analysis of the phonological structure of this lullaby does, however, suggest that the linear divisions are indicative of aspects of the artistic structure. This is something that would need to be tested further with reference to a corpus of lullabies.

The lexical and grammatical parallelism to which reference was made in the previous section helps create a rhythmic unity, a rhythmic unity that is reinforced by the placement of grammatical markers. Note, for example, how the rhythmic potential inherent in the language is exploited in lines 7 – 13 with the following movement:



7 Kia tae atu koe **ki te** wai ahupuke i o tipuna;

8 Kia wetea mai **ko te** topuni tauwhainga,

9 Hei kahu mohou **ki te** whakarewanga taua.

10 **Ko te** toroa uta naku i tautara

11 **Ki te** ake rautangi;

12 **Ko te** toroa tai naku i kapu mai

13 **I te** huka o te tai . . .

This rhythmic unity is picked up in both the phrasing and the vowel occurrence. In its original written form, this song poem was given fourteen lines, each of which has between one and three phrases. In order to determine whether there is anything in the metrical structure that supports this line division, the final vowel in each line was examined. What was found was that each metrical line ends with either [i] or [a] as indicated in ***Table 5*** following:

Table 5: **Line-end vowels**

	Line-end vowel
1 E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,	**i**
2 Piki nau ake, e tam**a**,	**a**
3 Ki tou tini i te rang**i**.	**i**
4 E puta ranei koe, e tam**a**,	**a**
5 I te wa kaikino ne**i**?	**i**
6 Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikor**i**;	**i**
7 Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipun**a**;	**a**
8 Kia wetea mai ko te topuni tauwhaing**a**,	**a**
9 Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga tau**a**.	**a**
10 Ko te toroa uta naku i tautar**a**	**a**
11 Ki te ake rautang**i**;	**i**
12 Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu ma**i**	**i**
13 I te huka o te ta**i**;	**i**
14 Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu **i**.	**i**

There appears also to be a complex rhyme scheme, a rhyme scheme that is very different from those rhyme schemes that are associated with traditional Western verse. It involves line-initial, line-end and line-internal rhyme. Thus, '*E tama*', which begins line 1 is picked up at the end of lines 2 and 4, creating a rhyming pattern. Lines 7 and 8 also rhyme: each ends with a three syllable word ending in [a][4] (ti-pu-na; tau-whai-nga). In line 7, the final vowel is preceded by an alveloar nasal represented by the letter 'n'; in line 8, the final vowel is preceded by a velar nasal (represented by the letters 'ng'): ***tipuna*** / ***tauwhainga.***

There is an interesting rhyme pattern in lines 8 – 10 and 12 – 14. Line 8 ends with '*tau . . . nga '* (with '*whai*' inserted), forming a partial rhyme with '*taua*' at the end of line 9. In turn, line 10 ends with '*tau . . . a*' (with with '*tar*' inserted):

. . . ***tau****whainga****a*** *(l.8)*
. . . taua *(l.9)*
. . . tau*tara****a*** *(l.10)*

Line 11 ends with '***rau****tangi*', the first part of that word ('*rau*') rhyming with the first part of the final word of the preceding line ('***tau****tara*'). Lines 12 and 13 have line-end rhyme: '*mai*'/ '*tai*' and the rhyme on '*tai*'.

Integrating the phonological parallelism of the repetition of '*i te*', '*ki te*' and '*ko te*' with that of the repetition of '*e tama*' and the final '*i*' or '*a*' of each line begins to reveal the rhythmic unity of the piece as a whole:

E tama *i whanake* ***i te*** *ata o pipiri,*
Piki nau ake, ***e tama,***
Ki tou tini ***i te*** *rangi.*
E puta ranei koe, ***e tama****,*
I te *wa kaikino nei?*
Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori;
Kia tae atu koe ***ki te*** *wai ahupuke i o tipuna;*
Kia wetea mai ***ko te*** *topuni tauwhainga,*
Hei kahu mohou ***ki te*** *whakarewanga taua.*
Ko te *toroa uta naku i tautara*
Ki te *ake rautangi;*
Ko te *toroa tai naku i kapu mai*
I te *huka o te tai;*
Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu ***i****.*

Thus, there appears to be a complex rhyme scheme which justifies the decision taken by Sir Apirana Ngata to represent this lullaby in lines. In ***Table 6*** following, the proposed rhyme scheme as it affects the final word in each line is outlined:

Table 6**: Provisional rhyme scheme proposal**

	Line-end vowel
E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri,	**i**
Piki nau ake, ***e tama****,*	**a**
Ki tou tini i te rangi.	**i**
E puta ranei koe, ***e tama****,*	**a**
I te wa kaikino nei	**i**
Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori;	**i**
Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o ***tipuna****;*	**a**
Kia wetea mai ko te topuni ***tau****whai****nga****,*	**a**
Hei kahu mohou ki te whakarewanga ***taua****.*	**a**
Ko te toroa uta naku i ***tau****tara*	**a**
Ki te ake ***rau****tangi;*	**i**
Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu ***mai***	**i**
I te huka o te ***tai****;*	**i**
Whakangaro ana ki nga tai rutu ***i****.*	**i**

In fact, the rhythmic complexity of this song poem becomes even more compelling when internal rhyme is taken into account, that internal rhyme relying heavily, as has been indicated, on lexical repetition and the placement of grammatical markers in relation to the musical beat.

4.2 Other aspects of metrical structure

In terms of the relationship between the overall discourse structure and metrical structure, phrase count and mora count are interesting. Thus, the initial combination of ***invocation and exhortation*** (lines 1 – 3) is made up of 33 morae, a mora being made up of either a vowel on its own, or a vowel preceded by a consonant[8]. The second combination of ***invocation and exhortation*** (lines 6 & 7) is made up of 35 morae. However, given that elision of the two vowels in 'kia' and the final vowel in 'wai' in line 7 is likely in performance, it may be that there is a closer match than initially appears to be the case.

***Table 7*: Sound parallelism**

Line numbers	Lullaby	Discourse structure	Mora count
1 – 3	E tama i whanake i te ata o pipiri, Piki nau ake, e tama, Ki tou tini i te rangi.	**Invocation and Exhortation**	**33**
6 & 7	Taku tamaiti, hohoro te korikori; Kia tae atu koe ki te wai ahupuke i o tipuna;	**Invocation and Exhortation**	**35**

Just as the two combinations of invocation and exhortation appear to be rhythmically matched, so also do the two matched **informatives** (lines 10 & 11 and lines 12 & 13) that precede the final comment in line 14. In each case, there are three phrases and 22 morae. This is illustrated in ***Table 7*** following.

***Table 8*: Phrase and mora matching**

Line numbers	Lullaby	Discourse structure	Phrase count	Mora count
10 & 11	Ko te toroa uta naku i tautara Ki te ake rautangi;	**Informative**	**3**	**22**
12 & 13	Ko te toroa tai naku i kapu mai 1 te huka o te tai;	**Informative**	**3**	**22**

The analysis provided here suggests an approach that might prove fruitful in any attempt to determine the metrical structure of Maori lullabies and, more generally, of Maori song poems. However, the precise nature of these metrical patterns, and the extent to which they vary from area to area and/or from sub-genre to sub-genre (e.g. from lullabies to laments) can be determined only with reference to a detailed corpus-based study.

Many of the tunes and/or chants with which artistic works were originally associated have been lost. Indeed, some, such as the one being examined here, are now often associated with European tunes that were current at the time that the original written record was made. For this reason, inferences about those aspects of the metrical composition that were salient in terms of performance must be treated with extreme caution.

The analysis in sections 4.1 and 4.2 leads to a number of hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3

Maori song poems of the pre-colonial period are characterised by a complex metrical structure that reflects and highlights the overall discourse structure.

Hypothesis 4

The nature of the metrical structure of Maori song poems composed in the pre- colonial period supports the contention that the metrical line is a significant aspect of their construction.

Hypothesis 5

The nature of the metrical structure of Maori song poems of the pre-colonial period suggests that both syllables and morae may play a role in the phonological structure of Maori.

5.0 Unity as a central theme of the lullaby

Although there is historical evidence that this lullaby was written for twin boys, the vocative forms of address (eg *E tama: O Son*) are singular. The boys are thus represented in symbolic unity as they, stripling warriors, begin life's journey and face life's challenges. The lullaby itself melds past present and future into a further unity with its references to birth (line 1), life (line 2) and life after life (line 3), just as it merges land and sea into a symbolic, protective unity (lines 10 – 13). Similarly, earthly images of strife (line 5), weapon (line 11), storm (lines 13 & 14) and potential loss (lines 4 & 14) are set against images of the ancestors (lines 3 & 7), of sacred mountain waters (line 7) and of triumph over adversity (lines 8 & 9). Thus, the tribulations of life merge with the triumph of a life well lived.

This leads to the final hypothesis:

Hypothesis 6

One of the central themes of the Maori lullaby of the pre-colonial period is the unity of the physical and metaphysical universe.

6.0 Conclusion

What has been provided here is no more than a partial stylistic analysis of a single Maori lullaby. That analysis suggests a number of avenues of investigation that may prove fruitful in the future in relation to a corpus of Maori lullabies and, more generally, of Maori song poems. The primary avenues of investigation that are suggested have been outlined in six hypotheses. These are reorganized and restated below in terms of level of generality.

Hypotheses

Maori **song poems** of the pre-colonial period are characterised by:

- a complex metrical structure that reflects and highlights the overall discourse structure;
- a structure that suggests that (a) the metrical line may be a significant feature of their composition, and (b) both syllables and morae may play a role in the phonological structure of Maori.

Maori **lullabies** composed in the pre-colonial period are characterised by:

- a thematic structure that highlights the unity of the physical and metaphysical universe;
- the combination of hortatory and expository discourse in which invocation and exhortation occur in the first segment and informative (involving logical sequence and comparison/ contrast) occurs in the second segment;
- the achievement of poetic effects (including lexical, grammatical and phonological parallelism) through the selection and positioning of cohesive devices (lexical and grammatical) and the use of symbolic reference.

Endnotes

1. ***Informative***, ***directive*** and ***elicitation*** are the three primary speech acts. They are broadly equivalent to declarative, imperative and interrogative. However, they are not the same thing. Thus, for example, an ***elicitation*** (requesting/ requiring a verbal or non-verbal response) may, or may not, be in interrogative form: it may be in the form of a declarative or moodless construction with question intonation (see, for example, Crombie, 1985, pp. 37 – 44).

2. A ***means-purpose*** relationship involves a statement of the means by which a particular purpose can be achieved and is one of a number of general semantic relations, that is, relationships between propositions that are generally treated as universals. These include ***chronological sequence*** and ***amplification***, the latter involving a non-contrastive addition to a proposition. They also include *bonding*, a relationship involving the addition of a non-contrastive proposition (Crombie 1996, pp. 32).

3. It has been proposed that there are three over-arching types of general semantic relationship (*associative*, *logico-deductive* and *tempero-contigual*) that can play an important role in stylistic analysis. Matching compatibility relations, involving comparison in respect of similarity (rather than difference) is a type of associative relation (Crombie, 1987).

4. The issue of how the Maori language is structured phonologically is relevant here. Bauer (1993, p. 553) outlines the syllable and mora structure of Maori as follows:

    a. Maori syllable structure: (C) V; (C) V^1 $V^{1;}$ (C) V^1 V^2

5. Maori morae structure: (C) V

    Thus, a syllable must have one or two vowels plus an optional consonant; a mora has a single vowel plus an optional consonant. The mora is "a phonological unit. . . . [which] consists of an obligatory short vowel optionally preceded by a single consonant sound". In instances where there are two consecutive vowel sounds in a Māori word "they belong to different morae" (Bauer, 1997, p. 25). In this lullaby, the fact that there appears to be a pattern of [i] / [a] end line vowels suggests that the mora is a perceptual category. However, what appears to be a rhyming link between 'tipuna' and 'tauwhainga' suggests that the syllable may also be perceptually salient. The majority of rhythmic patterns, however, appear to be based on the mora rather than the syllable.

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In-service provision for teachers of Maori language and teachers who teach through the medium of Maori: A working model reviewed

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Abstract

This paper reports on the design, administration and effectiveness of an in-service programme designed by the University of Waikato in partnership with the New Zealand Ministry of Education. The programme aims to: improve language proficiency; assist with the interpretation and implementation of Maori curriculum statements; address issues involved in teaching Maori and teaching through the medium of Maori; assist with lesson planning and lesson delivery, materials development and testing and assessment.

Background to the development of the programme

The last two decades in New Zealand have seen an important increase in demand for the provision of Maori language education. The number of *kohanga reo* (Maori pre-schools), *kura kaupapa Maori* (Maori-medium schools) and *wananga* (Maori universities) has grown significantly, and in mainstream and community education contexts a stronger emphasis is being placed on the provision of language acquisition courses at a variety of levels to satisfy a diverse range of needs.

While this growth provides a degree of proof that the language revitalisation process is gathering momentum in this country, it also creates its own significant problem: how to ensure an increasing number of well-trained teachers to deliver quality educational programmes in the target language?

Ideally, inter-generational language transfer of the sort discussed by Fischmann (1989, 1991) would happen at the knee of the elders. However, this is happening much less than could be wished: increasing urbanisation continues to separate Maori from traditional marae settings and there are now very few domains in which Maori is the expected and/or dominant language of communication. Thus, much of the teaching and learning of *te reo Maori* takes place in classrooms. Although some of this teaching and learning takes place in immersion settings, some is confined to regular timetable slots in much the same way as is the teaching of international languages such as French or Japanese.

Although there are fluent speakers of Maori who are also trained language teachers, they are in very short supply. Consequently, it has sometimes proved necessary for schools to call on the assistance of fluent speakers of the language who are not trained

teachers, or to ask teachers who are not specialists in the teaching of language but who have some knowledge of Maori to assume responsibility for Maori language teaching. In such cases, there are potential risks for teachers, students and the language itself, risks that applied linguists, Ministry if Education personnel and teachers themselves have been keen to address. A major part of the response has been to put in place in-service training courses which are designed to focus on course planning, teaching methodology and language proficiency development. This has involved a number of challenges, including the need to ensure that the interim needs of schools and students are accommodated. In an environment where teachers of *te reo Maori* are hard to find, schools are understandably reluctant to release teachers for long periods of time.

This paper reports on the design, administration and effectiveness of one such in-service programme designed by a group of applied linguists at the University of Waikato in partnership with the New Zealand Ministry of Education.

Teacher-training models: an international perspective

Internationally, the move away from the grammar-translation approach to language teaching has been characterised by a greater focus on teaching methodology. There is now a more widespread recognition that teachers need to be trained to carry out the complex range of tasks involved in language teaching and this has led, in the international body of applied linguistics research, to the appearance of a range of models for teacher-training. Examples of this kind of work can be found in Lange (1979; 1990), Britten (1985), Duff (1988), Freeman (1989, 1993), Ellis (1990), Richards and Nunan (1990), Wallace, (1991), Woodward (1991, 1992), Doff (1992), Tanner and Green (1998), and Malderez and Bodoczky (1999). While many of these models relate to the teaching of English, they are nonetheless representative of a generic approach to language teacher-training courses which are divided into what Richard Cullen (1994) in an ELT journal article describes as " a fairly predictable set of component parts" (p.162). He outlines the first three typical standard component parts as a methodological skills component, a linguistics component and a literature component, and goes on to say that "there may or may not be a language improvement component aimed at improving the general language proficiency of the trainees" (p.163)

Many teacher-training courses are developed on the basis that the trainees will either be first-language speakers, or have a high level of language proficiency. Where this is not the case, teacher-training, as Hundelby and Breet (1998) observe, tends to either **(a)** consist of intensive language training at the expense of methodological considerations, or (b) restrict the language development component largely to the type of vehicular language needed for classroom management.

The New Zealand context: identifying a working model for teacher training

A significant feature of the design of the *Whakapiki Reo* in-service programme that was put in place at the University of Waikato is that it was the result of a partnership between Maori and non-Maori applied linguists and teacher educators. In the

academic environment in which the development team members all worked at that time, a number of different teacher-training models were offered to students destined to become specialist teachers of French, German, Japanese, Chinese and English language. One of these models in particular, the *Cambridge Royal Society of Arts Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults* (the Cambridge RSA CELTA) was identified by the team as having the potential to provide the basis for the sort of course they were attempting to create. This model was chosen for a number of reasons, including the fact that it had been carefully monitored and researched over a number of years and had been shown to work well in the context of short, intensive programmes. Furthermore, within the division where the new in-service courses would be run, there were a number of experienced *Cambridge RSA CELTA* tutors who were keen to lend their support to those Maori linguists who would lead this exciting new initiative, the *Whakapiki Reo* programme. The resources that were already in place to support the delivery of the *Cambridge RSA CELTA,* including library resources and teaching aids, could be shared. Although few of these resources were in Mäori, many of them were relevant to language teaching generally and many others could be adapted and developed to suit the particular needs of the *Whakapiki Reo* programme.

The advantages and disadvantages of the Cambridge RSA CELTA model

The *Cambridge RSA CELTA* model of teacher-training is a pre-service course designed as an initial training in teaching English as a second language. It is delivered in a variety of formats depending on the context in which it is taught. It is commonly taught over 1 month on a full-time basis but it can also be delivered over 3 months and longer periods of time on a part- time basis. The syllabus on which the course is based contains a broad range of methodological, theoretical and linguistic components, but also takes into account issues of planning and management. Of particular importance in the overall design of the in-service programme was the fact that the *Cambridge RSA CELTA* also contains a rigorous, observed practicum. This means that every aspect of the theoretical knowledge gained during the training is applied and delivered to real students in a real classroom by the trainees as they are training. Through the process of personal and group reflection on the effectiveness of each teaching session, the *Cambridge RSA CELTA* course also provides strategies to assist trainees to become autonomous learners who will continue to develop their skills within their own teaching environment long after the course has been completed.

