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TE PUĀWAITANGA O TE PUAWĀNANGA

EDITORIAL

It is a real pleasure to act as guest editor for this issue of *He Puna Kōrero*, an issue in which the focus is on the close analysis of language in context from a range of different perspectives and using a range of techniques.

The first article, by Ngaere Houia-Roberts, reports on the results of the analysis of texts written in Maori by highly competent users of the language. Half of the texts analysed belong to the argument text-type, the other half to the information report text-type. The results of this study complement the author's earlier genre-based study of authentic texts written in Maori (reported in the last issue of this journal). Dr Houia-Roberts' research is primarily motivated by a desire to make a contribution to the maintenance and revitalisation of the Maori language. The next stage of the work – the translation of her research findings into teaching resources – is something that is likely to be of very real value to those who teach Maori and those who teach academic subjects through the medium of Maori.

The research of Raukura Roa, the author of the second article in this issue, arises out of a desire to extend and develop current understanding of the aesthetics of waiata Maori. Her study of the discourse structuring of songs and chants commemorating the deceased (*waiata tangi*) lays the foundation for an approach that could be applied to Maori verbal arts more generally, an approach that could prove extremely productive.

For Tom Roa, a careful examination of the ways in which translation can be used to support colonisation provides insights that are central to his approach to providing ethically-grounded training for indigenous translators. Ethics is also at the core of Rangiiria Hedley's use of prototype theory to unpack culturally embedded concepts that are critical to the ways in which we negotiate cross-cultural understandings and establish culturally acceptable practices.

Finally, for Codrina Cozma from the United States of America, post-colonial scholarship provides an approach to understanding the complex nature of the character and actions of Joe Gillayley, a central male character in Keri Hulme's novel, *The Bone People*. One of the most interesting aspects of this article is that it demonstrates the important role that literature can play in communicating meanings and values across cultures.

It has been a pleasure and a privilege to put this collection of articles together and I hope that readers will enjoy them as much as I have.

Dr Winifred Crombie
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An analysis of the rhetorical organisation of selected authentic Māori texts belonging to the text-types *argument* and *information report*

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Abstract

I report here on the findings of an analysis of the overall rhetorical structure of authentic Māori texts belonging to two different text-types – *argument* and *information report* – which were written by highly competent users of the language. I also suggest ways in which this type of analysis could underpin the development of teaching resources designed for Māori-medium educational settings.

Introduction

In the last issue of this journal, I discussed authentic text segments written in Māori by educated users of the language and the relevance of the analysis of these text segments to the education of students in Māori-medium settings (Houia-Roberts, 2003, pp. 65-99). In that article, I provided a critical review of literature on both genre and text-type, indicating that what is referred to as 'genre' in some of the works reviewed is referred to as 'text-type' in others. I indicated there that I preferred to use the term 'genre' with reference to cognitive processes (e.g. arguing and explaining) and 'text-type' with reference to social constructs (e.g. information reports). The focus there was on *genre*; the focus here is on *text-type*.

In the article referred to above, I discussed the six genres identified by Derewianka (1994, pp. 3-4) – *recount, instruction, exposition/argument, narrative, report* and *explanation* – and the five identified by Knapp and Watkins (1994) – *instructing, arguing, narrating, explaining,* and *describing.* I then analysed text segments from the writings of Sir Apirana Ngata and Tīmoti Kāretu in terms of cognitive processes (conceptual orientation) and inter-propositional relationships (relational organisation). These text segments were representative of three of the genres identified by Knapp and Watkins – *arguing, describing* and *explaining*. My conclusion was that an understanding of the different ways in which highly competent users of Māori *argue, explain* and *describe* in written text segments is important for teachers and learners who are working in Māori-medium educational settings.

It is also important that teachers and learners in Māori-medium educational settings are provided with teaching resources that will assist them in interpreting and creating well structured whole texts that belong to a variety of different *text-types*. My aim here is, therefore, to report on the findings of an analysis of the overall rhetorical structure of authentic Māori texts belonging to different text-types (texts that were written by highly competent users of the language) and to suggest ways in which this type of analysis could underpin the development of teaching resources designed for Māori-medium educational settings. The text-types examined here are *argument* and *information report*, text-types that have been found to be very commonly required of students who are studying a range of academic subjects through the medium of Māori (Houia-Roberts, 2004, Ch.4).

The texts

Twelve exemplars of authentic Māori language texts belonging to two text-types – *argument* and *information report* – are analysed here in terms of rhetorical organisation. Seven of these texts were written by Sir Apirana Ngata in the early to mid 1900s and published by Kaa and Kaa (1996); five were written by Tīmoti Kāretu and published in a *te reo Māori* quarterly magazine '*He Muka'* from 1998-99.

Text-types are often categorised in terms of socially recognised categories (such as, for example, academic articles and letters to newspaper editors). Here, however, text-type categorisation is simpler and follows the pedagogically-oriented approach of Feez (1998, p. 85) who categorises texts into families of text-types, including:

- *forms:* simple formatted texts, complex formatted texts;
- *procedures:* instructions, procedures, protocols;
- *story texts:* recounts, narratives;
- *information texts:* descriptions, explanations, reports, and directives, texts that combine more than one of these text-types;
- *persuasive texts:* opinions, expositions, and discussions.

Of the twelve texts analysed, six belong to the family of *persuasive texts* and six to the family of *information texts*. More specifically, the six texts that are persuasive in orientation are classified here as belonging to the *argument text-type* and the six that are informative in orientation are classified as belonging to the *information report text-type*. Approaching text-type classification in this way is particularly useful in the context of a situation in which students are required to write 'assignments' or 'essays' in response to questions or statements. These assignments prepare students to tackle writing tasks in social and workplace contexts (such as, for example, writing reports or presenting arguments in professional settings). It is therefore important to analyse how parallel tasks are approached by highly competent users of the language and to make use of this information in helping students to respond appropriately to academic writing tasks.

