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TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

Tihe Mauri ora

Ko te putanga tuatahi o te whakaputanga tuatoru tēnei o te kohinga kōrero o Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao. Ka tukua atu ēnei kohinga kōrero hei tirohanga mā koutou, hei whakahihiri i ō koutou hinengaro. Ko ā koutou kohinga kōrero ēnei, nā koutou nei i whakatere, ā, mā ā koutou mahi hoki e whakarangatira ngā hua o ka pua. Mā te mahi tahi ka tutuki tēnei wawata.

Welcome to the first issue of Volume 3 of the Journal of Maori and Pacific Development. We're pleased to be able to continue to offer our readers work on a wide range of areas. This is your Journal and it is up to you to maintain quality by submitting your work to us for consideration. We welcome your participation.

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Pōwhiri and Death: Poems

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Pōwhiri

Kaea: his splitting voice crackling through the ranks
Rōpu: their bellowing chorus echoes a unison reply
Kaea: prances midrow and unleashes another verbal onslaught
Meanwhile, arms throw turgid and feet pound the dusty floorboards
Eyes roll and protrude in ugliness
Lips part to projecting tongues and nicotine teeth
With words spitting vigorously into the now roaring air
The atmosphere gradually rises until a "Hī" invades the powerful circuit and cuts the roaring energy into silence.

"You are welcome friend."

Death

Death Uncovers Love
Death is the funeral
Love is the tears which fall endlessly to the ground
Leaving a puddle of emotion
Which, in time, will subside deep into the soil
Taking death with it into the past

Creating a curriculum for indigenous and community languages: te reo Māori as an example[1]

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Abstract
Part 1 of this paper introduces the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR) for languages and describes how it was used in the construction of draft New Zealand curriculum guidelines for French and German. *Part 2* discusses how the CEFR has been employed in curriculum development in Te Reo Māori at the University of Waikato and suggests that it could also prove useful in relation to curriculum development projects involving indigenous and community languages more generally.

Acknowledgements
The draft curriculum guidelines for Māori were developed by a group that included the following people: Stephen August, Ian Bruce, Winifred Crombie, Louanna Hori, Waldo Houia, Ngaere Houia-Roberts, Diane Johnson, Hine Kahukura Te Kanawa, Te Kahutu Maxwell; Pania Papa; Poia Rewi; Ani Rolleston, Hēmi Whaanga, and George Wynyard. A joint publication which provides further detail relating to the curriculum documents themselves will be published at a later date.

Part 1

Why was the Common European Framework of Reference designed?

In 1991, an inter-governmental symposium was held (on the initiative of the Swiss government) at Rüschlikon in Switzerland. The symposium was called *Transparency and Coherence in Language Learning in Europe: Objectives, Evaluation and Certification*. Out of that symposium emerged the recommendation that the Council of Europe should develop a *comprehensive, transparent* and *coherent* framework of reference for the description of language learning and teaching at all levels. As a result, the draft *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFRL) was published in 1996, a framework which is currently being updated. The purpose of the framework is to:

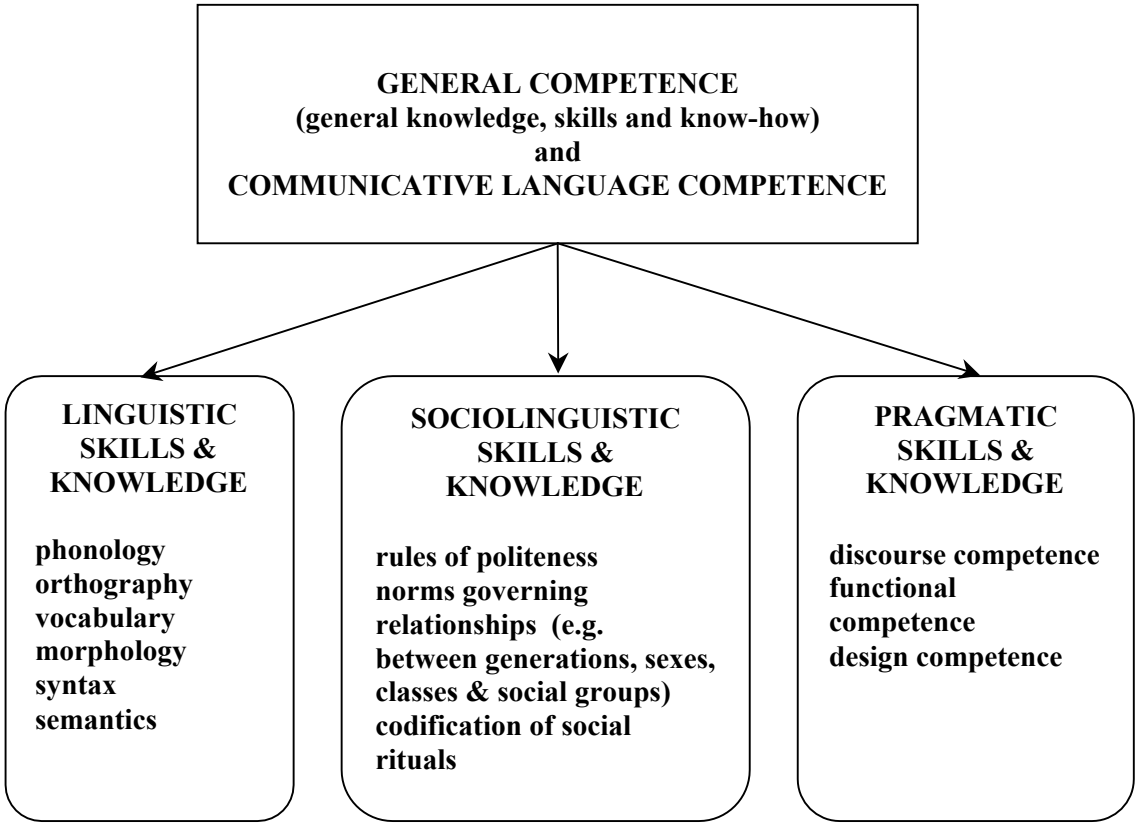
- provide a basis for the international comparison of language objectives and language qualifications, thus facilitating personal and vocational mobility in Europe;

- provide policy analysts, teacher trainers, teachers, textbook writers and learners in both schools and adult education contexts with a comparative basis for establishing a set of common standards and levels for language teaching and learning, thus facilitating the design of a unit credit system that can be used across institutions and countries;

- offer a consistent, coherent and comprehensive framework for describing all of the necessary facets of language competence as outlined in *Figure 1* below which is a summary of Council of Europe documentation (Council of Europe, 1996, 4.7.1; 4.7.2).

An summary of the central aspects of the framework is provided here (see *Figure 1* following):

Figure 1: *Framework for describing significant aspects of language competence*



Why is the Common European Framework relevant to the New Zealand context?

During the last five years, a series of curriculum documents for modern languages has been produced under the auspices of the New Zealand Ministry of Education (formerly Department of Education), the intention being to replace earlier national syllabuses, some of which had been in existence for over two decades. Curriculum statements were written for Spanish, Chinese, Korean, Japanese and Samoan. More recently, draft curriculum guidelines for French and German were produced. In the case of the draft German and French curriculum guidelines (Ministry of Education 2001a & 2001b), the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* was taken fully into account along with a considerable body of national and international research-based literature on the teaching and learning of modern languages. The

decision to consult the *Common European Framework of Reference* was taken for a number of reasons. First, that *Framework* was designed with a large number of languages (indigenous and community languages as well as international languages) in mind. Secondly, it is based on a considerable body of research. Thirdly, an analysis of existing New Zealand curriculum documents for modern languages (Spanish, Chinese, Korean and Japanese in particular) revealed a number of inconsistencies and omissions. It made sense, therefore, to make use of a *Framework* which had been designed with coherence, consistency and transparency in mind. In particular, given that there needed to be a relationship between curriculum objectives and national assessment, it made sense to pay careful attention to a *Framework* in whose design transferability of credit had been a fundamental consideration.

New Zealand curriculum statements for modern languages: some issues

In examining existing New Zealand curriculum documents for modern languages (particularly Spanish, Japanese, Chinese and Korean), the principal writers of the draft French and German curriculum guidelines[2] uncovered a number of problems. For example, at the same curriculum level, there are significant differences among the listed objectives, thus rendering meaningful comparison of student progress extremely difficult. *Table 1* below (adapted from Johnson 2000, p. 224) compares the achievement objectives that occur at *level 5* in the Spanish, Chinese and Japanese curriculum statements. Bold type is used to highlight points of particular relevance.

Table 1: *Comparison of the Achievement Objectives at Level 5 in the Spanish, Chinese and Japanese Curriculum Statements*

Spanish curriculum statement: level 5 objectives	**Chinese curriculum statement: level 5 objectives**	**Japanese curriculum statement: level 5 objectives**
. understand, ask about, and express events or facts in the past	. understand, ask about, and express events or facts in the past	. recognise, ask about and say **when** events occur **Note: first reference to past events is at level 3**
. ask about, express, and respond to states, actions, or events, referring to themselves	**Note: no equivalent**	**Note: a similar objective occurs at level 4** (i.e. ask about, express, and respond to comments about events and ongoing actions, referring to themselves)
. ask for, offer, accept, and refuse help	**Note: no equivalent**	**Note: no equivalent**
. recognise, enquire about, and express ability or inability	**Note: occurs first at level 4**	**Note: occurs first at level 4 (repeated at level 6 and level 8)**
. recognise, enquire about, and express wishes and **intentions**	**Note: no equivalent**	. recognise, ask about, and express wishes **Note: intentions occur at level 6**
. understand, issue, accept, and decline invitations	. understand, issue, accept, and decline invitations	**Note: occurs at level 3**

Table 1 (continued): *Comparison of the Achievement Objectives at Level 5 in the Spanish, Chinese and Japanese Curriculum Statements*

Spanish curriculum statement: level 5 objectives	**Chinese curriculum statement: level 5 objectives**	**Japanese curriculum statement: level 5 objectives**
. recognise, enquire about, and express agreement and disagreement	. recognise, enquire about, and express agreement and disagreement	**Note: no equivalent**
. give and receive apologies	. give and receive congratulations, thanks, **apologies**, and compliments	**Note: first reference to apology and thanks at level 1** **Note: first reference to compliments and congratulations at level 2**
. recognise, ask for, and express opinions with reasons	. recognise, ask for, and express opinions, giving reasons	**Note: no equivalent**
Note: occurs at level 4	. compare and contrast people, places and things	. compare and contrast people, places and things **Note: repeated at level 7**
Note: reference to 'words relating to measurement' occurs at level 4	**Note: reference to 'measure words' occurs at level 4**	. recognise and express amounts and quantities
Note: no equivalent	**Note: no equivalent**	. ask for, give and decline permission
Note: reference to 'acceptance and refusal' at level 6	**Note: reference to 'acceptance and refusal' at level 3 and level 6**	. recognise and use expressions that relate to giving and receiving
Note: similar objective at level 7 (i.e. . recognise, express, and ask about opinions, attitudes or emotions in relation to events, actions and other people)	**Note: similar objective at level 7** (i.e. . recognise, express, and ask about opinions, attitudes or emotions in relation to events, actions and other people)	. recognise and ask about feelings in relation to events, actions and other people

An examination of *Table 1* reveals that four of the nine achievement objectives occurring at *level 5* in the Spanish curriculum statement also occur at *level 5* in the Chinese curriculum statement. In one further case, an objective is very similar. However, three of the *level 5* achievement objectives in the Spanish curriculum statement appear to have no equivalent in the Chinese curriculum statement. In the remaining case, an achievement objective that occurs at *level 5* in the Spanish curriculum statement occurs at *level 4* in the Chinese curriculum statement. Overall, roughly half of the achievement objectives at *level 5* of the Spanish curriculum statement do not occur at *level 5* in the Chinese curriculum statement.

Of the nine achievement objectives occurring at *level 5* of the Spanish curriculum statement, five occur in the same or similar form at *earlier* levels in the Japanese curriculum statement. In three cases, there appears to be no equivalent in the Japanese curriculum statement of objectives that occur at *level 5* in the Spanish curriculum

statement. In only one case does an achievement objective that occurs in the Spanish curriculum statement at *level 5* appear at a *higher* level (*level 6*) in the Japanese curriculum statement.

A further problem relates to the nature of the achievement objectives themselves. Although some of them appear to be amenable to meaningful assessment, others do not: achievement objectives for Spanish, Chinese, Korean and Japanese range from the very specific to the very general. In some cases, specific objectives seem inappropriate for curriculum documents (as opposed to syllabuses) in that they simply require the students to produce a particular word or phrase. Examples of these are: *Invite people to come in* and *Say goodbye* (Ministry of Education 1998a, p. 26)[3]. On the other hand, some objectives are so general as to be rendered almost meaningless as a guide to assessment. Two examples are: *Talk about people* (Ministry of Education 1998a, p. 47); *Recognise and respond to descriptions of activities and events* (Ministry of Education 1998b, p. 50).

Although there is considerable emphasis on *micro-functions* in the objectives, there is very little emphasis on *macro-functions*. Micro-functions are "categories for the functional use of single (usually short) utterances, usually as turns in interaction" (Council of Europe 1996, 4.7.2.3.2). Examples are *greetings, complaints* and *warnings*. Macro-functions involve "the use of spoken discourse and written text for particular functional purposes" (Council of Europe. 1996, 4.7.2.3.2). They include *description, narration, commentary, exposition, and argumentation*. The fact that macro-functions are given very little attention in the objectives appears to indicate that discourse competence (see *Figure 1* above) had not been taken fully into account. The fact that micro-functions receive so much attention is, however, equally problematic given that an utterance may be associated with quite different micro-functions in different contexts. For example, an utterance such as 'I just can't do it' may function simply as a piece of information. Equally, in different contexts, it may function as a complaint, a warning, a justification or, indeed, some combination of these. It may, on the other hand, have another, quite different function. Thus, as Crombie and Johnson (2001, p. 10) observe in the last issue of this *Journal*:

> The functional component [reference is being made here to micro-functions]. . . has limited applicability. It can be very useful where functions, such as, for example, *greetings* are expressed idiomatically or semi-idiomatically. It is, however, less useful and can even be even misleading where this is not the case.

Thus, giving too much attention to micro-functions can encourage formulaic repetition rather than systematic learning.

A further issue of significance is the relationship between curriculum levels and language development descriptors in the New Zealand curriculum statements. This is indicated in *Table 2* below (reprinted from Johnson 2000, p. 140). Note that Comm. = communication in that *Table*.

Table 2: *The Spanish, Chinese, Japanese and Korean Curriculum Statements: Relationship between curriculum levels and language development descriptors*

	Emergent Comm.	Emergent Comm. & Survival Skills	Survival Skills	Survival Skills & Social Competence	Social Competence	Personal Independence
Spanish	Levels 1 & 2		Levels 3 & 4		Levels 5 & 6	Levels 7 & 8
Chinese	Levels 1 & 2		Levels 3 & 4		Levels 5 & 6	Levels 7 & 8
Japanese	Levels 1 – 3	Level 4	Levels 5 & 6	Level 7	Level 8	
Korean	Levels 1 – 4		Levels 5 - 8			

The application of the Common European Framework to the construction of draft New Zealand curriculum guidelines for French and German

The draft curriculum guidelines for both French and German were constructed using a single set of common core achievement objectives. In the design of these achievement objectives, consideration was given to all aspects of communicative competence as outlined in the draft *Common European Framework.* This meant that there were a number of different types of objective as indicated in *4.1 - 4.3* below.

Objectives involving micro-functions

The micro-functional objectives are particularly associated with the lower levels of learning where the formulaic (stereotypical) language associated with certain types of social interaction is useful in giving students confidence: memory and formulaic language can play an important role in the early stages of tutored language learning (Skehan, 1998). *Table 3* below is abstracted from the draft German curriculum guidelines (Ministry of Education 2001a, p. 32). Only the examples are different in the case of the draft French curriculum guidelines (Ministry of Education 2001b).

Table 3: *Example of two objectives involving micro-functions expressed formulaically: draft German curriculum guidelines* (Ministry of Education 2001a, p. 32).

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES	SUGGESTED STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES
1.1 Greet, farewell and **thank** people and respond to greetings and thanks.	*formulaic language*	Guten Morgen, Guten Abend, Grüss Dich, Hallo Wie geht's? Gut Danke. Und dir? / euch? / Ihnen? Auf Wiedersehen, Gute Nacht Auf Wiederhören, Tschüs, Vielen Dank, Danke schön, Bitte schön

Table 3(continued): *Example of two objectives involving micro-functions expressed formulaically: draft German curriculum guidelines* (Ministry of Education 2001a, p. 32).

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES	SUGGESTED STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES
1.2 Introduce yourself and others and respond to introductions.	*formulaic language*	Das ist Peter. Ich bin Gisela. Guten Tag, ich heiße Thomas.

Objectives involving syntactic structures

A number of the achievement objectives relate directly to syntactic structure (an important aspect of communicative competence) as exemplified in *Table 4* below.

Table 4: *Example of an objective relating to syntactic structure: draft German curriculum guidelines* (Ministry of Education 2001a, p. 58)

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES	SUGGESTED STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES
4.3 Recognise, express, enquire about and compare and contrast **past and present activities in terms of time, location, direction and frequency. (Recycle at Level 5)**	*past* (*present perfect for speaker or writer of involved conversation, or written discourse with common regular and strong verbs with haben*)	„Was **hast** du heute **gemacht**?" „Ich habe Tennis **gespielt**. Und du?" „Ich **habe** meine Hausaufgaben **gemacht**." „Heute habe ich frei, aber gestern **habe** ich viel **gearbeitet**."

Objectives involving macro-functions

In making reference to pragmatic skills and knowledge (see *Figure 1* above), achievement objectives that specify macro-functions were included (as exemplified in *Table 5* following).

Table 5: *Example of an objective relating macro-functions: draft German curriculum guidelines* (Ministry of Education 2001a, p. 90).

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES	SUGGESTED STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES
8.5 Recount (and/ or listen to, read about) fictitious events in a way that is intended **to inform, persuade or entertain**.	*indirect speech using subjunctive 1 and if necessary subjunctive 2* *preterite and subjunctive 2.* *integrated use of language forms which show:* *temporal sequencing* *integrated use of emphatics and interjections* *integrated use of words used to point things out* *delayed subject focus* *discoursal skills including interruption of narrative and asides* *linguistic skills including attention to* *e.g. compounding nouns* *.semi-technical vocabulary* *.idiomatic expressions* *.slang and familiar expressions* *use of modal verbs in expressing a range of tenses* *oral skills* *eg identifying the audience* *paralinguistic features including* *e.g. facial expression* *body language* *appropriate gesture* *literary stylistic devices e.g. symbolism, metaphor*	Er sagte, die Stadt **brauche** mehr Schulen Sie hoffte, dass er **wiederkäm**e. (**see 6.3)** **Der Michael,** der ist doch blöd! **Was ist das für ein** Unsinn? **der hier, der da** **Den da** möchte ich! **Was wir brauchen ist** ein Messer Der Mann, **den wir heute Morgen vor dem Dom gesehen haben,** folgt uns. **Das Einwohnermeldeamt** **Das Handy** **Wo eine Wille ist, ist auch ein Weg.** **Ich habe die Nase voll von diesem Problem.** **Ich soll das machen.** **Ich sollte das machen.** **Ich hätte das machen sollen.**

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

script involved etc.) mean that some languages will present more learning difficulties (both in general and in relation to particular achievement objectives) than others. This can, however, be accommodated by (a) recycling objectives in such a way as to introduce linguistic complexity gradually, and (b) acknowledging that the concept of curriculum levels is inevitably discipline specific. Thus, the fact that a New Zealand student whose first language is English has successfully completed *level 6* in both German and Chinese does not mean that he or she has the same overall level of competence in the two languages. What it does mean is that the difficulties that have been overcome are roughly equivalent in each case and that, in each case, the student is able (in different ways) to perform similar types of communicative task.

Thus, in the draft French and German curriculum guidelines there are:

- common core objectives for both languages at each level;
- language-specific recycling of objectives (allowing for staged introduction of the linguistic complexities associated with each language).

For example, an achievement objective associated with location is introduced at *Level 1* (see *Tables 6A* and *6B* following).

Table 6A: *Achievement objective 1.5 - German curriculum statement (Ministry of Education 2001a, p. 33).*

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES	SUGGESTED STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES
1.5 Recognise, express and enquire about **location**. **(Recycle at Levels 2 & 5)**	*location e.g.* hier, dort, da	Wo ist das Buch? **Hier.**

Table 6B: *Achievement objective 1.5 - French curriculum statement (Ministry of Education 2001b, p.*33*).*

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES	SUGGESTED STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES
1.5 Recognise, express and enquire about **location**. **(Recycle at Levels 2 & 3)**	*Simple locational prepositions, e.g.* sur, sous, devant, derrière, dans, entre	Le livre est sur la table.
	definite articles	le, la, les
	question form with *où*	Où est le stylo?

In the case of French, this achievement objective is recycled at levels 2 and 3. In the case of German, it is recycled at levels 2 and 5. At level 2 (German), recycling is associated with locative prepositions and dative forms of articles (See *Table 7* below):

Table 7: *Recycled objective at level 2 (German) (Ministry of Education, 2001a, p.41)*

RECYCLED ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES	SUGGESTED STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES
1.5 Recognise, express and enquire about **location**.	*location* (*locative prepositions* ***only with dative singular of the definite article*****)**	Wo ist das Buch? **Unter dem** Tisch.
	where you live e.g. wohnen (in)	Wo wohnst du? Ich **wohne in** Auckland.

Thus, common core objectives mean that students learning different languages can aim to do similar things (but in different ways) at the same stage of language learning. Differences in the recycling of objectives in the case of different languages allow for the fact that the same objective may be associated with very different levels of complexity in the case of different languages.

Part 2

Applying the *Framework* to te reo Māori: introduction

Over the past two academic years, staff and post-graduate students in the School of Māori and Pacific Development at the University of Waikato have been involved in developing curriculum documents for te reo Māori. These documents will help them to benchmark their own course offerings and will help to underpin a new adult language series that is currently being developed. Like the draft French and German curriculum guidelines, the draft curriculum guidelines for te reo Māori take full account of the draft *Common European Framework of Reference*. There are currently eight levels in this particular curriculum. A further four may, however, be developed in the future. The intention is not that these documents will remain in their current form: they are intended as living documents that will be regularly revised and updated in the light of experience.

Some of the issues that have had to be addressed in relation to this te reo Māori curriculum project are discussed below.

What are the advantages of making reference to the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* in designing curriculum documentation for te reo Māori?

So far as te reo Māori is concerned, there is a very real need to develop a cross-credit system so that learners who move around the country can continue their learning of the language without disruption. In order for this to happen, providers need to know what these learners have already covered and, thus, where best to place them. If institutions were to follow a common curriculum, this type of transfer would be facilitated. We felt that if we were to develop such a curriculum and relate our syllabuses and learning materials to it, there was a possibility that other institutions might follow suit in the future. However, any such development would need to emerge out of a *Framework* that had been constructed with credit transfer in mind, one that was firmly rooted in theoretical and applied research. It was for this reason that we decided to draw upon the draft *Common European Framework of Reference*.

It provided, we believed, an excellent starting point for the design of a curriculum that could be drawn upon by institutions across the country. Thus, although our curriculum project began as a local initiative, we hoped that it would be of assistance to others in the future and might form the basis of a nation-wide development project in the future.

Another reason for our decision to make use of the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* was that it had already been used in a national curriculum development project - the development of draft curriculum guidelines for French and German. This meant that we would have the advantage of being able to draw on he research that had underpinned the development of levels, objectives, and descriptors for that project. It meant, furthermore, that we could assess, on the basis of responses to the draft guidelines for French and German, the types of resistance there might be to a fundamental change of approach to curriculum design.

Overall, making reference to the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* and to an existing New Zealand curriculum development project meant that our small research group had access to the expertise of a large number of researchers in New Zealand and around the world, researchers who had worked on a wide range of languages, including indigenous languages. This represented a considerable advantage, particularly in view of the fact that our task was already a difficult one: there has been considerably less research on the provision of pedagogic descriptions of te reo Māori than there has been on many of the languages that the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* was originally designed to accommodate.

Thus, making use of the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* has saved us a huge amount of research time, time that could more profitably be devoted to a careful analysis of te reo Māori from a pedagogic perspective. Secondly, in looking at the needs of learners of te reo Māori from the perspective of the *Common European Framework of Reference*, we hoped to be able to make a contribution to international efforts to design curricula that would allow for credit accumulation and transfer in the area of modern languages.