In spite of the large number of advantages that could be drawn from using the *Cambridge RSA CELTA* model, there were some issues that needed to be addressed. These related to three main areas of concern. First, the *Cambridge RSA CELTA* is designed for first-language speakers. The objective of the language component is not to increase language proficiency. Rather, it is to assist trainees to become aware on a conscious level of how a language in which they are already proficient (generally as first language speakers) works and, thus, to help them to develop effective teaching strategies based on that understanding. Secondly, the *Cambridge RSA CELTA* is designed to teach language; it is not designed to train teachers to teach curriculum areas through the medium of a second language. Thirdly, the *Cambridge RSA CELTA* is designed to teach English and, therefore, is inevitably predicated on a range of

cultural and linguistic presuppositions that would need to be very carefully examined in the light of the primary objectives of the *Whakapiki Reo* programme team. There was clearly much to be said for paying very careful attention to a teacher education programme that had proved to be extremely effective in many areas of the world, a programme that the Mäori staff who would lead the new development had themselves selected as being particularly interesting. Even so, it was equally clear that the success of the new *Whakapiki Reo* programme would depend on the extent to which it met the specific needs of its own target group. Thus, the overall aim was not to create a Mäori version of an existing English programme, but, rather, to use the insights that could be gained from an existing programme that was known to be effective in the creation of a new programme that would meet the linguistic and cultural needs and expectations of the trainees.

The training process

The *Whakapiki Reo* in-service programme under discussion here is delivered at the University of Waikato in New Zealand under contract to the Ministry of Education. It is available to teachers of Maori language and also to those teaching curriculum areas through the medium of Maori at both primary and secondary school levels. At its core is the belief that the programme should provide a culturally nurturing environment within which (a) the methodological and theoretical skills of the participating teachers can be significantly improved, and (b) language development needs can be addressed. The major objectives are to:

- improve the language proficiency of teachers;
- assist with the interpretation and implementation of Maori curriculum statements;
- address issues involved both in teaching Maori and in teaching through the medium of Maori;
- assist with lesson planning, lesson delivery and testing and assessment.

In the process of establishing these objectives and implementing a programme that was intended to realize them, there was extensive collaboration and consultation, collaboration and consultation that involved not only different groups of applied linguists and teacher trainers, but also New Zealand Ministry of Education officials, representatives of the *Cambridge RSA CELTA* and the Mäori language commissioner.

Many in-service teacher-training courses in New Zealand last for days rather than weeks. In these cases, teachers are generally expected to prepare the work to be covered by their replacement. In the case of the *Whakapiki Reo* programme, teachers were to be released for several months and their schools were to be provided with adequate resources to cover the cost of a replacement teacher. Thus, course participants would be released entirely from their normal teaching roles for the duration of the programme. In promoting this innovative approach, the New Zealand Ministry of Education did a very great deal to help to ensure the success of the venture.

Teacher-training is a high-risk activity. Trainers must be vigilant in preserving the delicate balance between encouraging students, providing them with an appropriate level of theoretical and practical input, and offering clear and unbiased critical analysis of teaching performance. Trainees are exposed when they teach and the process of reflecting on and discussing the effectiveness of teaching sessions can have a negative washback effect if not handled with sensitivity. In the case of the *Whakapiki Reo* trainees, there are added factors that make the process even more complex. Because they are already practising teachers, these trainees open their professional lives to criticism each time they teach. In terms of culturally appropriate behaviour, it is difficult for women to offer criticism to men and for young people to be seen to be in opposition to their elders. These are issues that have needed time to be resolved in order for the training process to proceed without unnecessary barriers.

The training process offered by the *Whakapiki Reo* programme is intensive, rigorous and demanding on both trainees and trainers. Course participants are in class from 8.30 each morning and are engaged in the training process until the end of the feedback session on teaching practice at 4.30pm. They are expected to do teaching practice preparation (often involving materials development) and to complete major assignments on a regular basis throughout the course. They are also involved in research into aspects of the Maori language, research that contributes both to the improvement of their performance in the classroom and their overall knowledge of the Maori language. Every aspect of the course is evaluated, and the overall grade that a student achieves is a reflection not only of outcomes, but also of the processes leading to the achievement of those outcomes.

The stance adopted by the trainers on the *Whakapiki Reo* programme is that their delivery of the programme should be a reflection of good, current, language teaching. Their teaching approaches are varied and they present a range of teaching strategies which can be copied and/or adapted by the trainees in their own teaching practice. The teaching/learning environment is a collaborative one where cooperation, inclusiveness and a sense of group responsibility are fostered. The course is delivered, as much as possible, in the Maori language by teacher educators who are competent speakers of the language and opportunities to use the language are optimized.

Adherence to culturally appropriate practices is an important dimension of this course. Cultural knowledge is shared and transmitted through the music and dance which makes up part of each day's programme, through the formal and informal sharing of food and drink, through adherence to appropriate welcoming and farewell protocols. Thus, the entire programme is conducted in a way that reflects and promotes those courtesies that are so fundamental to the culture in which the language is embedded. Cultural considerations are not simply part of the programme: they provide the context within which other aspects of the programme operate.

Evaluating the trainees and the programme

Evaluation of the trainees on this programme, in common with other effective teacher-training models (Harmer 1989), is essentially formative in nature. Every aspect of the training (lesson plans, teaching practice feedback, post-lesson evaluations, seminar

presentations, assignment work) contributes to a constantly evolving profile of each the trainees and it is on the basis of this profile that a final assessment of each of the trainees is made. In addition, trainees are given a Maori language proficiency test designed by staff of the University at the beginning and end of the course so that they can have a clear measure of the progress they have made in relation to language development.

This formative approach to the assessment of trainees is accompanied by formative assessment of aspects of programme delivery. This is intended to ensure that trainers have sufficient information, including ongoing information about the progress of individual trainees, on which to base programme adjustments. Such adjustments may, for example, relate to the type of tutorial provision made available to individual students or groups, or it may involve altering or adding to the content of input sessions dealing with particular aspects of the training.

Since its inception, the programme has also undergone a series of annual evaluations that have resulted in some fundamental changes. Some of these changes have been related to changes in location and teaching personnel. New trainers with different types of skill have been appointed and the programme itself is now located in the University's School of Mäori and Pacific Development rather than being attached to a division which was responsible for providing postgraduate programmes in second language teaching and learning. There have also been changes in the language backgrounds of trainees: the first few groups included a significantly higher number of trainees with a high level of proficiency in Maori (including first language speakers) than has been the case in recent intakes. This has meant that the original 12 week course has been extended to cover 20 weeks in order to allow for a greater focus on language acquisition.

The changing profile of the trainees has had other important knock-on effects. Whereas in the early stages of the course, the establishment of a Maori language domain within the boundaries of the course was a natural and normal process that needed no real monitoring or control, trainers now need to be conscious of insisting, in a non-threatening but determined way, that this Maori language domain be preserved. For many of the current trainees, speaking Maori all day, every day is an extremely demanding requirement, a requirement that is inevitably associated with high levels of fatigue. Nevertheless, this is considered to be a necessary part of the achievement of overall language proficiency enhancement. Furthermore, it helps trainees to understand more clearly the types of problem that are likely to be experienced by their own students and reinforces the need for teaching methodologies that emphasize clarity of presentation and explanation and that include ongoing comprehension checks.

The *Whakapiki Reo* programme is now in its sixth year of delivery. There continues to be a high level of interest in the programme, and both trainers and trainees continue to report that they find the experience challenging and rewarding. Anecdotal evidence indicates that the teaching and learning experiences of students whose teachers have graduated from the programme have been considerably enhanced and that there has

been a knock-on effect as a result of the fact that graduates of the programme have been encouraged to share their skills with others in their schools. However, a more systematic approach to assessing the effectiveness of the programme needs now to be put on place. Such an approach would supplement the language proficiency records that have been maintained.

From the beginning of the programme, trainees have been given a language proficiency test on entry and exit. The results indicate that the acquisition aspect of the programme is generally successful. *Table 1* below reports, in terms of percentage scores in the language proficiency test overall, on the average proficiency gains of *Whakapiki Reo* trainees who attended the programme over the period from 1996 to1999.

Table 1: **Average language proficiency gains made by Whakapiki Reo trainees: 1996-1999.**

	1996	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**
Entry test mean	57%	43%	57%	56%
Exit test mean	57%	63%	69%	69%
Average proficiency gain	**0%**	**20%**	**12%**	**13%**

In 1996, no overall language proficiency gain is discernible. This may be, in part, because 1996 graduates had, overall, a higher level of proficiency on entrance to the programme. However, this type of reasoning does not explain why average overall proficiency gains peaked in 1997. Furthermore, the approach to reporting proficiency movements needs to be refined to include **(a)** proficiency descriptors that can be related to international proficiency benchmarking, and **(b)** separate recording of proficiency achievements for different skill areas (reading, writing, listening and speaking). This would facilitate comparison with research findings (e.g. Brown, 1998) on the progress of other second language learners in similar contexts over similar periods of time.

The second area worthy of further examination relates to the entry and exit test results of trainees identified as first-language speakers of Maori. Trainees who are first language speakers of Maori are likely to have very similar exit and entry scores in relation to speaking and listening. However, the pattern in relation to reading and writing may be different. Whatever the results should turn out to be, they are bound to impact on the question of the criteria that are applied in determining whether a trainee is best treated as a first or second language speaker of Maori, something that inevitably affects individualized aspects of the training programme.

For trainees identified as first language speakers in the 1996-1999 cohorts, a wide variation of proficiency achievement has been recorded. **Table 2** below reports on the entry and exit scores of those trainees identified as first-language speakers.

Table 2: **Entry and exit scores of trainees identified as first-language speakers of Maori: 1996-1999.**

	Entry %	Exit %	Overall
Student 1	56.5	51	5.5 % loss
Student 2	82	92	10.0 % gain
Student 3	70.5	59	10.5 % loss
Student 4	82	75.5	6.5 % loss
Student 5	69.5	75.5	6.0 % gain
Student 6	81	74	7.0 % loss
Student 7	77	95.5	18.5 % gain
Student 8	70.5	81.5	9.0 % gain
Student 9	80	77.5	2.5 % loss
Student 10	93	77	13.0 % loss
Student 11	88	71.5	16.5 % loss

Of the eleven first-language speakers identified from 1996-1999, seven show an overall loss of proficiency in the exit test score and four show a significant gain.

An analysis of individual scores for each language component in the tests (listening, reading, writing, speaking) indicates that while there is more loss represented in receptive skills (listening, reading), there is also loss in the productive skills of speaking and writing. **Table 3** below indicates those areas where students have made a proficiency loss between the entry and exit test.

Table 3: **Percentage proficiency loss between entry and exit test for first-language speaker trainees in individual language skills 1996-1999.**

	Listening	Reading	Writing	Speaking
Student 1	2.0		3.0	1.5
Student 2	0.5			
Student 3	3.5	1.0	4.5	
Student 4		3.0	3.0	6.5
Student 5			5.5	
Student 6		3.0		7.0
Student 7				
Student 8	3.0	2.0		
Student 9		6.5		2.5
Student 10	1.5	14.5		13.0
Student 11	2.5	11.0	0.5	16.5

These data raise a number of important issues. Whatever the overall proficiency gains recorded, it is of concern that some trainees appear to exhibit proficiency regression in certain area. This may, of course, relate to the natural process of apparent regression that may accompany the internalization of new language prior to its full assimilation. A hypothesis of this type cannot, however, be given credibility in the absence of further testing and is, in any case, unlikely (particularly in the areas of listening and speaking) if these trainees are genuinely first language speakers of Maori who have maintained contact with other speakers of the language. Thus, these scores raise issues relating to the extent to which it is possible to maintain a useful distinction between first and second language speakers in a context in which there has been significant loss of Maori language domains in the community. They also raise questions about the nature of the proficiency testing instruments themselves. Establishing, and maintaining, test instruments whose validity and reliability can be guaranteed is a complex business requiring significant investment. The New Zealand Ministry of Education is currently investing in the development of Maori language proficiency test instruments for young learners (see Crombie, Houia & Reedy, 2000). If it is to be in a position to assess the effectiveness of programmes designed, in whole or in part, to improve the Maori language proficiency in adults, it will need to look carefully at the possibility of promoting the development of national Maori language proficiency tests for adults.

With the major work of establishing the programme now completed, applied linguists associated with the *Whakapiki Reo* programme are in a position to undertake some more in-depth theoretical evaluation of its long-term effectiveness. This research is critical if the programme is to continue to evolve as it must to respond to the changing needs of the New Zealand educational community it is designed to support. There are a number of key tasks that need to be undertaken in relation to this:

- the trainers need to be provided with opportunities to work with other teacher trainers to expand their repertoire of training skills and to keep abreast of developments in a number of fields in applied linguistics;

- the entry and exit tests need to be re-analysed and the task of developing internationally recognised Maori proficiency tests undertaken;

- a number of different types of questionnaire need to be prepared and circulated to different groups of stakeholders in the training process. In these questionnaires, the short and long-term benefits of the training need to be assessed by teachers who have completed the programme, by Principals of schools where *Whakapiki Reo* graduate teachers are working and by students who have experienced a new approach to the teaching of Maori language.

Conclusion

Certainly, there are issues to address if the *Whakapiki Reo* programme is to continue to flourish. Some of these issues are specific to the programme itself; others are of more national significance. There is, for example, a need for pedagogic grammars of Maori which are designed specifically for teacher training contexts. There is also a need for the development of further Maori language textbooks which are based on

communicative principles and which can be used to supplement the resources that are designed by teachers. There is a need for modern authentic text sources in the Maori language, text sources that include a number of different genres such as, for example, advertisements and computer manuals. Finally, a healthy curriculum is one that is the subject of ongoing development. Hence, the curriculum statement for Maori needs to be reviewed in the light of **(a)** ongoing research on the teaching and learning of language generally, and Maori language in particular, and **(b)** experiences gained as a result of its implementation. Consideration also needs to be given to the extent to which this curriculum statement can be adapted so as to meet the needs of all learners of the language, whatever the context in which they are learning. All of these issues impact on the effectiveness of a programme such as the *Whakapiki Reo programme* discussed here.

The *Whakapiki Reo programme* at the University of Waikato grew out of genuine collaborative endeavour, attempting to combine different types of expertise and to take advantage of the strengths of existing programmes. As it has matured and developed, and as staffing has changed, the programme has inevitably taken on a life of its own. Few of those who are now involved in teaching on that programme on a day-to-day basis were directly involved in its initial development and some have no direct experience of the *Canbridge RSA CELTA* out of which it grew. In the initial stages of the programme's development, the intention was to ensure that opportunities for ongoing staff development were treated as an important aspect of the maintenance of programme quality. As time has gone on, this aspect of the original plans has, perhaps understandably, received less attention than the ongoing needs of the trainees. In any re-evaluation of the programme, this is, we believe, a matter that should be given some consideration. At this stage, it might be useful to invite all of those who have been involved with the programme at various stages of its development to a *hui* whose aim is to review current developments and future plans in the light of past experiences.

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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 Rangihiroa 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 kaipuke 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 oranga 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 Manihikibut 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 identicality 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
	Ki a Apirana T. Ngata, (To Apirana T. Ngata,)	
Response 1 to Situation & Problem 1 — Preview	**E koro, tena koe i roto i te whare mate.** (Old friend, condolences to you in your house of mourning.)	Consequence
Detail/ Preview	**Kua wehe atu a Arihia raua ko Te Makarini.** Arihia and Makarini have departed.	Cause
Situation & Problem 1 — Detail	**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.)	Compatibility
Matching Compatibility		
Problem 2	**E taea te aha i te ringa kaha o Aitua.** (What can one do against the might of the hand of death.)	Cause
	Kaore he kupu, kaore he aha. (Words and all else fail me.)	Consequence
Response 2 to Problem 1 & Response 1 to Problem 2	**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.)	Cause Consequence

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

Discourse pattern	Text: PART 2	Clause relations
Evaluation of Responses 1 & 2 to Problem 1 & Response 1 to Problem 2 (Proverbial summation)	**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.)	Compatibility (Matching Compatibility)
Response 3 to Problem 1 (Injunction)	**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.)	Consequence (Injunction) Cause (Preview Detail)
Response 4 to Problem 1 (Injunction)	**Mehemea e taea, me haere mai koe i te kaipuke o Mei kia puhipuhia koe e te hau moana.** (If it is possible, come on the May ship and let the breeze comfort you.)	Condition Consequence
Evaluation of Response 4 to Problem 1	**Ki te haere mai koe ka mau maua ki Rarotonga nei.** (If you come, you could catch us here in Rarotonga.)	Condition Consequence
Amplification 1 of Response 4 to Problem 1	**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.)	Time Sequence
Evaluation of Response 4 to Problem 1	**Ahakoa 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.)	Cause Consequence
Response 5 to Problem 1 (Proverbial summation)	**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.)	Time Sequence

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

Discourse pattern	Text: PART 3	Clause relations
Amplification 2 of Response 4 to Problem 1 & Response 1 to Problem 3	**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.)	Cause - Consequence Time Sequence
Problem 3	**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.)	Consequence Cause
Response 2 to Problem 3 Evaluation of Response 2 to Problem 3	**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. [lead others in your two great works])	Instrument Achievement
Problem 2 (repetition and expansion) Matching Contrast (involving exception)	**E Api** Api, **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.)	Contrast
Response (final) to Problems 1, 2 & 3 Matching Contrast (involving concession)	**Kia ahatia e te hoa, ko koe kei te ora mai.** (Yet what really matters friend, is that you are alive and well.) **Te Rangi Hiroa.**	Contrast

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 kaipuke 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 kaipuke 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 Manihikibut 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;) 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.)	Response (to Problem/ Issue)	Consequence Cause
Kei te awangawanga atu au ki a koe, (I am concerned about you) 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.)	Problem/ Issue	Consequence Cause
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.)	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 sinalling 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. *Ahakoa* 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 kaipuke 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.

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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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Creating community-based systems of good governance at grassroots level: A case of organisational strengthening and capacity building among indigenous women in Tailevu Province, Fiji

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Abstract

Encouraging sustainable community development is a critical aspect of the work of agencies and communities and involves, in the case of contrasting indigenous and non-indigenous value frameworks, a range of challenges. This case study, involving the first twelve months of a Fijian provincial women's project, illustrates the nature of these challenges. From initial planning to implementation, the case demonstrates that the process of empowerment and skills building is possible in a context where the methodology is adapted to meet the needs of the target community. An important aspect of sustainability here is encouraging those accustomed to a culture of silence to articulate and record their aspirations, their needs and their objectives. Thus, traditional dependence upon an organizational history locked in human memory needed, in this case, to be supplemented by transparent, recorded systems of governance and the development of complementary functions in simple organisational frameworks. This case is an illustration of an indigenous experience which has much to offer in relation to ongoing indigenous development generally and much also to gain from the broader framework of indigenous development experiences elsewhere.