The rhetorical organisation of the texts presented here is analysed in terms of an approach first outlined by Hoey (1983). Hoey proposes three different overall rhetorical patterns – *the Problem-Solution pattern*, *the Matching pattern* and *the General-Particular pattern.*

Each of these patterns has certain nuclear (obligatory) elements and may also have optional elements. Thus, for example:

- The ***Problem-Solution pattern*** has two obligatory elements – *Problem* and *Solution* – and two optional elements – *Situation* and *Evaluation*.
- The ***Matching pattern*** has two realisations: *Matching Compatibility* and *Matching Contrast*. The Matching compatibility realisation has two obligatory elements – a *segment* and a *compatible segment*. The Matching Contrast realisation has two obligatory elements – a *segment* and a *contrasting segment*.
- The ***General-Particular*** pattern has two realisations: *Generalisation-Example* and *Preview-Details*. The *Generalisation-Example* realisation has two

obligatory elements – *Generalisation* and *Example*. The *Preview-Details* realisation has either a *Preview* and *Details* (both obligatory elements) or an obligatory *Topic* element with another obligatory element – either *Restriction* or *Illustration*.

Thus, each of the patterns can be represented as indicated below (with optional elements in brackets):

The Problem-Solution pattern:
(Situation) – Problem – Solution – (Evaluation)

The Matching Pattern:
Segment – Contrasting Segment *OR* Compatible Segment

The General-Particular pattern:
Generalisation – Example
Preview - Details
Topic – Restriction *OR* Illustration

Note that each of these elements may occur more than once. The three patterns are outlined in *Table 1* below:

Table 1: **Rhetorical patterns identified by Hoey (1983)**

Label	Rhetorical Segments	Nuclear (obligatory) segments	Optional segments	Prototypical pattern	Note
PSn (Problem-Solution)	**S** (Situation) **P** (Problem: aspect of *situation* requiring a response) **Sn** (Solution/ Response to Situation) **Ev** (Evaluation of response)	**P** **Sn**	**S** **Ev**	**S-P-Sn-Ev**	All elements can appear more than once and pattern can be varied by reordering, addition and conflation of segments.
Matching: (Matching compatibility OR Matching contrast)	**S** (segment) **CompS** (compatible segment); **S** (segment) **ContS** (contrasting segment)	**S** **CompS;** **S** **ContS**		**S-CompS;** **S-ContS**	All elements can appear more than once and pattern can be varied by reordering, addition and conflation of segments.
General-Particular (Generalisation-Example OR Preview-Details)	**G** (generalisation) **Ex** (example) OR **T** (topic) **R** (restriction) **I** (illustration) OR **P** (preview) **D** (details)	**G-Ex;** **T-R** OR **T-I;** **P-D**	**I** OR **R**		All elements can appear more than once and pattern can be varied by reordering, addition and conflation of segments.

It is important to note here that, in the context of overall rhetorical structure, Hoey (1983, p. 51) defines a Problem as "some aspect of a situation requiring a response", the Solution section being some kind of response to the *Problem* section. What matters here is rhetorical function, not the real-world nature of the problems raised.

One aspect of the classification of texts in terms of rhetorical organisation is determining whether they exhibit *linear* or *cyclic development* and whether they involve *multilayering*. Where a discourse develops in a *linear* fashion, there is a straightforward progression from one discourse segment to the next without any revisiting of earlier discourse segments. However, where a discourse is *cyclic,* there are points in the development of that discourse where earlier discourse segments are revisited or restated or further developed. For example, a *Problem* may be stated at the outset followed by a response to it. Following that, however, the problem may, in cyclic fashion, be restated. Another possibility is multilayering. *Multilayering* can be *progressive* (involving, for example, a series of partial solutions or responses to a problem) or *spiral* (involving, for example, *repeated* attempts to respond to the same problem).

Although Hoey does not believe that the rhetorical structure patterns he proposes – Problem/Solution, General/Particular and Matching - are genre-specific, it does appear that particular combinations of these rhetorical structure pattern types *are* characteristic of certain text-types. Furthermore, so far as texts written in Māori are concerned, characteristic patterns of organisation *within* these rhetorical structure patterns also appear to be characteristic.

The *Argument* Text-Type

In this section, six texts belonging to the *argument text-type* are examined in terms of rhetorical organisation. A brief abstract and summary of findings precedes the analysis. In *Appendix 1*, a translation of each of the six *argument* texts is provided along with an indication of some of the main rhetorical segments identified. Although Ngata did not use the macron, the macron was used by Kaa and Kaa (1996) and it is their version that is included here.

Text 1 Te Nūpepa o Te Aute nā Apirana Ngata

In this text, the author expresses his concerns for the poor quality of the language recently printed in the Te Aute newspaper. He reminds those writing for the paper of the legal consequences of printing such unsavoury language and advises caution in view of the fact that the paper is read by women and children.

The overall structure of the preamble and main section of the text is *Problem-Solution*. Within that structure, there is, however, a *General-Particular* section (*Preview-Details*), where the *Preview* is followed by *Details*. The two *Problem* sections follow one another, the overall organisation being *linear*. The concerns Ngata expresses are clearly highlighted in the following linguistic signals:

Kaati kei pōhēhē . . . ;
pouri . . . kaore e tika . . . ;
kōrero kino . . . ;
kaore e tika . . . ;
te tino hē . . .

The *Solution/ Response* to *Problem 2* takes the form of an injunction: *Kia tūpato.*

It is also interesting to note that the first *Problem*, that is, the first aspect of a situation requiring a response, (the possibility that some people may mistakenly suppose that Reweti Kohere and Reweti Mokena Kohere are different people) actually follows the

Solution/Response which takes the form of an explanation. Although the primary genre is *Arguing*, the genre of *Explaining* also appears.

Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular	***Argument Text-type - Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution***	***Genres: explaining; arguing***
Preview / ***Details***	**Te Nūpepa o Te Aute nā Apirana Ngata** Kua tonoa taku hoa etita, a Reweti Kohere e ōna hoa Pākehā kia whakapiri i tētahi o ngā ingoa o tōna tipuna ki tōna ingoa, arā i a 'Mokena'. E hiahia ana rātou kia pēnei te roanga o tōna ingoa Reweti T. Mōkena Kohere. E mea ana rātou hei tohu whakamaharatanga tēnei māna ki tōna tipuna. SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1 Kaati kei pōhēhē ōna hoa he tangata kē a Reweti Kohere, me Reweti Mōkena Kohere. PROBLEM 1 He nui to mātou pouri i to mātou kitenga i ētahi kupu kaore e tika kia perehitia i roto i tētahi o a tātou pepa Maori. Ko āna kōrero kino, i roto i tētahi reta tuku mai, engari kaore pea i kitea e te etita. E hoa mā, e kōrerotia ana o tātou pepa e te wahine, e te tamariki, kaati kaore e tika nga kōrero weriweri kia perehitia. He mea tēnei e taea te hāmene e te Kāwanatanga, a, e mau ai te tangata ki te whareherehere. PROBLEM 2 Kia tūpato. SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 2 No nga kaitā te tino hē ki te perehi tonu i ērā kōrero tino kino atu. PROBLEM 3 (Te Punawai: Pīpīwharauroa 15 Mei 1899, whārangi 7-8) (Kaa & Kaa, 1996, p. 48)	***Explaining*** ***Arguing***

Text 2 Me Karo tēnei Taunu: 'He Māngere te Maori' nā Apirana Ngata
In this text, Ngata expresses his deep concern for the stereotypical notion by Pākehā that Māori are lazy. He argues that this stereotype should be countered and this stigma removed from the Māori people. His opinions are woven throughout the text, reflected in many instances by the use of injunctions.

The overall structure of this text is *Problem-Solution,* the final section providing an *Evaluation* of the proposed *Solution/Response*. Within that structure, there is also *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*). In the *Preview* section, the *Problem* is accompanied by a general *Solution/Response*; in the *Details* section, the general *Solution/Response* is amplified. The progression here is *cyclic* in that the *Solution/Response* is stated in general terms and then revisited in more specific terms. There is also *progressive multilayering*, with a range of different aspects of the *Solution/Response* appearing one after the other, the overall effect being cumulative. Following a brief *Explaining* section, the *Arguing* genre appears throughout. Feez (1998, p. 90) notes that persuasive texts can be more challenging when directives are included. Here, Ngata's *Solution/Response* sections are marked by the occurrence of the following injunctions:

ko te mahi tuatahi . . .
me whakamārama . . . te āhua . . .
me whakawhāiti ngā māramatanga . . .

me whakamārama ngā āraitanga . . .
me whakawhāiti ngā māramatanga . . .
ka whakatakoto mārō ai . . .
ko nga kaupapa . . . he mea tika kia . . .

Positive evaluation is signalled by *nga whakamārama e taea ai te karo . . .*

Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular	***Argument Text-type - Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution***	***Genre: explaining; arguing***
Preview	**Me Karo tēnei Taunu: 'He Māngere te Maori' nā Apirana Ngata** I te mea kua eke nui ki runga i te iwi Maori tēnei kupu taunu, 'he Details-preview māngere', SITUATION & PROBLEM ko te mahi tuatahi tonu mo to koutou rōpū, me ērā atu rōpū e whakatūria ana i roto i te rohe pooti o te Tairāwhiti a muri ake nei i runga i te kaupapa pēnei i ta koutou, he karo i tēnei kupu taunu. SOLUTION/ RESPONSE (General)	***Explaining***
Details	Ko ētahi huarahi e taea ai te karo ki taku whakaaro koia ēnei: (a) me whakamārama e koutou te āhua o te Maori i mua atu i nga wa hoko whenua, he iwi ahuwhenua, me nga mahi i taea e te Maori i ērā ra, nga mahi witi, whakatupu poaka, hoko kaipuke me ērā atu mahi; (b) me whakamārama ngā huarahi taka ai te Maori ki te hē i runga i nga mahi hoko whenua, i nga riihi whenua, ka waiho ko nga hua o ēnā mahi hei oranga mo te tangata Maori, ka whakamanawa ki tēnā oranga, he oranga ngāwari hoki, ka ngoikore ki nga mahi tinana; (c) me whakamārama ngā āraitanga, ngā whakararurarutanga a nga ture maha a te Pāremata, i hēmanawa ai te iwi Maori, i kore ai e taea e nga mea e hiahia ana te whakapai o rātou whenua; (d) me whakawhāiti ngā māramatanga katoa e takoto nei o nga mahi ahuwhenua o to koutou rohe: (i) te tīmatanga me te whakahaerenga, a, tae mai ki tēnei wa o nga mahi o Ngāti Porou, te kaute o nga hipi, me ērā atu kararehe a te Maori i tēnei wa, te wāriu o nga whakapainga kei runga i aua whenua, nga eka kua pai; (ii) nga mahi a te uaua o te Maori ki nga whenua e nōhia mai nei e nga Pākehā; (e) hei muri i tēnā ka whakatakoto mārō ai i te kupu e hiahia ana koutou kia tahuri nui ki nga mahi whenua, ki nga mahi ā ringa; e tono ana koutou kia āwhinatia tēnei whakaaro o koutou e te Kāwanatanga, e te iwi Pākehā, e te iwi Maori (f) ko nga kaupapa e takoto i a koutou he mea tika kia tukua ki nga nūpepa Pākehā o te Koroni kia whakarongo tauhou mai te iwi Pākehā ki tēnei taha hoki o nga kōrero whenua Maori, kia manaakitia e nga nupepa, a, kia riro ko rātau tonu hei āwhina i o koutou whakaaro whakatipu hou; SOLUTION/ RESPONSE (Specific) (g) ko te whakaupoko tonu tēnei mo tētahi pitihana nui ki te Pāremata a tēnei tau ko nga whakamārama e taea ai te karo tēnei kupu te 'māngere' ki raro i te iwi Maori. EVALUATION OF SOLUTION/ RESPONSE (Kaa & Kaa, 1996, pp. 134-135)	***Arguing***