Some of the problems that have emerged during the construction of curriculum documents for te reo Māori

Language description

For many languages, particularly those languages that are used widely internationally, the resources that are available to curriculum developers are vast. Not only is there a wide range of approaches to the pedagogic description of these languages, but there are also many existing curriculum and syllabus documents and many teaching resources of various kinds. In the case of te reo Māori, there are considerably fewer resources and there has been considerably less research on methodology and assessment. For example, in the case of English, curriculum developers who need to determine exactly how a particular structure works or exactly what the differences are between the contexts in which one structure rather than another can be used, can consult a wide range of resource materials. However, many of the issues relating to te reo Māori that we needed to address are not covered in existing research materials. We therefore needed to call upon the expertise of those members of our group who are native speakers of Māori and upon a range of informants from different areas. This

inevitably raised issues of reliability. Informants are, for example, not always aware that a particular use of language is restricted to a specific region. Even so, there were a number of existing language descriptions that we found to be extremely useful (see, for example, Bauer 1981, 1993, 1997; Biggs 1965, 1998; Foster 1997; Harawira 1954; Harlow 1996, 2001; Hohepa 1967; Reedy 1979).

Pragmatic skills and knowledge

As *Figure 1* above indicates, the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* places considerable emphasis on pragmatic skills and knowledge, including discourse competence. Most of the descriptive materials relating to te reo Māori that we were able to locate related primarily to linguistic skills and knowledge (see the first box of *Figure 1* above). However, research on discourse competence as it relates to Māori has recently begun to emerge (see, for example, Crombie & Houia, 2001; Crombie, & Houia-Roberts, 2001; Houia, 2001a; Houia, 2001b). Even so, there are many areas of pragmatic skills and knowledge that appear not to have been the subject of research.

Cultural considerations

In common with all frameworks designed to have application in a wide range of different contexts, the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* needs to be adapted in relation to particular contexts of use. This includes adaptation that relates to the cultural requirements of specific language curricula, requirements that are fundamental given the intimate relationship between language and culture. In our case, the cultural component of the curriculum needed to have a direct influence on the linguistic component. Thus, for example, the importance of genealogy (whakapapa) in establishing and maintaining relationships in Māoridom meant that certain types of linguistic complexity associated with genealogy needed to be introduced relatively early. To accommodate this, we needed to minimize certain other types of linguistic complexity in the early stages of the curriculum. Overall, we needed to be careful not to make the types of cultural assumption that often underpin the teaching of European languages and we needed to bear in mind that the experiences of contemporary Māori in urban settings can be very different from those of contemporary Māori in rural settings.

Pedagogic considerations

Two approaches to methodology that are widely used in New Zealand when teaching the Māori language are:

- a method based on Gattegno's *Silent Way* (adapted for Māori by Katarina Mataira (1980) and referred to as the *Ātārangi* method);
- an eclectic approach in which a number of strategies associated with what has came to be referred to as 'communicative language teaching' are employed.

Both of these approaches tend to emphasize, we believe, linguistic and sociolinguistic skills and knowledge at the expense of pragmatic skills and knowledge. In addition, the *Ātārangi* method appears also to place considerable emphasis on micro-functional competence, the learners' ability to make use of context in interpreting exponents being critical. Like the *Silent Way,* the *Ātārangi* method is "based on the premise that the teacher should be silent as much as possible in the classroom and the learner should be encouraged to produce as much language as possible" (Richards and Rodgers 1986, 99). The second approach, appearing, for example, in the *Whanake*

series developed by John Moorfield (1988, 1989, 1992, 1996) places more emphasis on structural than on micro-functional competence. Although it introduces students to a wide range of texts (spoken and written), it tends not to focus on specific aspects of discourse competence.

One of our concerns, in making reference to the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* was to ensure that pragmatic skills and knowledge, including discourse competence, was taken fully into account at the planning stage, something that has important implications for materials and methodology.

Applying the draft *Common European Framework of Reference* in the context of curriculum documents relating to the teaching and learning of Māori

Achievement objectives and suggested structures and examples

Appendix 1 outlines *Level 1* of the draft curriculum guidelines for German and for French in relation to achievement objectives and suggested structures and examples (Ministry of Education 2001a & b, pp. 32 and 33). *Appendix 2* outlines *Level 1* of our draft curriculum document for Māori. The achievement objectives are the same in all cases, although differently ordered in the case of Māori. However, the different cultural and linguistic requirements are reflected in the 'suggested structures', 'suggested examples' and 'suggested vocabulary'[4] as well as in the 'suggested learning and assessment activities'. Thus, for example, tribal affiliation and birthplace are introduced in the case of the Māori (*Objective 3*). In all cases, the intention is that all of the objectives will be recycled for the purposes of revision. In some cases, however, recycling is specifically included to accommodate certain types of linguistic complexity. In the case of Māori, the fifth objective (relating to location) is not specifically recycled in this way; in the case of German, this objective is recycled at Levels 2 and 5 in order, in part, to accommodate the introduction of the dative case.

Suggested sociocultural aspects, topics and text types

The suggested sociocultural aspects, topics and text types for German (*Table 8:* from Ministry of Education 2001b, p. 32)) and Māori (*Table 9*) are outlined below. Although there are considerable overlaps between the two, the differences relate in part to the need to allow for some of the complexities associated with introductions in Māori by reducing the number of text-types covered.

Table 8: *Suggested sociocultural aspects, topics and text types: German*

Suggested sociocultural aspects	Suggested topics	Suggested text-types
The importance of learning another language German-speaking people in the world	Myself, my family and my friends. Meeting people. What's in my classroom or immediate surroundings? Birthdays and special occasions.	Simple short dialogues. Simple songs. Greetings cards. Simple timetables. Simple forms, eg *Ausweis*.

Table 9: *Suggested sociocultural aspects, topics and text types: Māori*

Suggested sociocultural aspects	Suggested topics	Suggested text-types
Myself, my family (whānau), my tribe (iwi), my sub-tribe (hapū) Gender terminology (e.g. tungāne/tuahine) Appropriate greetings. Avoiding the question: Ko wai koe?	Myself, my family, my friends and my acquaintances. My family tree. Who my friends are. What's in my classroom/ immediate environment.	Informal and semi-formal conversational exchanges. Simple songs. Simple forms.

Achievement objectives and suggested learning and assessment activities

Each achievement objective is associated with a range of suggested learning and assessment activities. In some cases, the same activities might be appropriate for learners of a range of different languages; in others, certain learning and assessment activities might arise out of a particular cultural context. In the case of the draft German curriculum guidelines, the suggested learning and assessment activities associated with the first and second achievement objectives combined are listed in *Table 10* below (Ministry of Education 2001b, p. 35). The type of classroom situation considered most appropriate for each of the activities is indicated as follows: C (class activity); G (group activity); P (pair work); I (individual activity). Those activities that are likely to be useful in the context of assessment are indicated with an asterisk (*). All of these types of activity would also, we believe, be appropriate for learners of Māori. The major difference would relate to the context in which activities were conducted.

Table 10: *Suggested learning and assessment activities: German*

Achievement objectives	Suggested learning and assessment activities
• **Greet, farewell** and **thank** people and respond to greetings and thanks. **1.2 Introduce yourself and others** and respond to introductions	Students could be learning through: • observing greetings, introductions and leave taking in different contexts, and take turns to role play (C); • ticking vocabulary items on a list or holding up word cards to show that they recognise the German vocabulary spoken by the teacher (e.g. *morgens* or *am Morgen*) (C,G,P); • * Filling in labels on pictures to indicate the time of day pictured (e.g. abends or am Abend) (C,G,I); • * creating an appropriate greetings card for a birthday or festival (I); • filling in gaps in a familiar oral or written dialogue to complete the message (C, I); • more complex activities such as the following: Working in two or more groups, the students listen to a short dialogue in which people are introduced to each other. For each group, the teacher cuts up a written version of the dialogue into individual sentences, and each student in a group is given one sentence. Each group tries to be the first to put the sentences into the correct order (G).

8.0 Conclusion

Our experiences in designing curriculum documents for a number of languages of different types confirms our belief that it is possible, using a well designed framework such as the CEFR, to create common core achievement objectives which allow for comparability across levels and institutions. So far as indigenous and community languages are concerned, this has the additional advantage of creating a context in which researchers and educationalists can draw upon, and contribute to, international scholarship in the area of curriculum development.

Endnotes

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the *Reoruatanga i ngā Tōpito o te Ao (Bilingualism at the Ends of the Earth)* Conference held at University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand 24-26 November 2000.

[2] Ian Bruce, Winifred Crombie and Diane Johnson

[3] Although there is some similarity between these objectives and micro-functional objectives (e.g. greetings) that are formulaic in nature, an important difference is that the objectives here (e.g. Invite people *to come in*) include specific lexical indicators.

[4] Note that suggested vocabulary is not included here.

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Appendix 1:

Extracts from the draft German and French curriculum guidelines

Level 1: *Draft German Curriculum Guidelines - achievement objectives, suggested structures and examples*

ACHIEVEMENT OBJECTIVES	SUGGESTED STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES
1.1 Greet, farewell and **thank** people and respond to greetings and thanks.	*formulaic language*	Guten Morgen, Guten Abend, Grüss Dich, Hallo Wie geht's? Gut Danke. Und dir? / euch? / Ihnen? Auf Wiedersehen, Gute Nacht Auf Wiederhören, Tschüs, Vielen Dank, Danke schön, Bitte schön
1.2 Introduce yourself and others and respond to introductions.	*formulaic language*	Das ist Peter. Ich bin Gisela. Guten Tag, ich heiße Thomas.
1.3 Recognise, express and enquire about **notions of time** (including days of the week, months, dates). **(Recycle at Level 2)**	*simple time* (*hours, half past, minutes before and after the hour*) vor, nach, halb *numeration*, *ordinal, cardinal numbers 1 - 31* (*for dates and birthdays*) *definite article e.g.* der, die, das	**Wie spät ist es?** **Es ist** . . **Was für ein Datum haben wir heute?** **Es ist** Montag, der fünfte Mai.
1.4 Recognise, express and enquire about **personal information** such as name, age, nationality, occupation/primary activity. **(Recycle at Level 2)**	*existence e.g.* sein, heissen, kommen (aus) *register e.g.* duzen / siezen, *yes / no questions* *interrogatives e.g.* wie, woher *subject pronouns* (for recognition)	Wie **heißt du / heißen Sie**? Wie alt **bist du? / sind Sie? / seid ihr?** **Bist du / Seid ihr aus Australien?** **Ja / Nein, aus Neuseeland.** **Ich bin Neuseeländer(in).** Woher **kommst du /kommt ihr? kommen Sie**? **Ich komme aus . ./ Wir kommen aus .**
1.5 Recognise, express and enquire about **location**. **(Recycle at Levels 2 & 5)**	*location e.g.* hier, dort, da	Wo ist das Buch? **Hier.**
1.6 Recognise, express and respond to simple **classroom language** (including asking the word for something in German).	*interrogation e.g.* wie . . . *imperatives* (*singular, plural*) *prefacing remarks e.g.* also	**Wie sagt man . . . auf Deutsch**? **Hör zu! Hört zu!** **Pass auf! Passt auf**! **Also**, wie alt bist du?

Level 1: *Draft French Curriculum Guidelines - achievement objectives, suggested structures and examples*

Achievement objectives	Suggested structures	Examples
1.1 Greet, farewell and **thank** people and respond to greetings and thanks.	*standard formulaic utterances* (not including written address forms)	**Greetings** Bonjour; Bonsoir; Bonne nuit; Salut! F**arewells** Au revoir; A bientôt; A demain, Salut! A toute à l'heure. **Thanks** Merci (beaucoup/bien). **Responses to greetings and thanks** De rien. Comment allez-vous? Bien merci. Comment vas-tu? Bien merci. Ça va? Ça va. Et toi ? Et vous ? **Common titles** Madame, Monsieur, Mademoiselle. (Mme., M., Mlle.)
1.2 Introduce yourself and others and respond to introductions	*standard formulaic utterances for introductions* *limited use of 's'appeler'* *limited use of interrogative forms of* 's'appeler' (not the inverted question form)	Je vous présente... Je te présente... Voici... **Il s'appelle** Marc. **Je m'appelle** Suzanne. **Ils s'appellent** Marc et Paul. **Ils s'appellent** Luc et Marie. **Elles s'appellent** Marie et Suzanne. Comment **tu t'appelles** ? Comment **elles s'appellent** ?
1.3 Understand, express and enquire about **notions of time** (including days of the week, months, dates). **(Recycle at Level 2)**	*days of the week* *months of the year* *numbers 1-31* (Note: ***vingt et un*** and ***trente et un*** but ***vingt-deux*** and ***vingt-neuf)*** *dates* *interrogative* with date *basic time* *interrogative for time*	lundi, mardi, mercredi, jeudi, vendredi, samedi, dimanche janvier, février, mars, avril, mai, juin, juillet, août, septembre, octobre, novembre, décembre. un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq, six, sept, huit, neuf, dix, onze, douze, treize, quatorze, quinze, seize, dix-sept, dix-huit, dix-neuf, vingt, trente. Aujourd'hui, c'est le jeudi, cinq avril. Aujourd'hui, c'est le lundi, trois mars. Quelle est la date aujourd'hui ? Il est une heure; deux heures; deux heures cinq; deux heures et quart; deux heures et demie; trois heures moins vingt; trois heures moins le quart; midi/ minuit; midi/minuit et demi). Quelle heure est-il?

Level 1 (continued): *Draft French Curriculum Guidelines - achievement objectives, suggested structures and examples*

Achievement objectives	Suggested structures	Examples
1.4 Understand, express and enquire about **personal information** such as name, age, nationality, occupation/primary activity. **(Recycle at Level 2)**	*Interrogatives* *name* *age* *nationality with limited possessive forms.* *present tense of 'avoir' with 1st 2nd and 3rd person singular used to express age* *present tense of 'être' used to express nationality* *adjective agreement with gender and number*	 **Comment tu t'appelles ?** **Comment vous appelez-vous ?** **Quel âge avez-vous ?** **Quel âge as-tu ?** Quelle est **ta/ votre/ sa** nationalité ? **Vous êtes de quelle nationalité ?** **J'ai** treize ans. **Il a** quatorze ans. **Elle a** onze ans. Elle **est** néo-zélandaise. Il est français. Elle est française.
1.5 Understand, express and enquire about **location**. **(Recycle at Levels 2 and 3)**	*simple locational prepositions* e.g. sur, sous, devant, derrière, dans, entre *definite articles* *question form with où*	Le livre est **sur** la table. le, la, les. **Où** est le stylo?
1.6 Understand, express and respond to simple **classroom language** (including asking the word for something in French).	*imperative form of a restricted number of common verbs (*tu *and* vous *forms*) *including common reflexives*. *basic colours* *basic affirmation and negation* *asking for a word in French*	**Ecoutez.....; Regardez... ;Travaillez.; Répétez....; Asseyez-vous....** **rouge, vert, jaune etc.** Tu as fini ? Vous avez fini ? **Oui**. / **Non**. **C'est quoi en français ?** Comment dire X **en français ?**

Appendix 2:

Extracts from the draft Māori curriculum

Level 1: *Draft Māori Curriculum - achievement objectives, suggested structures and examples*

Achievement objectives	Suggested structures	Examples
1.1 Greet, farewell and **thank** people and respond to greetings and thanks.	*Formulaic language*	Formal greetings *Tēnā koe/kōrua/koutou.* *Tēnā kōrua, e hoa mā; Tēnā koutou, tamariki mā.* Informal greeting *Kia ora.* Informal farewells *Ka kite anō; Hei konei rā, Hei konā rā, Noho ake rā.* Formal farewells *E noho rā; Haere rā; Hei konā rā* (phone). Informal thanks *Tēnā koe; Kia ora.* Formal thanks *Ngā mihi nui ki a koe/kōrua/koutou*. Terms of address *E kui, e koro, e tama, e kare, e hika, e mara, e hine, e hoa*
1.2 Introduce yourself and others and respond to introductions.	*Interrogative forms* formulaic utterances for well-being. name	Formulaic utterances for well-being Q: *Kei te pēhea koe? E pēwhea ana koe*? A: *Kei te pai; Kei te pau te hau; Ka nui te pai; Heoi anō; Kāore i te pai*. Formulaic interrogative for asking a persons name Q: *Ko wai tō ingoa*? A: *Ko* X *taku ingoa*. Introducing other people *Ko* X *tēnei.*

Level 1 (continued): *Draft Māori Curriculum - achievement objectives, suggested structures and examples*

Achievement objectives	Suggested structures	Examples
1.3 Recognise, express and enquire about **personal information** relating to kinship relationship, such as tribal affiliation, birthplace, name (maiden name), parents, siblings, age, present location, occupation/primary activity.	*Interrogative forms* tribal affiliation: using '**ko**' preposition form with question form '**wai**'. birthplace parents name (maiden name) siblings age present location occupation/primary activity *Numbers* *kotahi; E* + cardinal numbers (2-9); *tekau mā* Y; *E* + X *tekau mā* Y.	Interrogative forms Tribal affiliation Q: *Ko wai tō iwi*? A: *Ko* X *taku iwi.* Birthplace Q: *Nō w/hea koe*? A: *Nō* X *au/ahau*. Parents Q: *Ko wai ō mātua*? A: *Ko* X *taku matua/pāpā, ko* X *taku whaea/māmā.* Name Q: *Ko wai tō ingoa takakau*? A: *Ko* X *taku ingoa takakau.* Siblings Q: *Tokohia ō tēina/tuākana*? A: *Tokowaru āku teina/ Tekau āku tuakana.* Age Q: *E whia ō tau?* A: *E 8 āku tau.* Present location Q: *Kei w/hea tō kāinga*? A: *Kei* X *taku kāinga*. Occupation/primary activity. Q: *He aha tō mahi*? A: *He ākonga au/ahau.*
1.4 Recognise, express and enquire about **notions of time** (including days of the week, months, dates).	*Interrogative forms and appropriate declarative answers.* Time Day/Month *Simple time* (hours, half past, minutes before and after the hour)	Interrogative forms and appropriate answers Time Q: *He aha te tāima*? A: X *karaka te tāima*. A: *hawhe pāhi i te* X *karaka* A: *koata pāhi i te* X *karaka* A: *koata ki te* X *karaka* Day Q: *Ko te aha tēnei rā*? A: *Ko te* X *tēnei rā*. Q: *He aha tēnei rā*? A: *He* X *tēnei rā*. Month Q: *He aha tēnei marama*? A: *Ko* X *tēnei marama*.

Level 1 (continued): *Draft Māori Curriculum - achievement objectives, suggested structures and examples*

Achievement objectives	Suggested structures	Examples
1.5 Recognise, express and enquire about **location**.	*Location* Past location: using '**i**' preposition to mark tense. Present location using '**kei**' preposition to mark tense. *Interrogative forms* Past tense: using '**i**' preposition to mark tense with question form '**w/hea**'. Present tense: Using '**kei**' preposition to mark tense with question form '**w/hea**'.	Location Past location *I runga i te whare; I roto i te whare; I muri i te whare; I mua i te whare.* Present location *Kei runga i te whare; Kei roto i te whare; Kei muri i te whare; Kei mua i te whare.* Interrogative forms Past tense *I w/hea te ngeru*? Present tense *Kei w/hea te ngeru*?
1.6 Recognise, express and respond to simple **transactional classroom language** (including asking the word for something in Māori).	*Imperatives* Agentive intransitive verbs: e + verb base (+ particles) Note: if the verb base has three morae or more 'e' is omitted. Directional post verbal particles are included as part of verb base with this form. Transitive verbs: verb base + Cia (passive). Note: require passive suffix verb form. The agents are normally omitted with this imperative form during normal discourse. Adjectives: kia + adjective. 'Weak imperative': me + verb base. Note: uses modal TAM 'me' (obligation). Di-transitive verb: Hoatu/homai Note: this form behaves like the transitive form but it does not take the passive suffix. *Answers to Interrogatives* *Formulaic language* *Kīwaha (Idiomatic expressions)*	Imperatives Intransitve verbs *E tū; E noho; Haere mai; Haere atu; Kōrero; Whakarongo; Hoihoi; Turituri*. Transitive Verbs *Tīkina te pene; Katia te kūaha; Mauria mai.* Adjectives *Kia kaha; Kia tere*. 'Weak imperative' *Me whakarongo* Di-transitive verb *Homai; Hoatu*. Asking the word for something in Māori *He aha te kupu Māori mō* X*?* Answers to Interrogatives *Āe; Kāore; Pea; Aua.* Formulaic language *Ka mau te wehi; Ka pai hoki; Tūmeke*.

Iwi Case Study Report - Tarawera River: Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau, Te Arawa and Ngāti Awa

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Dedication
The Tarawera River cultural story is dedicated to the memory of two of the chief informants in the report who passed away before publication. To William Savage from Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau, and Hiko Hohepa from Te Arawa we pay tribute:

E tika ana te kōrero, nā te māramatanga, te tohungatanga, te aroha, kua whakatakia te ritenga tino tika mō te katoa. Nō reira, moe mai rā, moe mai e ngā rangatira.

Abstract
There is a deep sense of injustice and creeping despair that the cultural life of the Tarawera River has been destroyed. Cultural lore has been reduced to a perspective of the dominant cultures' rule of law. The plea for the cultural voice of the Tarawera River to be heard echoes throughout this research, yet the silence of the response is deafening. This research informs on the cultural story of the Tarawera River, it examines the ways in which the relationship between Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa Ki Kawerau and Ngāti Awa and the Tarawera River changed since the discharge of effluent from pulp and paper mills into the river began nearly half a century ago. The research reported on here involves action research approached and informed by Maori epistemologies and what has come to be known as 'kaupapa Maori research', an approach that privileges indigenous values, attitudes and practices.

Introduction

In order to produce a credible report that contextualised the nature and effect of organochlorines on the estuarine environments and iwi, the Maori Focus Group on Organochlorines, which advises the Ministry for the Environment Committee on the Organochlorines Programme, initiated this case study report on the Tarawera River. It was to have been considered alongside a scientific report on the ecological status of the river concerning dioxin contamination.

However, the cultural story of the Tarawera River, has inevitably collided with westernised values and labels and this has resulted in an apparent reluctance on the part of representatives of the Ministry for the Environment to publish the work as it stands. Whatever the reason that this report has not to date been published as an official document, it deserves an audience, not least because it represents a willingness on the part of iwi to share their story with others. It is for this reason that the work was submitted for publication in He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Maori and Pacific Development.

Background to the research

The research reported on here involves a case study of the relationship between Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa Ki Kawerau and Ngāti Awa and the Tarawera River during the

second half of the twentieth century, during which time the river was polluted with effluent from pulp and paper mills. It involves the cultural story of the Tarawera River as told by, and in the words of, the iwi of the river. Reference is made to history and legends, to customs and lifestyle that have arisen out of the relationship between iwi and the river. It includes comments on the pollution of the river by members of each iwi. The experiences and perceptions reported on here have forced a fundamental change on the iwi, a change that has affected their cultural and social relationship to the river, one that has brought them to the point of despair.

Methodology

The aim of the case study was 'to provide an account of the relationship between Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau, Ngāti Awa, and Te Arawa and the Tarawera River, and how that relationship has changed over the last forty four years (from the date of the case study) with the introduction of unnatural substances into the river from discharge of effluent from pulp and paper mills'.

The objective of the research was to provide a cultural context for assessing information about the impact of organochlorines upon the Tarawera River, its estuarine environment and iwi.

The report aimed to learn from iwi what were their experiences of the river in its pristine state, and in its changing state (over the last forty-four years). The report did not set out with any preconceived ideas about what iwi experiences were. The research was mindful of the need to provide the cultural worldview as the context for the epistemological frameworks and methodological approaches to the report. In so doing, the report adopted in a pre-eminent manner what has come to be known as kaupapa Maori research. The report method is included as *Appendix 1*.

The Cultural Story of the Tarawera River: Part 1 – Chief Informants

Location

The Tarawera River and its many tributaries, flows approximately 50 kilometres long and 20 kilometres wide beginning from Mount Tarawera located at the source of the river, between Lake Okataina to the north, Lake Okareka, Lake Tikitapu, and Lake Rotokakahi to the west, and Lake Rotomahana to the south. It flows northward through Kawerau to just south of Matata, to its outlet to Te Moana Nui a Toi, the Pacific Ocean.

The river and its tributaries, is regarded as an entity by iwi of the river. Thus, if pollution impacts upon one part of the river, it is taken as affecting the entire river.

Iwi of the river

The Tarawera River and its tributaries are entrenched in the identity and lives of the three iwi of the river: Te Arawa, Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau, and Ngāti Awa. Each iwi has its own stories, stories that convey its relationship to the river since the founding of the lands, mountains and waterways of the Tarawera River by the ancestors.

Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau locate along the river in and around the greater Kawerau area, particularly at Onepu.

Te Arawa and Tuhourangi locate at the source of the river at Tarawera and near its outlet at Matata.

Ngāti Awa locates to the east of the river and its environment.

The Heartland

The river is central to the history and legends of each iwi. There are many famous sayings and stories that convey the connection of the river to its heartland, through other famous landmarks, and people. The river carries the birthright of chiefly lines from Tuwharetoa, Te Rangiaorere, Tuhourangi, and Te Ramaapakura who were all born along the river. Iwi identify with the river as reflected in the following famous and unique salutations:

Ko Putauaki te maunga,
Ko Te takanga-i-o-apa te wai
Ko Te Aotahi te tangata
Ko Tuwharetoa te iwi.
(Putauaki is the mountain,
Te Takanga-i-o-apa (along the Tarawera River) is the water,
Te Aotahi is the man,
Tuwharetoa the people.)
Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau

Ko Putauaki te maunga, he ngangara tana kai,
Ko Tarawera Te awa,
Ko Tarakura Te taniwha,
Ko Ngāti Awa te iwi.
(Putauaki is the mountain, who feasts on reptiles,
Tarawera is the river,
Tarakura is the taniwha,
Ngāti Awa the people.)
Ngāti Awa

Ko Ruawahia te maunga,
Ko Tarawera te awa,
Ko Te Arawa te iwi.
(Ruawahia is the mountain,
Tarawera is the river,
Ngāti Rangitihi the people.)
Te Arawa.

Mana

The river is a symbol of prestige and mana among each iwi, with each small and large river, and tributary, and its association with significant landmarks intertwining to add to its reputation:

> *Ka nui ngā awa itiiti me ngā awa rahi kei te taha o Tarawera. Koia nei ngā toto waikoropupu o Tarawera. Mā ēnei awa itiiti me ēnei awa rahi ka whai mana a Tarawera ki ngā maunga, ki ngā kōawaawa, ki ngā ngahere, ki te moana tae noa ki te whenua. Koia nei tōna tūhonotanga ki te ihorangi.*
> (There are many small and large rivers along the Tarawera. They are the life blood of Tarawera. All those tributaries both small and large give substance to Tarawera's vested interest to other mountains, valleys, forests, and to the seas and across the land. It is its connection to the heartland.)
> *Te Hau Tutua, Ngāti Awa.*
>
> Legend has it that Putauaki (once) stood next to the other mountains Ngauruhoe and Tongariro at Taupo. A jealous quarrel took place amongst them, and so some moved, including Putauaki. He wanted to move next to Whakaari. It is said that mountains only move at night. When it came time for Putauaki to move it became daylight, and so he became fixed by the rays of the sun at Kawerau where he stands now. He wept for Whakaari, and it is said that his tears became the Tarawera River.
> *Anaru Rangiheuea, Hiko Hohepa, Te Arawa*

The naming of Tarawera as Te Awa o Te Atua

There are different stories about the naming of the river from each iwi. Tuhourangi and Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau refer to the legend of the naming of the river by the great chief of the Arawa waka, Ngatoro-i-Rangi:

> As Ngatoro-i-Rangi travelled along the eastern coastline to Matata he reached the Tarawera River. Upon discovering its cleanliness and purity he named it Te Awa o Te Atua, the river of the Gods. He prayed to the Gods to protect him on his journey inland and then followed the river inland, making landmarks and claiming different lands around the area. When Ngatoro-i-Rangi reached the summit of Tongariro he became frozen from the cold, so he called out to his sisters Kuiwai and Haungaroa who were in Hawaiiki, to send him warmth. They heard his plea and with the assistance of the Gods, Pupu, and Te Hoata, sent him heat from Hawaiiki. It came underground and under the land passing through a number of places and rising up at Tarawera.
> *Hiko Hohepa.*

Ngāti Awa recall the naming of the river by the great chief Toroa, as he observed his daughter Wairaka bathing in the river:

> *'Ka puta mai te mate wahine o Wairaka i Te Awa o te Atua. Waiho Te Awa o te Atua kia rere atu ana', nā Toroa tēnei kōrero.*
> (Toroa is quoted as saying: 'When Wairaka had her menstrual period at Te Awa o Te Atua. Let Te Awa o Te Atua wash it away'.)
> *Onehou Phillis, Ngāti Awa*

Ngā Pakanga

William Savage and Graham Te Rire, spoke of one of the battles of significance to Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau that took place along the river:

> Tamahoehoe and Waitahaariki Kore were embroiled in a battle over supernatural powers. Waitahaariki Kore managed to avenge Tamahoehoe. Today a rock remains at the sight of that battle. There is also a rock, which Waitahaariki Kore struck with his taiaha to obtain water for his mokopuna.

Hiko Hohepa and Anaru Rangiheuea recalled a battle of significance to Te Arawa:

> There was a famous battle that took place at Pukekaikahu involving the fighting chiefs Te Rangikatukua, Te Toka, Tionga, and Te Ramaapakura. There is a famous pōkeka from Tuhourangi called 'He aha rā kei tōku iho e Waitohi noa nei' that recalls the death of Te Ramaapakura.

Waiata, Pepeha and Pātere

Legends, which relate the history of the river, have also been recorded in waiata, pepeha, and pātere. Onehou Phillis recited some of the teachings of her father, Eruera Manuera, about the significance of the landmarks around the river and Putauaki, to Ngāti Awa:

> *Ka piki ake ki te taumata rā o tōku maunga o Putauaki, ka titiro iho au ki ngā nohoanga o āku tipuna e hora mai rā i ngā puke tapu me ngā awaawa o Rangitaiki, Hinemataroa, me Te Awa o te Atua.*
> (I climb to the summit of my mountain Putauaki and I look across upon the places where my ancestors dwelt, spread across the sacred hills and valleys of Rangitaiki, Ohinemataroa, and Te Awa o te Atua.)
> *Onehou Phillis.*

Tikanga

The relationship between iwi and the river was traditionally controlled through customs and practices that conserved the river in a pure and pristine state. Some of the important aspects to that relationship we were told about include:

- Respect for the mauri, - life force - of the river. The mauri is believed to be the full expression of the natural and spiritual processes of the river;
- The separation and respect for specially designated areas such as wāhi tapu, or sacred sites;
- The gathering of particular food in appropriate seasons and at appropriate times; and
- The avoidance of despoliation or destruction of the river and its life.

Tapu

William Savage and Graham Te Rire spoke about many of the ceremonies associated with mauri such as baptism, thanksgiving, and cleansing, which were traditionally offered along the river. Graham Te Rire told us about a place near the source of the river that was a special healing place. The water was rich with lime and it was used for specific ailments. This water was also used to make special medicines and sick people often stayed there to recuperate:

The use and recognition of the river as a place where traditional ceremonies related to birth, life, and death were performed have sanctified the mauri of the river. Tohi and purification rites were performed in special places along the river.

Anaru Rangiheuea told us about the ceremonies for washing the dead in special places along the river, before placement in burial caves along the river. According to Anaru, many parts of the upper catchment are blessed with the particular attributes required for sacred ceremonies.

Wāhi Tapu

The power of the mauri of the river is complemented by scores of wāhi tapu, or sacred sites, along the river. Each wāhi tapu is said to have been protected by taniwha, or spiritual guardians, although not visible to the human eye, they are present at almost every bend in the river:

> *Kei te mōhio ki ngā wāhi tapu, Kotahi rau rima tekau kei te taha o Tarawera. Mai te pito whakarunga ki te pito whakararo. Ngā taniwha i mōhiotia nei, ko Tarakura, ko Irakewa, ko Tupai, ko Tamarau, ko Te Whai.*
> (I am familiar with its sacred places. There are as many as 150 along the Tarawera, from its headwaters, to its lower reaches. Some of the taniwha that are known are Tarakura, Irakewa, Tupai, Tamarau, and Te Whai.)
> *Te Hau Tutua.*

> *Ko Waimihihia, ko Waiwhakapa, ko Mangawhio, ko Ruawahia, ētahi o ngā wāhi tapu kei te taha o te awa o Tarawera. Ko Te Awa o Te Atua, ko Whakapuakorero ngā wāhi tapu kei te pito whakararo.*
> (Waimihia, Waiwhakapa, Mangawhio, and Ruawahia are some of the sacred places along the Tarawera. Te Awa o Te Atua and Whakapuakorero are sacred sites on its lower reaches.)
> *Ben Mamaku.*

Mauri

The state of the mauri, or life force of the river is the cultural litmus test for assessing the well-being of the river. I was told by each iwi that without mauri, the river would die. There were several personal stories about how the mauri of the river has been violated without sanction since the establishment of the mills at Kawerau.

Onehou Phillis spoke of how all things have a life force, a mauri that is sacrosanct. Her words were animated by all of the cultural experts who spoke about the mauri as being the living essence, or soul, of the river:

> *Ko te mauri he mea tino tapu kei roto i ngā wāhi tapu katoa. Ki te kore te mauri, ka mate ngā mea katoa.*
> (Mauri, it is most sacred, it is the life force that dwells within all sacred places. Without mauri, all things die.)
> *Te Hau Tutua.*

> *Ko te mauri ki ahau, hei whakaohooho i te tangata. Ko te ara ki te ao wairua, ki te ao tangata ki a tātau. He mauri kei te awa me ērā atu mea katoa. Ka kore te mauri ka mate te tangata.*

> (To me, the mauri is what arouses the inner being it is the passage from the spirit world to the world of humankind, to us. The river has a mauri, without mauri, man is lost and will perish.)
> *Ben Mamaku.*

There were different stories about the placing of the mauri in the river. Many cultural experts and focus group participants believe that the mauri of the river comes from its abundance from the many tributaries that flow into it. It is believed that the tributaries provide for nourishment of both the spiritual and physical well being of the river beginning from Tarawera and carrying life through the land out to Te Awa o te Atua at Te Moana nui a Toi, at Matata.

Anaru Rangiheuea told us that according to Te Arawa, the mauri of the river was originally established by Ngatoro-i-rangi when he was first naming the river. He also told us that he believed that the mauri of the river was still intact in certain parts of the upper catchment because of the deeds of the ancestors.

Hiko Hohepa told us that the ancestors had appealed to the Gods to put in place the mauri so that the river would be pure in order to sustain the people. This event was referred to as 'Te tini o Ikatere'.

Iwi focus group participants also told us about ceremonies that they had been part of, where people were taken to the river by tohunga to help heal transgressions of the heart and soul. However, there were serious doubts about the ability of the water to heal anymore due to the water being polluted and dirty. There was huge concern particularly from the cultural experts that some of the spiritual practices were still being undertaken and were routine in certain parts of the river.

Te Hau Tutua, Ben Mamaku, and Onehou Phillis told us that many Ringatu followers now no longer use the river as a place of sacrament because of the pollution. Iwi focus group participants, including a Minister of the Ringatu church informed that they would no longer use the river as a place of sacrament:

> *Kāore e pai ana te awa i nāianei. Kei te tino he te mauri. Kei te tino he rawa atu te mauri o te awa. Nā te paru kua kore e whakahaere tikanga wairua ki reira.*
> (Right now the river is not in good stead. Its life force is in dire straits. The polluted state of the river now precludes it as a place of worship.)
> *Te Hau Tutua.*

> *E kore e haere ki te awa o Tarawera ki te tuku koha o te hāhi Ringatū. Nā te paru o te wai.*
> (Because of the pollution, the taking of Ringatu sacraments at the river has stopped).
> *Ben Mamaku.*

Graham Te Rire, and William Savage told us that whilst they all still remained spiritually bound to the river, their gravest concerns were for the loss of the mauri and wairua of the river, and the contemplation that the force has no life:

> The spiritual practices that are no longer carried out anymore are due to the pollution. This has had a major effect on spiritual things. When the pollution occurred, some of the spiritual practices were still being undertaken and were routine. There is grave concern that these practices have been diminished, and that they have been affected to the extent that there is no power to fulfil the practice.
> *Graham Te Rire & William Savage, Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau*

There is a strong belief that the mauri of the river is quintessential to the cultural relationship to the river. Without mauri, many participants believe, the cultural relationship has no effect.

There was concern from each iwi that the well-being of the mauri of the river should be fundamental to consideration of the state of the river environment.

Harm and restoration

There is universal fear that the harm to the river caused by the pollution has affected both the physical and metaphysical state of the river. We were told by iwi that the restoration of the mauri of the river could only occur once the river has been cleaned up and returned to its pristine state:

> *Ka kore tō tātau awa, ka kore te iwi. Ka mate te marae, hapū, whānau, me te iwi whānui. Me whakatikatika ngā kino kei roto i te awa o Tarawera kia mahue ai te awa hei taonga mō ngā uri whakatipuranga ka whai muri iho nei. Hei whakapakari i ngā marae, hapū, whānau, me te iwi whānui. Hei oranga mō te katoa.*
> (If our river disappears, so will the people. The marae, hapū, whānau and the wider tribe will suffer. The Tarawera River should be cleaned up so that it can be passed down to the next generation, to sustain marae, hapū, whānau and the wider tribe for the betterment of all.)
> *Ben Mamaku.*

The Cultural Story of the Tarawera River: Part 2 – Iwi Focus Group Participants

Introduction

We were told that the relationship between iwi and the river has changed as a result of the introduction of pollutants to the river since the establishment of the mills. The impact has been more directly felt in certain areas of the river. Participants told us that it is the pollution of the river by the 'paru' or filth, from effluent discharge, which is responsible for the despoliation of the resources of the river.

Kai-Awa

All of the iwi focus groups and cultural experts told us about the continuous supply of food traditionally available from the river in times gone by. We were told about the abundance of kai-awa (food from the river) particularly fish species and watercress. Some of the traditional foods are still gathered by iwi, mainly from Tuhourangi, in the upper catchment area around Tarawera. There are iwi who continue to gather

traditional foods from the polluted areas of the river, despite the hazard of collecting and gathering and the risk to health and safety from consuming the food.

We were told that some of the traditional food gathered from the river on a regular basis included fish species such as eel, kakahi, koraura, kouka, koneke, koura, morihana, pia, taraute, and koeaea:

> *He awa kaukau . . . ., ka hī tuna, tiki kakahi, hopu kōuraura, morihana, taraute, kohi watakirihi . . .*
> We used to swim . . . ., spear eels, fetch kakahi, catch kōuraura, morihana, and taraute, and gather watercress . . .
> *Ngāti Awa iwi focus group participant*

The watercress was said to have been particularly luxuriant and there was always plenty for families:

> There was lots of food, eels and watercress. . . . My Father used to throw watercress back into the river three times as his way of thanking the river for so much food...
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Participants spoke about being able to gather sacks of morihana especially at Rotoitipaku:

> There was food all the way down the river, morihana at Rotoitipaku, ducks and kakahi at Rotoroa . . .
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Niania, a small type of mussel was gathered at the mouth of the river. Kakahi, another type of mussel that looked like a pipi but was bigger and very dark, almost black, was also gathered from the river.

According to participants Tarawera was famous for its enormous eels. The large eels of five to ten feet long were called paiwai. There were famous eeling stories told by members of each focus group and a number of the cultural experts. One of the typical stories from a Ngāti Awa focus group included:

> *Ko tōku pāpā he tangata tino mōhio ki te mahi kai. I haere au ki tōna taha hei hoa ki te pia tuna. Ka mau te pia ki tōna waha ka kaukau ki tērā taha. Ka mau te tuna ka whakairihia ngā tuna ki te harakeke, ka whakawhiti mai ki tēnei taha o te awa, ka pāwharahia te tuna. Ka tunutunua, ka paraitia i ētahi wā. I haere māua ki reira.*
> (My father was a knowledgeable procurer of food. I used to go with him to spear eels. He would hold the spear in his mouth and swim to the other side of the river. When he caught an eel, he would string it up on to a piece of flax and cross back to the side of the river where I was. He would do this until our bag was full of eels. We would then dry, roast and sometimes fry them.)
> *Ngāti Awa Focus iwi focus group participant*

We were told that eels used to migrate during the third month. The migratory eels were known as matamoe. Kaiherehere was another name for them. There would be no need for hīnaki or spearing at the (migration) time, as there were so many eels. Trout, freshwater crayfish and morihana would also be plentiful at the same time.

The most famous delicacy that all iwi are now virtually denied, is whitebait. One focus group participant told us:

> During the weekends I would come back to Matata to accompany my Mother-in-law to whitebait at the mouth of he river. We used to catch whitebait by the kerosene tins. Everybody used to fish from the riverbank. There was a total abundance of whitebait, and heaps of it were caught. There was so much that there were traders who would buy whitebait from all the whitebaiters. It was mostly first grade whitebait, but there were also inanga amongst them. We would sort it out on our big kitchen table. We would do that right throughout the whitebait season.
> *Ngāti Awa iwi focus group participant.*

Manaakitanga

The gathering of kai-awa from the river was not only for the purpose of sustenance and survival; it also has an intrinsic cultural value manifest in the custom of manaaki for manuhiri and tangata whenua alike.

The loss of the ability of each iwi to gather food that is culturally significant has eroded one of the most important roles of tangata whenua. The foods that were part of the staple diet of each iwi have disappeared. Along with the loss of culturally important food, the iwi have lost the enjoyment of water from the river, to drink it, and to swim in it, and enjoy the recreation of the river. Hiko Hohepa from Te Arawa summed up how each iwi felt about the loss of their staple diet and enjoyment:

The water and parts of our lands around the river are polluted and there is no kai now. This affects the ability of the marae to feed their manuhiri, therefore the ‘rangatiratanga o ngā tāngata whenua’, or the chieftainship of the host people, is taken away in this respect. If you go to Tuhoe, they feed you kereru, but the marae along the river, cannot offer you kai from the river. The iwi of the river will lose this taonga forever if the pollution of the river is not stopped.

Rongoa

A participant told us that his Grandfather was the healer for the area during the 1930's:

> There were areas of land next to the river where the plant life included pikopiko, tikouka, mitata and different manuka herbs that were procured for eating and medicinal purposes. Many herbs that were used as rongoa by healers, could be gathered in abundance from along the river.
> *Te Arawa iwi focus group participant*

Wai-Awa

The river was renowned for its pure and clean water. It was the main source of drinking water for families living close to the river:

> He wai tino reka, he pātaka kai a Tarawera.
> (It was good drinking water, and Tarawera was a food store.)
> *Ngāti Awa iwi focus group participant.*

Participants told us how necessary the water was to them:

> *He mā kē tērā wai, pai ki te inu, pai mō te kaukau. Koinā taku whanaungatanga ki te wai.*
> (The water was clean, good for drinking and bathing. That is how relative the water was to me.)
> *Ngāti Awa iwi focus group participant*

We were told that it is still possible to bathe in the river near the source and down as far as Kawerau. However, nowadays bathing in the river from Kawerau downwards is impossible:

> We used to drink the water and wash our clothes and ourselves in it. You can't do that today. From the town (of Kawerau) up, the river is ok – but downstream - no way.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

There were hot springs all along the river in which to bathe and wash. Many houses had no baths and people would use the river as their bath:

> We spent most of our time at Rakauwhakapai . . . We lived in a shack and the water was our gateway. We washed in it. We hunted and fished there.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Transport and recreation

The river was an arterial system and a place for recreation and enjoyment:

> If you swam across the river, you were great, even if you dogpaddled. On the transport side of things, we used to ride our horses across the river, or paddle our waka, or swim. It was our playground. We would walk up the river, and throw a log in it near Shuki's place, and then ride it down.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Āhuatanga

We were told that the most graphic impact from the pollution has been the change in the colour and appearance of the river:

> Recently I took a trip along the Tarawera, from the Tarawera Falls to the Tasman Mill, to where the discharges happen, and it is completely different. It is black from there on right down to the outlet. It is completely black, polluted, paru, and it has got an odour. It is in a bad state. The upper Tarawera is crystal clear, and the lower Tarawera is black. It is a black drain. Physically you can see the difference.
> *Ngāti Awa iwi focus group participant*

The abundance of the river

There can be no doubt that the river was a highly valued natural resource. It was a huge natural food basket to eat and drink from. It was a place where people bathed, swam and played. It was an integral and sustaining part of the everyday lives and cultural vitality of the iwi of the river. The beauty and cultural value of the river has been destroyed from Kawerau downwards.

It is a matter of tribal prestige and honour that guests should be fed and impressed by an abundance of traditional foods prepared by tangata whenua. Prior to the pollution of the river, iwi could drink water from the river and its pure and clean form sustained the growth of traditional foods. The water has become undrinkable, and traditional food supplies have been decimated in many places. With the pollution it's fullness has gone, and the iwi have lost the enjoyment of the river, as a place to bathe, to swim, to fish, and to be imbued in.

The necessity to address the needs of the iwi of the river in terms of food, sustenance, and enjoyment is imperative to addressing the cultural vitality of the river. Without traditional foods, and pure water, the iwi, and the river, are diminished.

Whanaungatanga

The principles of the cultural relationship between the river is reflected in the notion of whanaungatanga whereby it is said that people can leave the river, but the river cannot leave the people:

> The relationship between the river and its people is reflected in the principle of whanaungatanga. Although a number of participants had moved away from the river, the river remains part of them, and they remain part of the river. Physical separation does not sever the ties to the river, because whakapapa or geneology is the means by which the relationship between iwi and the river endures.
> *Te Arawa Focus iwi focus group participant*

Kaitiakitanga

There are provisions in the Resource Management Act which relate to the role of kaitiaki, or steward, guardian, regulator. Some participants told us that an understanding of the role of kaitiaki was pivotal to understanding the cultural relationship to the river. Some participants expressed doubt about the effect of the provisions:

> *Kua kī kē au, he taonga a Tarawera. He taonga e tukuna iho e mātou ki a mātou tamariki mokopuna. Nā reira me noho ora a ia. Mā te aha noho ora ai? Mā te pai o tā mātou tiaki i a ia. Ānei anō te whakapono a te Māori, ehara nāna ngā taonga o tōna ao. Mō te wā e ora ana a ia, ko ia te kai-tiaki. He kai-tiaki noa iho a ia.*
> (I have said that Tarawera is part of our heritage, for us to ensure and to bequeath to the following generations. Therefore it must be maintained in good condition. How do we achieve that? By good stewardship and care. It is a basic Maori tenet that the things of this world do not belong to us. During our lifetime we are only guardians - merely guardians.)
> *Ngāti Rangitihi iwi focus group participant*

If we cannot get Tarawera cleaned up, what hope is there for other rivers? There is the Resource Management Act, but does it really mean that we have any say or control, do they listen?
Ngāti Rangitihi iwi focus group participant

The Cultural Story of the Tarawera River: Part 3 – Pollution of the river

Discharge of effluent form the pulp and paper mills

We heard from all iwi focus group participants and a number of cultural experts, about the pollution of the river. All spoke explicitly about the pollution of the river as a result of the discharge of effluent by the Tasman Pulp and Paper Mill and the Caxton Mill at Kawerau. A number of focus group participants had either worked at one of the mills, or had family members that had worked at the mills. There were a larger number of participants and family members that had worked at the Tasman mill than at the Caxton mill.

Onepu

The most compelling stories about the pollution came from people who were or had been residents of Onepu in Kawerau - over the last forty-four years. Some residents quietly expressed apprehension about being given the opportunity to be heard for the first time, and one participant who wished to remain anonymous asking, 'Will our cultural voice be heard?'

> My home was where the Tasman slush pond is now across the road from Hahuru marae. It was bulldozed to make way for the pond and my family was relocated next to Hahuru marae at Onepu. We drank, swam, fished and gathered food from the river daily. Our relationship has greatly changed since the establishment of the mill.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Kinship

Participants told us of the sorrow and dismay about the filth and the stench from the mill that had destroyed the river over the years. Many families have moved away from the river environment, to nearby towns. Many more families have moved far away as they did not want to live anywhere near the river:

> The pollution has had a devastating impact from an iwi and whānau perspective. We used to gather as young children by the river and it maintained our link as a community, but now having effluent dumped in the river has compromised our lifestyle. The gathering has been taken away and we have been forced to give up our lifestyle. We were caught up in the magic of the full employment promise and never spoke of the consequences. Future generations have been robbed. Do your children know our children? It shows that there are pockets of people that are not united. From an iwi perspective we are in a crisis situation. We used to be one big extended whānau - the people of the river.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Participants told us of the direct and indirect effect that Tasman has had on themselves and their families. There was concern that the mills had bought a mixture of positive employment and economic benefits to the community, but with a devastatingly high price to the river and its people, particularly the iwi and whānau of the river.