Introduction: Contextual background

A constitutional democracy recovering from the military coups of 1987, the Republic of Fiji is a sovereign island state located in the South Pacific and is made up of a little over 300 islands with a population of just over 750,000 people. A multicultural society, the two main ethnic groups are indigenous Fijians comprising almost 50 percent of the total population, Indo-Fijians who constitute 49 percent and other races who make up the remaining one percent. About 83 percent of the land is under native ownership, and in the sugar industry which is the main revenue earner for the country, the majority of Indian farmers whose livelihoods centre around sugar cane farming, are tenant farmers of indigenous Fijian land-owning units (*mataqali*). Disparities between the two main ethnic groups in all spheres of activity have been an ongoing concern with political parties, policy-makers and practitioners in the field. There is a dual system of administration in place. Apart from the main line ministries, the Fijian Administration under the Ministry of Fijian Affairs oversees and administers the provincial machinery of fourteen provinces around the country. The majority of Fijians still reside in the rural areas and many of those that are urban based still retain

ties with their villages. It is against this background that this indigenous women's project on capacity building in the province was initiated as a test case for sustainable community development. The occurrence of yet another coup in May 2000 presented this project with new challenges, challenges that are and is discussed here.

Looking back: reflections for action

The lives of women at grassroots village level often involves rural drudgery in the context of a social order which generally treats women as legal minors and wards of men. The status of these women has been a major driving force in efforts to put in place a model of organisational strengthening and capacity building for indigenous Fijian women at provincial level. This movement is one with a dual purpose. The first aims to develop a viable process of capacity building among rural-based women's Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), a process that uses a generic conceptual framework that can be replicated and customised elsewhere, one that contributes directly to the enhancement of the quality of life of rural women, their families and their communities. By implication, the second objective is to promote increased transparency of civil structures at provincial level.

This case focuses on an initiative that was realised within the collective framework of a rural women's NGO at provincial level. The aim is to share an example of best practice in building good governance and partnerships among key stakeholders in the development process, particularly women's groups. More importantly, it is an attempt to document an empowerment process for learning purposes. The decision to focus at provincial level was largely influenced by field experiences which showed that perceptions of good governance were 'seen' to be associated with top-down processes often determined from the centre. Awareness of good governance issues per se below national level and particularly in the villages is not apparent. Neither have these issues generated spontaneous discussions in decision-making forums such as the *bose va koro* (village council), *the bose ni tikina* (district council) or the *bose ni yasana* (provincial council). Given the current social standing of indigenous Fijian women in a predominantly patrilineal society and the need to enhance women's status in all spheres of activity through an empowerment process of upskilling and confidence-building, the notions of focusing on good governance by integrating it into an organisational strengthening and capacity building project at grassroots level was seen as a move that held potential for sustainable development intervention. This initial task of project formulation was the responsibility of a small working group of women led by a university lecturer with management teaching experience and assisted by the second eldest daughter of the paramount chief in the province and three elderly founding members of the organisation. All the women come from the province and apart from the academic who relocated overseas in 2001 for work purposes, all currently hold senior leadership positions in the Tailevu Soqosoqo Vakamarama (TSSV).

Organisational overview

The Soqosoqo Vakamarama (SSV) is a national indigenous women's NGO with a mandate to work with indigenous women in the villages. Its membership is

predominantly rural based. With its head office-cum-secretariat based in Suva, the SSV is managed by a national executive committee comprising elected officers and the provincial leaders of the 14 provincial branches. The latter form the membership base of the SSV. The SSV's credibility as an NGO capable of promoting the interests and meeting the needs of rural women depends on how well-organised the provincial branches are in terms of structures, processes and mechanisms for service delivery.
That credibility was threatened by a number of problems. Work programs endorsed at national level were not aligned with implementation strategies at provincial level. There was reduced transparency of decision-making processes which were being controlled by small cliques within the levels of the organisation. It was therefore concluded that the time had come to direct focus and energies to strengthening capacities at provincial level. In the organisational history of the SSV, the Tailevu initiative was to become the first of all such initiatives emerging from the fourteen provincial branches whose purpose was to introduce and undertake a provincial-based training programme for indigenous Fijian women. The choice of Tailevu province to initiate this capacity building project was influenced by the fact that this was the home province of the Deputy Provincial Leader of the TSSV, who for this provincial capacity building project also assumed the role of planner, resource mobiliser and head trainer.

The TSSV is an indigenous women's group largely rural focused in its activities and membership and operating out of Tailevu province. The organisation was plagued by a range of problems. These included: ineffective leadership, a weakly articulated membership base, a sluggish organisational momentum, ineffective delivery of services, inadequate capacities and skills base to undertake development-oriented work and negligible successful outcomes. As a consequence, there was an inability to respond effectively to the needs and aspirations of women in their roles as reproducers and producers primarily responsible for organising and managing the household in a rapidly changing rural subsistence context. Membership of the organisation was dwindling.

Given the potential role the TSSV had in enhancing the quality of life of rural women, their families and ultimately rural communities, some members felt there was an urgent need to resurrect TSSV. Through a series of activities aimed at overcoming the problems of organisational decline and poor outcomes, a momentum for change began to slowly build. Examples of these activities include: fortnightly meetings of the working group and other women leaders in the boardroom of the Tailevu Provincial Council since May 1999, alternate weekly visits to selected key villages in the province by 3-4 women to raise awareness of the new provincial women's capacity-building project and to obtain support from traditional leaders and the community, having TSSV traditional leaders and district coordinators attend village and district council meetings and informing these forums of the upcoming project, and on-going consultations with the Provincial Office for advice on logistics and training protocols. In June 1999, under the guidance of the Deputy Provincial Leader of the TSSV, a five-year project on *Organisational Strengthening and Capacity Building* for indigenous rural women in the province was devised. The project received endorsement from the TSSV Executive Committee, the traditional chiefs of the 22 *tikinas* (districts) which constitute the province and the Provincial Administration.

Guiding assumptions

The structure of this rural women's NGO was based on the administrative structure of the Fijian Administration at provincial level. As such, the 22 *tikinas* or districts which made up the province formed the basis of the 22 sub-branches which comprise the TSSV structure. All the 145 villages and settlements fell under these 22 *tikinas*.

Based on first-hand experience of the problems of running women's NGOs, certain assumptions were accepted as givens for the rural context in which capacity building was to be undertaken. These assumptions proved critical to the project's sustainability, its acceptability by the women themselves, its perceived legitimacy as a relevant form of intervention and its potential for transferability and replicability. Acknowledgement of these givens at the outset of the capacity building project made a substantial impact on womens' participation, commitment and confidence in making better decisions. Such confidence was acquired from new skills and expanded knowledge bases directed at enhancing women's individual status and their standing in the different groups that they are members of. The latter range from the *vuvale* (nuclear family), the *i tokatoka* (extended family), the *mataqali* (land-owning unit made up of a number of *tokatoka*) and other non-kinship groupings such as the school mothers' club, church-based groups and so on.

The assumptions upon which this capacity building programme were based are:

- in view of the need to strengthen partnerships between civil society and the public and private sectors, NGOs as components of civil society would need to recognise the importance of having appropriate skills and capacities that would enable effective consultative partnerships for sustainable development;

- the pervading culture of silence in an authoritarian context could be tackled by a proactive and consultative approach to addressing women's issues and gender and development concerns;

- the organisation would need to be restructured to ensure greater visibility in the chain of command to grassroots level and better delivery of services;

- leading from behind through leadership by empowerment strategies would contribute to increased commitment to ownership and support by women for the project;

- the TSSV must be prepared to set up a financial base to fund minimum operational costs and to move away from the idea of 'forking from one's pocket' to meet organisational costs;

- in order to avoid 'reinventing the wheel', there would be a need to strengthen networking skills with stakeholders both within and outside of the community;

- in order for projects to be sustained at village and provincial level, all key stakeholders needed to be party to the entire process, from planning through to implementation and monitoring;

- the project must be sensitive to the particularities of the socio-cultural, economic and political context of the respective *tikinas* that constitute the province level;

- the TSSV and, indeed NGOs, must move away from the adhoc work culture stereotypes associated with voluntarism and must imbue a degree of professionalism into its planning, implementation of programs, delivery and quality of service, skills in personnel and time management, responsible leadership, learning to be accountable and financial prudence;

- there must be a core training component incorporated in all facets of the capacity building program ensuring that appropriate skills and knowledge were imparted at a functional level;

- a core team of women from within the province needed to be identified and provided with training skills to assist in delivery of training among their own people;

- in order to enhance effective dissemination and comprehension, the language of training must be in the vernacular or provincial dialect/language and take-home training kits needed to be provided for each workshop conducted;

- documentation and a filing system of records needed to be maintained to ensure continuity of the NGO and maintenance of the organisational momentum;

- NGO programs must be revised to reflect the changing needs and aspirations of the target group if it was to provide and facilitate timely and effective development intervention;

- in order to secure support from national, regional and international agencies: i) the TSSV initiative should serve as a potential model of capacity building for indigenous rural women in the other 13 provinces; and ii) if the process were to be transferable to other NGOs also keen on strengthening capacities, the TSSV must be able to produce visible outcomes in an accountable and transparent framework to enhance its credibility as a role model.

Methodology of the TSSV capacity-building project

Strategies employed for the process of organisational strengthening and capacity-building undertaken in this provincial project included the following:

- developing a knowledge of the customs of the land, traditional protocol and acknowledgement of the social pecking order in the various districts, speaking the language and the projection of an acceptable image of a capacity to deliver;

- the use of the 1996 Fiji National Census Report and the Ministry of Fijian Affairs' provincial data base to develop a provincial profile of rural Fijians in Tailevu province which in turn became the basis for identifying needs to be addressed in the TSSV five-year strategic plan;

- maintaining ongoing dialogue with traditional chiefs through the provincial council and obtaining crucial support for this provincial women's project from both the provincial leader and the deputy who were also sitting councillors themselves, the former representing her district and the latter as a women's representative;

- maintaining working relationships with the Tailevu Provincial Office in its role as a focal point for distribution and collection for TSSV information services;

- decentralising authority in the new TSSV structure, with increased responsibility and recognition being directed to the districts and the women leaders at this level which in turn generated new levels of commitment and ownership of the project among key women leaders in the community;

- working through chiefly families to get influential women to lend support while not demanding to run things;

- conducting small awareness sessions with members at fortnightly meetings in the first three months of the project, sessions dealing with basic organisational and management skills, the importance of, and rationale for, restructuring TSSV, the importance of complementary roles of traditional and organisational leadership in community development, changing functions of TSSV and expected duties of TSSV officers;

- getting the TSSV members from the 22 *tikinas* (districts) to choose and endorse their respective district leaders and coordinators;

- the documentation of all components of the project to be in the Fijian language and to be distributed to TSSV members for use in outreach and awareness raising;

- the use of the media (such as the Fijian programme on Radio Fiji and Fiji TV) for purposes of dissemination, education, raising awareness, and major women's fundraising major women's fundraising, with special advertising being paid for as part of the marketing strategy used by TSSV;

- the use of urban-based Tailevu men and women to support TSSV networks, such as, for example i) seeking the support of Tailevu men in the army in building sheds for the fundraising, and ii) utilising the time and expertise of Tailevu women in Suva as a resource for particular training sessions;

- the encouragement from the outset of developing and maintaining networks with individuals, NGOs, government departments, and development-oriented agencies both within and outside of the province;

- provision of financial support by TSSV to its members to attend other workshops organised by other agencies or NGOs which were seen to be relevant to the goals of the TSSV's strategic plan;

- confidence-building and a 'hands-on' approach among TSSV members such as the use of small working groups comprising 3-6 different women to plan and develop the logistics of all component activities in the project;

- maintaining a culture of interactive dialogue, consultation and transparency as the basis of the organisational culture of TSSV;

- the deliberate focus on a creating an empowerment process in which women would "stand, walk and talk together" which meant that the visible actions of forging ahead as a collective would be reflected in the kinds of results to be achieved twelve months later.

Outcomes of capacity building for the TSSV

In an attempt to enhance visibility and legitimacy of women's participation at village level the TSSV has, from June 1999 to June 2000, through the capacity building project, achieved the following results:

- The compilation of a **provincial demographic profile of rural Fijians in Tailevu province** extracted from the 1996 national census focusing on socio-economic indicators such as: educational attainment, housing structure, type of water supply, toilet facilities, means of waste disposal, type of lighting, infant mortality rates, economic activity, and a one-off comparison of the average weekly household income and degree of inequality with other provinces.

- The development of a conceptual framework known as **PROWESS** which stands for Provincial Women's Empowerment Support Systems and which forms the

basis of this organisational strengthening and capacity building project. Although it has been initiated for indigenous rural women, it has the potential to cater alsao for a multicultural and multiracial membership base.

- An organisational restructure in which **traditional leadership and organisational leadership have been separated**. The deliberate separation between traditional and organisational leadership roles in this capacity building program has assisted in power sharing, increased social bonding and networking between traditional women leaders and non-traditional women leaders. It has also provided a means whereby the notion of merit has been recognised and appreciated as crucial to effective organisational practices and complementary to traditional leadership without neccesarily eroding existing power bases in the community.

- Alongside this restructuring, **a catalogue of duty statements for Tailevu SSV officials** has been compiled. The officials involved include the Provincial Leader, the Deputy, the traditional woman leader, the *tikina* coordinator, the village facilitator and the respective councils in the new structure. The purpose of this document is to inform line agencies and other NGOs of contact persons for women and development programs earmarked for the respective tikinas and villages. TSSV workers themselves need to know who are their counterparts in neighbouring villages and tikinas so as to reinforce networking and collaborative activities as and when required.

- The cataloguing of a **provincial profile of Tailevu SSV officials at village and *tikina* levels** records the names of 22 traditional women leaders, 22 *tikina* coordinators who are responsible for overseeing organisational activities and approximately 140 village facilitators. In total, there are a little under 200 TSSV workers providing voluntary services throughout the province to a membership of approximately 6-8,000 women in the 15-60years category.

- A **five-year strategic plan for the Tailevu SSV for the period 2000-2005.** This working document outlines nine key strategy areas which the TSSV will focus on in its empowerment programs among rural women, strategy areas that have emerged from the demographic profile of the province at the 1996 national census and from concerns raised by the women themselves. These key areas include:

    - addressing and maintenance of basic needs;
    - poverty alleviation;
    - healthy families and productive communities;
    - developing sustainable subsistence systems;
    - skills and human resources development;
    - women's participation and representation;
    - income-generating opportunities;
    - networking and establishing partnerships; and
    - change management and conflict resolution.

It should be noted that there has been a deliberate move away from the traditional SSV programmes of a "home economics" focus such as training in cooking, sewing and traditional handicraft making. Instead, this 'home focus' constitutes a component of strategies related to enhanced health status for women and income-generating opportunities. For purposes of marketing and resource mobilisation, this is the only document written in English, although the 9 key strategy areas have been translated into Fijian and used in the first provincial-wide workshop.

- The **opening of 22 *tikina* saving accounts managed and controlled by women themselves.** This initiative was made possible through a Tailevu Women's Dollar Day programme held in November 1999. Seen as an alternative to the restrictions imposed by the women's small credit schemes endorsed by NZODA and managed by the Department of Women, this financial outcome draws its practices from the grameen bank concept.

- The development of **simple financial guidelines for operating *tikina* accounts** in an attempt to promote financial accountability and transparent money handling practices. These accounts have provided optional credit sources to women in starting up small home-based retail services for common consumer items, credit for purchase of basic hardware material to improve kitchen facilities, buying seedlings for vegetable gardening, tailoring and purchase of ingredients for sale of cooked food. We are now seeing small but visible success stories of village women whose lives have changed given an opportunity.

- The first **provincial-wide workshop on organisational strengthening and capacity building** funded by the Australian government through the Direct Assistance Program (DAP) accessed from the Australian Embassy in Suva, was held in the five amalgamated districts (December 1999 - March 2000). Of the 300 mixed participants targeted, 289 attended. The participants included all TSSV officials. Because these workshops were conducted in the villages, other persons of important social status in the village were encouraged to sit in and become part of the small working groups. Such persons included: the district chief, the village headman, village nurse, young men and women, the local pastor and older men, some of whom were representatives of *tikina* councils.

- The drawing up of **22 *tikina* work plans for the year 2000** by the women themselves at the end of this provincial-wide training which formed the basis of TSSV work in the respective districts.

- A follow-up training on **upskilling in leadership, management and monitoring of women's community projects** funded by the Ministry of Fijian Affairs in mid-May (a week after the coup) was specifically aimed at the 22 traditional women leaders and the 22 *tikina* coordinators. Of the 44 women required to attend, 30 women turned up for this two day workshop. This demonstrated the perseverance and commitment of these women leaders and managers to the efforts of capacity building. The remaining 14 women who did not attend were affected by transport restrictions in the week following the coup. They have, however, been given the appropriate documents by their counterparts who attended.

- From this leadership workshop, a **provincial checklist of indicators for monitoring effectiveness of rural women's participation in enhancing QOL and community development** was compiled by the women leaders. This checklist is now used as a guideline to monitor the quality of programmes initially listed in the respective annual work plans.

Insights on current challenges

The move to strengthen the TSSV and to put all the above into place has been a satisfying achievement at both a professional and personal level. From the perspective of professional Tailevu women who are urban-based, this experience has strengthened networks in both the waged and non-waged sectors. It has also revived and consolidated linkages between Tailevu women who are urban-based and those that are rural-based. The opportunity to be involved in development-oriented work, especially work related to women's issues, iiihas the added bonus of offering first hand experience of such application in a non-governmental framework. This has been a fulfilling experience for all those involved. At a personal level, this capacity-building project has impacted greatly on the lives of rural-based women in Tailevu province in terms of increased awareness, skills building, enhanced articulation and making better choices.