Text 3 He Kupu Whakamutunga nā Apirana Ngata

Here, Ngata reflects on the efforts he has made and the energy he has expended in relation to such things as the revitalisation and maintenance of Māori customs: Māori language, the stories of the ancestors, the songs, haka, carving, the construction of Māori houses, the preservation of marae protocol, and the prestige and authority of Māori. He notes that he has been criticised by Pākehā who have accused him of

separatism. He rebuts this, arguing that there can never be equality if one of the parties is treated as being inferior: true equality will be possible only when both parties can stand proudly as equals. He argues that this is a requirement under the Treaty of Waitangi – one that is not being respected by the many speakers who continue to make reference to its significance in their discourse while being entirely ignorant of its underlying spirit.

Once again, the overall structure of this text is *Problem-Solution,* the final section providing an *Evaluation* of the proposed *Solution/ Response*. *The Problem-Solution* structure is indicated by *I patua au . . . Kaore, engari i whai . . .*

Within that overall *Problem-Solution* structure, there is – as was the case in the previous text – also *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*). In this case, the *Preview* and *Details* section occurs at the beginning, with specific examples of the issues that Ngata has addressed. The overall progression is *linear* and the primary genre is *Arguing*, with an initial section in the *Explaining* genre.

Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular	***Argument Text-type - Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution***	***Genres: arguing; explaining***
	He Kupu Whakamutunga nā Apirana Ngata	
Preview	Tērā e maha noa atu he kōrero māku mo te taha ki to tātau Maoritanga, engari waiho tērā āhua i roto i a koutou, e mōhio mai na koutou ko au te tangata i whakapau i toku kaha kia hoki mai nga mahi tōtika a o tātau tipuna hei taonga ma tēnei whakatipuranga, a, ahu ake; te reo Maori; nga kōrero o nga tīpuna; nga waiata; nga haka; te whakairo, te hanga whare Maori; te pupuri i te āhua o nga marae; te pupuri i te mana me te rangatiratanga o te iwi Maori. SITUATION	***Explaining***
Details	I patua au e ētahi o te taha Pākehā mo tēnei āhua, ka kiia kei te whakatipu kino au i waenganui i nga iwi e rua. PROBLEM Kaore, engari i whai au kia whakapiri te Maori rāua ko te Pākehā i runga i o rāua taha rangatira. E kore rāua e piri tika, ki te takahia tētahi ki raro, ka waiho hei anga ake i nga kongakonga o runga i te teepu, hei hamu i nga paka o te hāngi, hei tutua runga i te whenua o ōna tipuna. Kaore; me whakapiri i to te toa whakapiri, i to te rangatira whakapiri; kia maranga te upoko ki runga, kia tu poupou, kia titiro hāngai atu he kanohi ki te kanohi. Ko te tino kai tēnei o roto i te Tiriti o Waitangi, e takakinotia nei e te hunga e kauwhau ana i ōna tikanga, ā, kaore e mārama ki te wairua kei roto. SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM Ka pai mehemea ka manawanui koutou ki te korero nga take katoa o te pānui nei i runga i te ngākau mārama. Na ta koutou pononga i roto i nga tau. EVALUATION OF SOLUTION/RESPONSE Apirana T Ngata. (Kaa & Kaa, 1996, pp. 393-394)	***Arguing***

Text 4 Te Tau o ngā Kaumātua nā Tīmoti Kāretu

Here, Kāretu explains that the intention of the United Nations is to establish The Year of the Elderly. His concern is that there is no indication of a recognition that, for Māori, the precise meaning of kaumātua could have a particular relevance in this context. He notes not only that the competencies that Māori elders possessed in the past have changed dramatically over the years, but also that kaumātua are not being shown the respect they have earned as elders. He poses a range of questions designed to tease out the issues involved in determining the criteria for applying the term kaumātua.

The overall structure of this text is once again *Problem-Solution.* There are two internal sections organised in terms of *General-Particular (Preview-Details).* Apart from an introductory section exhibiting the *Explaining* genre, the text is cast in the *Arguing* genre. The progression is largely *linear*, progressing through three main *Problem* sections. There is, however, an element of *cyclic* progression in the revisiting and restatement of *Problem 2* in *Problem 3* and in the section in which a *Solution/Response* refers to three earlier *Problem* sections (*Problems 2 – 4*). In terms of rhetorical signalling, the existence of a problem is signalled in *Ko tāku e whakapae.* Solutions (problem responses) are, once again, characterised by injunction:

me waiho . . .
e tika ana kia . . .
kia tino manaakihia . . .
āta . . . whakaarotia ake . . .
kia aro nui mai . . .
whāngaia mai te mā tātahi
kia tahuri ki te whakanui . . .

Problem sections typically occur in the form of questions and *Solution* sections do not resolve the issues and questions raised but suggest ways of responding to them in the absence of definite answers.

Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular	***Argument Text-type - Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution* (PART 1 OF TEXT 4)**	***Genres: explaining, arguing***
	Te Tau o ngā Kaumātua nā Tīmoti Kāretu	
Preview	Kua puta te karanga a Te Whakakotahitanga o Ngā Iwi o Te Ao kia kīia te tau e tū mai nei ko Te Tau o te Kaumātua Puta Noa i te Ao. Otirā koirā tāku nā whakamāoritanga i tērā whakaaro. SITUATION Ko tāku e whakapae ana e kōrero kē ana rātou mō te hunga pēperekōu kaua i tā te Māori titiro ki tēnei mea, ki te kaumātua. PROBLEM 1 Kua puta kē i a au te kōrero ki tētahi atu pepa i a au e tamariki ana ki ngā marae o Tūhoe ki Waikaremoana me Ruatāhuna ko ngā kaumātua te hunga whakatauira mai i te tika, i te pono; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i te tikanga; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga tautōhito; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga kī tahi; ko ngā kaumātua te hunga pupuri i ngā kōrero e pā ana ki te iwi; āe, ko rātou ngā puna o te kī. SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1	***Explaining***
Details		
Preview		
Details		

Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular	*Argument Text-type 4 - Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution* **(PART 2 OF TEXT 4)**	*Genres: explaining, arguing*
	I te āhua tonu o ēnei rā nei kua rere te pātai he aha kē ia oti tēnei mea te kaumātua, ā, ko te take i rere ai tērā pātai nā te mea kua kitea i roto i ētahi iwi kua kore kē tēnei momo tangata e kōrerotia ake nei e au. Kua eke tātou ki te reanga pakeke kāore nei e mōhio ki te reo, ki ngā tikanga tae atu hoki ki ngā kōrero? E kaumātua noa ana nā te mea kua eke ki te karangatanga ahungarua nā te aha kē ia rānei? (5) Kua kaha te whiua o te pātai he aha tēnei mea te kaumātua me aha rawa rānei te tangata e kaumātua ai ki te titiro a te tangata? Mēnā kua ahungarua te tangata engari e tino kūare ana ki ngā tikanga me ngā kōrero a te iwi, ka kaumātua tonu? PROBLEM 2 Ko tēnei pātai me waiho anō mā ngā iwi tonu e whakautu, e whakatau engari he pātai e kaha ana te pātaitia e te rangatahi. SOLUTION/ SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 2 Ko au kei te kī ko te momo kaumātua o te wā i a au e taiohi ana kua tino kore haere, PROBLEM 3 me uaua kē rānei ka kitea engari ko te hunga kaumātua, kua noho makorea, pūtoetoe rānei, e tika ana kia kauanuanutia, SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 3 Ko tētahi take nui e aroha nei au ki te hunga pakeke nei kua kore te ao Māori o ēnei rā nei i mōhio me pēhea te kōrero ki te pakeke, me pēhea rānei te manaaki i te pakeke. I tua atu i tērā kua kore te ao Māori e mōhio ki te whakarongo ki te pakeke engari ka pātai tonu, ka pākiki tonu tē whakaoko noa ai. He āhuatanga tērā kua uru kaha mai ki te ao Māori, ā, nā konei anō nei te ao Māori i āhua kotiti ai he kore i whakapono he mātauranga anō tō ngā kaumātua. PROBLEM 4 Kāti, ko tāku noa iho ki a tātou he kī atu kia tino manaakitia te hunga pakeke ahakoa pēhea te mōhio, te kore rānei i mōhio, ki ngā āhuatanga o te ao Māori nā te mea he wā tōna ka noho atu ko koutou, ko tātou ki taua nohonga e whakaparanga nei tātou i roto i te rā nei. E ai ki ō tātou koroua, kuia 'he huri tēnei mea te mate', nō reira āta whakaarotia ake te kōrero nei. SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 4 Me pēnei noa ake pea te whakatau ake 'E te mātātahi kia aro nui mai ki te mātāpuputu; e te mātāpuputu whāngaia mai te mā tātahi e hiakai nei ki ngā taonga kei a koutou' SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS 2 - 4 Tēnā tātou katoa kia tahuri ki te whakanui, ki te whakarangatira i ō tātou kaumātua i roto i tēnei tau kua whakaarotia ake hei tau aro nui atu ki a rātou. (He Muka: Putanga 11 (4) Koanga, 1998)	*Arguing*

Text 5 He Hē Anō Te Hē nā Tīmoti Kāretu

Here, Kāretu reacts to the response 'You are trampling on my dignity' used by some learners of te reo Māori when the errors in their language are corrected. He strongly recommends to learners that they should listen carefully and learn from those who are fluent. He questions the benefits of negative reactions by learners to being corrected, arguing that those who do not use te reo Māori correctly and reject correction are abusing the language. His final statement leaves the reader in no doubt about his response to incorrect use of te reo Māori: 'Correct your language or speak English'.

The overall structure of this text is once again *Problem-Solution.* There is, however, also *General-Particular (Preview-Details),* with the initial *Preview* section representing the *Explaining* genre, and the following *Details* section representing the *Arguing* genre. The progression is partly *linear* in that *Situation 2* arises out of

Situation 1, and *Problem 2* arises out of *Problem 1*. Also, there is a summative *Solution/Response* that relates to *Problems 1, 2* and *4*. However, in that *Problem 4* represents a revisiting of *Problem 1* (although in a hypothetical future context), there is also an element of *cyclic* progression. Here, *Situations, Problems* and *Solutions* may all involve question forms.

In terms of rhetorical signalling, *Problems/Responses* are typically in the form of injunctions:

tēnā kia tika mai . . .
whakarongo ki te hunga matatau . .
kaua e amowheke, e hūneinei noa!
whakarongo ngā taringa . . .
Whakatika rānei, kōrero Pākehā ranei . . .
me mutu te kōhuru, te tūkino!