The introduction of pollutants to the river

The participants told us that the pollution of the river is synonymous with the discharge of effluent used in the manufacture of pulp and paper products at the two Kawerau mills. Many participants felt that the pollution of the river by the mills has continued with immunity over the last forty-four years. An iwi focus group participant from Ngāti Rangitihi told us that:

> Forty-four years ago the pollution began with the establishment of the mill. For the first twenty years of the mill, the paru just flowed straight into the river. In the early 1970's, the sludge ponds were put into place. These were supposed to make all the solids settle, and that is what blackens our water, hence the name 'Black Drain'. No one drinks anything anymore, as the water is undrinkable. There is no mauri anymore.
> *Ngāti Rangitihi iwi focus group participant*

The impact of pollution

We were told of the perceptions of the impact of the pollution from the mills in terms of the damage and destruction of the life of the river and the consequences to personal lifestyles. Behaviours towards the river have changed since people have become more aware of the dangers of pollution:

> We used to swim among the froth and the pollution. We would dive under the foam and come up on the other side. The froth has gone now, but the colour of the river is different. You used to be able to see under the water but now you can't. It doesn't look inviting. We had to change to go with the pollution instead of giving up our recreation. We used to slide down the riverbank by the hot pools and dive under the water and pop up the other side.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

> I'm surprised that we are still alive after the risks that we used to take swimming amongst the pollution in those earlier years.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

> In the 1960's, mosquitoes hit us from the ponds across the river; agitators were then used to aerate the water, so it could breathe.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

We were also told that the damage and destruction of property in Onepu had been happening for several years and was still ongoing:

> The corrosion is bad; you only have to look at the houses in Onepu. The corrugated iron roofs need to be replaced every couple of years. There are too

> many corrosive substances in the air. It is particularly bad when there is a south-westerly wind blowing. When it blows you have to clean your house.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

> You only have to look at the condition of the houses in Onepu they all need painting. They always look like that - even if you paint them.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Many iwi focus group participants told us about their perceptions of ill health as a result of the pollution. Commonly experienced illnesses included:

* Asthma and other respiratory diseases;
* Different types of skin diseases and cancer, particularly skin cancers;
* Early death;
* Foetal and birth problems.

Thus:

> Life expectancy is not so great for those who live in and around the mill. There are hardly any kaumātua left. Once people get out of the mill they don't seem to last long, they don't even reach 70 years old. Even the younger ones, the 40-year-olds have been dying. It can be put down to inhaling chemicals all the time.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

> I worked at the mill in 1955 in wood preparation. A lot of the men from the wood preparation area have died and they were younger than I was. In the log yard we would get a whiff of some of the chemicals but did not realise it could affect our health.
> *Ngāti Awa Focus iwi focus group participant*

> There have been instances of stinging eyes, asthma, and nausea from the smell as well as emotional problems as a result of living under the continuous stench.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

> One of the main risks is the health risk. Any food consumed from the Tarawera River will place you at risk due to the contamination making you ill, and also affecting the next generation because of the dioxins. I live at Matata, and I will not even swim in the sea, as the effects are obvious. The river and the sea at the outlet are black, not blue.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

The case study did not probe any particular aspect of the health risks from the pollution of the river. However, many of the participants raised the issue of the need for a proper health and social impact study about the effects of the pollution.

Knowledge of specific pollutants

There was widespread knowledge of specific pollutant substances, particularly amongst ex-mill workers. Many other iwi focus group participants, and each of the cultural experts, had a general knowledge of substances.

A small number of participants had recently heard about organochlorines, some were able to tell us specific effects and others had a very general knowledge:

> Dioxins are very toxic as they can remain in the environment for decades. They are produced as unwanted by-products from a number of industrial and combustion processes. PCP's are similar. They are man-made products that are toxic and remain in the environment for decades. Any release of dioxins into the environment sets into motion a transfer to the tissues and organisms.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Many mill workers knew that some of the substances that they had handled had been harmful. They told us about the substances, which they used in the work place and about the effects:

> The emphasis (at the mill) was on keeping the work area clean. There were Bleach, Resin, 3 Dyes, Broke, Groundwood, and Kraft chemical overflows. This has slowed down, but it still happens. There was no information for several years, but there is some now.
> *Te Arawa iwi focus group participant*

> PCP's Tanilith, Black Liquor, Resin, Bleaches, 3 Dye Colours Phenolic Formaldehyde Resin (process chemical), and Catiofast (process chemicals were all used at the (Tasman) mill. The only thing we were told to do in the timber yard was to 'drink milk' every hour to combat any ill effects from PCP's.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

An ex-worker at the Tasman mill said he had knowledge of chemicals that were disposed of into the 'Black Drain' and that he had suffered burns from these chemicals. Another ex-mill worker said that he had worked at the mill for fifteen years until recently, and that while working there a lot of 'black liquor' was dumped into the river:

> There were pulp chemicals dumped straight into the drains that flowed into the river. The chemicals were dumped mainly at night, and still continued to the present day. There were overflows in the mill from stock tanks. When I complained to management about it, I was fobbed off.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

An ex-mill worker told the case study that the effluent that is discharged into the river comes from dyes used to strengthen the paper (made at the mill):

> Petrol is used to cleanse the fibre, which binds the paper. All of these things are pollutants, the dyes. There is a stench that even came through the protective clothing, it still came into me, onto my hands, and sometimes you

> could even swallow the effluent. At other times the protective clothing would wear out but the employer showed little concern.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

We were told that there was insufficient protection for the handling and discharge of dangerous substances:

> There was a substance used to strengthen the paper, as the water is reduced the concentration is stronger. Glue to strengthen the binding is also used along with sodium. All the substances contain toxins. At one stage it was made worse because the mill withdrew the clothing that was worn. The chemicals that flowed from the mill into the river made the water worse. It made everything worse. The chemicals were all pollutants.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

> As a worker we knew there were heaps of poisons being poured into the river. But of course their environment committee always claimed that they were doing their best and so forth. But it is my honest opinion that even fifteen years ago they could have cleaned it up to make it clean enough to drink. Technology was even there fifteen years ago. But they budget a certain amount for environmental purposes and are not prepared to go beyond. Then they might say, 'we might spend more money next year'.
> *Ngāti Awa iwi focus group participant*

A number of participants spoke about the discharge of effluent from sources other than the mills:

> In 1954 the Tasman Pulp and Paper Company Enabling Act was passed when the mill was first established. Our people were led to believe that the river would remain unpolluted. Ever since that year everything has been flushed down the river through the 'Black Drain'. For the first twenty years they put the hose straight into the drain so we had twenty years of sludge ponds where it used to be a swimming venue. It's about time the mill was forced to clean up the river and the council should be forced to make them comply under the Resource Management Act.
> *Ngāti Awa iwi focus group participant,*

> Putting substances into the river, which can be eaten by river life, is a different story to putting effluent, either chemical or commercial, which has to be broken down by the water. The effect of the waste products from a fish farm or processing shed which may feed the eel or inanga population is different to the (Caxton) mill which introduces inks, dyes, pollutants, effluent or chemicals into the river.
> *Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau iwi focus group participant*

Conclusion

Analysis of Findings

The research provides compelling findings about the changes that have occurred amongst each of the iwi of the river and its estuarine environment as a result of effluent discharge from mills into the Tarawera River. The story is grounded in the cultural and spiritual essence that once vitalized the river. Without the quintessential presence of mauri, iwi say the river has lost its force, and in cultural and environmental terms, has been withering to death from pollution. The relationship of each of the iwi to the river stems from strong whakapapa links through eponymous ancestors and famous navigators who founded the respective iwi and the river and its environment. The ancestors also named the river environment taking care to invest the forethought of sustainability as they went with each place of significance restricted by type of usage concurring with the ancient cycle of water distinguished for physical and metaphysical purposes.

The bounty of the river in full force with relative vitality, is conveyed in the stories of the lifestyle enjoyed prior to and in the early days of the establishment of the mills at Kawerau. The cultural story details everyday accounts of swimming, eating, fishing, and gathering food from the river. Historically the river was always a place to go to gather herbal and medicinal plants from and to be healed. The light and shade, the diversity of the river in the fullness of its life, tells a story of abundance, a premise to the provision of food for the iwi kitchens, and to pleasure and provide for manuhiri. In its pristine state, the river was abundant.

The force of industry and the physical benefits that the mills have bought to the iwi of the Tarawera have silenced the voices of iwi. One force has simply replaced the life force of the river so that now, iwi cannot take or gather food from the river from Kawerau down, nor can they provide food from the river for manuhiri. The river has lost its luster as a place to enjoy and most importantly its cultural soul and therefore place in the 'iwi environment'. The disintegration of whanaungatanga and social relationships that were formed around the river environment, have been displaced by reference to 'the Black Drain' and prohibitions on all forms of contact with the river. Many mill workers and families, past and present, some still working and living in Kawerau, told in explicit detail the changes that the mill and its discharges have bought to bear upon their lives and their families.

Where to from here?

There are five major recommendations that follow this report and they are framed in the context of responsibility for the restoration of the river for the harm done to it:

- Establish an accord with Tasman Pulp and Paper (shareholders) and Carter Holt Harvey to restore cultural dignity to the Tarawera River to compensate for harm done to the river.
- Undertake a socio-economic and environmental health care study of the impact of the discharge from effluent from the Tasman and Carter Holt Harvey mills at Kawerau upon people of the river and its estuarine environment.
- Establish a Commission of Inquiry into the impact of the discharge of effluent into the Tarawera River and other estuarine environments.

- Raise and activate regional regulatory requirements in relation to discharge and discharge clean-up standards, from pulp and paper mills in the Kawerau and Tarawera River region.
- Require the establishment of National Environmental Standards to include intervention measures to ensure compensation for restoration of harm done to estuarine environments.

Appendix 1

Research Method

The research included the following steps:

- Research brief approved and commissioned;
- Research methodology established and reviewed;
- Iwi, and iwi researcher consultation undertaken;
- Field research brief, consultation and negotiation of terms of reference;
- Field research workshop and training;
- Interview Pre-Test and Ethical approvals;
- Field Research interviews with 2-3 Chief Informants from each iwi;
- Field Research Focus Group interviews with 8-10 people;
- Specialist Focus Group liaison;
- Research report writing;
- Te Reo Maori translation by Te Waihoroi Shortland
- Research report peer review by Professor Linda Smith, International Indigenous Research Institute, University of Auckland (May 1998);
- Research report publication endorsement by iwi (June 1998);
- Research report Specialist Focus Group liaison (June - November 1998);
- Research report publication endorsement by iwi (re-submitted November 1998);
- Research report Specialist Focus Group liaison correspondence (1998-2000);
- Research report publication endorsement (excluding Specialist Focus Group liaison) (1999);
- Research report publication endorsement restated (2000).

Limitations of the research

The following potential limitations of the case study are acknowledged:

- Lack of technical information background relating to the precise nature and effect of specific organochlorine contaminants;
- Possible conflict of interest faced by workers involved with organisations that may be, or may have been, responsible for the emission of dioxins;
- A decision by the Ministry for the Environment not to include a literature survey in the case study has meant that the extent to which it could be evaluated within an international context (in relation to the impact of organochlorines more generally upon indigenous peoples) is inevitably limited.

An Analysis of Typical Errors of Young Learners of te reo Māori

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Abstract

In 1999, the New Zealand Ministry of Education commissioned the development of a draft proficiency test for learners of Māori in bilingual and immersion settings in *Year 5* of schooling (aged 8 - 10). That test was, along with a range of survey materials, produced and piloted in a very short time - 13 weeks. Although it provided a starting point for further development of a proficiency battery, it did not prove sufficiently robust in itself to retain. What it did do, however, was provide a range of useful samples of the speaking and writing of *Year 5* students (70 samples were collected from five different schools). These samples revealed a number of common errors, errors which were analysed and are discussed here.

Introduction

Young learners in New Zealand schools now have the opportunity of being educated in bilingual (Māori/English) and Māori immersion settings and this, together with Kohanga Reo, is doing a great deal to preserve and revitalise Māori language. However, the task facing educationalists is a daunting one: beyond the educational context, there are now very few domains where Māori is the usual medium of communication and relatively few students speak Māori at home. Furthermore, many teachers are themselves second language speakers of Māori and although good educational resources in Māori are beginning to emerge, there are nevertheless fewer of them compared to those that are available in English.

In bilingual and immersion educational settings, considerable emphasis is placed on confidence-building and on fluency. In addition, there is increasing interest in encouraging accuracy. However, in order to do so, it is important to understand precisely where the problems in relation to accuracy actually lie. This analysis of typical errors made by Year 5 students in bilingual and immersion settings (the majority of whom have been in bilingual or immersion educational contexts for all five years of schooling) represents a beginning in terms of gaining this type of understanding. Further research of this type, particularly research that is longitudinal in nature (that is based on an analysis of the errors made by the same groups of learners over time) is required so that teachers can adapt their programmes to meet the needs of these students. Research of this kind not only identifies typical learner errors, but also helps to reveal the precise nature of learners' interlanguage, that is, the learner's overall language system at a particular point in time (Selinker, 1992). This is important in that a learner's language system changes over time, gradually approximating the language systems of competent language users. It is important, therefore, to understand how learners' interlanguage is constructed. Understanding learner errors is therefore of fundamental importance.

The sample

In 1999, the New Zealand Ministry of Education commissioned the development of a draft pilot proficiency test for learners of Māori in bilingual and immersion settings in Year 5 of schooling (aged 8 - 10). In the process of developing and trialling that draft test, a test which provided the basis for future development but one which will not itself be used in schools, samples of writing and speaking were collected from 70 Year five students (aged 8 - 10) in five schools. In relation to the use of the student samples, all five principals of the schools concerned have given permission so long as the identity of the students is protected. In each case, the principals requested that a report on the typical errors be given to teachers in the school in order to assist in identifying those language areas requiring attention. This will be extended to cover a number of other schools in the future.

For the speaking component of the draft test, students were asked to look at a series of pictures and tell the story represented by these pictures. They were provided with the first sentence of the story. Each student was recorded and the recordings were then transcribed.

For the writing component of the draft test, students were asked to write a piece of prose in line with a number of linguistic and pictorial cues.

Error analysis

Errors are a natural part of language learning. Analysis of learner errors (error analysis) has two functions: a theoretical one and a practical one. In theoretical terms, error analysis aids our understanding of the processes involved in language learning. In addition, it can, in the case of learners of Māori, help to identify areas where there is interlingual interference, that is, areas where learners' use of Māori is influenced by their use of English. In practical terms, error analysis can assist in identifying areas requiring intervention and remedial action in order to prevent what is known as fossilisation, that is, the process by which errors are repeated so often that they become extremely difficult to eradicate.

Throughout the analysis, each error that was detected was classified in terms of error type (e.g. grammatical error, vocabulary error, semantic error, inappropriate use of language in relation to context). This classification is not always a straightforward matter and depends to a considerable extent on intuition. This is because it is sometimes difficult to determine precisely what the student was attempting. Nevertheless, categorising errors into types and seeking to determine the types of error that are common to the majority of learners at a particular stage is worth while since recognising and understanding the sources of error is an important aspect of effective language teaching.

The errors were initially roughly grouped in terms of the following categories:

- errors of **omission**, where some elements are omitted which should be present;
- errors of **addition**, where some element is present which should not be there;
- errors of **selection,** where the wrong item has been chosen in the place of the right one;

- errors of **ordering,** where the elements presented are correct but wrongly sequenced.

This classification system provided a starting point only. Within each category, more specific detail needed to be provided. Thus, for example, an error of omission may involve the omission of a specific marker of tense.

An utterance may be ungrammatical or it may be grammatical but inappropriate in the context in which it is used (being, for example, unduly formal or inappropriately informal). Such an utterance is described as being unacceptable rather than ungrammatical.

An utterance may be both grammatical and, apparently, contextually appropriate, but may nevertheless convey a meaning that is not the intended one. Errors of this type can be difficult to detect unless context is taken fully into account.

The fact that utterances may appear to be both well-formed (grammatical) and used appropriately in context does not mean that the rules underlying that utterance have become integrated into the learner's language system. It is, for example, common for learners to use unanalysed, memorised chunks of language. Where they do so, analysts may initially assume that the student has control over the rules underlying the utterance. In fact, however, this may not be the case. In order to determine the real nature of the learner's underlying language system, it is important to examine relatively large samples of language. This will reveal whether the sophisticated language use that appears in one context also appears in others. If it does not, the chances are that it is a memorised, unanalysed chunk. It is important to recognise that this may be the case. Otherwise, teachers may assume, on the evidence of a single utterance, that students are capable of more complex language use than is actually the case and may, therefore, assume that learners are being careless or inattentive on occasions when they appear unable to produce utterances of comparable complexity.

Setting the scene: writing

In the draft writing test, students were asked to complete the writing of a letter in relation to a number of cues. They had already, in the reading section of the test, read the letter to which they were to respond. However, it was possible, on the basis of the cues provided, to complete their letter even if they had not understood the original letter. The appropriate section of the test is set out here. A translation is provided in *Appendix 1*.

TE TUHITUHI: WRITINGs

Whakaaro ake ko koe a Hēmi. Kei te whakautu koe i te reta a Miria. Kua tīmatatia e koe ētahi rerenga, engari kāore anō kia whakaotia e koe. Tirohia ngā pikitia hei āwhina i a koe ki te whakaoti i tō reta. Mahia te katoa o ngā rerenga. **(Tuhia tāu e whakaaro ai. Kaua e mataku ki te whakawhānui ake i ō kupu, i ō rerenga, ki te hiahia koe.)**

Waitākaro Poutāpeta
Tōtaranui
Tairāwhiti

Kia ora te tungāne, Hēmi

E rua wiki noa iho ki ngā hararei! Ka pai nē! Kei te harikoa katoa au. I taku kaha harikoa, kua kanikani haere noa iho. Kī mai a Koro kia āta tau, ā kaua hoki tātou e haututū haere, kia tae mai koe. Mā te aha koe e mau mai? Mā te pahi? Mā to māmā rānei koutou e taraiwa mai i runga i tō koutou motokā.

Kia tae mai koe, e hiahia ana mātou, ki te whakaoti i te wharau i te taha o te awa. I tua atu o tēnā, kei te patipati atu mātou ki a Matua Tamati mo ana hoiho, hei kawe i a tātou ki te roto nui. Ka haere atu tātou ma te maunga i muri o te marae, ka kuhu atu i te ngahere, ā ka whakawhiti atu i ngā pātiki a Koro. I kōrero mai a Whaea Mihi, māna e mahi mai ētahi kai tino pai mā tātou. Ki tana whakaaro, kua nui rawa pea tō kai hāmipēka, nā reira me whāngai koe ki te kai tōtika. I mea mai ia, kia pātai atu ki a koe, he aha ngā kai e pai ana ki a koe? Pēhea te pūhā me te parāoa kinikini, te kānga kōpiro me ētahi kaimoana? Kei te mōhio katoa mātou he pai ki a koe tana parāoa rēwena.

Nā Koro i homai māku e tiaki a Pirimai. Ia rā, ia rā, ka paraehe au i a ia, me taku kōrero atu mō to noho i te tāone nui. Ki taku whakaaro kāore i te pai ki a ia. Tute noa mai ia i a au ma tana ihu mātao. Kua kōrero atu au ki a ia, kāore e roa ka hoki mai koe. Tae mai ana koe, ka haere tahi tātou ko Koro, kia kite i a ia.

Kei te mokemoke katoa mātou ki a koutou, ki a koe, ki tō māmā, ki a Mere hoki rāua ko Ani.

Arohanui,
Miria

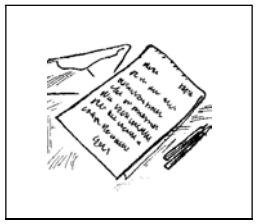
❤ Kei te tatari atu o heihei heahea ki a koe. Māu rātou e tiaki no te mea kua pōrearea katoa au i a rātou.

❤ ❤ Kaua e wareware ki te mau mai i ō kākahu kaukau. Nā Matua Tamati mātou, ngā tamariki, i āwhina ki te pāpuni i te awa, kia tino pai rawa atu ai tō tātou hōpua kaukau. Ā nāna anō mātou i āwhina ki te whakawhata i tētahi tārere taura i reira. Tino mīharo nei!

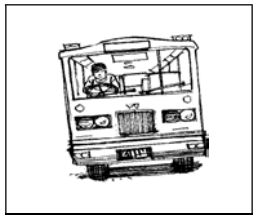
33 Marangai Tiriti
KIRIKIRIROA

Kia ora te tuahine, Miria

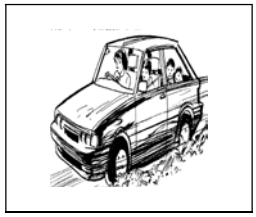
Kia ora mō



Kāore au i te hoki atu

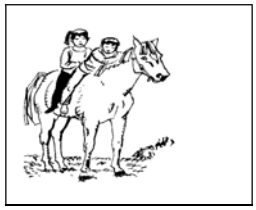


Mā taku māmā

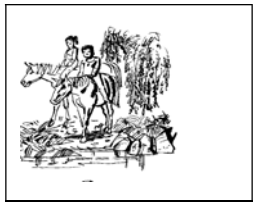


Ka tino pai te whakaoti

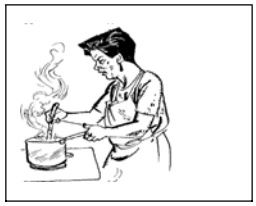
Ko te tūmanako ka tukua tātou e Matua Tamati kia



E tino hiahia ana au ki

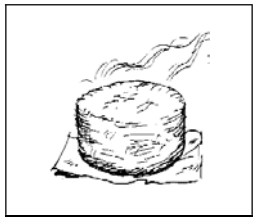


Kei te mihi atu ki a Whaea Mihi mō

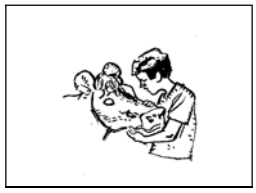


Kōrero atu ki a ia kei te hiakai au i

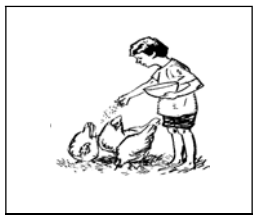
Me



Kei te pēhea a Pirimai? Kei te pīrangi rawa atu au ki

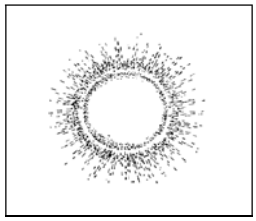


Kaua e māharahara. Māku e

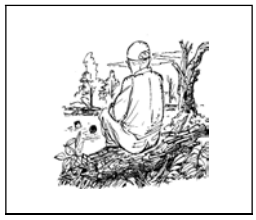


Māku e

Mehemea



Ka



Arohanui,

Hēmi.

Errors

In the examples that follow, the sections provided for the students are in italics. The errors made in the response made by the student or students are in bold underlined italics. The correct version is entered under each example in brackets. Where there are errors in addition to those that are being exemplified, these are sometimes also noted.

Omission errors

Punctuation of full stops and capital letters

A common error was the omission of a full stop at end of sentences and of a capital letter at the beginning of sentences. In addition, personal names often began with a small letter rather than a capital letter. In the following example, there is no initial capital on the personal name Mīria. Two sentences are run together with no full stop at the end of the first sentence or capital letter at the beginning of the second.

Examples:

Kia ora mō ***<u>te reta miria he tino pai.</u>***
(*Kia ora mō* te reta Mīria. He tino pai.)

Kia ora mō **<u>tou reta Miria he rawe tou tuhi</u>**
(*Kia ora mō* tōu reta Mīria. He rawe tōu tuhi.)

Omission of macron

A very common error was the omission of macrons. Note the insertion of the macron above the words "Mīria" and the possessive "tōu" in the corrected versions above. Macrons are used to signal vowel length and stress positioning. It may differentiate singular forms from plural forms. Thus, each of the following is plural: 'tungāne', 'tuāhine'. In the following cases, context would generally be sufficient for differentiation in writing: 'kaka' (garment, clothing), 'kakā' (red hot, glowing), 'kākā' (parrot). However, there are cases where the macron is fundamental to semantic differentiation. Furthermore, it is important in relation to the positioning of word stress as 'māra' (garden), aituā (accident, misfortune). There is clearly a need for a simple teaching guide to macron use.

Examples:

Kia ora mō ***<u>to reta ki ahau.</u>***
(Kia ora mō tō reta ki ahau.)

Kia ora mō ***<u>tau reta.</u>***
(Kia ora mō tāu reta.)

Kia ora mō ***<u>to reta ataahua.</u>***
(*Kia ora mō* tō reta ātaahua.)