The urgency with which the specifics of planning and implementation have taken place is somewhat prophetic given that Tailevu province now finds itself being proverbially placed at the eye of Fiji's political storm. The initial reaction among indigenous grassroots communities in the rural areas when the coup happened was the traditional silence and an emerging sense of resilience and steadfastness. The coup leader's Fijian blood ties to one of the districts in the northern end of the province became a point of jest as indigenous Fijians from other provinces made reference to the coup as a "Tailevu coup". This labelling implied, among other things, that the conspiracy to overthrow the government was initiated from within the province itself. In the context of these new developments, efforts to revive TSSV's role among rural women have not been in vain, something that is particularly important given the extreme vulnerability of both economic and political sectors. In many ways, the TSSV provincial structure now in place provides a timely illustration of an organised community-based organisation with the potential to be used as an effective conduit for meaningful participation in reconstruction and reconciliation at grassroots level.

The outputs of the TSSV as an NGO in the last 12 months have matched the initial aims of the organisational strengthening and capacity building project. These outcomes have been achieved largely as a result of: the transparency of the consultative processes undertaken, the maintenance of dialogue with key stakeholders in the province, good people skills, small but achievable and highly visible outcomes, use of the radio for timely dissemination of information and promotion of awareness and effective planning. The role of the Deputy Provincial Leader continues to be flexible. While the initial stand was focused on directing, there has been an increased emphasis on a more facilitating and resource-mobilising role as the capacities of

TSSV officials and members grow and as they acquire new confidence levels which are appropriate to the promotion of new development initiatives.

As in the case of all of the development activities in which NGOs are involved, the TSSV's capacity building activities have not been without their share of teething problems. These include:

- weak leadership in some of the *tikina* branches (which is reflected in power jostling between women in chiefly families or inaction or indecisiveness);
- poor membership support and commitment to some of the district leaders;
- strong resistance to change and a shying away from new ideas by some of the older members of the organisation;
- poor follow-up of decisions undertaken at some of the TSSV meetings; and
- ineffective support from the national SSV office.

In connection with the last of these, it needs to be pointed out that the relationship between the Ministry of Women and the current leadership of the SSV has not always been conducive to the rapid strides of TSSV. Government officers in the women's department have in most cases been overwhelmed (even intimidated) by the dynamics of change which have challenged the excessive exercise of caution in decision-making for potential women's projects coming through a provincial SSV branch. These initial challenges are minor in nature and to be expected. Nevertheless, they are being addressed in an ongoing, relatively interactive way by traditional women leaders, *tikina* coordinators, village facilitators and ordinary members

Given the voluntary nature of NGO activities, the TSSV has the added advantage of being able to tap the expertise of urban-based Tailevu women. These are teachers, health professionals, administrators, lecturers, accountants, social workers and legal specialists who provide a think tank and a resource-mobilising network for TSSV programs. Since the majority of urban Tailevu women choose to retain their rural links, their willingness to provide voluntary services and support to TSSV activities is perceived as a way of contributing to enhancing the quality of life in support of female kin in the villages who continue to fulfill community obligations on their behalf. For most women, the obligation to uphold the *vanua* and all that it represents is ingrained in the social psyche. So long as these linkages are maintained within a holistic framework that is functionally relevant to daily living and directed under leadership that is transparent and accountable, obtaining support and commitment is not a real problem.

Lessons for TSSV emerging from the current Fijian political crisis

Since the events following the civilian coup of May 19, 2000 fall within the TSSV's five-year plan in relation to this organisational strengthening and capacity-building project, lessons learnt from the broader national crisis have immediate relevance for TSSV work at provincial level. The repercussions of civil strife and pockets of civil disobedience have impacted on rural women's lives in a fundamental way. This has provided new insights on emerging aspects of social change and has also highlighted problems associated with complacency and a lack of sincere commitment to learning

from past experiences. The issues that have emerged reflect the national crisis in relation to governance and human and indigenous rights and have serious implications for this project. Recognition of these issues is part of the proactive approach taken by the TSSV which has undertaken to ensure that it responds appropriately and realigns its programmes in order that they should survive. Some of the issues surrounding the coup that have underscored important lessons of governance and development for TSSV at provincial level are listed below:

Inconsistency of consultative frameworks and processes

The use of arbitrary and often opaque processes of consultation with selected stakeholders at all levels and at all times have re-emerged as a real concern among grassroot communities in the provinces. Issues such as inadequate consultation, non consultation, insufficient information, transmission delays, and difficulties in accessing the 'right' information for making better quality decisions have, to some extent, become entrenched features of approaches to the realisation of development aspirations. For people at grassroots level, this information and communication problem can become a major demotivator. Under such circumstances, a development initiative can be doomed to fail even before it starts.

Inadequate customisation of development initiatives

The failure to adapt development initiatives to the particular socio-cultural context of the target group in order to ensure ownership of development and sustainability is a recurring cause of concern. The range of responses on the land issue from different landowning units (despite the general consensus that land is linked to the indigenous identity) suggest that even among ethnic Fijians, there are real differences that need to be considered in development intervention.

Maintaining uniqueness in diversity

Differences that exist within Fiji's multicultural society are real and cannot be ignored. Thus, policy makers will need to develop strategies that harness these multiple diversities into strengths conducive to unity, peace, tolerance and productivity.

Developing specificity in community development

There is a need to move away from generic labels and to become more specific and focused. For example, the label 'urban women' becomes more meaningful when it is broken down form-focused categories such as: sex workers, garment workers, women in low-cost housing, transient women, low-income women workers, domestic workers, small business women, disabled women. The more focused the target group, the more feasible is development intervention and the more time-specific the whole exercise becomes.

Growing discontent with leadership on the handling of indigenous interests

There is an emerging level of discontent among indigenous grassroots communities with the general manner in which the establishment has addressed aspects of indigenous development with a particular focus on issues relating to land. In other situations, concerns relating to weak chiefly leadership and the lack of vision and direction in village development have also been highlighted.

Weak provincial structures

The restrictive role of the provincial councils in their ability to respond effectively to the rapidly changing roles and aspirations of a largely indigenous rural constituent (currently being administered through a provincial administrative structure that is lacking in skills and knowledge deemed appropriate for initiating development at this level) is an issue of widespread concern.

Inadequate political education

There is a critical lack of political education relating to the role of the constitution and constitutional processes in a democracy and the role of traditional governance structures in a modern polity. There is also an absence of the heightened awareness of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms that is fundamental in societies that exhibit respect for life and property. Thus, pockets of civil disobedience are apparent.

Emerging culture of violence and aggression

A growing culture of violence and aggression has become one avenue for the expression of frustration, discontent and disapproval of those development initiatives which are seen as a threat to indigenous identity and control over resources such as land. This is indicative of the lethargy and centralised bureaucratic machinery that has represented a threat to development initiatives.

Inadequate and ineffective information flow

The things that need to be known are not filtering down quickly enough to village and community levels. There is, therefore, a very real disparity in skills and knowledge levels between the rich and the poor, among different categories within the same generic groups, between urban and rural, and between inland and coastal villages in the same province. When this issue of structured and timely information and communication flow is not effectively addressed, we see elements of provincialism, religious fundamentalism, emotional frenzy and racism being used to rationalise unlawful activities.

The issues emanating from Fiji's current political crisis have provided TSSV with an opportunity for its Executive Committee to go back to the drawing board and select focused training aimed at assisting immediate reconstruction and reconciliation processes in the community. The immediate focus for training among rural Tailevu communities in the years 2001 - 2002 (that would be spearheaded and facilitated by TSSV) include:

- stress and trauma counselling as part of conflict resolution and change management;
- reconciliation skills among rural communities;
- leadership enhancement skills for leaders in rural communities;
- joint training in good governance, involving provincial administrators and traditional leaders;
- political education on the fundamental role of constitutional law, electoral processes, and civic roles and responsibilities in rural communities;
- legal literacy training in rural communities on human rights, women's rights and the rights of the child;
- participatory needs analysis;
- project management and evaluation;
- adolescent reproductive health;
- family life and values; and
- primary health and basic needs upgrading.

These areas fall under the nine strategic areas highlighted earlier (see *Outcomes of capacity building for the TSSV* earlier) and would fall within the five-year framework of the TSSV's work mandate.

Capacity building in the province and implications for good governance

Generally speaking, good governance is a highly sensitive issue and is perceived differently in different quarters. Traditional leaders of both genders view it with scepticism and a guarded conservatism. They see such issues as having the potential to deconstruct and erode traditional leadership. Thus, for example, older men and women may still support traditional leadership despite its weaknesses. They may acknowledge the characteristics of good governance as important at the same time as being reluctant to initiate change from within. Younger and more highly educated adults may, on the other hand, openly support good governance, seeing it as a means of moving ahead on the basis of acquisition rather than ascription. The latter is generally regarded as the view of those who "have no roots" or are in the process of losing them. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a middle group of community people who recognise that there is room for the positive aspects of both the traditional and western systems of governance and that their integration may be the most viable route for the promotion of sustainable development. The fact that there are very different views, and the fact that some of these views may be based on lack of knowledge and understanding, highlights the need for advocacy and awareness-raising. These are important if good governance at community level is to be perceived as an empowering process that is non-threatening and user friendly.

The experience of NGO strengthening and capacity building in Tailevu province has important implications for how 'good governance' is defined, valued and achieved at the provincial grassroots level. The term 'good governance' has no direct translation equivalent in the Fijian language. Thus, it needs to be articulated in relation to the features and processes that are perceived as constitution good governance at a local level. This would conform to the version endorsed by the World Bank, ADB and the UNDP. Indigenous communities have traditional systems of governance that perform legislative, executive and judicial functions in the community. Thus, the TSSV project must be mindful of the need to ensure that good governance is customized in a way that identifies a common vision, a vision that integrates aspects of traditional and non-traditional systems in a way that promotes effective development.

Systems of governance need to be adequately contextualised if they are to be meaningful and relevant to people's lives. That contextualisation needs to emphasise participation, accountability, transparency, efficiency, equity and responsiveness. It also needs to emphasise the importance of the ideals of upholding the rule of law and promoting human rights. All of these have implications for methodology, particularly in the context of an indigenous community and a rural subsistence economy that is undergoing rapid change. All of them must be taken fully into account in TSSV capacity building programmes such as the one described here, one that is dedicated to making a contribution to the enhancement of women's status and quality of life.

Finding appropriate vernacular words that describe, or aptly reflect, the characteristics of good governance has continued to challenge TSSV capacity building programmes. Meeting this challenge is particularly important in the context of a type of change-management in which good governance needs to be put into practice at the community level and needs to take on concrete forms that are meaningful in relation to people's everyday lives. These concrete forms include:

- organisational re-structuring as a means of creating awareness of the importance of transparency in the chain of command and as a means of ensuring that that transparency is operationalised;

- developing and maintaining simple financial housekeeping rules directed at inculcating the importance of financial accountability, budgetary skills and savings habits,

- a deliberate and conscious attempt to ensure women's participation in decision-making forums such as village and *tikina* councils as a matter of right and not of birth;

- advocating equality of access to resources such as land, water and fishing rights;

- leadership training aimed at enhancing skills of accountability and responsibility;

- encouraging both gender participation and equity at TSSV training workshops; and

- being outcome-focused within the context of specific time frames.

The TSSV's role in promoting good governance at provincial level is indirect and not outwardly visible. Nevertheless, it has been well planned and integrated into the overall capacity building programme. In spite of the conservative provincial context of this NGO strengthening exercise, the underlying strength of TSSV has been exhibited in the documentation of a process that has the potential to retain and transmit new knowledge and values across all levels in the community over a long period of time.

Where to from here?

The experiences of the Tailevu Soqosoqo Vakamarama show that there is a pressing need for capacity building at grassroots level throughout the provinces. The particular case to which reference has been made here also demonstrates that these training processes, if well planned and organised, have the potential to contribute to the formation of a more informed, productive rural community and the strengthening of civil society at provincial level. There remains room for improvement in relation to initiation, commitment, sharing and demonstrating the courage to make a stand. The TSSV has initiated this five year capacity building project in the context of a meager resource base, hoping to attract greater institutional support in the later phases. That the initial objectives have been achieved is a testament to an exceptional level of collective commitment which has been underpinned and reinforced by a leadership style that facilitates rather than dictates, and the prioritization of empowerment techniques.

One challenge for the next four years is to maintain the momentum of the project in order that the quality of life of rural women will be enhanced in all respects. An even bigger challenge lies in ensuring that good governance practices are visibly incorporated into the framework of provincial and community institutions. Unless the national political will for good governance is filtered down to provincial level through a visibly structured participatory process, the ideals of good governance will continue to remain elusive and irrelevant to the majority of the people. The efforts of NGOs such as TSSV should be seen as complementary to the efforts of other agencies at provincial level. In order for partnerships to sustain the process of good governance effectively, all parties need to have ultimate confidence in their own capacity to participate effectively and to contribute meaningfully to this process.

Endnote

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Māori Goddesses in Literature
Part 2: 1900 - 1940

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Abstract

Many contemporary Māori are familiar with *atua wāhine*,[1] Māori goddesses, through accounts that have been passed on to them by word of mouth. Few, however, have had an opportunity to consult accounts of *atua wāhine* that date from the early period of Māori-Pākehā contact. Those who wish to do so may have considerable difficulty in sifting through all of the written materials for the information they seek. For this reason, this paper provides a review of the literature pertaining to *atua wāhine* from 1900 to 1940, together with a commentary on the sources to which reference is made. A review of literature on *atua wāhine* from 1880 – 1900 appeared in the first issue of this Journal. The period 1940 towards 2000 will be reviewed in the next issue.

1. Publications 1900 - 20

This section begins (1.1 below) by referring to a number of articles published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* from 1900 - 20, articles that included references to *atua wāhine*. Elsdon Best, W. E. Gudgeon, and Percy Smith were major writers, with the more prominent Māori contributors being Hare Hongi, Tīwai Paraone, Te Mātorohanga and Nēpia Pōhūhū. Whatahoro acted as scribe for Te Mātorohanga and Pōhūhū.

1.1 *Journal of the Polynesian Society (JPS)*

1.1.1 Elsdon Best *(JPS)*

In close sequence, Best published a number of articles in the *JPS*: 'Spiritual Concepts of the Māori' (1900), 'Maori Medical Lore' (1904 - 05), 'The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga' (1905 - 07), and 'Maori Numeration' (1907).

In 'Spiritual Concepts of the Maori', Best describes Hinenuitepō as the personification of death and the goddess of Hades (1900, pp. 177 & 191). In 'Maori Medical Lore', he makes reference to her in connection with the *ngau paepae* rites and refers to her also in an invocation for restoring life to a dying person (*whakanoho manawa*) (1905a, pp. 2 - 4). In 'The Lore of the Whare-Kohanga', the term *te whare o aituā* is applied to both Hinenuitepō and Papa, and Papa is reported as having said

to Rangi: "Our offspring shall return to me in death, and I will conceal them". Papa is also described as the personification of the female principle (Best, 1905b, p. 207).

In the same work, reference is made to Tānenuiarangi finding a woman named Kurawaka, a daughter of Tiki and his wife, Ea (who was of te Pō and was named as the first woman of the world of light (p. 207)). Kurawaka and Tāne produced Hinetītama. There are also allusions to other female entities. These include Hinepūkohurangi, described as the personification of mist (1905b, p. 209; 1977a, p. 23), and Rona and Tangaroa-a-roto,[2] both of whom cohabited with the moon (1905b, p. 211). Reference is also made to others in a whakapapa chart (Best 1905b, p. 210).

Hineteiwaiwa is recalled as the goddess or patroness of childbirth. In fact, Best makes reference to Tregear's observation that a portion of Hineteiwaiwa's name, 'iwa' (nine), could have particular significance in relation to the nine-month gestation period (Best, 1907a, p. 11). This appears to be an example of interpretation coming to bear on the subject, although it arose elsewhere.[3]

Best's definitions of certain Māori terms are often loaded with a negative value. The word *atua*, for example, is defined as 'demon', the alternative meaning of 'beneficient spirit or supreme god' being omitted (1904, p. 216). Furthermore, although Best concedes that Papa and Rangi's children possessed supernatural powers, he does not refer to them as *atua* or gods (1905b. p. 206). Here, Best appears to contradict references to them as *ira atua* and departmental gods in other writings (1924/1976, pp. 75 -77). There would, thus, appear to be a degree of inconsistency in some of Best's definitions and interpretations of Māori terms relating to the deities. A positive quality of his work, however, is that at least one of his informants was female (Wharehuia Milroy pers. comm.).

1.1.2 W. E. Gudgeon *(JPS)*

Gudgeon was aware that there was a "certain amount of obscurity" in relation to the origin of women (1905a, p. 126). Nevertheless, he does make several brief references to female deities. For example, Papatūānuku is recognised as the mother of the gods in 'Maori Religion' (1905a), and the separation of Rangi and Papa is noted. In fact, Gudgeon reports that Papa herself caused "man to return to the dust from which he was made, in expiation of the offence of Tu and his brethren". Allusions are also made to Hinenuitepō, Hinepūkohurangi, Whaitiri, Hinauri and Murirangawhenua. Iowahine is referred to as mating with Tiki, and Māuipōtiki is described as entering "the womb of night" (1905a, pp. 107 – 30). In 'Maori Superstition', Gudgeon relates an account of Hinekōrako's union with Tānekino (1905b, pp. 187 - 88).

A document entitled 'A Maori Cosmogony' (1907, pp. 109 - 19) was given by Tīwai Paraone (of Marutūahu, Hauraki) to Gudgeon. It appears in the *Journal* with a translation by Hare Hongi. In that document, references to *atua wāhine* include Papatūānuku, Hinenuitepō, and Hineruakimoe. In the translator's notes for Hinenuitepō, Hongi recognises that the law of dualism, of male and female in nature, was an integral part of Māori teaching and observes that Hine was the symbol of the

feminine. Here, Hinenuitepō is described as the female personification of primeval darkness (1907, p. 119).

1.1.3 Miscellaneous *waiata (JPS)*

Two *waiata* contain the names of *atua wāhine*. One is an *oriori* called *Pō Pō* which was composed by Enoka Te Pakaru, a *tohunga* of Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki tribe; the other, described as a *waiata/karakia*, was composed by Tūhotoariki and concerns the birth of his grand-nephew, Tūteremoana. Hinetuahoana/ Hinetūāhōanga and Pani are mentioned in *Pō Pō* (Maronui in Best 1906, p. 185). In Tūhotoariki's composition, reference is made to the entities Pārāweranui, Hinetītama, Hinerauwhārangi, Hinekauorohia, Hinemākohurangi, Hinekōrito, Hinekōtea, Hinemākehu and Mahuika (1907, pp. 43 - 46).