Rhetorical structure: General-Particular	***Argument Text-type - Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution* (PART 1 OF TEXT 5)**	***Genres: explaining, arguing***
	He Hē Anō Te Hē nā Tīmoti Kāretu	
Preview	Tēnei māua ko taringa te rongo ake nei kua kaha te whiua o te kōrero, 'E, e takahi ana koe i tōku mana', inā whakatikahia te hē o te rere mai o te kōrero a te tangata. Ko ōna kore mōhio nei ki te whakatakoto i te reo i runga i takahia nei. SITUATION AND PROBLEM 1	***Explaining***
Details	Ko tā te hunga e ako ana he whakarongo ki tā te hunga matatau whakatakoto i te kupu, SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1 mā te whai hoki i tā te matatau ka mōhio ko te kūare, ko te pōhēhē, ko te kore mōhio. EVALUATION OF SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1 Ko wai o tātou kāore i whakatikaina mai e tētahi e matatau kē noa atu ana i a tātou ahakoa he aha te kaupapa? Ko wai nei? SITUATION 2 Ma te mamae hoki te whakatika mai a te tangata matatau kē noa ake i a koe ka aha? Ka matatau ake te mea i whakatikaina rā? Engari mō tēnā, ka noho tonu ko kūare tōna hoa haere he kore i areare mai nō taringa ka tahi, he waiho mā wheke kurī noa iho e kawe ka rua, ka noho ko whakamau, ko mauāhara tonu atu rānei hei hoa ka toru, engari kia tino kī noa ake au ki te pērā mai te tangata e kore ia e matatau ki te reo ahakoa pēhea. PROBLEM 2 (arising out of PROBLEM 1) Ko tāku nā whakautu hoki ki tēnā whiu mai i te kupu, arā, mō te takahi mana, he kī noa atu, 'E, kei te tūkino, kei te kōhuru koe i tōku reo.' Ki te pīrangi koe koinei hei reo mōu, tēnā kia tika mai i a koe, ka whakarongo ki te hunga matatau me tā rātou kī mai, 'me pēnei kē, me pērā kē' rānei engari kaua e amowheke, e hūneinei noa! Kia hoki ake nei ki te kōrero 'He hē anō te he'.Kāore i tua atu, kāore i tua mai i tērā! SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS 1 & 2	***Arguing***

Rhetorical structure: General-Particular	*Argument Text-type - Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution* **(PART 2 OF TEXT 5)**	*Genres: explaining, arguing*
Details (contd.)	Koutou e ako nei, e whai nei i tō tātou reo kia mau tonu ai, kia ora tonu ai, ka nui te mihi engari kia mārama anō tātou ki tō tātou matatau mehemea kāore te eke, ā, kā whāia kia eke, arā, whakarongo ngā taringa, kopi te waha atu i te whiu pātai kia mārama ai he aha kē i pēnei ai, he aha kē i pērā ai. He w ā anō hoki e kōrero ai te waha, he wā anō hoki e noho puku ai taihoa e kōrero. Kia mōhio tātou katoa āhea, tēhea whāia ai. Ki te taea tērā kua tīmata tā tātou takahi i te ara o te tika, i te ara o te mārama. Ki te tohe te tangata mō te tohe noa te take he aha te hua ka puta? He tino kore nei! Engari ki te tohe te tangata kia puta ai ia ki te whai ao, kia whiwhi rānei i tāna i pai ai, kātahi te hua ka puta. Kāti, kia hoki noa ake ki te kōrero a ngā kaumātua, arā, 'He hē anō te hē, he tika anō te tika. SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS 1 & 2 (expanded) Waiho i konei, kia kitea ai ka pēheatia te reo e te hunga ako engari ki te rongo au e hē mai ana PROBLEM 3 ko tāku he kī noa atu, 'E me pēnei kē', ā, ki te kī mai tērā, 'E, kei te takahi koe i tōku mana', PROBLEM 4 (involves restatement of PROBLEM 1 in hypothetical future context ko tāku atu 'E, kei te kōhuru, kei te tūkino koe i tōku reo.' SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 4 (10) Me mutu i konei. Whakatika rānei, kōrero Pākehā kē rānei engari me mutu te kōhuru, te tūkino! SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS 1 -4 (He Muka: Putanga 11 (3) Koanga, 1998)	*Arguing (contd.)*

Text 6 Te Mātauranga Māori nā Tīmoti Kāretu

Kāretu here introduces the issue of 'Te Mātauranga Māori'. He poses a number of questions throughout the text and presents, a selection of alternative criteria for Mātauranga Māori. However, he offers no resolution.

In this text, *Problem-Solution* is again combined with *Preview-Details*. Once again, the *Preview* in the initial section is in the *Explaining* genre and the *Details* in the remainder of the text are presented in the context of the *Arguing* genre. There is overall *cyclic* progression, with the first *Problem* being stated in general terms and then revisited in more specific terms, and with the restatement of *Problem 1* in the context of an *Evaluation* of the *Solution* (response) to *Problem 2*. In the emergence of *Problem 2* out of *Problem 1*, there is, however, an aspect of *linear* progression. Once again, the Problem is expressed in question form and injunction (*kia tīkina*) occurs in the *Solution* (response). As was the case in the first *argument* text by Kāretu (Text 4), readers are left to seek resolutions to the problems themselves.