Ka tino pai te whakaoti ***<u>a papa rātou ko ngā tamariki i te wharau.</u>***
(Ka tino pai te whakaoti a pāpā rātou ko ngā tamariki i te wharau.)

(Macrons are required as follows: tō; tāu; ātaahua; rāua. Without the macron, 'papa' means earth (rather than 'father') and 'raua' is the passive form of 'to catch, snatch' (rather than the pronoun 'rāua' indicating 'they two')).

There were also a number of cases where macrons were inappropriately included (see below):

Examples:
Kāore au i te hoki atu ***ki te kaingā***.
(Kāore au i te hoki atu ki te kāinga).

Mā taku māmā ***au e mau ki te mārāe mō ngā hararei.***
(Mā taku māma au e mau ki te marae mō ngā hararei.)

(Kāinga' should have a macron on the first 'a' and 'Marae' should not have any macrons).

Omission of space between words.

The omission of spaces between words was a fairly common error (21 examples in the sample). In the first two examples below, the possessive pronoun and noun are run together. In addition, the macron has been omitted from the first vowel of the possessive pronoun in each case:

Examples:
Kia ora mō ***toreta.***
(Kia ora mō tō reta.)

Kia ora mō ***taureta.***
(Kia ora mō tāu reta.)

Some additional examples of failure to divide words in writing are provided below. Any other errors, including errors relating to capitals and full stops are retained here as in the originals. Note that 'marunga' occurs fourteen times in the sample.

Examples:
Kāore au i te hoki atu ***marunga pahi***
(Kāore au i te hoki atu mā runga pahi.)

Kia ora mō ***tō reta. He ataahuatoreta.***
(Kia ora mō tō reta. He ātaahua tō reta.)

Kia ora mō *tō reta.* ***He tinopai te reta***
(Kia ora mō tō reta. He tino pai tō reta.)

Grammatical errors

Particles

Throughout the responses, directional particles were used correctly most of the time. However, postposed manner particles were used only infrequently. In the following example, both 'atu' (direction particle) and 'ana' (postposed verbal particle) are omitted following *hoki* in bold type. In addition, the macron has been omitted from the particle 'kē' (instead) and the two sentences have been run together. Two sentences are run together with no full stop at the end of the first sentence or capital letter at the beginning of the second.

Example:
Kāore au i te hoki atu ***ma runga motuka hoki ke au ma runga pahi***
(Kāore au i te hoki atu mā runga motokā. Hoki kē atu ana au mā runga pahi.)

In the following example, two sentences are run together with no full stop at the end of the first sentence following "Mīria". The adjectival phrase marker 'he' is omitted to introduce the adjectival phrase "tino pai". There is no final full stop.

Example:
Ka tino pai te whakaoti i te wharau miria tino pai
(Ka tino pai te whakaoti i te wharau Mīria. He tino pai.)

Actor emphatic and overgeneralization of passive

In the first example below, a passive verb ('haria') is used in an actor emphatic sentence (a sentence beginning with 'Mā . . . e'), where the agent is placed in initial position and emphasised. This is ungrammatical in Māori. In this example, the verbal marker 'e' signals future. It is also ungrammatical to use the passive in the case of actor emphatic constructions in the past (e.g. beginning with 'Nā . . . i')

Example:
Mā taku māmā ***e haria i a matau i runga i te motoka.***
(Mā taku māmā e hari i a mātou i runga i te motokā.)

In the second example below, 'hoki' (return; go back), an intransitive verb, is selected. To convert it to a transitive form, the prefix 'whaka' would be required. Only transitive verbs can occur in actor emphatic form. Furthermore, the pronoun 'au' should accompany 'māmā'. In this context, the following sentence would be acceptable: 'Mā taku māmā au e whakahoki mā runga motokā'. What is interesting about the sentence supplied by the student is that there would appear to be interlingual interference in that it may be an attempt to render the following in Māori: 'My mum will take me home on the motorcar'. In Māori, however, the pronoun should follow the subject in actor emphatic constructions.

Example:
Mā taku māmā ***e Hoki au ma runga motoka.***

(Mā taku māmā au e whakahoki mā runga motokā.)

Pronoun selection

In Māori, pronouns can be dual as well as singular and plural. Thus, for example, 'māua' is a first person dual exclusive pronoun. When listing members of a group, 'ko' accompanies each item. In English, it is grammatical to insert 'and' between a noun and a pronoun (e.g. 'grandfather and I'). Thus, where a student (see example below), uses 'au me Koro' ('me and Koro'), there is clearly interlingual interference (interference from English). It would have been appropriate in this case to select the pronoun 'māua' (dual, including the speaker but excluding hearer/reader), marking the participant other than the speaker with 'ko':

Example:
Ka tino pai te whakaoti ***i te whare iti i mahi au me Koro.***
('Ka tino pai te whakaoti i te whare iti i mahi māua ko Koro".)

Preposition selection

In Māori, it is correct to use the equivalent of the English preposition 'on' rather than 'in' when referring to transportation. Thus, the correct form should be 'i runga i te pahi' or ‘mā (via) runga i te pahi’ or ‘mā (via) runga pahi’.

Example:
Kāore au i te hoki atu ***i roto i te pahi.***
(Kāore au i te hoki atu i runga i te pahi.)

In linking verb and object, the preposition 'i' should be used. In the example below, 'o' is used. This was a very common error:

Example:
Ka tino pai te whakaoti ***o te whare o ngā tamariki.***
(Ka tino pai te whakaoti i te whare o ngā tamariki.)

Aspect

In the following example, there are several errors relating to aspect. Here, the bold 'i te', which signals progressive aspect (ongoing activity in past) is selected although we are concerned here with a state (wearisome) rather than an activity. Furthermore, 'ana', which, in a combination with 'e', is also progressive, is selected. A more appropriate sentence would be: 'Kāore au i te hoki atu mā runga pahi natemea **e** hōhā **ana** ahau'.

Example:
Kāore au i te hoki atu ***mā runga pahi natemea i te hōhā ana ahau.***
(Kāore au i te hoki atu mā runga i te pahi natemea e hōhā ana ahau.)

Word order

In the area of word order, a number of errors seem to be due to interlingual interference, the influence of English often being evident. In the following example, the student has chosen here to use an actor emphatic construction in past tense form, with 'mā' as marker of the agent ('māmā') and 'hei' as verbal marker. The main reason for the choice of this construction appears to be that it allows for the separation of subject and the object that is characteristic of English ('My **mother** will take **me** back

home'). A more appropriate construction in this context would be the following: Mā taku māmā ahau hei whakahoki ki te kainga. In addition, a capital letter is inserted in the middle of the sentence and the full stop is omitted at the end of the sentence.

Example:
Mā taku māmā ***Hei whakahoki ahau ki te kainga***
(Mā taku māmā ahau hei whakahoki ki te kainga.)

Errors relating to communicative appropriacy

In this area, a considerable number of errors related to the students' difficulties in projecting themselves into a different position - in writing as if they were one of the characters. This probably indicates the need for more practice in this type of exercise. In the examples set out below, because the focus is on communicatively inappropriate responses, grammatical errors are ignored:

Example:
Kia ora te tuahine Mīria,
Kia ora mō ***Hemi ko tenei a miria reta ki a koe i te hararei.***

(*Dear Cousin Miria,*
Thank you for Hēmi. This is Mīria's letter to you about the holidays.)

Setting the scene: speaking

In the draft speaking test, students were given a series of pictures that made up a story about characters with whom they were already familiar. They were then given the first sentence of the story and asked to look carefully at the pictures and continue it. The picture series is set out below. A translation of the first sentence (provided by the teacher) is provided for those who are not speakers of Māori. Students were given two or three minutes to look at the pictures before being given the first sentence. They were then given up to ten minutes (most completed in five) to complete the story, their offerings being tape recorded and later transcribed.

Titiro mai ki ēnei pikitia. Kōrerotia mai he pūrākau mō ēnei pikitia.

Anei te rerenga tuatahi:

I haere a Hēmi rāua ko Miria ki ngā toa ki te hoko kai.
(Hemi and Miria went shopping.)

(i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

(vi)

(vii)

(viii)

(ix)

(x)

Errors

Each oral tape was transcribed and given a number coding. The transcribed tapes were then analysed for errors and any other features that appeared to be linguistically interesting. In doing this, sentences were broken up into phrases (*kīanga*) and both the phrase order and the word order within phrases was examined. In each phrase, the type is listed under the heading *Kīanga*. There is a space for the preposed periphery (*Pūmua*) and the post-posed periphery (*Pūmuri*) (generally referred to as particles). The bases are listed under the heading *Tumu.* The other headings used refer to the word class (*Tū aha*). There are three possible bases: noun (*tūingoa*), verbal (*tūmahi*) and adjective (*tūāhua*). The other categories used are: conjunctions (*tūhono),* pronouns (*tūpou*) and the locative (*tūtarawāhi*). Where necessary, a comment was inserted alongside the phrase being analysed. Where a student paused for longer than would be normal in spontaneous speech, three dots were inserted. Where s/he provided what appeared to be a correction, both the initial and the revised form are inserted. The following sample chart section (see *Table 1* below) indicates how this was done with reference to the script of a single student. Also note that the Roman numerals in brackets ((ii), (iii), (iv), etc.) refer to the number of the picture to which the student is making reference.

Table 1: Sample section of phrase chart used for analysis

Pūmua	Tumu	Pūmuri	Tū aha	Kīanga	Comment
(ii) I	Hoatu		tūmahi	kīmahi	
tā rātou	Nanny		tūingoa	kīingoa	Wrong pronoun. Should have been "tō rāua nanny". A/O category as well.
he	moni …		tūingoa	kīingoa	(unsure of speaker intent)
tō	Rātou		tūpou	kīingoa	Appears to be correcting the error.
	Tōna		tūpou	kīingoa	(unsure of speaker intent)
ki te	pahi.		tūingoa	kīingoa	Reference to the bus.
(iii) I	haere …		tūmahi	kīmahi	
I	Tāhae		tūmahi	kīmahi	
tētahi	tangata		tūingoa	kīingoa	
i tōna	pāhi…		tūingoa	kīingoa	
	Me		tūhono	kīhono	Wrong 'and' used. Requires coordinating conjunction "ā".
i te	Oma		tūmahi	kīmahi	Wrong TAM marker. "i" or "ka" more appropriate.
	ia.		tūpou	kīingoa	
(iv) I	Whiua		tūmahi	kīmahi	
	Ia		tūpou	kīingoa	Omission of agent marker "e" following a passive
ētahi o ngā	pukapuka		tūingoa	kīingoa	Picture modification. Mistakes the purse in the picture for books.
	Me		tūhono	kīhono	Wrong 'and' used. Requires coordinating conjunction "ā".
i te	Oma		tūmahi	kīmahi	Used the wrong TAM marker. "i" or "ka" TAM is preferable.
te	tāhae.		tūingoa	kīingoa	
(v) I	Oma		tūmahi	kīmahi	
a	Mīria		tūingoa	kīingoa	

Table 1 (continued): Sample section of phrase chart used for analysis

Pūmua	Tumu	Pūmuri	Tū aha	Kīanga	Comment
ki te	Hāpai		tūmahi	kīmahi	Wrong verb – "hāpai'. It should be "āwhina". However this could be dialectal or conceptual.
i tērā	wahine		tūingoa	kiingoa	
I	whoatu		tūmahi	kīmahi	Inappropriate choice of verb. Should have been "whakahoki".
	wahine		tūingoa	kīingoa	Inappropriate reference. Should use the anaphoric reference "taua"- the afore-mentioned and not the exophoric reference "tēnā" – "that".
tēnā	pukapuka		tūingoa	kīingoa	Picture modification. Omission of "i" as a "kītea" comment indicator. Inappropriate reference. Should use the anaphoric reference "taua"- the "afore-mentioned" and not the exophoric reference "tērā" – "that".
ki a	ia,		tūpou	kīingoa	Pronunciation - "ki a ia" instead of kija ia
	Me		tūhono	kīhono	Wrong 'and' used. Requires coordinating conjunction "ā".
i te	taraiwa		tūmahi	kīmahi	Wrong TAM marker. Should have been "i"
	Ia		tūpou	kīingoa	
ki	Runga		tūtarawāhi	kīwāhi	Wrong selection of preposition; "i/ki" error.
i	Tētahi		tūingoa	kīingoa	
ōna	motokā		tūingoa	kīingoa	Omission of possessive "ō" indicator before "ōna".
(vi) nō	Matua Hirini.		tūingoa	kīingoa	Unsure of what s/he was trying to express. Could have been saying that the thief drove away on Uncle Hirini's car.
(vii) I	Waea		tūmahi	kīmahi	
	Ia		tūpou	kīingoa	
ki te	pirihimana		tūingoa	kīingoa	
(viii) I	'wiowi'		tūmahi	kīmahi	Excellent example of creativity.
	Ia		tūpou	kīingoa	
ki tērā	tangata		tūingoa	kīingoa	Inappropriate reference. Should use the anaphoric reference "taua"- the "afore-mentioned" and not the exophoric reference "tērā" – "that".
i tēnā	tāhae.		tūingoa	kīingoa	
(ix) I	Tatari		tūmahī	kīmahi	
	Ia		tūpou	kīingoa	
I te …	Puta		tūmahi	kīmahi	Wrong TAM marker. Should have been "kia".
	Ia		tūpou	kīingoa	Needs to learn to use lexical repetition with use of "ia' to identify referent, i.e., who is being referred to.
i	Waho		tūtarawāhi	kīwāhi	Wrong selection of preposition; "i/ki" error.
i tōna	Waka		tūingoa	kīingoa	
(x) I te	Haere		tūmahi	kīmahi	Wrong TAM marker. Should have been "i".
	Ia		tūpou	kīingoa	
ki te	Tikina		tūmahi	kīmahi	Over-generalisation. Wrong use of passive following "ki te" (infinitive).
i te	Mea		tūingoa	tūingoa	(May have been alluding to the teapot)
o	Tēnā		tūpou	kīingoa	(unsure of speaker intent)

Table 1(continued): Sample section of phrase chart used for analysis

Pūmua	Tumu	Pūmuri	Tū aha	Kīanga	Comment
o	Matua Hirini		tūmahi	kīmahi	
I	Hoatu		tūmahi	kīmahi	
	kapu tī		tūingoa	kīingoa	Good use of object incorporation
	Ia		tūpou	kīingoa	
ki a	ia ….		tūpou	kīingoa	Needs to learn to use lexical repetition with use of "ia' to identify referent, i.e., who is being referred to. Pronunciation - "ki a ia" instead of kija ia.
mō te	pirihimana		tūingoa	kīingoa	Wrong preposition "mō" meaning "for". Preposition "ki" meaning more appropriate.
I	Hoatu		tūmahi	kīmahi	
ki a.	Hirini		tūingoa	kīingoa	Ellipsis of subject.
	Me		tūhono	kīhono	Wrong "and" used. Should have been "rāua ko'.
	Mīria		tūingoa	kīingoa	
ētahi	kai.		tūingoa	kīingoa	
I	Kai				
	rātou.		tūpou	kīingoa	

Tracking one student's grammatical errors in the speaking sample

With reference to the *Table* above, it can be seen that the following grammatical errors appear.

Errors of omission

The following is a selection of the errors of omission made by the student whose oral is transcribed above: causative verb; possessive indicator; agent marker ('e') following a passive verb; tense marker ('i'/'ka'); nominal particle ('a'); determiner; tense/aspect marker (TAM); a/o possessive omission.

Errors of selection

The selectional errors made by this student include: selection of wrong subject pronoun, possessive pronoun and possessive marker; selection of wrong TAM; selection of wrong preposition; selection of nominal particle ('a') instead of agent marker ('e') following a passive verb; selection of 'tērā' (ie 'that') rather than 'taua' to refer to something earlier in the text (anaphoric reference); selection of wrong determiner; use of 'me' (additive conjunction) rather than 'rāua ko', 'rātou ko', 'ko' or 'a' (coordinating conjunction) to signal addition (probably due to influence of 'and' in English); confusion of 'i' and 'ki'; use of both lexical repetition and 'ia' to make reference to an earlier noun. Finally, over-generalization of the rule governing the use of passive is indicated, as is uncertainty about the correct ending on passive verbs as well as the selection of subject marker in the case of passives.

Error of ordering

The subject is placed in the wrong position.

Other errors

Some of the other errors made by this and other students appear to indicate the need for a more extensive vocabulary. Thus, for example, there is inappropriate verb and noun selection. In one case, however, what appears to be the wrong choice of noun almost certainly relates to the fact that the student simply misinterpreted one of the picture items. In one case, listeners would be unsure what earlier noun is being referred to because there is referential ambiguity.

Some additional comments

As in the case of many other students, this student uses code switching to English words whenever s/he is not sure of the appropriate Māori word (and, fall, ring, chase and caught, Nanny, steal, trip them up, call, grab, pick up, purse, give back to, telephone, cops, door, get, ticket, whatever, sirens, pour). This is in addition to the following transliterations: puhi (push)**,** tāpu (stop), ringi (ring), koti (caught), nanna (nanny), taiho/ taihoa (wait). However, there are some interesting and creative uses of language such as, for example:

Examples:

(v) Ka kī te nana, "Kia ora";

(ix) whare herehere (reference to the thief being taken to jail);

(viii) wīowi, weoweo, (reference to the sound made by the sirens);

(viii) pīataata; (reference to the twinkling of the flashing police car lights);

(x) Pīrangi koe ki tētahi kapu tī? (Would you like a cup of tea?).

There are other interesting aspects of the language of this and other students such as, for example, appropriate use of passive for much of the time (ie *whiua, tikina, tangohia, huakina, hopua, haria, utaina, panangia, whakahokia, hurihia, tūwheratia, mauria, kitea, tāhaetia*).

There is an interesting use of lexical repetition in the following sentence:

Example:
(iv) Kātahi ka whiua e te tangata te tangata tāhae ki runga i te papa.

Examples of Western dialect words include *makana, tētehi, ētehi, ngētahi, whoatu, motukā and nana.*

Typical errors in the speaking sample (all students)

Errors of omission

The omission of the causative prefix 'whaka'

The causative prefix 'whaka' can create difficulties for learners, probably largely because of the fact that the meaning changes in relation to the base to which it is attached. As this example indicates, the first occurrence of the verb 'hoki' is intransitive (translated as 'return'). However, when 'hoki' (bolded) is used for the

second time it is a transitive verb requiring the prefix 'whaka'. The preposition 'i' is also required in the comment phrase.

Example:
(v) I hoki a Mīria ki te **hoki** te pāhi ki te wahine.
(I hoki a Mīria ki te whakahoki i te pāhi ki te wahine').

In the next example (see below), 'tū' (bolded) is a transitive verb requiring (because the intention is to make the thieves stop) the causative prefix 'whaka'.

Example:
(ix) Ka **tū** te pirihimana i ngā nanakia.
(Ka whakatū te pirihimana i ngā nanakia)

Finally, 'whaka' in the example below could have been used to turn 'runga' (bolded) into an adjective denoting upward flight:

Example:
(iv) … ā, ka haere **runga** te pēke.
(… ā, ka haere whakarunga te pēke).

Omission of a/o possessive

The a/o possessive category is problematic for learners, especially so in that there are tribal variations in usage. In the first example below, the possessive indicator 'ō' followed by "nga' is required after 'ngētahi'. In the second example below, the possessive indicator 'o' is required before 'ōna' to indicate 'of his'.

Examples:
(iii) I a ia ngētahi **. . .** mea o te kuia.
(I a ia ngētahi **o ngā** mea o te kuia).

(v) I te taraiwa ia i runga i tētahi **. . .** ōna motokā.
(I te tarawa ia i runga i tētahi **o** ngā motokā).

Omission of TAM (tense/aspect marker)

Tense/aspect markers were frequently omitted. Thus, in the first example below, 'e . . . ana' (indicating progressive aspect) has been omitted in the environment of 'huakina' (bolded). The preposition 'i' is also required in the comment phrase.

Example:
(ii) Ā, kātahi ka kite rātou i tētehi nana **huakina** te kuaha.
(Ā, kātahi ka kite rātou i tētehi nana **e huakina ana ī** te kuaha)

Omission of the agent marker

In the first two examples below, the agent marker ('e') which should follow the passive verb is omitted. The comment marker 'i' (bolded) has been wrongly included in the phrase that follows (and should be removed).

Example:
(iv) Kātahi ka whiua te tangata **i** te tangata tāhae i runga i te papa.

(Kātahi ka whiua **e** te tangata te tangata tāhae i runga i te papa.)

(ii) I huakina te kuia **i** te kuaha.
(I huakina **e** te kuia te kuaha.)

In the next example, the nominal particle ‘a’ (in bold) has been used in error with the noun phrase. In addition to the omission of the agent marker, the comment marker 'i' (in bold) has been wrongly included in the final phrase.

Example:
(iii) Ka hopua **a** te tamaiti **i** te pēke.
(Ka hopua **e** te tamaiti te pēke.)

Omission of comment indicator

Almost all comment phrases in Māori begin with a preposition. However, because these prepositions are generally weakly stressed in connected speech, learners may be unaware of them unless their attention is specifically directed towards them. In the following example below, the comment indicator 'i' before 'te pēke' has been omitted. The ‘i’ has been bolded in the corrected bracketed sentence.

Example:
(ii) Kei roto te pāhi te pēke.
(Kei roto te pāhi **i** te pēke.)

In the next example below, the third phrase (a comment phrase) is correctly marked by the preposition 'i'. However, in the fourth and fifth phrases (which are also comments), the 'i' has been omitted. The ‘i’ is in bold in the corrected bracketed sentence.

Example:
(ii) I te mau ia i tētahi pāhi roto tōna pēke.
(I te mau ia i tētahi pāhi **i** roto **i** tōna pēke.)

In the final example below, the preposition 'i' is again omitted. The experience verb 'kite' requires 'i a' to link it to the patient. It may be useful to note here that 'i' is often omitted by learners in the popular expression of farewell: 'Ka kite i a koe' ('I will see you'). The incorrect form (*Ka kite koe) may be modelled on the English expression 'I’ll see you'. The ‘i’ and ‘a” is in bold print in the corrected bracketed sentence.

Example:
(vi) Ā, kei te haere atu ngā tamariki a Mīria rāua ko Hemi ki te kite ia.
(Ā, kei te haere atu ngā tamariki a Mīria rāua ko Hemi ki te kite **i a** ia.)

Omission of personal noun marker

In the first example below, the marker of a personal noun ('a') is omitted before Mātua Hirini. The personal marker ‘a’ is in bold print in the corrected bracketed sentence. In addition, the phrase marker ‘i’ which was also omitted is in bold print in the corrected bracketed sentence.)

Example:
(x) I haere Matua Hirini ki te whoatu te kapu tī ki te tangata pirihimana.
(I haere **a** Matua Hirini ki te whoatu **i** te kapu tī ki te tangata pirihimana.)

In the next example, not only is 'te' found where personal marker 'a' should be, but, in addition, the comment precedes the subject although the sentence is active.

Example:
(x) Ka kōrero ki te pirihimana te Mīria.
(Ka kōrero **a** Mīria ki te pirihimana.)

Omission of determiner

In the example below, the definite article 'te' following 'ko' (the predicate noun phrase marker) has been omitted.

Example:
(viii) Ko pirihimana i haere mai.
(Ko **te** pirihimana i haere mai.)

Omission of specification of location

In the example below, 'ki roto' needs to be accompanied by specification of location. In fact, this usage seems to be modelled on English ('went in for a cup of tea').

Example:
(x) I haere rātou ngā tokorua, a Mātua Hirini me ngā pirihimana ki roto mō te kapu tī.
(I haere rātou ngā tokorua, a Mātua Hirini me ngā pirihimana ki roto **i te whare** mō te kapu tī.)

Errors of selection

Pronoun selection

Māori has no verbs equivalent to 'own', 'have' and 'possess' in English. In Māori, sentences referring to possession are non-verbal. In the first example below, 'tōna' ('his'/'her') is selected rather than the correct form (ie 'tō rāua' bolded) in the case of reference to both Hēmi and the writer (Miria).

Example:
(ii) I hoatu a Hemi rāua ko Mīria i nga kai ki tōna Nanny.
(I hoatu a Hemi rāua ko Mīria i ngā kai ki **tō rāua** Nanny.)

In the next example below, 'ōna' (the plural form) is selected rather than 'tana' (bolded) which is the correct form here because reference is being made to a single object. In addition, there is an error relating to the a/o category. Books, belonging as they do to the movable category, select 'a'.

Example:
(iii) I tāhae te tangata i ōna pukapuka.
(I tāhae te tangata i **tana** pukapuka.)

In the following example, the dual pronoun 'rāua' (bolded) should have been selected rather than the plural pronoun ('rātou'). In picture (ii), both Hemi and Hīria see the woman.