1.1.4 Percy Smith *(JPS)*

Several articles appeared in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* under a single title: 'The Lore of the Whare-wananga'. These articles had been dictated to Whatahoro by Te Mātorohanga, Pōhūhū and another unknown source and translated by Percy Smith. They were subsequently published as *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society* (1913 - 15) and, as a result, became more widely known. It is to this version that the following page references refer. Thus, although the work is included here, it should be remembered that it actually pre-dates the beginning of the twentieth century.

Parts I and 2 of *The Lore of the Whare-wananga,* 'Te Kauae-runga' (Smith, 1913) and 'Te Kauwae-raro' (Smith, 1915), are compilations of the teachings of Te Mātorohanga and Nēpia Pōhūhū. These works are important sources for a study of the feminine in Māori religion and cosmology as they provide information, in the vernacular, about many female entities in cosmology, including some detailed descriptions of their activities in the stories. Lists of *whakapapa* include prominent female names.

The presentation of Rangi and Papa's story emphasises their love for one another, their enforced separation, the establishment of Te Wharekura on Papatūānuku, and the turning of Papa so that she would no longer see Rangi (1913, pp. 31 & 53). One name used to describe Papa is Papatūānukumatuatekore (p. 56). A detailed account of the creation of Hinehauone at Kurawaka includes three *karakia* used on that occasion (1913, pp. 34 - 37). The *whakapapa* of Hinehauone and Tāne are given, followed by a substantial recording of Hinetītama's story (pp. 37 - 39). In addition to the major stories related in 'Te Kauae Runga', there are other very significant references to *atua wāhine*. These include references to Hinemoana, Parawhenuamea, Pārāweranui, Hineteiwaiwa, Hinerauwhārangi, Hinehauone, Hinetītama, Te Kūwatawata and Hinenuitepō.

'Te Kauae-raro' (Part 2) relates stories of a later era than those found in 'Te Kauae-runga' (Part 1). In the story of Manaia, Warea (his wife) is named (Te Mātorohanga

in Smith 1915, pp. 121 - 22 Māori; pp. 129 -30 English). She recites a *tau* invoking Punaweko, the 'god-progenitor' of birds (Smith 1915, 122). Other chieftainesses are also mentioned. These include Hineahu who discovered *pounamu*, one species of which she named *Kahurangi* (high born chieftainess) (1915, pp. 128 & 138). Later, in a *karakia* intoned over the *waka* Tānekaha, there are references to Hinemoana and Pārāweranui (1915, pp. 145 & 46). In the preface to further *karakia*, Hinemoana, Papatūānuku, Hinetūākirikiri and Hinetūāhōanga are mentioned (1915, p. 148 Māori; p. 158 English).

Te Mātorohanga tells of Uenukutiti, (daughter of Uenukurangi - the rainbow god - and Iwipūpū), who was recognised as being extremely *tapu* due to her parentage. Hinekōrako is also mentioned in connection with Uenukurangi, appearing at the time of the *tūā* ceremony (1915, p. 164 Māori; p. 177 English). She is described as one of the *atua* who resided in a house built specifically for Uenukutiti (1915, p. 165 Māori; p. 179 English). It is significant that mention is made here of Uenukutiti's rights as a woman of nobility in that this provides some support for the contention that *atua wāhine* and *ariki* women shared equal status with their male counterparts.

Hinetūāhōanga is alluded to with reference to the sharpening of axes prior to the hewing of the Tākitimu canoe (Smith 1915, p. 189 Māori; p. 207 English). In the *karakia* repeated over the tree, the axes and the workmen, Whaitiri is named (1915, p. 190). These references are significant in view of the importance of these activities. Thus, for example, the use of the phase 'kumea te au o Hine-moana' (1915, p. 195) indicates that *karakia* were required in order that the canoe should reach Aotearoa safely. Furthermore, later *karakia* contain the words 'ko te tapuae o Mumuwhango, … ko tapuae o nga atua, o Kahukura, o Tama-i-waho, o Ruamano, o Hine-korako, ki te ihu whenua i Aotea-roa, i Tiri-o-te-moana' (1915, p. 196).

Another *karakia* entitled 'te karakia o Takitimu' addresses Hinekōrako and Hinemoana (1915, pp. 201 & 202). The *tipua* Hinekōrito, Hinekōtea, Hinemākehu, and Hinehuruhuru were female entities, possibly whales, who guided the Tākitimu (1915, p. 204). Hinekōrako is again mentioned as one of the gods of the Tākitimu canoe (1915, p. 204).

A South Island (Ngāti Kuia) version of Māui's story should be related here because it is notably different from other versions. The story is provided by Pākauwera who, aged about 78 in 1894, was likely to have had little contact with missionaries. According to Pākauwera's version, Māui entered Hinenuitepō via her head and went down through her body. Taraka (his *tuakana*, who was in the form of a dog) laughed, and at that stage Hine crushed Māui (Smith, 1917, pp. 127 & 28).

A *waiata tangi*, collected and translated by Percy Smith, contains a reference to Hinenuitepō and also to Haumia, described by Smith as the goddess of the *aruhe*, the fern root (1918, p. 83).

1.1.5 Anonymous

An illustration of a *pare* (lintel) shows the central figure to be female (anon., 1919, pp. 160 - 61). In the accompanying text, the writer of which is not named, it is suggested that the central figure represents Hinenuitepō, "who presides over Hades", and "who drags mankind down to death". This description of Hinenuitepō and her actions was a stereotype widely adopted by writers of the time, one that was reinforced by repetition. Later in the passage, it is reported that Māui fell victim to Hinenuitepō (1919, p. 160), an interesting interpretation in view of the fact that it was Māui who attempted to overcome Hinenuitepō as she slept, quite unaware of Māui's actions or his intent.

1.2 Johannes C. Andersen

Though born in Denmark, Johannes Andersen (1873 – 1962) grew up in New Zealand. He was to become a prolific writer and was regarded by most Pākehā of the time as a Māori scholar, though this opinion was not shared by all (Sorrenson, 1992, p. 67). Both Te Rangihīroa and Ngata were said to be critical of Andersen's work on Māori life and customs. As Andersen never gained fluency in the Māori language, he was always dependent on the translations of others, hence his reliance on Best, Herbert Williams and other contemporaries. This inability to access primary material means that his work can be regarded as a secondary source only.

In *Maori Life in Aotea* (1907), Andersen made several references to Papa, Hineatauira, Hinenuitepō, and other female entities while presenting his interpretation of Māori life, gained through information gathered by Pākehā ethnographers. His footnotes indicate that his principal sources were White, Best, Shortland, and Tregear. Andersen's attitude is revealed in a letter to Best (c. 1903): "Here there is no Maori within many miles, and the nearest within a hundred miles are utter decadents who would only spoil the ideals I at present am working up to" (Gibbons, 1992, p. 72). Here, then, is another commentator who did not refer back to Māori for confirmation of whether or not these 'ideals' were a true reflection of Māori life and beliefs at the time. Yet Andersen's works were widely consulted and frequently used as resource material.

1.3 James Cowan

Historian James Cowan (1870 – 1943) offers an explanation of Māori cosmogony and religion in *The Maoris of New Zealand* (Cowan, 1910, p. 102). In the course of doing so, he provides important documentation, including Ngāti Maniapoto *whakapapa* which gives the female line through Te Marama (the moon) and the male line through Te Rā (the sun), concluding with Papatūānuku and Ranginuietūnei (p. 104). He follows this with a brief discussion on the subject of Papa, Rangi, and some of the male gods (p. 105) before moving to a focus on Hineatauira (who became Hinenuitepō), described by Cowan as "the personification of death" (1910, p. 106). In relating stories about *tipua*, Cowan mentions Hinehopu, a tall *matai* (*Podocarpus spicatus*) to whom offerings[4] are made. The *tupuna*, Hinehopu, was a *rangatira* who

married a Te Arawa chief, Pikiao. There is also a brief reference to Kurangaituku, the famous bird woman (pp. 112 - 13). What is particularly interesting here is the fact that Cowan devotes an entire chapter to Horoirangi, describing her as a "carved stone goddess", a "deified ancestress of the Ngati-Uenukukopako tribe", a "wahine-atua" (pp.135 - 40). An illustration of the stone image of Horoirangi is included (1910, p. 137).

1.4 Summary: 1900 - 20

The beginning of the twentieth century was an important period in the collection of information about *atua wāhine*. Much of the information collected before 1920 was published at a later date and was to become one of the richest written resources available to future generations. As in the case of the previous century, this was a time when a wealth of information was being recorded about Māori life and customs. Although little of this wealth of material refers directly to *atua wāhine*, and much of that is heavily interspersed with the ethnographers' interpretative comments, the fact remains that reference to *atua wāhine* clearly indicates that knowledge of them existed during this period in spite of the fact that the impact of Pākehā ways on Māori was increasing.

2. Publications 1920 - 40

In the decades leading up to World War Two, researchers focussed principally on political, social and health issues. Improvement in social and economic conditions resulted in the stabilization of, and some increase in, the Māori population. Changes in education brought about by compulsory schooling for Māori children[5] (in 1909) would have impacted on the time they spent with their elders; receiving instruction in a traditional Māori way was thus more limited. Since the education which children received placed greater importance on Pākehā knowledge and the Pākehā way of life, attitudes of young Māori towards traditional beliefs may well have been affected. This could explain, in part, why few Māori of this era chose to record their traditions in print. On the other hand, many literate Māori later went on to lead a revival of Māori language and culture. The significant point here is that more pressing issues than the subject of Māori spirituality were at the forefront of public concern for both Māori and Pākehā alike during the 1920 - 1940 period.

2.1 Unpublished manuscripts 1920 - 40

2.1.1 James Herries Beattie

New Zealand born Herries Beattie (1881- 1972) was responsible for the collection of information regarding tribal traditions in Te Waipounamu, a pastime he had pursued from a young age (1994, p. 11). In 1920, Beattie began a project for the Otago University Museum which involved his travelling around Māori communities, questioning informants and collecting information as well as artefacts. The local

Māori, concerned that traditions were being lost, were keen to share their knowledge (1994, p. 18).

Many of Beattie's manuscripts[6] mention *atua wāhine*. His MS-0181 Section XXIII Canterbury - Mythology,[7] for example, refers to a number of female entities, including Hineteiwaiwa (MS-0181, p. 2), Hekehekeipapa,[8] Hinetītama, Hinepūnuiotonga, Hinehauone, Whaitiri and Hinenuiotetoka (MS-0181, pp. 20-28), Papa, Hinetītama, Hinenuiotepō, Tahukumea and Tahuwhakairo,[9] Māhoranuiātea, and Hūareare (MS-0181, pp. 31-37). Another section of MS-0181, entitled 'The Great Works of Maui', names the following *atua wāhine*: Hinepūnuiotoka,[10] Hinearoraki, Hinearoaropari, Hinehauone, Hineroriki, Hinerotia (MS-0181, p. 109). Later, some of these names were again mentioned, along with those of Hinetītama, Hinenuiotepō and Hinehauone (MS-0181, pp. 119-20).

Another collection, containing *waiata*, MS-0582-E-8, includes six references to *atua wāhine*. A *whakaoriori* makes reference to Hineitūrama and Hineirutua (MS-0582-E-8, p. 10), while another *waiata* composed by Te Maiaki (and dictated by Tīkao in 1920) mentions Papa, Hinetūrepo and Hinetengahere (sisters of Irawaru) (MS-0582-E-8, p. 16). A song about Creation focusses on Hinetītama and Tāne (MS-0582-E-8, p. 17). Hinetihoaka (*sic*) and Mumuwhango are alluded to in a *waiata* about greenstone, 'Kaore e hine e momou nga' (MS-0582-E-5, no page given). The whakapapa in MS-0582-E-7 presents the names of Hekehekeipapa and Papa, along with other female deities' names.

2.2 Publications 1920 - 40

2.2.1 James Herries Beattie

Although Beattie's work was published posthumously, it is treated in this section because the material was originally collected in the 1920 – 40 period.

Beattie is one of the few early ethnographers whose informants included Māori women. In *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori* (1994), he recalls an incident when one of his principal male informants had to be "pressed to speak" about childbirth[11] as the informant deigned it "more within woman's province", and not suitable for popular publication (Beattie 1994, p. 266), a view that may indicate why the resources available to us now make comparatively few references to women, to matters of primary concern to women and, in particular, to *atua wāhine*. Nevertheless, Beattie discusses the concepts of *atua* and *wairua*, as well as the role of *tohunga*, explaining that there were female *tohunga* who worked among their own *hapū*, but not at a tribal level. Reference is made to goddesses, including Papa, Hinehauone,[12] Hinetītama, Hinenuiotepō,[13] Hineteiwaiwa and Hinenuiotetoka. Hinenuiotetoka is said to hold the power of the wind and, along with other wind goddesses, to disperse that force (1994, p. 400).

2.2.2 The *Journal of the Polynesian Society*

2.2.2.1 Hare Hongi *aka* Henry Matthew Stowell *(JPS)*

'The Gods of Maori worship' by Hongi (1859-1944) alludes to Hinauri (described as goddess of the waned moon) and Tinirau. Hinetītama is referred to as "the twin-goddess of Dawn and Dusk"; and Hinateiwaiwa as the moon goddess, or the maid of the nines (nine moons),[14] and the goddess of parturition (1920, pp. 24 - 27). In an editorial note, Hongi quotes White's allusion to Papa cohabiting with Takaroa (Tangaroa) and, later, becoming Rangi's partner when Takaroa was away on a long journey (Hongi 1920, p. 24).

Only the male gods are given sub-headings in this text: the females, including Papa, are mentioned under these sub-headings, but only in relation to their male partners. Although Papa and Rangi are described as the original ancestors, and the substance of Māori worship (1920, p. 27), only Rangi (as Rangiātea) is accorded a subheading. The strong influence of European and Christian thinking on Hongi's writing is indicated here in (a) use of terms such as 'trinity' to describe the unity of body, spirit and soul, (b) the description of Hineteiwaiwa as "the maid of the nines", and (c) the use of 'Saint' as a title for Māui (1920, pp. 27 & 28). In view of this, it is interesting to note that an editorial note reminds readers that the authors are to be held responsible for their own statements (1920, p. 24).

2.2.2.2 Te Haupapaotāne *(JPS)*

An account of the separation of Papa and Rangi, entitled 'Io, the Supreme God, and other Gods of the Maori' written by Te Haupapaotāne, includes the following exchange: "Rangi called down to his wife, 'I will send down to you the *wai-tangotango-uri* (ice and snow) as greetings to you.' Papa replied: 'I will send up to you the *wai-tau* (mists and fogs) of my body as greeting to you'" (1920, p. 142). It is reported that the use of *horu, kōkōwai, pukepoto and tahurangi*[15] to paint the descendants' dwellings resulted from the severing of the parents' limbs (1920, p. 142).

2.2.2.3 Huarau *(JPS)*

'The Lament of Huarau of Whanganui' (c. 1700) contains references to Hinemoana, Hinetītama, and Mumuwhango (here a male) with explanatory notes providing further brief comments about them. In these notes, Hinenuitepō is described as the Great Lady of Hades, and mention is also made of Papa (Huarau, 1920, pp. 29 - 33). Although the name of the translator of the *waiata tangi* is not recorded, it is noted that T. W. Downes sent the *waiata* to the Polynesian Society.

2.2.2.4 Tikao *(JPS)*

In an article entitled 'Mana', Tīkao (via Beattie) explains that the Hine family held the winds because of the family's mana. However, Hinenuitepō is described as having acquired Māui's mana as a consequence of his having died within her. Furthermore, an editorial footnote describes Hinenuitepō as the Goddess of Hades, a

concept foreign to Māori spiritual beliefs (1921, p. 16). Although Hinenuiotetoka is also mentioned, there are no details about her other than the fact that her mana was similar to that of Hinenuitepō (1921, p. 17).

2.2.2.5 Anonymous *(JPS)*

Hineahuone and Hinetītama are both mentioned in a short article entitled 'The Origin of the Stars' (anon., 1921, pp. 259-61), which stated that Tānenuiarangi cohabited with Hinetītama after the death of Hineahuone. Although the writer is unknown, the translator (also anonymous) suggested that he may be from the Ngāti Pāka tribe (presumably, Ngāti Rākaipāka) of the Nuhaka area.

2.2.2.6 Nēpia Pōhūhū

In *The Maori Philosophy of Life and Matter* **(**Pōhūhū, trans. Smith, 1922, p. 45), the teachings of Nēpia Pōhūhū (d. 1882),[16] a *tohunga* from Ngāti Kahungunu, are recorded as specifically indicating that the gods dwelling in the heavens included females, i.e. the *māreikura*, and their descendants. He described them all as *tipua* (supernatural beings), being able to change their semblance to perform certain functions). In a brief discussion about the search for the female principle, *te uha*, it is noted that Roiho, Roake and Haepuru called down from Ranginui to advise that the search should be made at the *mons veneris* of Papa, that is, at Kurawaka.

Percy Smith, who provided a translation of the text, added an explanatory note about Hineahuone and Hinetītama in the translation. Pōhūhū briefly mentions Hinenuitepō, naming her house as Pōtakarongorongo (1922, p. 46). However, Smith's translation of 'tona whare i Potaka-rongo-rongo' as 'her tomb at Potaka-rongo-rongo' distorts the meaning of the original text, as does his description of Hinenuitepō as the goddess of Hades, an inference which cannot be justified on the basis of the original.

2.2.2.7 Elsdon Best (*JPS*)

Best (1856-1931) wrote a number of articles which are relevant here:

'Maori Personifications' (1923a);
'The Polynesian Method of Generating Fire' (1924b);
'The Burning of Te Arawa' (1925);
'Notes on Customs, Ritual and Beliefs Pertaining to Sickness, Death, Burial and Exhumation Among the Maoris of New Zealand' (1926a);
'The Legend of Mahu and Taewha' (1926c);
'Hau and Wairaka: the Adventures of Kupe and his Relatives' (1927a);
'Irihia: the Homeland of the Polynesians' (1927c);
'Maori Agriculture: Cultivated Food-Plants of the Maori, and Native Methods of Agriculture' (1930 - 31); and
'Some Honorific and Sacerdotal Terms and Personifications, etc. Met in Maori Narratives' (a collection of articles) (1926b –29).