Rhetorical structure: General-Particular	*Argument Text-type - Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution*	*Genres: explaining, arguing*
Preview	***Te Mātauranga Māori nā Tīmoti Kāretu*** Nā te tono mai a te rōpū nei, a Te Rōpū Takawaenga Mātauranga Māori, kia haere atu au hei kaikōrero ki tā rātou hui ā-tau ki te marae o Waikawa i Te Wai Pounamu, ka noho au ka whakaaro ake ki a au anō, he aha rā hei kaupapa kōrero māku ahakoa te tono mai me pā anō ki tētahi āhuatanga ki te reo. Nei ka noho, ka noho, ka mahuki ake e whakaaro tērā pea ka whai hua tonu te wero atu ki te pātai, SITUATION	*Explaining*
Details	'He aha ia tēnei mea, te mātauranga Māori?' Ko tēhea rā o ēnei Ko te mātauranga e pā ana ki te ao Māori? Ko te mātauranga e riro ana mā te reo Māori e kawe? Nā te mea ko te tangata Māori kei te whai, kua mātauranga Māori? Ko te whakaako i te tangata e kī ana, e mōhio ana, he Māori ia? Ko tēhea? Ko te katoa kē rānei o ēnei e rārangi nei? PROBLEM 1 (general) Tēnā, kia tīkina atu te kōrero kua takoto ka āhua whaiwhai haere ai me kore noa iho nei e tūpono ka puta tētahi punua māramatanga nei. SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1 Ko te mātauranga e pā ana ki te ao Māori? Kāore e kore ka tere tonu te kapo atu a ōna whakaputa mōhio ka pātai, tēhea ao Māori? Tō nehe, tō nāianei rānei? Inā ko tō nehe ko ēhea āhuatanga? Ko ngā karakia? Ko ngā waiata? Ko te noho? Ko ngā whāinga kia ea te toto i maringi? Ko ngā kōrero atua? Ko te whakapapa? Ko te aha, ko te aha, ko te katoa kē rānei o ēnei i runga ake nei? Inā ko tō nāianei ao ko ēhea āhuatanga? Ko te noho i ngā tāone me ngā take i oti kē mai ki reira noho mai ai? Ko te kaha o te taka ki te hē me te pātai he aha i pērā ai? Te kaha o te ao Māori ki te kai paipa, kai aha noa iho, kai aha noa iho me te whai i ngā take i pērā ai? Te whakamomori, te patu wāhine me te tūkino tamariki ngā take anō hoki i takahia ai tērā o ngā huarahi? Kua kaha nei te aro o te pūhou, o te mātātahi ki tōna ao me ana tikanga. Koirā anō pea tētahi wāhanga o te mātauranga Māori? Te wāhi ki te tāne, ki te wahine i roto i ngā tikanga ināhoki e kī ana ētahi kei te takahia te tikanga. Mā te mātauranga e kore ai e takahi, ka kaha kē atu rānei te takahi? Mēnā katoa ēnei āhuatanga o runga ake nei e whakaakona ana ki te reo Māori kua mātauranga Māori i tērā? Ki te whai ko te Māori i ēnei kaupapa kua mātauranga Māori? Ki te whai mai ko kiritea kua kore i Māori? Kua aha kē ki te kore i Māori? Mēnā e whakaakona ana te Māori ki tētahi kaupapa, ahakoa he aha, kua mātauranga Māori i tērā? PROBLEM 1 (specific) Kei kī mai koutou kei te kapekape noa mai tērā i a tātou, hei aha noa iho i aro atu ai. PROBLEM 2 Aua atu ki a au mēnā koinā te whakaaro kei te rere, SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 2 engari e tū tonu ana taku pātai, he aha tēnei mea te mātauranga Māori? EVALUATION OF SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 2; RESTATEMENT OF PROBLEM 1 (He Muka: Putanga 11 (1) Raumati, 1998)	*Arguing*

Rhetorical structure and the *argument text-type*: Some conclusions

In each case here, an initial short section exhibiting the *Explaining genre* is followed by a longer section exhibiting the *Arguing genre*. In each case, there is also a

combination of *Problem-Solution* and *General-Particular (Preview-Details)*. In three cases (*Texts 2, 5 & 6*), the *Preview* section is text-initial and is in the *Explaining* genre, the *Details* section that follows being in the *Arguing* genre.

In terms of the *Problem-Solution* structure, the internal organisation is *linear* in two cases (*Texts 1 & 3*), *cyclic* in one case (*Text 2*) and a combination of *linear and cyclic* in the remainder (*Texts 4, 5 & 6*). Where there is *cyclic* progression, it takes one of the following forms:

- a *Problem* is stated in general terms and then revisited in more specific terms (*Texts 4 & 6*);
- a summative *Solution/Response* section refers to a number of *Problem* sections (*Texts 4 & 5*);
- a *Solution/Response* is stated in general terms and then revisited in more specific terms (*Text 2*).

In one case (Text 2), there is *progressive multilayering*, involving a range of different aspects of *Solution/Response* appearing one after the other.

Typically, *Solution* sections are in the form of injunctions. There is one example of this in *Text 1*, seven in *Text 2*, five in *Text 4*, and six in *Text 5*.

In the texts written by Kāretu, *Situation* sections (Text 5), *Problem* sections (Texts 4 & 6), and *Solution/Response* sections (Text 5) may take the form of questions. Furthermore, in two cases (*Texts 4 & 6*), the *Solution/Response* sections do not involve a resolution of the issues raised in the *Problem* sections. Instead, readers are invited to recognise and reflect upon the problems raised.

Information Report **Text-Type**

In this section, six texts belonging to the *information report* text-type are examined in terms of rhetorical organisation. A brief abstract and summary of findings precedes each text. In *Appendix 2*, a translation of each of the six *information report* texts is provided along with an indication of some of the main rhetorical segments identified.

Text 1 Te Marae o te Maori-Maoritanga nā Apirana Ngata

Here, Ngata provides his account of the spiritual beliefs of Māori before and after the advent of Christianity. He argues that some spiritual knowledge was protected in the whare wānanga (houses of learning) but that this knowledge – in particular, knowledge about Io – was gradually acquired by Pākehā.

In this text, the overall organisation is *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*). There are two main sections, each with a *Preview* followed by *Details*. However, the two sections also relate to one another in terms of *Matching* (*Compatibility*). Apart from two short sections in the *describing* genre, the text is in the *explaining* genre.