Example:
(ii) I kite rātou i tētehi wahine.
(I kite **rāua** i tētehi wahine.)

In the final example below, the selection of 'tōna' suggests that the old lady was a relation of the thief.

Example:
(iii) I tango te tangata tāhae i te pēke o tōna kuia.
(I tango te tangata tāhae i te pēke o **te** kuia.)

Conjoining

In the area of conjoining, the influence of English is detectable where learners select 'me' (underlined) rather than 'ā' (see examples below).

Examples:
(iii) I tāhae tētahi tangata i tōna pahi me i oma ia.
(I tāhae tētahi tangata i tōna pahi **ā** i oma ia.)

(v) Kātahi i oma atu ia me i tiki a Mīria i te pēke.
(Kātahi i oma atu ia **ā** i tiki a Mīria i te pēke.)

(ix) Ā tēnā, i ringi atu te tangata ki te pirihimana me i haere mai te pirihimana ki te tiki i te tangata i roto i te motokā.
(Ā tēnā, i ringi atu te tangata ki te pirihimana **ā** i haere mai te pirihimana ki te tiki i te tangata i roto i te motokā.)

(iv) I oma tino tere ia, ka taka ia me i taka ia me te pukapuka i runga i te papa
(I oma tino tere ia, ka taka ia **ā** i taka ia me te pukapuka i runga i te papa.)

In the following four examples, ‘me’ is selected instead for 'rāua ko' or 'rātou ko'.

Examples:
(x) I hoatu ki a Hirini me Mīria ētahi kai.
(I hoatu ki a Hirini **rāua ko** Mīria ētahi kai.)

(x) I hoatu a Hemi me Mīria i ngā kai ki tōna nanny.
(I hoatu a Hemi **rāua ko** Mīria i ngā kai ki tōna nanny.)

(vi) I haere a Mīria me Hemi ki te tiki i a Matua Hirini.
(I haere a Mīria **rāua ko** Hemi ki te tiki i a Matua Hirini.)

(x) I hoatu a Matua Hirini he kapu tī ki te tangata pirihimana me Hēmi, me Mīria.
(I hoatu a Matua Hirini he kapu tī ki te tangata pirihimana **rātou ko** Hēmi, **ko** Mīria.)

In the following examples, 'ko' (rather than 'me') is required.

Examples:
(v) … ā Hemi rātou ko Mīria me nana.
(… ā Hemi rātou ko Mīria **ko** nana.)

(ii) I haere a Hemi rāua ko Mīria me nana ki te toa.
(I haere a Hemi **rātou** ko Mīria **ko** nana ki te toa).

(x) Ka kai a Matua Hirini rātou ko te pirihimana me Mīria me Hēmi.
(Ka kai a Matua Hirini rātou ko te pirihimana ko Mīria **ko** Hēmi.

Tense/aspect marker (TAM) selection

In this first example below, 'i haere' signals past tense. Therefore, 'i runga' rather than 'kei runga' should have been selected.

Example:
(iii) I te wā i haere ia ki te tiki i tāna pēke kei runga i te pahi, i haere mai tēnei tangata.
(I te wā i haere ia ki te tiki i tāna pēke **i** runga i te pahi, i haere mai tēnei tangata.)

In the following example, the underlined 'i te' (indicating an ongoing event in the past) is selected although the action has been completed. Thus, the bolded 'i' (the absolute tense marker) should have been selected.

Example:
(ix) I te mutu te pirihimana ki te kōrero ki ngā tangata i whānako.
(**I** mutu te pirihimana ki te kōrero ki ngā tangata i whānako.)

In the final example, the underlined present progressive ‘Kei te’ is selected rather than the contextually more appropriate bolded past progressive .

Example:
(v) Kei te haere ngā tāngata kino. I noho rātou ki reira noho ai.
(**I** haere ngā tāngata kino. I noho rātou ki reira noho ai).

Confusion of nominal particle and agentive marker

Following the passive verb in the first example below, the nominal particle 'ā' underlined is used instead of the correct form, that is, the agent marker 'e' bolded. The reason for this may be that students frequently hear imperative forms (which require the passive) and over-generalize, assuming that the passive is required in phrases where the active is the appropriate form.

Example:
(iv) Ka whiua a Hemi i tōna pēke ki te tangata.
(Ka whiua **e** Hemi tōna pēke ki te tangata.)

In the next example, the passive verb ('tikina') requires the agent marker ('e').

Example:
(v) I tikina a Mīria i te pāhi.
(I tikina **e** Mīria te pāhi.)

Confusion of active and passive forms

In the example below, the verb has been turned into the passive form. However, the remainder of the grammatical construction remains in the form appropriate for active sentences.

Example:
(iii) I tangohia ia i te pāhi o te kuia.
(I tangohia **e** ia te pāhi o te kuia.)

In the example below, the final phrase, which is preceded by a passive verb 'tikina', becomes the subject of the passive sentence. It should not, therefore, be accompanied by the underlined 'i'.

Example:
(iii) Ka haere mai te whānako, ka tikina i te pahi rā.
(Ka haere mai te whānako, ka tikina te pahi rā.)

The next example illustrates a very common error which involves selection of a passive verb after 'ki te', something that can happen only in conditional contexts.

Example:
(iii) I haere mai tētahi tangata ki te tangohia i tōna pāhi.
(I haere mai tētahi tangata ki te tango i tōna pāhi.)

Confusion of 'a' and 'o' possessive categories

In the first example below, the 'a' category is wrongly selected where the 'o' category is required. In the first case, the possessive refers to both Hēmi and Miria. In the second case, the possessive refers to Miria.

Examples:
(v) I hoatu ki tā rātou nanny.
(I hoatu ki **to rāua** nanny.)

(v) I hoatu a Mīria i te pukapuka ki tāna kuia.
I hoatu a Mīria i te pukapuka ki **tōna** kuia.)

Referencing confusion

In the first example below, 'tērā' (that) is selected rather than the correct form (ie 'tāua') referring to something that has been mentioned before. In the second example, 'tēnei' rather than 'taua' is selected. In the third example, 'tōna' in the second sentence could mean 'him' or 'her'. To avoid this ambiguity in this case, lexical repetition would be appropriate. In the fourth example, the first use of 'ia' refers to Uncle Hirini (mentioned in the previous sentence). However, the second use of 'ia' could refer either to Uncle Hirini or the policeman. To avoid this ambiguity, lexical repetition

would be appropriate. In the penultimate example, it is unclear what the student is referring to (possibly the teapot). In the final example, the student appears not to have a Māori word appropriate for 'purse'. It may be this that led to the referential confusion (the purse belonged not to Miria, but to the old woman).

Examples:
(v) Arā, i tiki a Hemi te pāhi o tērā nana.
(Arā, i tiki a Hēmi i te pāhi o **taua** nana)

(vii) Ka ringi a Matua Hirini i te tangata pirihimana, ka haere tēnei tangata pirihimana.
(Ka ringi a Matua Hirini i te tangata pirihimana, ka haere **taua** tangata pirihimana)

(ii) I hoatu a Hemi me Mīria i nga kai ki tōna nanny.
(I hoatu a Hēmi me Mīria i ngā kai ki **tō rāua** nanny)

(vii) (viii) … nō Mātua Hirini. I waea ia ki te pirihimana. I wīowi ia ki tērā tangata i tēnā tāhae.
(. . . nō Matua Hirini. I waea ia ki te pirihimana. I wīowi **te pirihimana** ki **taua** tangata tāhae)

(x) I te haere ia ki te tikina i te mea o tēnā o Matua Hirini.
(I te haere ia ki te tiki i te **tīpāta** o Matua Hirini.)

(v) Ka hoatu a Mīria i tōna mea ki te kuia.
(ka hoatu a Mīria i **te pāhi** ki te kuia.)

Verbal selection

In each of the following examples, the problem appears to relate to the need for additional vocabulary. In the first example below, 'makere' ('to alight') would be more appropriate than 'peke' ('to jump'). In the second example, 'pore' ('to fall flat') or 'hinga' ('to fall from an erect position') would be more appropriate than 'taka' ('to fall off' or 'to fall over from a height'). In the third example, 'whakahoki' ('to return') would be more appropriate than the weak verb 'homai' ('to give'). In the final example, 'kapo' ('snatch'). 'hopu' ('sieze') or 'mamau' (grab') would be more appropriate than 'tiki' (fetch).

Examples:
(ii) I peke tētahi kuia ki waho i te pahi.
(I **makere** mai tētahi kuia i te pahi.)

(iv) I oma ia, ka taka.
(I oma ia, ka **pore**.)

(v) Kei te homai a Mīria i te pēke o te kuia.
(Kei te **hoatu** a Mīria i te peke o te kuia)

(iii) Ā, ka tae mai tētahi tāhae, ka tiki ia i te pāhi.
(Ā, ka tae mai tētahi tāhae, ka **kapo** ia i te pāhi)

Preposition selection

Confusion of 'i' and 'ki' ('to') was found to be a common error. In the example below, the student has self-corrected: the incorrect choice is followed by the correct one.

Example:
(viii) Ka kōrero ia mā runga ki te waea . . . i te waea ki te pirihimana.

Confusion of existence and possession

In the example below, the student has provided a negative existential sentence which can be translated as 'S/he is not the purse' rather than a negative possessive one such as 'I a ia te pāhi' (ie 'S/he did not have the purse in her possession').

Example:
(iv) Kaore ia te pēke moni.
(Kāore **i a** ia te pēke moni.)

Errors of ordering

Word order

In the example below, the comment precedes the subject (unacceptable in active sentences). Furthermore, 'a' (rather than 'te') should precede the personal noun 'Miria'. In the second example below, the predicate is followed by a locative phrase, a comment phrase and, finally, the subject. Here, the subject phase should follow the predicate.

Examples:
(x) Ka kōrero ki te pirihimana te Mīria.
(Ka kōrero **a** Mīria ki te pirihimana)

(ii) I haere ki waho i te pahi, te kuia.
(I haere te kuia i te pahi)

Other errors

One of the most common errors involves code switching, that is, use of English words and expressions. This indicates a need for additional vocabulary. Some of the examples found were: *Nanny, steal, trip them up, fall, ring, chase and caught, call, grab, pick up, purse, give back to, telephone, cops, door, get, ticket, whatever, sirens, pour.* Among the transliterations found were the following: *ringi* (ring), *kōti* (caught), *granny, puhi* (push), *raiti* (lights), *tāpu* (stop), *taiho* (taihoa wait).

Few students appear to have been familiar with the noun 'kaitāhae' ('thief') or the local noun 'waho' ('outside'). Very few students made use of ellipsis although there was one interesting example in the sample: 'I whoatu ia ki te kuia' ('She gave (the object omitted) to the old lady'.)

Some additional comments

On some occasions, specific features of dialect use were detectable. Thus, for example, the word 'nāna' is often now used in Western dialect for the English word 'nanny' and "whoatu' ('give away') is often used in Western dialect where 'hoatu' might be used in other areas. There were a number of creative uses of language. Thus, for

example, one student referred to the flashing lights of the police car as follows: 'I te pīataata ō rātou raiti'.

In terms of pronunciation, two of the most common errors involved (a) confusion of long and short vowels (e.g. 'pahi' and 'pāhi'; 'raua' and 'rāua'; 'kite' and 'kīte'), and (b) omission of the linking sound [j] (pronounced 'y') that characterises connected speech. Thus, for example, students typically rendered 'ki a ia' as [kiaia] rather than [kijaia] and 'i a ia' as [iaia] rather than [ijaia].

In a number of cases, it was impossible to tell whether the student was genuinely making an error or whether the picture had been misinterpreted. Thus, for example, where Miria gives the purse to the old woman, one of the students writes 'Ka homai te nana i tētahi mea ki a Miria'. In one case, a student used 'tēnei' in a way that suggests that s/he is referring directly to a picture rather than continuing the narrative using the pictures as a guide: ' I te wā i haere ia ki te tiki i tōna peke kei runga i te pahi, i haere mai tēnei tangata'.

Where students were familiar with linking words and phrases, their narratives were considerably more coherent. Some of the linking words and phrases that were used are: 'nā te mea', 'ēngari', 'ā', ‘kātahi’, ‘tēnā’, ‘i muri i tērā’, ‘a muri i tērā’, ‘arā’, ‘i te wā’, ‘i nāianei ka’, ‘i te mutunga’, ‘i reira’, ‘ka’.

Manner and directional particles were sometimes used appropriately as in the following examples: ‘I kite **rā**’, **‘**Ka kite **atu**’, ‘e oma atu **ana**’, **‘**ki te wahine **rā**’, ‘te pukapuka **rā**’, **‘**me te pēke **rā**’, **‘**ki reira tatari **ai**’, **‘**i oma atu ia **anō**’, **‘**e tika **ana**’, **‘**e pā **ana**’, ‘e tāhae **ana**’, **‘**kei roto **rā**’, **‘**i roto **rā**’, **‘**i hoki **atu**,’ **‘**ka hīkoi **tonu**’.

The following passive forms were often used appropriately: *whiu**a**, tiki**na**, tango**hia**, huaki**na**, hopu**a**, hari**a**, uta**ina**, pana**ngia**, whakahoki**a**, huri**hia**, tūwhera**tia**, mau**ria**, maka**na**, kite**a**, tāhae**tia**.*

A list was made of the content words used by the students along with the number of times each was used. A glance at that list indicates that one of the most useful activities that teachers can engage in is vocabulary building.

Conclusion

In terms of omission, some of the most common errors involved tense/aspect markers, determiners, markers of agent, comment, personal nouns, the causative prefix 'whaka', the a/o possessive and the locative.

The most common errors of selection included problems relating to pronouns, prepositions, tense/aspect markers, the 'a' and 'o' possessive categories, conjoining (where 'me' was repeatedly used instead of 'rātou ko', 'rāua ko' and 'ko'), nominal and agentive particles and active and passive forms. Problems of referencing were frequent as were problems of lexical selection (particularly relating to verbs). Phrase order confusion was relatively common and code switching (particularly selecting English nouns) was also frequent.

So far as writing is concerned, in addition to the errors indicated above, there were a considerable number of punctuation errors. Including omission of the macron and of

full stops and capital letters. Oddly, a number of students persistently omitted spaces between words.

Error analysis is useful for a number of reasons. It increases sensitivity to the language used by students and indicates areas where additional focus might be productive. However, students will not always be able to correct errors consistently, particularly where they are not yet at an appropriate developmental stage to cope with a particular type of linguistic complexity. Often, however, students are unaware that the forms they use are incorrect or unacceptable and can benefit, even in the short term, from a clear indication of the nature of the errors they are making. Of course, error correction needs to be accompanied wherever possible by good modelling, explanation and reinforcement. This can be done with sensitivity and is often appreciated. It can, in addition, lead to a growth in confidence. It is not, of course, desirable to deal with errors each time they occur. Rather, it is better to note and record errors and devote specific times in the day to addressing them. Since very often the whole class will benefit from a focus on particular forms in context, it is not always necessary to deal with each student independently when identifying and addressing errors. Overall, error identification provides an excellent opportunity for productive teaching and learning. It is very important to seek opportunities to address areas of difficulty that students are having in order to help avoid the process of error fossilisation, a process that, once it has become well established, can be very difficult to eradicate.

References

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Appendix 1: Translation of Writing Test

Imagine that you are Hemi. You are writing to answer Miria's letter. You've started lots of sentences, but you haven't finished them. Make sure that you finish each sentence. Pay attention to your spelling and punctuation. Remember to end sentences with a full stop and remember to separate your words.

Waitākaro Poutāpeta
Tōtaranui
Tairāwhiti

Dear Hemi,

Only two weeks now until the holidays! I'm so excited, I could burst! Grandpa says I've to settle down and stop dancing around, and we're not to cause mischief when you're here. Are you coming by bus, or will your mum drive all of you down?

Anyway, we want to finish building the hut near the river when you're here and we're trying to persuade Uncle Tamati to let us ride the horses up the hill behind the marae , through the bush and over grandpa's paddocks to the big lake. Aunty Mihi is on our side and she's promised to make some special dishes. She reckons you've probably had too many hamburgers and that some proper food will do you good. She says to ask you what you'd like. What about some puha and dumplings, some rotten corn and some seafood? I know you love her rewena bread too.

Grandpa has given me the job of looking after Pirimai for you. I brush her every day and tell her all about your life in the city. I don't think she's impressed! She just nudges me with her wet nose. I've told her you're coming back. You, me and grandpa will go up together to see her as soon as you arrive. She's waiting for you.

Everybody misses you and your mum, and Mere and Ani too.

Love, Miria

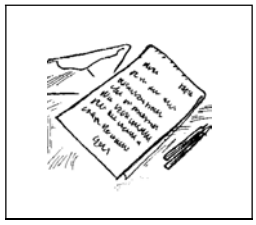
♥ Your stupid chooks are waiting for you. You'll have to look after them because I'm fed up with them.

♥ ♥ Don't forget to bring your togs. Uncle Tamati helped us kids to dam up the river and make a neat swimming hole. We've put up a rope swing too. Exciting, eh?

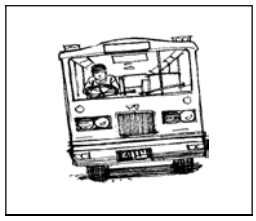
33 Marangai Tiriti
KIRIKIRIROA

Dear Miria,

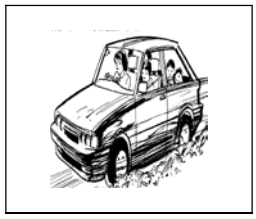
Thank you



I'm not coming

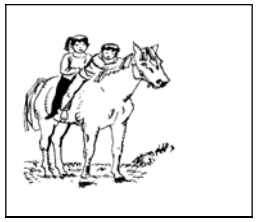


Mum



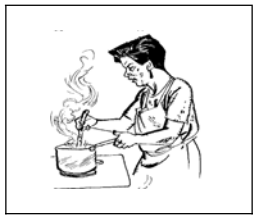
It will be great to finish

I really hope that Uncle Tamati lets



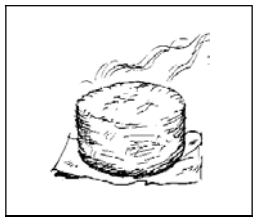
I'd love to go

It's great of Aunty Mihi to offer to

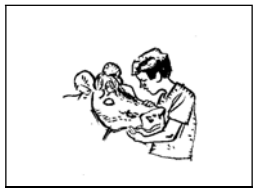


Tell her I'd love

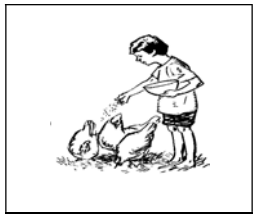
and



How is Pirimai? I'm looking forward

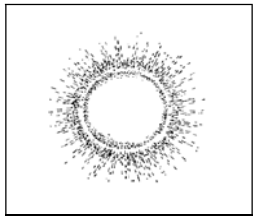


Don't worry,



I

If



Then we can

Love,

Hēmi.

On the Role of Literature and Translation in Language Maintenance

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Abstract

The paper investigates the actual and potential role which is played by the promotion of traditional and innovative literature in efforts to maintain minority language under threat from a dominant language. The arguments advanced in the controversy surrounding the incorporation of translated material in a minority language's corpus are discussed, and the view represented that the appropriateness or otherwise of translating material into a minority language depends on the (sometimes implicit) ideological goals of the maintenance movement. Fishman's (1991, 2001) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale provides a framework for this discussion.

Introduction

In recent decades, there has been greatly increased interest in the issue of what is now called Reversing Language Shift (RLS), as groups of people all over the world struggle to maintain their own languages in the face of pressure from dominant, even international languages. These efforts have in many cases been going on for a long time,[1] but the coordination of effort, the realisation that there are things to be learnt from other groups' experience, and the development of theoretical approaches to these efforts are more recent phenomena.

Two milestones in this development are two books by Joshua Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift* (1991), and its sequel and review, *Can threatened languages be saved?* (2001). In these, Fishman and other writers make use of a Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) of eight stages (see *Figure 1*), which facilitate assessment of a minority language's position, and help to identify targets for language planning and RLS activities.

These are not seen primarily as stages which one must achieve in succession. Rather they are diagnostic, allowing the assessment of a language's situation. Further, it is made clear that activities and achievements aimed at various stages may well contribute to improvement of a language's position with respect to other stages whether higher or lower on the scale. For instance, promotion of a language through the public media (levels 1 and 2) can have an impact on the extent to which it is reinforced as a community language (level 6). This notwithstanding, Fishman is insistent that stage 6 is crucial; without this, activities directed at higher stages will have little permanent impact in promoting use and maintenance of a threatened language.

Nor should one think that a stage once achieved cannot be lost. Māori has been a minority language in New Zealand for generations, but disruption of stage 6, intergenerational transmission within a community, has occurred only in the last 60 years.

***Figure 1**: Fishman's (2001, 466) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale*

STAGES OF REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT:
SEVERITY OF INTERGENERATIONAL DISLOCATION
(read from the bottom up)

1. Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nation-wide levels.
2. Local/regional mass media and governmental services.
3. The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen.
4a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.
4b. Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.

II. RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment

5. Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue transmission.
7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation.
8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL.

I. RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)

I do not propose to go further into the individual stages here. Readers who are interested in an assessment of the position of Māori in this respect, should consult Fishman's chapter in *RLS* (1991, pp. 230-51) and the Bentons' chapter in Fishman (2001) (Benton & Benton, 2001).

Rather I want to draw attention to the two captions provided in the scale. The lower set is labelled: *I. RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)*, and the higher: *II. RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment*

The keyword here is 'diglossia'. Originally used in English by Ferguson (1959) to designate the situation where two distinct forms of the same language are used in a society with distinct, societally determined roles, the term 'diglossia' is now used more widely to refer to the existence of different languages within a society, each with its own functions. In the present context, it refers to the juxtaposition of a minority language whose functions and roles are constrained and a dominant language which is the default language for any function. Aiming to achieve this position (label I) and aiming to transcend it (label II) are both possible goals of language planning for minority languages and represent the ideologies called by Keegan (to appear) 'domainist' and 'total-immersionist'.[2]

> Domainists advocate that the focus of Māori language revitalization efforts should be on the home, the marae, and in other areas of Māori community life which recently as a generation ago Māori still had a foothold. Māori already has established vocabulary (although subject to some dialectic (*sic*) variation) in these areas. It is clear that domainists do in fact support the use of Māori in school especially in communicative environments and in subjects such as language and the arts where there is sufficient traditional Māori vocabulary. However,

> they are likely to suggest that subjects such as the sciences and technology should be taught in a majority language. Authors such as Chrisp (1997) and Benton and Benton (1999) perhaps could be regarded as 'domainist'.
>
> Total immersionists, on the other hand advocate that as in the nineteenth century, Māori is capable of being used in all environments, including academic and technical contexts. All that is required to effect the use of Māori in all situations is the creation of new Māori terminology and suitable resources both human and material. Thus, tens of thousands of new Māori words are required in order to allow a full curriculum to be taught in Māori and to be able to use Māori in the sciences, technical areas and in new domains such as cyberspace. Groups such as kura kaupapa Māori and Te Taura Whiri, as evident by the propagation of catch phrases such as '*kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa, i ngā wāhi katoa*' literally 'speak Māori at all times, in all circumstances (places)' can be regarded as total immersionists.

Another expression for the broader goal here is 'normalisation'. This is a term used for policy goals in a number of European minority communities and refers to the establishment of the particular language as the norm for everyday use. That is, instead of being the marked choice conditioned by the content or setting of a linguistic exchange, the language becomes the default language. Its use is normal.

Notice that this does not entail that it will be used for all conceivable functions. Particularly, intergroup functions, functions as *lingua franca*, or special areas of international contact, e.g. air travel, scientific publishing and conferences, involve very few major languages, and increasingly as time goes on, only one.

'Normal' functions are all those which take place in everyday life within a community. This would of course include all the functions proper to the minority language under the diglossic model, but would further include many otherwise fulfilled by the dominant language as well, such as higher education, official transactions, courts, broadcasting, etc.

Cutting across these 'stages' is the familiar dichotomy of language planning as corpus planning and status planning. Defined by Kloss (1969, p. 81), who introduced the terms:

- **corpus planning** refers to all actions aiming at modifying the 'nature of the language itself'; e.g. terminological work, development of a standard, establishment of a uniform writing system.
- **status planning** is concerned with changes to the language's social status, e.g. extension of its domains of use, raising the language's prestige.

These might look like discrete activities, but in practice and even in theory, they are mutually dependent. A little thought will show how both corpus planning and status planning activities correspond to any of the levels of Fishman's GIDS.