Best was also responsible for translating 'Ko Wahieroa ko Rata' which appeared as the article 'Wahieroa and Rata' (1922, pp. 1 - 28). The narrative was said to have originated in the Whare Wānanga of the Tākitimu district. Hinemoana and Tuanuku (Papatūānuku) were mentioned twice. One reference is to an occasion when Whakaihorangi, Rātā's grandfather (a *tohunga*), was explaining to Rātā the whereabouts of his ancestors; the other refererence is contained in a *karakia*[17] used prior to the felling and fashioning of Rātā's canoe. Another *karakia* cites Hineone, Hinekirikiri and Hinekōmahi.[18] Hinetūāhōanga's discussions with Whakaihorangi are alluded to in the main text of the narrative.

2.2.2.7.1 'Maori Personifications': Elsdon Best

In 'Maori Personifications' (1923a, pp. 53 – 69 & 103 - 20), Best states that there are both sacerdotal versions (restricted to the nobility and *whare wānanga*) and more common fireside versions of many Māori myths. A Tūhoe *whakapapa* is presented, showing Ea and Tiki[19] as parents of Kurawaka, whose union with Tāne culminated in the birth of Hinetītama. In a Taranaki version, however, Tiki saw the image of a woman in a pool of his urine. Although he placed earth in the small pit where he had been urinating in order to confine her, she came forth and they lived together. On one occasion, while a woman (whose name is not given) was bathing, she was approached by an eel which aroused her sexually. Yet another story has Māui setting about slaying Tuna because Tuna,[20] the eel, had stimulated his wife, Hina.

Best refers to Hine as the personified form of the moon, the tutelary being of women, and one who presided over childbirth (pp. 53-58). In other sections of the same article, Best mentions that Hinakeha and Hinauri were said to personify certain phases of the moon (p. 68). Other female entities mentioned are Hinetūparimaunga, Parawhenuamea, Takotowai, Hineahuone, Hineone, Pani (pp. 58 - 59) and Hineteuira, Hinerepo, and Hinepūkohurangi (p. 113).

A brief account of Papa's labour in childbirth is provided (p. 63), as well as an account of the separation of Rangi and Papa. Here, it is related that Tāwhirimātea procured the perspiration and warmth of Papa[21] and arranged it on Rangi, thus producing Te Ao tū, Te Ao hore, and other clouds. The moisture which emanated from Papa was due to her grieving for Rangi (p. 117). Pārāweranui is referred to as the south wind and offspring of Hurutearangi[22] and Tonganuikaea (p. 66).

Best states that Hineteāhuru mated with Urutengangana and begat the sun and waxing moon, the offspring of Uru and Hinetūrama being the stars. In another version, however, Hineteāhuru[23] is said to have produced the sun, moon and stars (pp. 66 - 67). Hineraumati and Hinetakurua are both said to have cohabited with Rā, the sun. In Moriori myth, the sun's daughters were Hineata, Hineaotea, and Hineahiahi. A version is recounted in which Rona,[24] assailing and consuming the moon, causes it to seek the Waiora a Tāne in order to restore its strength (p. 105).

The search for the female element is discussed by Best and the names of several female entities are mentioned, entities with whom Tāne mated and produced plants, birds and water (pp. 110 - 11). It is significant that Uru is said to have advised Tāne not to forget the *ūkaipō* of their mother, intimating that Tāne should approach Papatūānuku to ask about the female element; the *māreikura* also bade him go to her. This Tāne did, and Hineahuone was shaped from the earth (p. 111). Hinetītama's departure to Rarohēnga, and her identity as Hinenuitepō, are also discussed. Here, she is described as awaiting the spirits of her children who had died on the earthly plane in order that she protect them from harm in the spirit world (pp. 113 - 14). Best, however, claims that this understanding was exclusive to a small circle of the community, the more common conception being of Hinenuitepō as the destroyer (as in the saying: "He ai atu tā te tangata he huna mai tā Hine-nui-te-Po").[25] However, this appears to be misleading: Best's translation of the word *huna* is based on a partial, and negatively biased, understanding. *Huna* can also mean 'hide', an apt translation in relation to Hine's role in protecting the dead, and one that expresses the absence of the deceased.

That Hinetītama was considered to be a great beauty is indicated in the reference to one's eyes glistening when looking at her: "Ko Hine-titama koe, matawai ana te whatu i te tirohanga" (pp. 113 - 15). Finally, Hinetītama is also mentioned in an *oriori* composed by Te Takai for his granddaughter (pp. 118 - 19).

Best writes that woman emanated from Papa, the earth; that woman was the shelterer and nurturer; and that she was a copy of the male. He also indicates that the *ira tangata* were related to the *kauae raro,* and that the *ira atua* pertained to the *kauae runga*. Thus, Hineahuone and descendants are described as being a blend of the *ira tangata* and the *ira atua* (pp. 111 - 12). He observes that the belief in the inferiority of the female sex derives from Hineahuone's earthly origin, "notwithstanding its importance in ritualistic matters, and indispensability in other ways" (p. 112). There is no indication of whether this was simply Best's own opinion, or a widely held belief among Māori.

2.2.2.7.2 'The Polynesian Method of Generating Fire': Elsdon Best *(JPS)*

In 'The Polynesian Method of Generating Fire', Best (1924b) states that Hinekaikōmako[26] was the fire conserver and the personification of the *kaikōmako* tree, recognised for its burning quality. In a story concerning Mahuika and Māui, Best describes Mahuika as the personificaton of fire. In a South Island version of this story (from Wohlers), Hina is referred to as the daughter of Mahuika, and mother of Māui; in other versions as Māui's sister, or the personification of the moon.

Hineitāpeka (*aka* Tāpeka and Uetāpeka), a sister of Mahuika, is said by Best to represent subterranean fire. A Ngāti Awa version places Mahuika and Hineitāpeka as Hinenuitepō's sisters. Mahuika cohabited with Auahitūroa (the comet) and produced five fire children. According to a Tākitimu tradition, Ruaumoko remained with Papa to keep her warm. Hinetūoi, Hinetuarangaranga, Te Kuku (f?), Te Wawau (f?), and Tawaronui (f?) were also said to be connected with volcanoes. Te Hoata and Te Pupu 'represented' subterranean fires. Mahuika mated with

Murirangawhenua and bore Taranga, who in turn cohabited with Irawhāki and had the Māui brothers (pp. 89 - 97). Mahuika and Parawhenuamea (said to represent water) are given very brief mention in another portion of the text and Mahuika's name occurs in the context of a fire making ritual (pp. 151 - 61).

2.2.2.7.3 'The Burning of Te Arawa': Elsdon Best *(JPS)*

In 'The Burning of Te Arawa', Best (1925) includes the story of Ngahue and Wharematangi. Hineahuone is mentioned in a *karakia* which Wharematangi was to recite while casting his dart (1925, p. 312). Mahuika[27] and Hinetītama are alluded to in the love story of Ngarue and Urutekaraka: as Ngarue said goodbye to his wife, he likened their separation to that of Hinetītama and Tānenuiarangi and requested that she hold fast to the *pona* (cord/knot) of her ancestor Hine (pp. 298 & 312). Another *karakia* recorded in the article contains the words 'Hoaia te tapuwae o Hine i Whitianaunau' (p. 312).

2.2.2.7.4 'Notes on Customs, Ritual and Beliefs Pertaining to Sickness, Death, Burial and Exhumation Among the Maori of New Zealand': Elsdon Best *(JPS)*

Once again, Best alludes to several *atua wāhine*. Tuanuku (Papa) and Rangi are mentioned in both the Māori and English sections of the text, but in different contexts (1926a, pp. 6 & 22). Hinenuitepō's name, however, is found only in Best's English text, along with the following comment: "Forever does trouble, misfortune, death emanate from the female element" (p. 6). As noted below, this interpretation is open to question.

The *karakia* contained in this article by Best include the names of Tuanuku and Hinekōrako (in a *karakia* conducted over a sick man), as well as Hinekūrepe, Hinetata, and Rākaiora (f?) (in a *karakia* to abolish the effect of 'black magic') (pp. 8 - 9). The names of Hinemoana and Pārāweranui also appear in a *karakia* (p. 221), with another reference to Hinemoana occurring in two *karakia* recited by Kupe during his bout with the *wheke* (p. 274).

Hinerauwhārangi is mentioned in connection with agriculture, and more specifically with the removal of certain potatoes from a *rua* (storage pit); the translation referring to "the vanished products of Hine-rau-wharangi" (p. 79). Best's notes explain that Hinerauwhārangi was one of a great many female personifications of Māori myth, that she was a daughter of Tāne and Hinetītama, the Dawn Maid, and the mother of Hinemoana. She is also described as personifying growth in the vegetable world (p. 94).

2.2.2.7.5 'Irihia: the Homeland of the Polynesians': Elsdon Best *(JPS)*

In 'Irihia: the Homeland of the Polynesians', Elsdon Best refers to Hinemākohurangi, Hinekōrako, Hineteiwaiwa, Pārāweranui and Hinenuitepō. A connection is made between Hinekōrako[28] and forms of the rainbow, including lunar bows. Hineteiwaiwa is described as a personified form of the moon and, like Hinekōrako, a tutelary being of womankind who was appealed to in childbirth (1927c, pp. 333 - 34). Pārāweranui is noted as one of the winds (p. 353).

2.2.2.7.6 'Maori Agriculture: Cultivated Food-Plants of the Maori, and Native Methods of Agriculture': Elsdon Best *(JPS)*

Best's 'Maori Agriculture' contains a number of unusual references, such as, for example, a reference to a *karakia* to keep *pūkeko* out of a cultivated area. This *karakia* contains the name Hinewairuakōkako, said by Best to be the personification of the swamp hen (1930, p. 352). Hina and Rongo are variously described as the female and male symbolization of the earth, the two personified forms of the moon, and "the bi-sexual being" which symbolises fertility of the earth and fertility in women (p. 357). Panitinaku is referred to as the mother of the *kūmara*. In a number of versions, there is some discussion about her husband(s). In one version, she is spoken of as the mother of Tahu, the personified form of food, who was also female (pp. 359 - 60). Mention is made of Pani[29] being invoked in a *kūmara* ritual at the planting of the crop (p. 372), and of Hinerauwhārangi being connected with the season of prolific growth of vegetation. Mahuru, described as the personification of spring, and Hineraumati, as the Summer Maid, are also referred to (1931, p. 21).

Two stories recorded by Hēnare Pōtae and Mohi Ruatapu of the East Coast are translated by Best.[30] Hinematikotai features in the story of Rua and the discovery of woodcarving. Here, Hinematikotai is described as assisting Rua in destroying Tangaroa's *whare* and in gaining the art of *whakairo* for humankind (Pōtae and Ruatapu 1928, pp. 257 - 60). The role of the *ariki* Hineteiwaiwa, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, Hineawhirangi and Ruhiruhi is evident in an East Coast version of the capturing of Kae in revenge for his consuming Tutunui, the pet whale of Tinirau (pp. 261 - 70).

2.2.2.7.7 'Some Honorific and Sacerdotal Terms and Personifications etc. Met in Maori Narratives' (a collection of articles): Elsdon Best *(JPS)*

A number of articles detailing sacerdotal expressions, and entitled 'Some Honorific and Sacerdotal Terms and Personifications etc. Met in Maori Narratives', featured in the *JPS* over a period of four years. All were written by Best. The papers' contents included brief descriptions of the role of numerous female entities, listed below in order of appearance. With two exceptions, only those who are easily recognised as being female are included. A noticeable characteristic of these writings is the terminology used. Throughout, *atua wāhine* are described as personifications or maids of Nature. It could, however, be argued that the concept of personification is

foreign to Māori; the use of such a term provides an example of Pākehā-centred interpretation of the literature. Similarly, the use of the word 'maid', connoting virginity, represents Best's romanticising rather than the condition of the *atua wāhine*, who were very active sexually.

As these works so clearly indicate, the realm of the goddess is a rich and varied one, ranging from the celestial realm to the realms of sea and land, from the seasons to the elements and atmospheric conditions. Indeed, specific reference is made to the diversity of functions performed by the various deities.

The earth, or, according to Best, the personification of the earth is represented by each of the following: Papa, Papatūānuku, Tuanuku, Nuku and Papatīraharaha. Hurutearangi, a māreikura, and her daughter, Pārāweranui, are also mentioned. From the union of Pārāweranui and Tāwhirimātea came the many wind children (1926b, pp. 38 - 42). Mahuika and Hinetāpeka[31] (*aka* Uetāpeka) appear in connection with types of fire; ordinary and subterranean fires respectively (pp. 154-55).

Hinemoana is described as the personified form of the ocean. She is wife to Kiwa, guardian of the ocean, and daughter of Hinerauwhārangi, herself recorded as a personification of growth in the vegetable kingdom. Hineteuira is described in a brief note as the Lightning Maid, the female personification of lightning. Various names are given for the personified form of fog and mist, namely, Hinemākohurangi, Hinepūkohurangi, and Tairiākohu, the Mist Maid. Ihorangi, the sister of Hinepūkohu, is described as the personification of rain, whereas Hinewai is presented as the personification of light rain.

Hinetāpeka's name appears as a personification of the fires of the underworld. Hinekōmako is recognised as the Fire Conserver and the personified form of the *kaikōmako* tree. Hinematakirikiri, Hinetūākirikiri and Hineone are identified as personifications of sand and gravel and certain sayings pertaining to these entities are included (pp. 239-41).

Moeāhuru (*aka* Hineteāhuru) is described as the mother of the heavenly bodies, including the sun, the moon, and, according to one version, the stars. This is also credited to Hinetūrama. Hina, Hinauri, Hinakeha, Hineteiwaiwa (or Hinateiwaiwa) are all described as the personification of the moon and the tutelary being of women, thus presiding over childbirth and the weaving arts. The siblings are also mentioned: Māui, Hineteotaota, Hinemārekareka, Raukatauri and Raukatamea. Finally, there is one entry which states that Mumuwhango was the female progenitor of the *tōtara* (pp. 333 - 34).

The *atua wāhine* alluded to in this article are of central significance to women's roles in traditional Māori society.

According to Ngāti Awa, the origins of various birds are attributed to certain female entities, namely, Hinepōrete for the *pōrete* (parakeet), Hinewairuakōkako for the crow and *pākura*, Hinekaroro for the seagull, Hinetara for the tern, and Matuku for

the bittern (gender unknown). Hurutearangi, earlier recognised as the forebear of the winds, is also said to be the origin of 'tapu' birds.

Parawhenuamea, recorded as being the daughter of Tāne and the Mountain Maid and the personification of water, produced, with Kiwa, Hinemoana. The *māreikura* are presented as the female denizens of the uppermost heaven who welcome the spirits of the deceased when they enter that realm (a Ngāti Kahungunu tradition). Hinetūāhōanga is presented as the personification of sandstone and as an enemy of greenstone, whom she fashions through a grinding action. Although some of this knowledge comes from Ngāti Kahungunu, it has been suggested that the comment about Hinetūāhōanga being the personified form of sandstone may have been introduced by the author(s) of the article. While Hinetauira is said to be the name of a particular type of stone which might be used in divination "to see which betokens ill fortune", Hineone and Hinetūākirikiri are described as the personified forms of sand and gravel (Best 1927b, pp. 290-91).

Hinekōrito, Hinekōtea, Hinemākehu, and Hinekōrako are said to be Moon maidens, and guides or protectors of the Tākitimu canoe and there is some further elaboration of the roles of Hinekōrako. Rona is described as the guide/conductor of the moon, and one of the controllers of the tides, hence the name Ronawhakamautai. It is also noted that Rona, according to Ngāti Awa tradition, was the child of Hineteiwaiwa (or Hina) and Tangaroa, and that she mated with the moon. Hinehuruhuru is listed as the personified form of a type of glowworm; the name Mokohuruhuru also appears, but it is difficult to discern the gender of the bearer of that name. Hineauhunga, Hinetangiwai, Hinekahurangi, Hinekawakawa, and Hineaotea are presented as personifications of various forms of greenstone, while Hinewhaitiri, Whaitiripapā, and Whaitiripakapaka are described as personifications of thunder. An entry about Hinetītama notes that she was a daughter of Hineahuone and Tāne, that she became known as Hinenuitepō, and that she personified the dawn. Hineata, Hineaotea, and Hineahiahi, daughters of Rā, the sun, are described as the Morning Maid, the Day Maid and the Evening Maid respectively. Hineraumati (the Summer Maid) and Hinetakurua (the Winter Maid) were wives of Rā, who spent half the year with each; they were also regarded as personifications of the spring, as was Mahuru. However, the gender of Mahuru is not evident. Whakaahu, a star, and a representation of summer, was the sister of the star Oipiri/Pipiri, who was said to represent winter. They were the progeny of te Ao and te Pō and both mated with Rēhua (pp. 376-78).

An entry for Hineahuone/Hinehauone shows her to be "The Earth-formed Maid", progenitor of mortal man, and fashioned by Tāne, from whose union with Hineahuone came Hinetītama. Hineoi/Hineori, Hinetūoi, Hinepuia, Ioiowhenua, Hinetūarangaranga, Te Kuku, Te Wawau, Tawaronui,[32] are listed as personifications of volcanic action, earthquakes and subterranean fire. Hinekuku is presented as the personified form of the mussel. Pipihura and Hungaterewai are identified as the parents of shellfish (Best, 1928, pp. 67 – 69 & 226 - 27).

Hineteihorangi, possibly a variant of Te Ihorangi, is said to represent rain. Hinemākohu, Hinekohu, Hinepūkohu, and Hinetākohurangi are all termed 'The Mist Maid', while Hinekapua is referred to as 'Cloud Maid', personifying clouds. Kahukurawhare, Tūāwhiorangi, and Pouteāniwaniwa are recorded as females who

constituted the lower, paler section of a rainbow. Both Ārohirohi and Parearohi, said to be the wife of Rehua, are presented as the personification of shimmering heat (Best, 1929, pp. 52 - 53).

At the very beginning of *Forest Lore of the Maori* (1942/ 1977b), Best acknowledges Papa and Rangi as the origin of all natural phenomena, and Hineahuone as having been formed from Papa. *Atua wāhine* connected with the bush also feature here. These include Hinemahanga,[33] who was skilled at enticing birds into her snares (p. 15) and Hinekōtauariki, the female personification of bracken fern, who appears in a *karakia* (pp. 74 - 75). Hinewairuakōkako is described as the origin of the *kōkako* bird (p. 323). Pani, referred to as the mother of Hinemataihi, is presented as the progenitor of the *kiore*, the Māori rat (pp. 355 - 56). Hineraumati is connected with *huahua* (preserved game) in that she is said to ripen the berries which, in turn, fatten the birds.

The sisters Hinetakurua and Hineraumati were married to Rā (the sun), each spending six months with him. Hinetakurua was charged with the role of nurturing the offspring of Tangaroa and Tinirau. She it is, therefore, who resides in the vast region of the ocean (pp. 272 - 73).

In these texts, we learn not only of the existence of the *atua wāhine*, but also of their qualities and their diversity of character. We see how the roles of the goddesses were interwoven with those of the gods at times of crisis in Māori life. The names that appear in the *karakia* demonstrate that the feminine was invoked and revered in traditional Māori society. Although the references to the *atua wāhine* could be regarded as incidental to Best's writings,[34] there was clearly a powerful feminine presence in Tūhoe society at the turn of the century.

Because Best has a tendency to assume that some information drawn from specific tribes (e.g. Tūhoe) was equally relevant to others, his sources are not easily identifiable. Although this presents a problem, there is an even greater problem associated with any attempt to determine how far his comments are consistent with those of his informants. Thus, for example, the translations he provides are sometimes inconsistent with the core meaning of the original Māori text. His opinion as a European male is obvious in some places; in others, this world view is more subtly woven into the accounts so that it becomes impossible to determine how far his own interpretation has clouded the original. An example of this is Best's attribution of misfortune and death to the female element (referred to earlier): this comment does not appear in the original Māori text. It was inserted in the English text as part of the introduction to a discourse in Māori about death rituals (Best, 1926a, p. 6). There is a danger that non-Māori speakers who rely on the English text may not realise that it is not a direct translation of the Māori.

2.2.2.8 Mohi Ruatapu and Hēnare Pōtae *(JPS)*

In a 1929 paper entitled 'The Maui Myths. As narrated by Natives of Tolago Bay' (*sic*), by Mohi Ruatapu and Hēnare Pōtae (d. 1895)[35] mention is made of Hina, who is said to represent the moon. According to the writers, Māuimua appeared in the story of Hina (as opposed to Hina appearing in the story of Māui), and Māuipōtiki appeared as husband, brother, son or grandson of Hina (1929, p. 1). Māui's encounters with Mahuika, Murirangawhenua and Hinenuitepō are also related (1929, pp. 8 - 26).

2.2.3 Māori writers

A number of Māori writers contributed to the pool of information about *atua wāhine*. These writers presented the traditions of their respective *iwi*, including *waiata* and *karakia*, for the perusal of the reading public and for the use of future generations of Māori. Some of the contributions were in article form or letters to journals such as *Te Toa Takitini*, while others were addresses that were subsequently printed in Society publications, as with the *Proceedings of the Tairawhiti Maori Association*; a few were published as books in their own right e.g. *The Old-Time Maori* (Makereti) and *The Coming of the Maori* (Te Rangihīroa).

2.2.3.1 Wirihana Aoterangi

Wirihana Aoterangi (d. 1907), chief of the Ngāti Tahinga tribe of Whaingaroa/Raglan, provided the information about *tikanga* Māori in *Fragments of Ancient Maori History* (1923). He made brief mention of Hinetūāhōanga in relation to Rātā bringing the *toki* from her, and to the preparing of food for Hinetūāhōanga, described as the chieftainess of the axes (1923, p. 4). The story of Whakaotirangi bringing *kūmara* to Aotearoa was also recounted, as were the experiences of Ngāiwi (1923, pp. 7-8 & 13-15).

2.2.3.2 Sir Apirana Ngata

Ngāti Porou's Apirana Ngata (1874 – 1950) was a Māori leader, scholar and politician. His collection of traditional *waiata* from around the country resulted in the publication of the volumes *Nga Moteatea*, which appeared in four parts: *Nga Moteatea* Part I (M1 -90) [1928] 1972; Part II (M91-200) [1961] 1974; Part III (M201-300) 1970; Part IV (M301-93) 1990. Ngata collected, translated, edited and provided commentary for Part I; Pei Te Hurinui Jones assisted with the translation, commentary and editing process of the first three volumes. Part IV was edited by Tāmati Reedy.

Numerous *waiata* recorded in *Nga Moteatea* contain the names of *atua wāhine.* Mōteatea 46, 'He Waiata Aroha Mo Te Toko' mentioned Te Hoata and Te Pupu, Ngātoroirangi's sisters, who brought fire and thermal energy to him from Hawaiki in

order to save him from certain disaster on the snowy slopes of Tongariro. The *waiata* was composed by Rihi Puhiwahine of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Maniapoto. In an *oriori* by Te Motu of Ngāti Kahungunu, there is a reference to Kaikōmako, i.e. Hinekaikōmako. The accompanying notes describe her as 'te kaipupuri o te kora a Mahuika, o te ahi' (the keeper of Mahuika's spark, fire) (M 81).

The names of numerous *atua wāhine* are found in *Nga Moteatea*. For example, a *tangi* for Tūtohiārangi of Ngāti Porou contains a reference to *te whare pora o* Hineteiwaiwa. This was interpreted as 'Hineteiwaiwa's weaving house', but could also be translated as 'weaving guild'. The corresponding notes explain that Hineteiwaiwa could either be the goddess of that name, or the sister of Tūtohiārangi (M 94). The name of Hinekitetāpere appears in a *waiata* for Parehingaawatea by Rangiiripū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Hinekitetāpere is presented as a figurative term for young women within the 'House of Entertainment' (M 112). Whaitirimatakakā, Whaitiripapā, Papanuiākarioi and Hine-haehaemanga are mentioned in an *oriori* for Te Uaoterangi of Ngāti Porou. In the *waiata* notes, Whaitirimatakakā is acknowledged as the grandmother of Tāwhaki, by whom Whaitiri's supply of *taro* was stolen (M 121).

The *oriori* Pō Pō, by Enoka Te Pakaru, a *tohunga* from Tūranga (Gisborne), alludes to the coupling of Pani and Māuiwharekino, and to Pani's having been taken to the water of Mōnāriki. Hinetūāhōanga is cited as a daughter of Uru and Ngangana and a sister of Tangaroa. The accompanying notes gave more detail about Pani, as well as the sources of reference (M 145). A reference to Rona is found in a Ngāti Whātua *oriori* composed by Tāoho for his son Raeroa (M 158). In another *oriori*, composed by Hautū, Hinekarekare, Hineahuone, Tangaroa and his "whanau wāhine" are mentioned within the context of weaving; Parekānga, for whom the *oriori* was intended, was told to placate them as she did her weaving (M 162). The name Hinengoingoi appears in a *tangi* relating to the failure of crops where she is said to be the *moana*. The composer was Horomona Hāpai of Ngāti Porou (M 170). Hinenuitepō and Mahuika are mentioned in a Ngāti Haua *waiata tangi* composed by Tūtemahurangi. The note about Mahuika explains that she was the goddess of fire (M 172). Reference is made to the *uaua* (sinews) of Papatūānuku in a *waiata tangi* composed by Te Uamairangi for his house (M175).

The *mōteatea* with several references to Hina was an ancient one composed by Hinauri when she realised that her brother Māui had transformed her husband (Irawaru) into a dog. The *waiata* is significant, not only for its age, but principally because the composer was Hinauri herself (M 176). Hina, Hinawhakarurutaua, and Nuku/Papa are the names which appear in the *waiata*. Finally, Pani is mentioned in a *tangi* by Te Ikaherengutu of Ngāti Ruanui (M181).

A Ngāi Tara *oriori* was composed by Tūhotoariki for Tūteremoana. It contains the names of several female entities: Te Hiringamatua, Pārāweranui, Hinetītama, Hinerauwhārangi, Hinekauorohia, Hinemākohurangi, Hinekōrito, Hinekōtea and Hinemākehu and Mahuika (M 201). Maikukumākākā and Hāpai (here the wives of Māui) are mentioned in the *oriori Pinepine te kura*, while Pani's name occurs in the notes. The *oriori* was composed for Te Umurangi of Ngāti Kahungunu (M 215A). Another *oriori*, by Mumura of Ngā Ariki (of the East Coast) also names

Maikukumākākā, along with Hinekukutirangi (M 219). Mumura, who was childless, composed this *oriori*, holding a *hue* (gourd) in place of a child. Although no *atua wāhine* appear in the text of another *oriori* from Ngāti Kahungunu, several names are mentioned in the explanatory notes. These include Hinehauone and Pani (M 231). In a *waiata tawhito*, by Pikihuia of Tūhoe, the name of Hinenuitepō occurs (M 232). A long list of *atua wāhine* are found in an *oriori* by Tūpai of Te Whānau-a-Kai, Tūranga. They are Parawhenuamea, Moananui, Hine-raumāukuuku, Panimatua, Papa, Raukatauri, Raukatamea, and Tongatonga /Pūhāhanakiterangi. Papa, Hinetūāhōanga and others are mentioned in the *waiata* notes. The *waiata* was composed for Te Whakatahakiterangi (M 234). A *tangi* from Whanganui for Te Kōtukuraeroa contains the names of Ātea, Atatuhi, and Raukatauri, with Hineahuone and others being mentioned in the notes (M 240).

While Papa appears in a Taranaki *tangi*, the names of Papa, Hinemoana and Pani are found in the explanatory notes (M 252). A *tangi* by Te Mamanga, from Ngāti Maru of Waitara, includes the line 'He ao tamawahine, he ao o Whaitiri' (M 254); Ruapūtahanga is also mentioned. From Tūranga came a *tangi ātahu* for Tūtekohi and his dog. References are made to Māukuuku and Tauwharekiokio (both being married to Rangi), as well as to Whaitiri[36] (M 260). The names of Hinepuia, Hineuku, Hineone, Parawhenuamea, Hinemoana and Hinetapatūrangi appear in a *tangi* from Ngāti Kahungunu, Wairarapa. Nukupewapewa composed the lament for Te Ōhangaitua and Te Rangitakuariki (M 275). A *tangi* for Tongaawhikau by Te Rangimauri contains the names of Maikukumākākā, Papa and Parawhenuamea. There is a reference to Hinetūāhōanga in the notes. This *tangi* hailed from Ngāti Ruanui of Taranaki (M 300).

A Whanganui *tangi* for Te Apapaoterangi contains the names of Hinemoana and Hinetītama (M302). Hinetūāhōanga and Mumuwhango are mentioned in a *waiata karakia*. In the accompanying notes are found references to Hinetūākirikiri, Hinekawakawa, Hineakua, Hineaotea, Tuamatua, Hinewaipipi, Tūmaunga, Puwhakahara, Te Atatangirea and Tūwaerore (M329). A *waiata tautitotito* from Taranaki includes the names Whaitiri and Puiaterangi (*sic*), while the explanatory notes allude to Puiaiterangi and Puia (M346). Hinetūāhōanga's name appears in another Taranaki *tangi* (M347). Hinetītama is referred to in an *oriori* by Te Takai for his granddaughter (tribal origin unknown; M350). Hinenuitepō is mentioned in Te Kaupapa a Tarakawa (M356B). Finally, a Ngāti Kahungunu *tangi* from Wairoa refers to Raukatauri (M389).

Although most of the references to Papa and Hine are fleeting, they nevertheless confirm that these *atua wāhine* were powerful, and revered by generations of Māori. The great deeds of the ancient *atua*, as well as the more recent *tūpuna wāhine*, their joy, pain or grief are all alluded to in *waiata* and *karakia*. The fact that these names recur is a reflection of the *mana* of these *atua*, and of the status they held in Māori society.

2.2.3.3 Nēpia Pōhūhū

In the article 'Te Whare-Wananga' which appeared in *Te Wananga* (Pōhūhū, 1929-30, pp. 141 – 260 & 121 - 80), references are made to Tuanuku, Papatūānuku, Pārāweranui, Hinetītama, Hinemoana, Hineahuone,[37] Hurutearangi, Hineatauira, Hineteuira, Mihimihirangi, Hineteweherangi, Hinekapua, Hinewairito, Hinerauwhārangi, Hineteahorangi, Hinerauangiangi and Hinemanuhiri. Pōhūhū also lists more recent *tūpuna* in a *whakapapa*, including Hinewairangi (who married Ngātoroirangi (1929, pp. 168 & 69). Some elaboration is given to Papa and Rangi's story; their union and separation, and the subsequent turning of Papa. Reference made to the *kauwae raro* pertains to Papa. Discussion ensues about the search for the *uha*. Relevant *whakapapa* provide further information.

2.2.3.4 Rangiuia [38]

A *tangi* recorded in *Te Wananga* contains several names of *atua wāhine* including Hineahuone, Hinemanuhiri, Hinerauwhārangi, Hinekapuarangi, Hineatauira, Hinematikotai, Takurua, Hinetearikī, Hineuru, Hineteiwaiwa, Hinehuhuritai, and Hinehaua (March 1930, pp. 21 - 35). The *tangi* was composed by Rangiuia (of Te Aitanga-ā-Hauiti) for his son, Tūterangiwhaitiri.

2.2.3.5 Sir Māui Pōmare

Māui Pōmare (1876 – 1930) was of the Ngāti Mutunga and Ngāti Toa *iwi*. He was a well-known Māori health reformer and politician. Pōmare and Cowan co-authored the *Legends of the Maori* (1930/ 1987). In the opening chapter, about the separation of Papa and Rangi, references are made to Hineahuone, and to the various names for Hineitauira: Hinetītama and Hinenuitepō. Mahuika, Hinenuitepō, Mumuwhango, and Hāpai appear in later accounts. A *mōteatea* also alludes to Hinenuitepō (1987, p. 319). Raukatauri and Raukatamea feature as the originators of entertainment and games of amusement in the recounting of the story of their search for Kae (1987:69-71). Wairaka, a heroine of the Mataatua canoe, is the subject of another chapter (1987, pp. 171 - 75).

2.2.3.6 Te Kani Te Ua

Te Kani Te Ua (1892 – 1966), a chief of the Rongowhakaata, and Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki was noted for his knowledge pertaining to *whakapapa* and tribal traditions.[39] A paper, 'Spiritualism and Maori beliefs', was delivered by him in Gisborne, and printed in the *Proceedings of the Tairawhiti Maori Association* (1932, pp. 38 - 54). Te Kani Te Ua briefly discusses the role of women of nobility in traditional Māori society, and the abolition of the traditional *whare wānanga* in the Gisborne area due to Christianity. Papa, Hinetearikī, and Hinenuitepō were mentioned. Hinenuitepō is referred to as the goddess of the souls of men (1932, 51), indicating that Māori opinion of the time included the feminine in the Māori pantheon of gods.

2.2.3.7 Makereti

Makereti (1873 – 1930), *aka* Maggie Papakura, was an *aho ariki* of the Tūhourangi tribe. Brought up in a traditional Māori way by her *kaumātua* (great-aunt and great-uncle), Makereti learnt *whakapapa, waiata* and *tikanga*. As an adult, she became the first writer to advance Māori female scholarship.[40] In her thesis, published posthumously as *The Old-Time Maori* (1938/ 1986), Makereti discusses the roles of Māori women in traditional Māori society as well as in her own lifetime, and alludes to Hineteiwaiwa and Hinekōrako as tutelary deities for women's crafts and childbirth. Descriptions of *tūā* and *tohi* ceremonies are provided, including the *karakia* used (1986, pp. 125 - 32). Parawhenua is invoked in one *karakia*; Makereti refers to her as the personified form of water (1986, p. 127). The names of Hineteiwaiwa, Hineangiangi and Hinekorikori occur in a *karakia* used in a *tūā* ritual for female children (1986, p. 343). In the chapter on fire (1986, pp. 271 - 81), the names of Mahuika and Hineitāpeka appear. Mahuika is described as the goddess of fire and, of her sister Hineitāpeka, it was written that she takes care of the fires of the underworld. Mahuika's husband is the comet Auahitūroa. Their five children[41] are also listed.

The original text of *The Old-Time Maori* was a thesis written for submission towards a B. Sc. degree in Anthropology at the University of Oxford, England. As Makereti was separated from her elders by thousands of miles, she was largely dependent on her own memories and the traditionally acquired knowledge gained as a young woman. However, there was at least one occasion[42] when she was able to discuss her project with her elders. Physical distance prevented more regular discussions with them. Immediate access to her people would have given Makereti an opportunity to record more of their knowledge, including information about *atua wāhine*.[43] Before Makereti died, she asked that certain *karakia* (or other information considered too *tapu*, or inappropriate for publication) be removed from the text, and that the book be shown to the Arawa people for checking and consent before being published (Penniman in editorial note 1986).

2.2.3.8 *Te Toa Takitini*

Te Toa Takitini, a Māori newspaper originally published by the Bishopric of Waiapu in 1921, contains references to *atua wāhine*. In a *whakapapa* submitted by Tuhitaare Heemi of Ruatoki the following names appear: Papa, Hinewaoriki, Hinetītama, Hinemanuhiri, Whaitiri, Hinauri, and Hinetuahoana (*sic*). Heemi included the *whakapapa* in a piece of writing entitled 'Te ingoa nei Aotearoa' (1930b, pp. 2084 - 85). Heemi also mentions Hineteiwaiwa in connection with the interior of the *wharenui*, stating that she holds the *mauri* of the *ruahine* crossing the threshold of the *wharenui* for the first time, and that it is she, Hineteiwaiwa, who figuratively speaking, spreads forth the ceremonial mat. Other references are made to the role of the *ruahine* at the opening ceremony for a new *wharenui* (1930a, pp. 2054 - 55). Snippets of information were found in other *Te Toa Takitini*. For instance, one Hine, a great granddaughter of Tangaroa, is mentioned in an article entitled 'Te Whetukura a Tangaroa' by Mohi Te Atahikoia (1925:202-04).

2.2.4 Pākehā writers

Although only a few Pākehā writers published work about Māori religion and/or mythology, the evidence found in the publications is significant. Reference has already been made (see 2.2.2.4) to works by Best that were published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Here, reference is made to books published by Best along with works by Lambert, Andersen and Cowan.