Minority Language Literature

Within this whole spectrum, what I am particularly interested in is the role of literature, and the question of translation into the minority language. How can and does the promotion of traditional literature and the encouragement of modern production contribute to the goals mentioned above? What is the place of translations into minority languages?

Under literature I mean here not only any traditional literary genres which may be recorded or indeed still practised within a language, but also continuing use of the language for literary purposes, including new genres.

How far literature these days should including material produced for ephemeral media like television, rather than the printed format, I will leave open. Probably similar things can be said about the role of imaginative broadcast material as about literature in more traditional printed form.

Under translation, I intend all translation of documents into a minority language, including literary translation, but also translation of other documents, especially official papers, notices, pamphlets, etc.

In this discussion, I will draw in large part on the cases of Rhaeto-romansh in Switzerland, Galician in Spain and Māori in New Zealand.[3]

All three cases, though differing in detail, are situations of a minority language under pressure from a major language (German in Switzerland, Spanish in Galicia and English in New Zealand). In all three instances, there is a considerable body a recorded traditional literature and modern production, as well as a history of translation activity, so that the questions of interest here arise in fact as well as theory.

Māori Literature

Until some 150 years ago, Māori 'literature' was entirely orally transmitted. It consisted of a great variety of both prose and verse genres. Among the prose genres are to be found genealogy, history, cosmogonies, legends; verse genres, all sung, have their own particular typology.[4]

During the 19th century, considerable volumes of this orally transmitted material was committed to writing, in large part by Māori themselves. Some of the oral genres are still very much alive today, especially *karanga*,[5] oratory and the transmission of tribal histories. Song, both in traditional styles and the more modern 'action song' and *haka*[6] are still practised but usually with texts composed on paper.

Among more modern genres, childrens' literature, both translated and original, predominates, as a consequence of the initiatives in immersion education in recent decades (see Benton & Benton, 2001). There is also some poetry now composed on paper for reading, as well as written prose narrative, especially the retelling of traditional material and invention within traditional themes.

Galician Literature[7]

In the 12th and 13th centuries, Galician enjoyed an importance never parallelled since, as a vehicle of courtly lyric. With the political ascendancy of Castile, however, the

language entered a period of effective silence, called *os séculos escuros* ('the dark centuries') until the *Rexurdimento* ('resurgence') of the late 19th century, personified by Rosalía de Castro. Her initiative in publishing lyric in Galician was quickly followed by others, and since that time, there has been a flood of publication in all genres, especially lyric and novels. The production of literature suffered a setback during the time of the centrist regime of Franco and the Falange, but since the introduction of a new, federalist Spanish constitution and of greater regional independence and autonomy in the late 1970s and early 1980s, literary creativity in Galician has flourished, not least owing to substantial support from the Xunta de Galicia, the government of the autonomous region.

Rhaeto-romansh Literature[8]

There is substantial evidence of a long oral tradition of legends, fairy stories and folksongs, before the beginning of written literature. Folk drama is also a genre which seems to go back some considerable time. The earliest written literature of any size stems from the time of the humanists and reformation (16th century) and consists mostly of religious material. Creative literature is in evidence really only since the 19th century as part of romantic movement, but has flourished since that time with a steady stream of poetry, prose and dramatic compositions.

The Role of Minority Language Literature

Despite the different histories of these cases, there are two general points to make about literatures of languages in a minority position:

1. Literatures written in minority languages in contexts where the minority language's speakers (at least the adult population) are bilingual always sees itself consciously as defending and promoting the minority language. To write in Māori or Rhaeto-romansh is a political act as well as a cultural one. One's potential readers are in general literate in the dominant language and are exposed to literature in that language to a much greater extent than in the minority language.

> To write in French and hope to be read is a form of optimism. To write in Corsican and cling to the same hope is to dream in vain. (Rochiccioli, 1982, p. 9, cited in Jaffe, 1999, p. 42)

However, there is a wide-spread view that a literature in a language enhances its claim to a right to exist.[9] Certainly a literature in a language helps to establish that language's existence as both an *Ausbausprache* (language by development) and an *Abstandsprache* (language by distance of distinctness). These terms are also from Kloss (1969). While less relevant in the case of Māori or say Welsh, which are self-evidently languages, these factors are important in many other cases, where a minority language has to compete with a closely related and rather similar dominant language, similar to the extent that the minority language is often regarded as a dialect or 'degenerate' form of the dominant language, e.g. Galician vs. Castilian, Rhaeto-romansh vs. Italian.

At the very least the promotion of literature both by encouraging production and by ensuring its study in schools helps establish the autonomy of the minority language.

2. In any minority language situation, especially one characterisable as diglossic as above, the minority language will have associations. Trivially, for instance, use of Māori in New Zealand has associations with Māori culture and identity. Rhaeto-romansh in Switzerland has associations with rural settings, with mountains, farming, local community, concrete vs. German, which is seen more as global, industrial, sophisticated, abstract.

Production of literature or promotion of existing literature which fits these stereotypes and associations is called 'parallellism' (Haas, 1978) and is often looked upon as 'appropriate' and 'language-friendly', while literature produced in the minority language but outside these stereotypes (termed by Haas *dispareglia*z*iun* 'discrepancy') is often accused of disrespect for the language or dialect. However, literature produced in accordance with the stereotypical associations of the language in fact serves to reinforce these and to confirm the existing diglossia.

On the other hand, literature of this sort, whether traditional literature or recently produced literature in the same vein, can serve a very useful purpose in socialising children or even adults into the culture and ethnicity. This sort of function goes along with the ideological position widely held among people speaking minority languages that language, culture, ethnicity and identity go together. Let us note in passing, however, that this is not a necessary connection, and that this position is arguably a result of the western European ideology of the last two or so centuries underlying the equation of nationality and language (see for instance Jaffe 1999, p. 40).

Applied to New Zealand, this is the question whether Māori is a necessary part of Māori identity and culture. There is much rhetoric which asserts that it is, and that is indeed the motivation for efforts to preserve Māori and to promote its position within New Zealand. However, the fact remains that the majority of people who identify as Māori are monolingual in English, and that in a recent survey of attitudes, a majority disagreed with the statement that you have to speak Māori to be a real Māori (Boyce to appear).

This notwithstanding and whatever the ideological origins of the view, it is now widely held, especially within movements to preserve minority languages, that the respective minority language is an essential part of identity, and thus is inextricably tied in with other components of culture, many of which are transmitted through the traditional literature. Views such as 'Without Romansh stories and without Romansh songs in childhood, there are no true Romansh people'[10] point in this direction.

However, restricting one's literature to just this type of traditional material, as has been noted, serves only to confirm the status quo of the minority language in its relationship with the dominant language.

Thus to the extent that language planning goals aim at normalisation as above rather than simply maintenance or even establishment of a permanently diglossic situation, encouragement of literature of all kinds, including trivial, Mills & Boon, thrillers, comics, on wider themes than the stereotypical should be a policy item.[11]

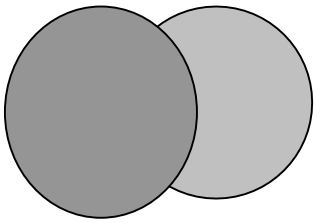
This relates not only to status planning, but also to corpus. The point is frequently made that the extension of literary production into new genres and new themes is an

effective means of language expansion. It develops new ways of expression, new vocabulary, confidence that the language is in fact capable of uses outside its original range (Haas, 1978, p. 56).

Translation

An issue which intersects with that of literature, is translation. Not all translation is literary, and not all literature, even in minority languages, is translated (*Figure 2*). Nonetheless, there is an overlap: literary translation, and in fact, much of the same considerations apply to any translation activity into a minority language, as seen with respect to literature generally.

***Figure 2**: The overlap of literature and translation*



What is striking is the level of translation that has been and still is carried on into some minority languages, but at the same time the fact that this is controversial.

In general, translation from one language to another serves the purpose on making available to the speakers of the target language a text which serves a particular function but to which they would not otherwise have access. This function may be to inform, to educate, to entertain, to persuade, to regulate. This was the role of translation for instance in much of the 19th century in New Zealand. Texts in Māori were created so that monolingual Māori speakers could have access to biblical, legal, instructional, etc. texts. The first real items in Rhaeto-romansh literature were biblical translations, done at the time of the reformation and counterreformation, to make these texts available to monolingual speakers of Rhaeto-romansh, in line with the view that scriptures should be available in the vernacular.

This is still true of translation of say French literature into English; this is done to make these works available to English speakers with insufficient French to read the original.

However, in many minority language situations, including all those discussed here, this is not the motivation in the present. There are no adult monolingual speakers of Rhaeto-romansh, all have good German as well. There are no adult monolingual speakers of Māori, all have English as well, and likewise *mutatis mutandis* for Galician *vis-à-vis* Castilian. Thus, translation, if it occurs, is not done because people would not otherwise have access to functionally equivalent documents in the dominant language. On the contrary, the resultant documents actually have a narrower range of readers/receivers than the original, and in fact, the range of reception for the original includes entirely that of the translated version. That is, all adults who could read the Rhaeto-romansh version of a document could read a German original, but not vice versa.

This is in fact one of the arguments advanced against translation into a minority language.

Thus, in many cases, translation into a minority language does not have a utilitarian motive. Rather, as with the production of original literature under these circumstances, the motive for translation is political (Jaffe, 1999, p. 43). Those who support translation do so because of their view of its implications for the status and corpus of the language. Thus the debate about translation fits into language planning in both aspects.

It is a debate in which the positions are adopted intuitively and in which much of the argument is by assertion. However, the idea I want to develop is that while there is perhaps no right or wrong in this matter, the issue of favouring translation versus regarding it with suspicion correlates with one's ideological position on the goals for the minority language as above (maintenance of diglossia, or normalisation).

Before returning to the types of argument expressed and to this general point, I want briefly to address the questions of what sorts of things are or have been translated into the minority languages discussed here, and by whom.

Translation into Māori

Much of the earlier translation into Māori was done by Pākehā, especially biblical and religious texts.[12] In 1858, *The Laws of England* were translated on orders of the then Governor-General, Gore-Browne, in order to make these available to HM's Māori subjects.

A little earlier,[13] Henry Tacy Kemp translated *Robinson Crusoe* and *A Pilgrim's Progress* on the instructions of George Grey. No preface gives the reason for this, but the choice of works is perhaps not insignificant, *Robinson Crusoe* being set on a Pacific island, and *A Pilgrim's Progress* an improving story about the Christian life.

Later appearances are a *Native School Reader* prepared in English by James Henry Pope and translated into Māori by Mrs Emily Way (1887), containing stories along the lines of Aesop's fables. This occurred at a time when Māori was no longer used in schools, so its translation cannot have been for the purpose of resourcing Māori tuition in schools.

Later, further legislation was translated, especially if of relevance to Māori, e.g. the *Māori Land Act 1909*.

More recently, two striking exercises in translation are literary, by Pei Te Hurinui, who translated Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* as *Te Tangata Whai-rawa o Weneti* (1946).

In the preface, Te Hurinui gives his reason for the translation:

> Tuatahi: He aroha ki tō tātou reo Māori;

> Tuarua: He hīkaka nō te ngākau kia mātakitaki tahi ngā mea o tātou kāore anō i whakarere i te reo o ngā tūpuna ki ngā kōrero whakapaipai o te reo Ingarihi.
> ...he reo hoki e taea ana te hopu ki roto ngā kōrero nunui o ngā iwi o te ao.
> (Firstly out of love for our language;
> Secondly, out of a desire that those who have not yet abandoned the language of the ancestors should have access to the works of art of English
> [Māori] is a language in which it is possible to capture the great literatures of the world.)

In 1975, Te Hurinui's translation of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* as *Ngā Rūpai'aha a Ōmā Kai'ama* in dual-text format appeared. In his scholarly preface about the original, Te Hurinui makes not reference to his reasons for producing this translation.

With these we are now in the territory of translation not required for utilitarian purposes. Despite what he says in his preface to the former work about access for Māori speakers, Te Hurinui's prime purpose is to make a point about Māori.

Much more recently, of course, there has been a lot of translation of informational and official documents, primarily from government sources. Again though, this is unlike the translation of the *Laws of England* in 1858, because access through English is available to all. The reason for making these translations is otherwise.

Finally, two recent literary translations deserve mention, both of them works originally written in English by Witi Ihimaera: *Pounamu Pounamu* and *Whale rider* have appeared in separate translated editions (Ihimaera, 1986, 1995).

Translation into Rhaeto-romansh

Translation of biblical and other religious material, as already mentioned, formed an important first step in the development of written literature in Rhaeto-romansh. In 1560, Jachiam Bifrun published his translation of the *New Testament*. This exercise encountered considerable opposition and in his preface Bifrun defends his action against arguments, such as that:

- Rhaeto-romansh is not a written language;
- his translation is no good;
- he did young people no good turn in providing a *New Testament* in Rhaeto-romansh for them to read, instead of encouraging them to learn German, Latin or Lombard.

Since then there has been much translation of biblical and religious material, and especially throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, translation of all kinds of literature has been going on, particularly of German works, but also from Italian, and to a lesser extent from other languages. Dante has been translated at least four times. It is estimated that in the 20th century, 30% of the novels, 16% of the stories, 49% of the children's literature, and 41% of the plays published in Rhaeto-romansh are

translations, over 2/3 from German, though the rate eased off towards the end of century (Riatsch, 1998).

Translation into Galician:

Since the *Rexurdimento* (late 19th century), a great deal of translation into Galician has been done, not just of Castilian works but from a range of European and American literature. This activity has been strongly supported by the regional government, the Xunta de Galicia. To gain an impression of the volume and range of works being translated into Galician, it suffices to look at the list in the following table (Table 1) of the translated works whose full texts are available for downloading at www.bivir.com:

***Table 1**: Works translated in Galician available at www.bivir.com*

Irving, Washington	*A experiencia do estudiante alemán*
Flaubert, Gustave	*A lenda de San Xulián o hospitalario*
Irving, Washington	*A lenda de Sleepy Hollow*
Wells, Herbert George	*A máquina do tempo*
Palamás, Kostís	*A morte do Palicari*
Balzac, Honoré de	*A obra mestra descoñecida*
Bellamy, Edward	*A Parábola do depósito de auga*
Halle, Adán de la	*A peza da enramada*
Halle, Adán de la	*A peza de Berto e María*
Andersen, Hans Christian	*A sombra*
Zola, Émile	*Acuso*
Bunin, Iván Alexéievitx	*Alamedas sombrías*
Thevet, André	*As singularidades da Francia antártica*
Maupassant, Guy de	*Bóla de sebo*
Bunin, Iván Alexéievitx	*Balada*
Perrault, Charles	*Barba Azul*
Alcoforado, Mariana	*Cartas de amor*
Shelly, Mary	*Conto do mortal inmortal*
Grimm, Xacob e Wilhelm	*Contos*
Maupassant, Guy de	*Contos*
Capek, Karel	*Crime nunha casa labrega*
Longo	*Dafnis e Cloe*
James, Henry	*Daisy Miller*
Boccaccio, Giovanni	*Decamerón*
Flaubert, Gustave	*HERODÍAS*
Rilke, Rainer Maria	*Na vida*
Balzac, Honoré de	*O coronel Chabert*
Maupassant, Guy de	*O Horlá*
	O mundo conforme el vai
Bunin, Iván Alexéievitx	*O outono frío*
Diderot, Dénis	*O sobriño de Rameau*
Voltaire	*O touro albo*
Rilke, Rainer Maria	*Pluma e sabre*
Irving, Washington	*Rip van Winkle*
Cicerón, Marco Tulio	*Sobre a amizade*
Cicerón, Marco Tulio	*Sobre a vellez*
Vinyoli, Joan	*Son home só*
Poe, Edgar Allan	*Tres domingos nunha semana*
Flaubert, Gustave	*Un corazón simple*
Swift, Jonathan	*Unha humilde proposta*
Caillié, René	*Viaxe a Tombuctú*
Stendhal	*Vittoria Accoramboni, Duquesa de Bracciano*
Rilke, Rainer Maria	*Wladimir, o pintor de nubes*

A similar picture is given by, for instance, an index of translations done in 1996:

- 15 novels including *Le Rouge et le Noir*, *I promessi Sposi*, novels by Poe, Dickens, Huxley, Scott;
- Poetry including the *Rubaiyat of Omar Kayyam*;
- Drama including works by Yeats, Pirandello;
- Considerable volumes of children's literature including Asterix, Yankee at the Court of King Arthur, Gulliver' travels, works by Roald Dahl, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.

Despite this activity, it is clear that translation is not uncontroversial. In the case of Rhaeto-romansh and Galician there has been considerable discussion in the literature on virtue of translation, as well as elsewhere.[14] In all the cases I have encountered the participants in the debate are committed to the health of the language and are themselves users of the language, but they differ in their view of the value for the language of the incorporation of translated literature. The debate tends, as said above, to be carried on by assertion and counter-assertion. This is I believe because the positions reflected in the debate arise from differing ideological positions comparable to the divisions in Fishman's GIDS. That is, they stem from different, sometimes not consciously held views of the goal of RLS.

Some of the arguments against the incorporation of translated literature

1. Translation is wasted effort,[15] since everyone can read the major language. Using Fishman's (1991) code of 'Xish' for the minority language and 'Yish' for the respective dominant language, this then applies not just to works originally in Yish but also to works from other languages of which there exist Yish translations. According to some commentators this is behind an observed drop-off in translation activity into Rhaeto-romansh in recent times (Cla Riatsch, personal communication), and a 'laziness' among Galician speakers in using the literature translated into their language (Anxo Tarrío Varela, personal communication; Dasilva 1999).

2. Translated literature introduces foreign content and thought. This is implicit in, for instance, discussion about the curriculum documents in Māori in New Zealand. It is alleged that they are translations of the corresponding English documents. In fact they are not, but were prepared by separate committees. However, the mere fact that the idea of their being translations is seen as somehow negative is telling. It goes with the position that the content of the English documents is foreign and somehow not appropriate for use in Māori-medium schools. Other instances of this sort of position include: 'it damages our language and oppresses our spirit and our character' (*fetschian donn al lungatg e smasien nies spért e nies caracter*. Riatsch & Walter, 1993, pp. 349ff.); 'Better bad and indigenous, than good and foreign' (*pli bugen schliet agen, che bien jester*. Giger 1983); '[translation is] imported foreign philosophy, the reproduction of outside identity' (Jaffe, 1999, p. 44).

3. The actual quality of translations does the language no favours (Giger, 1983). This point is of course not an argument against translation in principle but against some examples actually done. It is valid however to the extent that, unless a translator is very careful and highly skilled the result can be a work which is influenced by the original language to the extent of providing bad models of the minority language. A

good example of this is a trap that the translator of *Pounamu Pounamu* (Ihimaera, 1986, p. 26) fell into:

> 'He thinks he's the cat's whiskers' appears in the Māori as 'E pōhēhē ana ia ko te pāhau o te ngeru ia, nē?' (literally, 'he mistakenly believes that he is the beard of the cat, doesn't he?')

4. Translation from the dominant language acknowledges its control as source language of a text (Jaffe, 1946). That is, the minority language is seen as subservient to the dominant language, in that the dominant language 'owns' the text. This then serves to reinforce the subordinate position of the minority language. This argument was advanced in a discussion of the value of translated French works into Corsican. In the same debate, the translators and their supporters in fact turned the argument round, as below.

Arguments used in favour of translation

1. Non-literary: why translate government publications and laws etc. into the minority language? Surely, this is an area where there is definitely no point in translation. All adult speakers of Rhaeto-romansh, Galician, Welsh, Māori are at least equally literate in the dominant language of their countries and thus have equal access to information.

Such translation is very much part of the status of a minority language. Again quoting the Corsican debate, '...translation of official and legal documents as a way of asserting [the] right to cultural and linguistic difference and the government's responsibility to legitimize [the] language and culture' (Jaffe, 1999, p. 43). Others have put it this way: translation out of a language recognises its right to exist; translation into a language recognises its capacity (corpus) and worthiness (status) to carry the contents in question (Meyer, 1998).

Many commentators represent the view that translation into a language is an important part of corpus development, confronting the language with new content and asserting is ability to cope, as well as developing that ability through the act of translation (Haas, 1978; Meyer, 1998; Riatsch, 1998; Riatsch & Walter, 1993).

2. Literary. In the case of literary translation, at its strongest in Galicia among the groups I have seen, though Rhaeto-romansh is a close second, an important motive for translation is to use the minority language as a means of access to the literary treasures of the world. Particularly in Galicia, where literacy in Castilian is very high (relatively speaking; apparently Spaniards as a whole do not read a great deal), translation is done so that Galician may assume the role of providing access to the classics (Latin and Greek)[16] and literatures of other languages. At the same time, the point is constantly made that translation of all sorts enriches the host language. In particular, translation of foreign literature serves not only to enrich the language by confronting it with content not perhaps usually dealt with in that language, but also to enrich the literature of the minority language itself by introducing new genres.

Conclusion

All of these arguments both positive and negative have merit, and in fact are consistent with a position that wants to see the respective minority language survive.

However, it seems to me that though the views are opposed, one cannot simply refute one or the other position by asserting its opposite. Both sets of views are right in that they follow from the premises assumed. In particular, it seems to me that arguments against incorporating translation into a literature or even translating generally are consistent with the diglossic ideology, which sees the goal of language maintenance as the confirmation of the minority language as the language of particular domains and content. Pro-translation arguments on the other hand go more with an ideology which sees the goal of language planning for the minority language as its normalisation.

To the extent that this is true, one could anticipate that views about the desirability or otherwise of translation will vary from individual to individual depending on their implicit aims for their language, but also from language community to language community depending on how a language measures up in terms of the GIDS. If its status is largely characterised by features in the bottom set, and its representation above the line is weak, then language maintenance efforts and goals will aim initially at consolidating a diglossic situation. Activities will be encouraged which emphasise the special and different nature of the language and culture in contrast to that of the dominant language.

Where however the goal, whether explicit or implicit, of language planning is normalisation, then there will be conscious efforts to expand the language's domains into areas previously carried by the dominant language. It may thus be that there is no right or wrong answer to the question whether translated literature has a place in a minority language's culture. Rather both positions are appropriate, depending on the stage at which a language finds itself and the ideology driving maintenance.

Endnotes

[1] See for instance the cases of Welsh and Rhaeto-romansh, where the consciousness of the need to preserve these languages against the inroads of English and German respectively finds expression already in the 19th century.
[2] The adoption of one or the other of these goals will depend partly on a thorough assessment of what is achievable, given the present status of the minority language in terms of the GIDS, but also partly on ideological considerations, such as one's view of the role of the language in establishing ethnic identity and defining the other.
[3] For summaries of the situations of these languages within their respective environments, see Harlow, 2000a and Baur, 1996 for Rhaeto-romansh; Xunta de Galicia, 1998 for Galician; and the chapters referred to above in Fishman, 1991 and 2001 for Māori.
[4] On traditional Māori genres and for examples of these types, see, for instance, Biggs, 1997; Harlow, 2000b; McLean & Orbell, 1975; Ngata, 1959; Ngata & Te Hurinui, 1961, 1970; Orbell, 1968, 1977, 1992; Thornton, 1999.
[5] Highly structured calling performed by women on specific occasions such as the encounter of guests and hosts during a welcome ceremony.
[6] Often glossed as 'dance', *haka* is a range of verse genres accompanied by often vigorous bodily gestures, see Kāretu, 1993.
[7] See especially Tarrío Varela, 1998.
[8] See especially Deplazes, 1991.
[9] Cf. for instance, the well-known claim of P. Lansel, *Üna lingua po comprovar seis dret d'existenza be tras üna litteratura originala* ('A language can prove its right to exist through an original literature'), widely cited, see for instance Riatsch, 1998.
[10] Rina Steier, former editor of *Pagina da Surmeir*, a Rhaeto-romansh newspaper, cited in Deplazes, 1991, p. 21.
[11] See for instance arguments for this position in Haas, 1978, pp. 57-60.
[12] For a good picture of early texts in Māori generally, see Williams, 1975.
[13] Appearance dates: 1852 and 1854 respectively, though actual translation work started in 1848 cf. Kemp, 1989, pp. 83-4
[14] See for instance Jaffe, 1999 for an account and interpretation of controversy surrounding translations from French into Corsican.
[15] Cf. Giger, 1983

[16] See especially the series *Clásicos en Galego* published by the Xunta. A wide range of works of classical antiquity has already appeared. See Pociña, 1997.

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Whanaungatanga: an illustration of the importance of cultural context

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Abstract

The word 'whanaungatanga' is often used by people who lack an intimate understanding of the philosophical base in Māori culture out of which it emerges. Thus, it is sometimes used simply to describe the camaraderie that can be associated with team sports or with reference to the 'glue' that connects people to one another socially. This is not necessarily a problem in itself. After all, change and development in the lexicon is a characteristic of living languages. However, real problems can emerge where words become divorced from their cultural roots to such an extent that two speakers using the same word can completely fail to understand one another. It is argued here that this is what can happen when Māori words, such as 'whanaungatanga', are used in the context of modelling in the social sciences, particularly where that modelling is conducted in the context of Western social and cultural values. In particular, the essential spiritual dimension of *whanaungatanga* may be overlooked or misunderstood.

Whanaungatanga: dictionaries and glossaries

In view of the fundamental nature of the concept of *whanaungatanga,* it is interesting to note that both *whanaungatanga and whakawhanaungatanga* are omitted from Barlow's glossary of key concepts (Barlow, 1991), Williams' dictionary of the Māori language (Williams, 1992) and Salmond's study of lexical sets in terms of values and value-relationships (Salmond, 1978). There are several possible explanations for this omission. It may be, for example, that both Barlow and Williams believed that the meaning of the concept could be recovered from the meanings of its component parts. This explanation is, however, an unlikely one: complex concepts rarely have meanings that are recoverable directly from the meanings of their component parts, particularly where these components themselves have a variety of senses. Thus, for example, 'whānau' is defined by Williams (1992, p. 487) under the heading of 'verb' and 'noun' as follows:

1. v. i. *Be born*….
2. *Be in childbed*….
3. n. *Offspring, family group*….
4. *Family.* (mod.)…
5. A familiar term of address to a number of people . . .

On the other hand, 'whanau' is defined as:

1. v.i. *Go.*
2. *Lean, incline, bend down.*

'Whanaunga' is defined as a 'relative' or 'blood relation' (p. 487) and '-tanga' is defined in the following terms as a suffix:

> … passive termination, ***tanga,*** which is sometimes added to a verb or to an adverb qualifying a passive verb, and apparently indicates a rapid sequence of events….
>
> A noun denoting the fact, circumstance, time or place or action of a verb may be formed by adding one of the suffixes *nga, anga, hanga, kanga, manga, ranga,* ***tanga****, inga,…*
>
> Similar nouns may be formed from nouns, adjectives, or participles and denote the fact, etc., of being, or of becoming, the thing or of the quality or the condition indicated by the original word.
>
> (Williams, 1992, p. xxxvi).

It is important to note here that the definitions of 'whānau' and 'whanaunga' make no reference to values or beliefs.

Also relevant is Williams' definition of 'whaka-' in that 'whaka-' is often combined with *whanaungatanga* as *whakawhanaungatanga:*

> Whaka- (ii), causative prefix; probably connected with the previous word.
>
> 1. Combined with an intransitive verb, an adjective or participle to form an intransitive verb, it signifies a beginning of, or approach to, the action or condition indicated….
> 2. Combined with a noun to form an intransitive verb, it signifies the assumption of the character or form expressed by the noun….
> 3. As a strict causative it may combine with a verb, adjective, participle or noun to form a transitive verb . . . Other varieties and shades of meaning will be found under the word to which **whaka** is prefixed in each case.
>
> (Williams, 1992, p. 486.)

The omission of references to values and beliefs and the diversity of grammatical meanings associated with '-tanga' are such as to make it impossible to recover from Williams' dictionary any real sense of the word '*whanaungatanga'.*

What are the possible explanations for the fact that the concept of *whanaungatanga* is omitted from Barlow's glossary of key concepts and Williams' dictionary of the Māori language? One possible explanation is that neither Barlow nor Williams regarded the concept as being relevant to traditional Māori society in spite of the fact that it is commonly now used with reference to those inter-relationships that give thematic meaning to society. Another possible explanation relates to the availability, and use, of sources. Thus, for example, Barlow sources much of his material from the Te Hikutū hapu of the Hokianga district of Tai Tokerau. It may be that this particular hapu chose not, in communicating, to emphasise *whanaungatanga* or, indeed, the concept that is represented elsewhere by the word 'whanaungatanga' may not generally be expressed by the use of that particular word by that hapu. Equally, Barlow, as a male, may not have had full access to the narratives of females and of the young. Finally, it is possible that the concept of *whanaungatanga* is so pervasive and so deeply embedded within Māori culture that it seems to some to be unnecessary to

gloss it. The fact that Salmond (1978), whilst omitting any direct reference to *whanaungatanga,* nevertheless includes references to a range of values associated with *whanāu* that many have associated with *whanaungatanga* suggests that this last explanation may be the most likely one.

Defining *whanaungatanga* by use and association

The centrality of *whanaungatanga* to the Māori world view is evidenced by the fact that it is referred to, directly or indirectly, in a wide range of different contexts, where its meaning emerges through association rather than explicit definition. Thus, for example, Salmond (1975) notes that the commonalities and differences in relationships in the Māori world are acknowledged and tested in rituals of encounter, formal and informal. Rangihau (1992) notes that all of the diverse aspects contained within *whanaungatanga* are fundamental to Māori identity. In seeking to identify structures that can be useful to Māori in discussing development processes, Durie (1998) associates *whanaungatanga* with the term 'haputanga'. In discussing those things that need to be taken into account in designing a 'management framework' that accommodates identity, Moeke-Pickering (1996) identifies both traditional *whānau* (kinship), and contemporary *whānau* (kinship as the consequence of urbanisation). For Bishop (1996), the term *whakawhanaungatanga* is fundamental to the establishment of collaborative processes in research.

The approaches of non-Māori academics to the concept of *whanaungatanga*

Ritchie (1992) claims that *whanaungatanga* is derived from a combination of *whānau* (‘family…or body of close kin, whether linked by blood, adoption or fostering’), *nga* (as a generalised extension of *whānau*) and *tanga* (‘a process concept concerned with everything about relationships between kin’). On this basis, he describes *whanaungatanga* as the "basic cement that holds things Māori together" (p. 67), noting, however, that there can be no simple, straightforward translation of terms standing for complex concepts.

Ritchie introduces *whanaungatanga* in an interrelated grid of value processes (processes that include *manaakitanga, kotahitanga*, *rangatiratanga,* and, finally, *wairuatanga* as an overall governing principle). He argues that none of these terms has a simple translation and that, furthermore, the use of any one of them draws upon a host of meanings linked to the others. Thus, the use of the word *'whanaungatanga'* would involve indirect reference to themes associated with *wairuatanga* (spirituality), *manaakitanga* (responsibility for hospitality, reciprocity and caring), *rangatiratanga* (hierarchy, structure and authority within the group), and *kotahitanga* (the collective unity of the group)[1].

In spite of Ritchie's approach, Metge (1995) argues that in traditional usage the term 'whanaunga' was restricted to "relatives . . . connected by descent and sometimes by marriage"(p.52). Citing Williams (1971), she argues that this word is not derived from 'whānau' (in any of the senses listed by Williams) but, instead, that it is related to 'whanau' in the sense of 'leaning together'.

Looking again at the concept of *whanaungatanga*

All of the approaches to the origin and meaning of the word 'whanaungatanga' that have so far been discussed raise issues and questions. Metge (1995) and Ritchie (1992) disagree about the etymology of *whanaungatanga.* Ritchie provides no

justification for his own assumptions regarding origins. Metge (1995) makes reference to the categories used by Williams (1992) in seeking to explain its origins. She draws selectively on his definitions of 'whānau' and 'whanau', failing to provide any adequate rationale for the conclusions she reaches. Although each of the meanings to which she refers is in current usage, it would be dangerous to assume that all of them were also all necessarily present in pre-European times. Critically, the very selection of some categories rather than others runs counter to that association of related meanings that is fundamental to the concept itself. In any case, although a number of meanings are listed separately and may, to those unfamiliar with Māori culture, appear unrelated, those who are familiar with the culture will appreciate their inter-relatedness in terms of common descent and common goals and activities. Furthermore, since the meanings of words are rarely, if ever, simply the sum of the meanings of their parts, there is always potential danger associated with the use of etymology to elucidate meaning.

An important aspect of Ritchie's account is that he cautions against a search for simple translations and stresses the significance of value relationships. Even so, accepting the significance of value relationships, important though it is, is not the same thing as communicating the real nature of the values themselves or the culturally-specific ways in which they assume additional shades of meaning through these relationships.

Te Rangihiroa, writing in 1925, pointed out the dangers of accepting definitions and explanations that are not culturally rooted (p. 101):

> Much error already has been handed on in ethnological writings through inexact translations of Māori words. In cases where the European and Māori look at a question from an entirely different viewpoint, the use of particular English words often gives to the general European reader the impression that the Māori shares the view that the word conveys to him; when in reality their views may be as divergent as the poles.

Writing as a counsellor firmly rooted in a traditional Maniapoto background, Tuti Aranui (Barrett-Aranui, 1999) locates *whanaungatanga* in relation to the complex inter-relationships - social, cultural, spiritual and ancestral - that characterise her own situation. Taking the cues from her own ancestral house, Te Tokanganui-ā-noho (located in the King Country township of Te Kuiti) and locating herself in terms of her "femaleness, age, [64 years] and subtribal (hapu) responsibilities" (p. 4), she describes a web of inter-related aspects of life processes. These processes are governed from within the four sub-tribal areas of Maniapoto. They concern the spiritual essence and physical placement of objects and involve protocols, histories, genealogy (whakapapa) and role responsibilities and duties. Implicit in the account are the many subjective experiences of processes that constitute, for Tuti Aranui, the holistic concept of inter-relationship that is *whanaungatanga*. Her account, grounded as it is in Māori wisdom, provides that cultural and spiritual resonance that is fundamental to understanding. In locating *whanaungatanga* in terms of physical, cultural and spiritual being, it both simplifies and clarifies a concept that so many writers have struggled to define.

Thus, *whanaungatanga* can be seen as a concept that varies depending on context. Although it always involves value processes that are inter-related, the nature of the

issues involved in any particular instance of use will activate these inter-related value processes in different ways, allowing for different emphases on different occasions. Underlying any specific emphasis, however, will always be at least six value sets: *take/kaupapa* (principles associated with the dependent issue), *whakapapa* (principles associated with descent), *wairuatanga* (principles associated with spiritual embodiment), *manaakitanga* (principles associated with duties and expectations of care and reciprocity), *kotahitanga* (principles associated with collective unity), and *rangatiratanga* (principles associated with governance, leadership and the hierarchal nature of traditional Māori society).

Whanaungatanga and modelling in the social sciences

Any principled *whanaungatanga* model designed for use in the context of the social sciences must include reference to at least the six value processes referred to above. However, the complex nature of these values and, in particular, their inter-relatedness, means that great care must be exercised in model construction. Even so, designing a model based on the concept of *whanaungatanga* has considerable potential notwithstanding the fact that such a model is likely to conflict with models based on Western thinking, particularly in the area of *wairuatanga*. Although contemporary Western approaches to model building in the social sciences do not necessarily exclude spiritual values, there has been a tendency for them not to do so, a tendency that has been associated with scientific and academic analysis since Descartes (Foster, 1991). So far as *tikanga* Māori is concerned, any omission of the spiritual dimension would wholly invalidate the model.

In the Māori cosmology, there is a relationship between the spiritual realm and the physical world, the former being reflected in the latter. The relationship between the cosmological *whānau* and the earthly *whānau* is fundamental (Walker, 1990). It includes the primary principal *Io,* the secondary principals *Ranginui* (sky father) and *Papatūānuku* (earth mother) and their various offspring, and provides the foundation of spiritual, psychological, emotional and physical ways of being. For some Māori, what Walker (1990) refers to as the 'Maui/Tāwhaki cycle' is fundamental; for all Māori, demi-god cycles involving *mana* (power and authority emanating from the Gods) are critical and expressive of relationships within the *whānau* (Marsden, 1975). Among the responsibilities and duties of reciprocity are *tuākana- tēina, tūpuna - mokopuna, tāne - wāhine, tungāne - tuāhine;* among those of care and protection are *aroha* and *manaakitanga*.

With reference to social anthropology, Metge (1995) describes the principles of *whānau* in relation to sets of *whakaaro nui* (great ideas) in terms of values. Perhaps, *mātua whakaaro* (foundation concepts) might be a more appropriate choice than *whakaaro nui*. Irrespective of the choice of terminology, the fact remains that *whānau* is a term which can have a range of associated values. From this point of view, it could be said that *whānau* has a default set of values which is associated with a range of inter-related values. Which of these values are given priority in any particular instance will be determined on the basis of circumstances and context. Importantly, whatever the situation should be in relation to such priorities, the concept of *whanaungatanga* includes within itself all of them, and central to all of them is subjective experience. However, because Western approaches to knowledge have difficulty in accommodating subjectivity, including *whanaungatanga* in social science modelling can create considerable potential for conflict, misunderstanding and even

misrepresentation. What is at stake here is the validity of the Māori world view. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that simplistic interpretations of *whanaungatanga* are resented. From a Māori perspective, paying lip service to the concept of *whanaungatanga* represents cultural colonisation at its worst. Those who make use of the word must, therefore, recognise the implications of doing so. These implications include an acceptance of the fact that collective subjectivity and spiritual causality will be fundamental to applications and will be at the very core of social interventions. Thus, whether approaches to *whānau* are issue-orientated *(take/kaupapa)* or descent orientated *(whakapapa),* the associated values resonate and have a fundamental impact on meaning and interpretation.

Whanaungatanga and the process of evaluation: an example

With reference to the concept of *whanaungatanga*, Bishop (1996) has analysed Huata Homes' evaluation of the impact of (a) the *Taha Māori* programme, and (b) *Mahi Tū Tonu* (a compendium of resources for the Taha Māori program) on schools in Otago and Southland. What this analysis reveals is that approaches based on *whanaungatanga* can be both appropriate and successful. Unfortunately, however, the academic context within which Bishop's critique is located means that a range of important aspects of the approach, and of the principles underlying it, are not given full recognition. Some of these will be the focus of attention here.

Taha Māori was a programme initiated by the Department of Education in the 1980s in answer to requests from both Māori and non-Māori educators that the status of *tangata whenua* (original inhabitants) in Aotearoa be acknowledged. Its implementation was inevitably affected by two significant government policies: *Tomorrow's Schools* (with its devolution of power to local Boards of Trustees), and the requirement that schools should reflect the *Treaty of Waitangi* in their principles and operations.

So far as schools in Otago and Southland were concerned, the operation of the *Taha Māori* programme had been criticised for the following reasons:

- Lack of clear goals and guidelines and appropriate resources;
- Colonisation processes leading to serious neglect of Southern Māori *tikanga* (customary practices);
- Pakeha 'capture' (and, hence, misrepresentation) of Māori knowledge;
- Resource allocations that privileged non-Māori;
- Use of resources that did not adequately reflect the local *iwi,* thus leading to cultural homogenisation and, hence, a 'generic' view of Māori that was unacceptable to *tangata whenua*.

In 1992, Huata Holmes began an evaluation of the *Taha Māori* programme as put into practice in Otago and Southland. Importantly, Huata Homes is a *kaitiaki* of the Southern Māori *tikanga,* acknowledged as a *kaumātua* of Kai Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, and Waitaha. He was at that time also an adviser to the Education Department at the University of Otago and to the research group *te Rōpu Rangahau Tikanga Rua.*

Huata Holmes began his evaluation by a courtesy phone call to the schools followed by a letter of introduction in which he explained what he hoped might be achieved and

made suggestions in relation to who might be involved in the process. The agenda and the final decision about who to include was left to the schools themselves.

Hui were attended by Holmes as a member of a small group *(ope whakaeke),* a group in which there was always at least one woman. The members of that group were visitors *(manuhiri);* the school was the host. In the protocols of encounter, Holmes established his connections, connections "between himself, the landscape, the schools, the local communities and the teachers" (Bishop, 1995, p. 83). An important detail omitted by Bishop in his analysis is that the *karakia* invoked spiritual connectedness and correctness of purpose, invocations that were a significant part of the ritualised welcome (pōwhiri). The central purpose of the *hui* was then addressed, with the discussion continuing until understanding was reached, the quality and integrity of that understanding being itself susceptible to analysis. Thus, the term 'value' could be applied both to process and outcome in line with the concept of *pono* (authenticity, truth).

Fundamental to Holmes' approach were the principles of listening and being attentive (*whakarongo),* making observations *(titiro)* and speaking and questioning *(kōrero)*. In this way, the credibility of both the researcher and the researched were enhanced. The informants were neither directly challenged nor belittled. The sharing of experiences (researcher and informants) was based on the principles of collective oneness (*kotahitanga)* and reciprocity (*manaakitanga).*

That there was a need for resources arising out of the *tikanga* of Southern Māori became clear as a result of the discussions. Hence, a resource development project was jointly initiated, the agreement being that the *tapu* (sacred nature, significance) of these resources (mainly stories) would be protected by use of the Southern Māori dialect: although the resources would be available to all who desired them, the greatest benefit would derive to those who were sufficiently committed to seek to achieve competence in the Southern dialect. Thus, the projects that emerged were bound into the *tikanga* by the processes of *whakawhanaungatanga.* In a reciprocal relationship, the *tikanga* demonstrates the *whanaungatanga,* and the *whanaungatanga* demonstrates the *tikanga.*

The dangers inherent in the use of whanaungatanga as a process

Because all things (every person, animal, plant, rock and thought) have their own *mauri* (essence, potential, essential life force), acknowledgment of the particular *mauri* associated with any project is an essential aspect of an approach that is motivated by whanaungatanga (Marsden, 1975). We have seen (see *5.0* above) an example of a successful process based on w*hanaungatanga.* Critical to that success was the fact that the *mauri* of the project was fully acknowledged. In any process based on w*hanaungatanga*, concession to an alternative ideology (in the form of, for example, an attempt to integrate it with processes based on Western scientific method) is unacceptable: it affects the *mauri* of the project thus rendering it inauthentic and, hence, invalid.

Conclusion

Attempts to define Māori words using English are doomed to failure: such definitions imply a type of cultural congruity that simply does not exist. Equally, attempts to define words in terms of their supposed etymology is unlikely to be successful: the

meanings of a word are more than the sum of the parts from which they may have originally derived. In the case of a complex concept such as the one symbolised by the word 'whanaungatanga', understanding is an integrated process that takes fully into account a range of related concepts. Furthermore, it involves a willingness to accept the importance of the role played by personal experiences in deciding, in particular contexts of use, whether some of the inter-related values involved are to be given more emphasis than others. Where *whanaungatanga* is used within the context of subjective value processes to underlie intervention, the integrity of these processes is dependent upon adherence to Māori principles at all stages. Should philosophical principles or structural approaches derived from any other source be allowed to play a role, the *mauri* of the process will be damaged and the outcomes will, therefore, be unlikely to be satisfactory.

He Tauparapara:

Tihei Mauriora
Ki te whai ao ki te ao mārama
E manawa mai te putanga a te Ariki
E manawa mai hoki te putanga he tauira
He tauira putanga Ariki no runga
Ki te whai ao ki te ao mārama
Whano whano
Hara mai te toki
Hui e,
Haumi e,
Taiki e.

Endnote

[1.] "Ass. Prof. Ray Harlow (email dated 27.09.2001) traces thru the proto-language of Polynesia the direct relationship between 'fanau' (short 'a') and 'fānau' (long 'a') - both related to 'family', i.e. those of common parentage - in his opinion, leading to the present-day Māori 'whānau' (long ‘a’) and its direct relationship with 'whanaunga' and 'whanaungatanga' (both short ‘a’). On a confirming note one Maniapoto kaumātua asserts, 'Whanaunga has as direct a relationship with whānau as hua has with huānga!' That is, the importance of the inter -relationship is retained through the context of his Tikanga Māori.".

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HĒMI WHAANGA INTERVIEWS ECI NABALARUA

Eci Nabalarua arrived from Fiji early in 2001 to take up a position at the University of Waikato. She quickly made such a positive impression on staff and students that Hemi Whaanga, Assistant Production Editor, decided to interview her to see whether he could discover the secret of her success. His conclusion: She genuinely likes people and really believes in what she's doing.

Background: Eci Kikau Nabalarua is an indigenous Fijian who is currently a senior lecturer and Head of Department of Development Studies at the University of Waikato in Aotearoa, New Zealand

When did you begin your new job as senior lecturer in Development Studies?

March 2001

How well did you know Aotearoa/ New Zealand before you applied for the job?

Only what I read from books and gleaned from the media.

What attracted you to this particular job?

The fact that they were looking for someone who had had experience in the area of indigenous development.

Would you tell us a little about your origins, your own culture and your previous teaching and learning experiences?

I am an indigenous Fijian. My three brothers and I are the offspring of a traditionally arranged marriage. The genealogical tree of both my parents incorporates men and women of important bearing and leadership stature in the community: while they have been of the chiefly class, their strengths lay in the values of service and of serving which has always been the basis of our own upbringing at home.

I did much of my schooling at Levuka Public School and at a very young age I was sent off to board with the European headmaster and his wife during the school week and then taken back to the provincial compound to spend the weekend with my parents. You can imagine what it was like to spend this time away from my parents especially when I was only six. But I was told by my father that it was important that I learned to read and speak English properly. That was it!! Since then, I've been around. I did my first degree (BA) at USP in Suva, my MA at the University of Reading in the UK and my PhD at ANU, in Canberra, Australia.

I know that you are married and have children. Could you tell me how your husband and children are settling in to life here?

My family is settling in well. We're slowly acclimatising to NZ and the two girls have adapted well too to the schools over here.

I understand that you were made Head of Department shortly after you arrived. It must be very difficult to cope with administrative responsibilities of this kind in a new institution whose procedures you are unfamiliar with at the same time as coping with a new teaching job. How is it going?

Well the demands of the job are not totally new to me. Although I've been in this particular job for less than a year, I've actually been involved in university teaching for just over twenty years so I have some experience of senior university management work and of the administrative duties that come with it. Many of the procedures are generic in nature and it does not take long to come to terms with any local differences. In terms of teaching, the undergraduate and postgraduate development studies courses available here at Waikato are similar in nature to those I have taught before. In short, so far, so good.

All of the students seem to agree that your lectures are exciting and thought-provoking. Where did you learn your teaching skills?

My own philosophy in life is based on a couple of core values. Firstly, I believe in value added education. I like to start from where the students are at and move them forward from there, treating each student as an individual. Secondly, I am a people person who values interpersonal and communication skills: both of these are reflected in my methods of teaching and styles of delivery. My years of experience in university teaching have given me the opportunity to try out new forms and new techniques in the search for ways of enhancing the skills and knowledge bases of the students as well as ways of building positive attitudes towards learning and intellectual development.

Could you tell us a little about your research (past and present)?

I have previously worked in the area of rural women in development: socio-economic audits of communities and traditional sayings of Fijian culture have been fundamental to this work. I am currently interested in gender, governance and economic empowerment, traditional leadership and social change, HRM and productivity in the workplace, sustainable community development, migrant communities in NZ and leadership and strategic management.

Working in the School of Māori and Pacific Development means that you are surrounded every day by Māori language and culture. Although you yourself are a member of an indigenous society, this must sometimes be challenging as well as exciting and interesting. Are there any specific challenges relating to coming to terms with working in a Māori context that you would like to share with us?

The greatest challenge for me is being able to find appropriate ways of serving in a Maori context. While I may not speak the reo, there are common threads that bind us in terms of our united stand on what it means to be *tangata whenua* and our perception of our role in bringing about the fulfilment of the dreams and aspirations of *tangata whenua.* Out of this common vision arises a sense of solidarity. If there is a piece of advice that has kept me going and which I'd like to share it is this: Know

yourself and be proud of who you are. Never try to be what you're not and don't assume things that can never be. Only take what is rightfully yours and never give what was never yours in the first place. Always be humble because humility is an act of courage not cowardice and reflects great strength, never weakness. Be thankful for each new day that dawns on the horizon, and always be prepared to serve and to give from the heart.

What do you miss most about life in Fiji?

My family and working with the *tangata whenua* in my province, especially the rural women.

What has been your happiest or most rewarding experience in life?

My family and the many blessed opportunities that have come my way.

If you could have exactly what you wanted in life, what would it be?

To see world peace and a more human(e) approach to the protection of our environment.

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.

Associate Professor Hirini Melbourne
Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

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

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

Te Tari Māori

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

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

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

Development Studies

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

Te Tīmatanga Hou

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

Te Whakapiki i Te Reo

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

Centre for Māori and Pacific Development Research

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

Māori Student Academic Advisory Centre (MSAAC)

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

Guidelines for Final Submission of Article for JMPD

General

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

Title

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

Abstract

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

Headings

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

References within the text

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

Endnotes

Endnotes are indicated within the text by a number[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.

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

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

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

Policy regarding use of the macron

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

Submission

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

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

Acknowledgments

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