2.2.4.1 Best's *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori*, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, ' The Neolithic Maori' and 'The Mythopoetic Maori'

Best's *Spiritual and Mental Concepts of the Maori* (1922/ 1973) contains the names of several *atua wāhine* and includes discussion about terminology relating to *atua*, terms such as *ariā* and *tipua*. Best observes that the *ariā* of Hineruarangi is the cormorant while the *ariā* of Hinepūkohu is the white mist (1973, p. 24). In addition, there are fleeting references to the *māreikura*, to Hineahuone and Hinetītama/Hinenuitepō, and, in the concluding lines of the text, Hinemoana is referred to as follows: '"*Tangi kau ana te hau ki runga o Marae-nui o Hinemoana*" (Nought save the wailing of the wind is heard on the vast plaza of the Ocean Maid)' (1973, p. 57).

In a paper entitled 'The Neolithic Maori', Best (1923c, p. 57) makes reference to Hinetūāhōanga. He names her 'the Grindstone Maid' and notes that all types of sandstone are personified in her. She was the granddaughter of Hinemaunga and Tāne, and the daughter of Tuamatua, "the origin and personification of all stone". According to Best, Rātā was Hinetūāhōanga's son.

Best's most comprehensive work on Māori religious practices is *Maori Religion and Mythology* (1924/ 1976). Although the observations contained in that work are accompanied by judgements, presumptions and interpretations that are impossible to justify, the *kōrero, whakapapa*, and *karakia* he recorded are extremely significant. Again, the male gods are the main focus of attention. Nevertheless, there is important documentation regarding the goddesses. *Karakia*[44] recited over Hinetītama's daughter Hinerauwhārangi, shortly after her birth, are recorded (1976:127) and one version refers to Iowahine as the first woman (1976, p. 130).

In Part III of *Maori Religion and Mythology*, a section entitled 'Some Account of Maori Cosmogony, Theogeny, and Anthropogeny' deals in part with the story of Papa and Rangi, the search for the *uha*, the subsequent creation of Hineahuone, the account of Hinetītama/Hinenuitepō, and the Tiki myth. References to several female entities are included in this section. In Part IV 'Gods of the Maori', Best groups the gods into classes. In doing so, he makes numerous allusions to goddesses including Papa, Hinerauwhārangi (1976, p. 170), Hineuku, Hineone, Hinemoana and Parawhenuamea (p. 188), Hineteuira and Whaitiri (p. 198), and Hinekōrako (p. 201). Finally, Part VII, 'Ritual Performances and Formulae', includes examples of *tohi* rites in which Papa and Whaitiri (p. 361) and Parawhenuamea and Hineahuone (p.

364) are mentioned. Reference is also made to Papa in a *whakaū* rite (p. 378), part of the *ahi pure*, the ritual feast after the exhumation of a deceased person's bones.

'The Mythopoetic Maori' is the title of a treatise by Best delivered as an address by Mr W. D. Bruce at a meeting of the *Tairāwhiti Māori Association* in 1932. Here, Best writes about Hinemoana, Hinetītama, Hinepūkohu, Hinemaunga, Parawhenua, Hineone, Hinetūākirikiri, Hineahuone, Hinewhaitiri, Hineteuira, Hinetakurua, Hinerauwhārangi, and Hinekeha (Best, 1932, pp. 69 - 73). He refers specifically to Hinetītama, the Dawn Maid, who was transformed into the "champion and protector of the spiritual life of men, under whose aegis the human soul finds peace in the spirit world" (p. 69).

2.2.4.2 Thomas Lambert

The Story of Old Wairoa contains accounts of Haumapuhia (the Waikaremoana *taniwha*) (1925, p. 97), Hinerau (also of Tūhoe) (p. 107), Rona (p. 99), and Hinekōrako, the Ngāti Hinehika *taniwha* (p. 109). Mahoranuiatiu, Papa and Hinenuitepō's names are noted in a discussion about Māori cosmogony (pp. 146 - 48).

2.2.4.3 Johannes C. Andersen

Johannes C. Andersen (1873 - 1962) includes eminent female figures throughout Polynesia in *Myths and Legends of the Polynesian*s, first published in 1928.[45] The most prominent Māori goddesses named are Hineahuone,[46] Hineatauira/Hinenuitepō,[47] Hina, Hinauri, Hineteiwaiwa/Hinateiwaiwa (known to Tinirau as Hinetengarumoana). Others mentioned are Hineahupapa (according to one version, Rangi's first wife), Papa,[48] Hineateao, Hineatepō, Tangotango, Maikukumākākā, Hineitāpapauta and Hinetūwhenua (wind goddesses), Rona, Mahuika, Hineitāpeka, Hinekōmako, Hinematikotai, Hinemoana, Hinetūāhōanga, Pani, and Hinetūparimaunga.

The following are some female entities who are cited as having mated with Tāne: Hinetuamaunga, Mumuwhango (from whom came the *tōtara*), Pūwhakahara (who produced the *akerautangi*, a tree), Atatangirea (who produced the *maire*), Kuraki (a *kahikatea*, white pine), Otūngairanga (who produced the *nīkau* palm), Ngāore (the *toetoe*), Pakoti (the *harakeke*, flax), Kuiuku (the *matai* tree), Tūwaerore (the *rimu* and *tānekaha* trees), Maiteata (the *mānuka* tree), Rangahore (who produced mountain stones), Haereawaawa (the *weka* bird), Urutahi (the *tūī* bird), and Papa (the *kiwi*) (1928/ 1969, pp. 406 - 07).

One story tells of Ārohirohi (mirage) being the sun's wife. Thus, Ārohirohi is said to have formed a woman, Mārikoriko, from the warmth of the sun and Paoro (Echo); Mārikoriko married Tiki and Hinekauataata was born. Andersen writes that the woman was not considered to be of divine origin because she was not formed by a god (1969, p. 415). On the other hand, a sense of supernatural power is evident in

the *karakia* used by Hina to overcome her husband's other wives when they attempted to kill her (p. 239).

Andersen's retelling[49] of Hina's *haka* movements to entice Kae into identifying himself makes no mention at all of the suggestive movements with sexual overtones related in traditional accounts. This is, of course, consistent with Andersen's own comments earlier: "There is often a difference in the rendering of a story when collected by two different people. So much depends upon the collector's standpoint. Some think the literal telling of a story may give offence; some refuse to put on record what they personally consider improper. It is therefore often a matter of difficulty, if not impossibility, to say if variants are actual variants among the people where the stories are current or if they are due to the collector" (p. 243). In explaining that some mythologies may seem simple because only one version has been collected or has survived (p. 376), Anderson raises a very important issue. Despite the acknowledged variations within the versions, however, the goddesses are present throughout.

2.2.4.4 James Cowan

James Cowan devotes a chapter of his book, *The Maori Yesterday and Today*, to a discussion about Horoirangi, the deified ancestor of Ngāti Uenukukōpako of Te Arawa, and a shrine dedicated to her (1930, pp. 222 - 29). The text provides a rare source of information about the history of the *tupuna* Horoirangi and of her stone effigy, removed to the Auckland Museum for safe-keeping. Cowan recounts the story of Hatupatu and Kurangaituku in *Fairy Folk Tales of the Maori* (1925), a title which clearly indicates the perspective he brought to bear on the work, a perspective that is also evident in *Legends of the Maori* (1930)[50] which he co-authored with Pōmare.

2.3 Summary 1920 – 40

The information found in the above literature suggests that there was a strong presence of the feminine in Māori cosmology, that the *atua wāhine* held very powerful positions, and that they influenced the traditional Māori values and way of life. The numerous stories and *waiata* in which reference is made to them, and the *karakia* which invoke them, reinforce this conclusion. The sheer number of female entities found in rituals pertaining to agriculture, canoe-making, childbirth, sickness, and weaving (to name but a few) show that the goddesses' functions were diverse.

Other features of the texts are not so positive. There is strong evidence of Eurocentric and Judaeo-Christian bias which results in negative interpretations of the nature and roles of Māori goddesses. Thus, negative qualities are sometimes accorded to such deities as Hinenuitepō. Best, for example, provides a negative interpretation of Hinenuitepō's role in his translation of 'huna' as 'destroys' rather than 'hide' (Best, 1926a, p. 6), and in his statement that misfortune and death emanate from the female element (something that is not present in the original text). Furthermore, the use of terms like 'Hades' and 'tomb' by Smith to describe

Hinenuitepō's dwelling place conjure up impressions which are not present in the original Māori text. Such interpretations distort the original story, changing the role of the female character. Unfortunately, it appears that this kind of intervention on the part of Pākehā writers has greatly influenced, in a negative way, modern society's attitude towards such entities as Hinenuitepō, and, by association, Māori women in general. In spite of this, references to the goddesses in the *waiata*, some of which were composed by women, provides firm evidence of their important role in Māori history. Even so, it remains the case that (a) there are comparatively few references to the female in the texts discussed above, and (b) such references as there are generally peripheral to the main body of the works.

Overall, references to the goddesses appear to be largely incidental, marginal in comparison to the attention awarded to their male counterparts. This marginalisation is attributable to (a) the bias and interpretation of the Pākehā writers,[51] and (b) the perspective of the Māori (predominantly male) informants. Only by amassing the available references is an impression gained of the numbers of female entities, and their roles.

Up until 1940, texts relating to Māori cosmology were relatively numerous but thereafter fewer such publications appeared. This may be a reflection of a decline in Pākehā ethnographers' interest in the area, an acceptance that this subject area had been thoroughly investigated, or some combination of the two. Whatever the reason, the numerous *waiata* published in the 1920 – 40 period remain, and these *waiata* leave us in no doubt of the importance of *atua wāhine* in the history of Māori.

Endnotes

[1] The terms atua wāhine and goddesses are employed here to differentiate between female and male gods. These ancestresses of the Māori were also recognised as *wāhine whai mana*, women who possessed great authority and status.
[2] They were daughters of Tangaroa (their mother's name was not given).
[3] Hineteiwaiwa is referred to as 'goddess or maid of the nines (nine moons)' (in Hongi, 1920, p. 27).
[4] The offerings, generally leaves, are made to the *tapu* tree which, as a *tipua*, houses Hinehopu's spirit. The offerings are part of the *uruuruwhenua* ritual, performed when moving between tribal areas. Hinehopu stands on the road between Rotoiti and Rotoehu (Cowan, 1910, pp. 111 & 12).
[5] In 1877, education was made compulsory at the primary level (Dakin, 1973, p. 21). It was not until 1909, though, that this requirement was made applicable to Māori children (p. 72).
[6] Held in Hocken library whose reference system is followed here.
[7] The information contained in the manuscript also appeared in *Tikao Talks* (Tīkao, 1990).
[8] Hekehekeipapa became Papatūānuku.
[9] According to this South Island tradition, Tahukumea and Tahuwhakairo were daughters of Hinetītama.
[10] Hinepūnuiotoka was married to Mahuika (in this version, a male, and also known as Murirakawhenua) and bore five daughters, whose names are written in the text. The eldest, Hinearoraki, was the mother of Māui. She became the goddess controlling the flight of birds (Beattie, MS 0181, p114.); Hinepūnuiotetoka is the south-west wind, Hinearoaropari holds the echo of the cliffs, Hinehauone holds the easterly to north-easterly winds, Hineroriki the northerly winds and Hinerotia the north to westerly winds (MS 0181, pp. 119-20. Also in Beattie (1994, pp. 391 & 92).
[11] As Beattie does not appear to have discussed childbirth practices with any women from the district in question, there is no information regarding this subject.
[12] Beattie wrote that Hinehauone holds the sands at Pikopikoiwhiti. Rehua, the sun, rises over Hineahuone's back (Beattie, 1994, p. 399).
[13] Hinenuiotepō was a daughter of Hinetītama (1994, p. 406).

[14] See Best (1907a, p. 11).
[15] These were red and blue coloured clays used as paint.
[16] An article is attributed to Pōhūhū in *Te Wananga* (1929). See the 1920 - 40 section here.
[17] This *karakia* was one used in connection with the felling of trees to fashion canoes, carved *wharenui* ridgepoles, carved stockade posts or for cenotaphs for nobility. Best's translation for 'tiki' was 'cenotaph' (1922, p. 9), but an alternative meaning suggested here is that the *karakia* was used when collecting *tūpāpaku* from caves.
[18] Hinekōmahi was a woman of nobility, daughter of Tūrongonui.
[19] White's *Ancient History of the Maori* is also cited as mentioning Tiki and Iowahine (1923b, p. 55).
[20] Further mention of an eel is made in reference to Tāne, and Puhi the eel manipulating the female element (see Best, 1926a, p. 6).
[21] In another reference to Papa after the separation, she is described as being dry and dusty from the heat of the sun (Best, 1923a, p. 69).
[22] In a later article, Tāwhirimātea is said to be Hurutearangi's spouse (Best, 1923a, p. 103).
[23] Best states that Hineteāhuru was also known as Moeāhuru and Te Āhuru (1923a, p 67).
[24] In an earlier section of the article, Best indicates that Rona was female in some versions and male in others (1923a, p. 67).
[25] Best quotes one saying used when speaking of the dead, stating that Hinenuitepō ensnares the dead: "kua mau ia i te tari a Hine-nui-te-Po" (1923a, p. 115).
[26] Ira was Hinekōmako's spouse; it is said that the couple were sometimes depicted in carvings on the lower fire stick, *te kauahi*. The generation of fire was produced by the combined effort of the female and male. Best says that Hinekōmako concealed fire, while Ira generated it and made it known to the world (1924b, p. 97).
[27] Best alludes to Mahuika (and consequently her fire) being drenched with water by her grandson Māui.
[28] Further information is given about Hinekōrako later in the article (1927c. pp. 343 & 357).
[29] Best records that the ritual alluded to above was conducted at Ahuahu when the Horouta canoe landed there. It is worthy of mention that not only the male *rangatira* of the Horouta are named, but also the female *rangatira,* Hinemanuhiri and Hinekauirangi (1930, p. 372).
[30] It would seem that Best was responsible for the translation of the original texts into English, as his initials appear in the English texts.
[31] Mahuika and Hinetāpeka appear again later in the text (1926b, p. 241).
[32] The genders of Ioiowhenua, Te Kuku, Te Wawau, and Tawaronui are not indicated.
[33] A saying 'Ko te pua a Hine-mahanga' is supplied, referring to Hine's fruit used in drawing the birds into the snare.
[34] It is argued that the reason for lack of information about *atua wāhine* was more reflective of Best's Victorian attitudes than the Tūhoe perceptions at the time.
[35] For biographical details about Hēnare Pōtae, see *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* 1990:351-52.
[36] Another reference to Whaitiri can be found in note 55 for M 282 (Ngata, 1970, p. 380).
[37] Hineahuone and Tānematua were given as the parents of Hinetītama, Hineatauira, Hineteuira, Mihimihirangi, Hineteweherangi, Hinekapua, Hinewairito, while the following were the progeny of Hinetītama and Tāne: Hinerauwhārangi, Hineteahorangi, Hinerauangiangi and Hinemanuhiri (Pōhūhū, 1929, p. 165).
[38] Rangiuia was a contemporary of Ruatapu.
[39] Whakapapa recorded by Te Ua also contained the name of Hinetūāhōanga; two references were made to her, one showing her as the great grandmother of Kiwa, the Tākitimu captain (Te Ua VF Box 572, VF Box 993, p. 1) and the other showing her relationship to Rātā as his mother (MS VF Box 993, p. 1), and Hineākirirangi/Hinehākirirangi, described as the priestess or sacred lady of the Tākitimu expedition (MS VF Box 99, p. 6).
[40] Makereti was never taken seriously by male academics in her time (Te Awekōtuku pers. comm.); the media, too, portrayed her as a glamorous guide rather than as the intellectual that she was (Te Awekōtuku 1991, pp. 144 & 148).
[41] The five fingers of the hand bear the children's names.
[42] For instance, Makereti returned to Whakarewarewa in 1926 (Te Awekōtuku 1993, p. 217) to discuss her study plans with her people, who agreed to assist her.
[43] According to T. K. Penniman, Makereti intended writing a series of books about aspects of Māori life (Makereti, 1986, p. 24). It is possible that Makereti's notebooks may hold relevant information; these are kept in the Pitt Rivers Museum Archives in Oxford, England (Te Awekōtuku, 1991, p. 127).
[44] Other *karakia* relating to the creation of the *ira tangata* and to conception were recorded in Best's chapter on cosmogony.

[45] *Maori Tales* (1924) was another publication, containing popularised versions of some myths and legends.
[46] Andersen believed that the variations 'Hine-hau-one ' and 'Hine-haone' were from a degraded version (1969, p. 407).
[47] An English translation of Hine and Tāne's farewell waiata to each other was given (Andersen 1969, p. 410).
[48] Rangi and Papa appeared in a 'chant of creation', translated into English by Hare Hongi (1969, p. 354).
[49] The story of Tinirau and his pet whale also appeared in *Maori Tales* (Andersen 1924, pp. 51 - 60).
[50] See Pōmare earlier in this section.
[51] For example, female entities were not generally mentioned in title or subtitle headings.

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TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAIKATO

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
THE SCHOOL OF MAORI AND PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT

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Dean's Welcome

Nau mai haere mai

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

Professor Tamati Reedy
Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

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

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

Te Tari Māori

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

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

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

Development Studies

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

Te Tīmatanga Hou

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

Te Whakapiki i Te Reo

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

Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research

Given our School's relative youth, we have been successful in securing and undertaking research contracts. There are currently three major areas of research which different research teams, from the School and University, are undertaking:

1) Māori Sustainable Development in Te Puku o Te Ika
2) He Rangahau Tikanga Māori - Traditional Fisheries Research Project
3) Māori Language Proficiency Tests for Year 5 and Year 8

The School will be opening a new Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research, which will help to manage the research activities within the School.

Māori Student Academic Advisory Centre (MSAAC)

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

Guidelines for Final Submission of Article for JMPD

General

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

Title

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

Abstract

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

Headings

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

References within the text

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

Endnotes

Endnotes are indicated within the text by a number[1] in superscript. They should be in Times 9, and appear together at the end of the article and before the reference list.

Tables and Figures

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

References

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

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

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

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

Policy regarding use of the macron

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

Submission

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

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

Acknowledgments

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