Rhetorical Structure: Problem-Solution and/or Matching	*Information Report Text-type 1- Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular* **(PART 1 OF TEXT)**	*Genres: explaining; describing*
Matching (Compatibility) PART 1	**Te Marae o te Maori-Maoritanga nā Apirana Ngata** Kei roto i nga whakapuatanga kōrero o ia iwi o tēnei ao, tērā e kitea a rātou tini mano pūtake o te tangata. kimi tonu āna tāngata i tōna putanga mai ki te whai ao. I tutuki ta te nuinga o nga iwi ki tēnei whakapono he mea hanga te tangata tētahi mana nui, tētahi mana kaha, whakaharahara, ka kiia e rātou he Atua. Kua whakaakona tātou ko te whakapono Karaitiana te whakatakotoranga tuatahi. PREVIEW	*Explaining*
	Kei roto i te pukapuka tuatahi a Mohi o Kēnehi e mau ana, i hangaia mai te tangata i te puehu, a, na te Atua i whakahā i nga pongo o tōna ihu ka whiwhi i te wairua, ka kiia tēnei ko te Oropohanga. Ko te tāne i hangaia i te tuatahi, no muri ko te wahine, i runga i nga kupu a te Atua, kaore e tika kia noho mokemoke te tāne engari kia whakawhiwhia he hoa hei atawhai i a ia.	*Describing*
	Tērā atu nga kaupapa kōrero a ētahi atu iwi, engari ko te whakapono tēnei i mauria mai e ta Pākehā ki waenganui i nga Maori o Aotearoa nei, āpiti atu ki nga moutere a te Moana Nui a Kiwa. Ahakoa ra he maha nga hāhi na rātou i mau mai tēnei whakapono, he reo kotahi tonu ta rātou, he ririki nei nga rerekētanga, ko te mea i tāia ko te Paipera, ka whakamaoritia ki nga reo katoa o nga iwi Maori. DETAILS 1	*Explaining*
Matching Compatibility PART 2	I pērā ano hoki te Maori onamata, i tōna hangainga ki ōna putake, i tōna tipunga mai rānei i a nehe ra. PREVIEW 2 Ko nga kōrero mo nga whakatakotoranga me nga tikanga a te Maori, e rua ōna āhua: Ko nga kōrero i ahu mai waho o te whare wānanga, ko nga kōrero hoki i takea mai i roto tonu i aua whare.	*Describing*
	Ahakoa ko nga kōrero ra ano i haere mai ano i nga whare nei i tukua ēnei kia kohia e te mutu tangata. Ka marea he mea noa, ehara i te tapu. Ko nga whakaona tapu i taiepatia atu ki roto i nga Whare Wananga. I hunaia i reira mai i te tini o te tangata ko nga korero mo Io. Otira na te Pākehā i hopu haere nga kōrero a nga kaumātua, ka pā te kaupapa o Io, ka whakatūria ko ia te Atua tino tapu o te iwi Maori i ōna mata. Ma te tino tohunga anake e whakahua i tēnei ingoa i nga wāhanga noa, i nga wā e rite ana. Ahakoa ra he kaupapa ngaro, tērā tonu te takoto whānui i roto nga whare wānanga, i te Taitokerau, i te Tairāwhiti, a, i ētahi wāhi o te Taihauāuru. Na ngā tohunga, na nga morehu o nga pakanga i hoatu ki a ratou e mōhio ana ki nga tauira whakatipuranga hou kua mōhio ki te tā kōrero pukapuka, na reira ka heke mai nga kōrero o Io ki a tātou. Ko Io Nui, te Atua o nga Atua katoa Ko Io Roa, te tuturu, Ko Io Matua, te Matua o te Rangi o te Ao, O nga tāngata me a rātou mea katoa, Ko Io Matua te Kore, kaore he matua, Ko Io Matua te Taketake, te taunga motuhake, Ko Io te Wānanga, te tīmatanga o nga mea katoa, Ko Io te Toi o nga Rangi, te Taumata o nga Rangi, Ko Io te Matanui, o nga mea e kitea ana, Ko Io te Matangaro, o nga mea kaore e kitea, Ko Io te Matakakao. Te ra, te mahana, te muri ahi, Ko Io te whiwhia, te hanga tangata, Ko te Matatapu, te mutunga ake o te tapu. E kiia ana nāna i hanga i te ao, mai i te kore, kaore i whānau, he matua kore, kaore i mau ki te wahine, he uri kore, engari nāna ka hanga i nga mea katoa tae noa ki te tangata. DETAILS 2 (Kaa & Kaa, 1996, pp. 306-307)	*Explaining*

Text 2 Te Ture, Tōna Hanganga, Ōna Whakahaerenga nā Apirana Ngata
In this text, Ngata explains how laws have been made throughout history in different parts of the world. He also outlines who was responsible for determining these laws, as well as noting the consequences when the laws were broken. For Māori of old, the mana (which may be loosely translated as a combination of prestige, authority and respect) lay with the chief who determined the consequences when laws were broken. Ngata expresses his sadness at the loss of the authority of Māori chiefs.

The overall structure here is *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*) although part of the Preview is made up of *Topic* (title) and *Restriction* (Editor's note and first sentence of the text). The *Details* section is divided into different areas of classification: law makers; law enforcement; penalties. Between two of the *Details* sections (law enforcement and penalties), there is a partial restatement of the *Preview*. Following the third *Details* section, as the text moves to a focus on specific Māori issues, we find *explaining* followed by *describing* and then *arguing*, with everything that has preceded serving as *Situation* in relation to a *Problem* (implicit in a question) and *Solution/Response*. The text then returns to the main theme with a more detailed outline of the *Preview*.

Rhetorical structure: Problem-Solution and/or Matching	***Information Report Text-type 2 -*** Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular **(PART 1 OF TEXT)**	***Genres: explaining; describing; arguing***
Situation	**Te Ture, Tōna Hanganga, Ōna Whakahaerenga nā Apirana Ngata** *TOPIC* He Whakamārama: Te āhua o te waihanga i nga ture. The Editors E tino mārama ai te iwi Maori ki ēnei take, me tīmata mai nga whakamārama i te kaupapa o nga rōpū whaimana ki te hanga i nga ture. RESTRICTION	***Explaining***
	I roto i nga iwi katoa o te ao, mai onāmata, tērā tētahi rōpu, tētahi tangata tētahi huihuinga tāngata rānei, e mana ana ki te whakatakoto i tētahi tikanga, hei whakarite i te noho a te iwi, hei whakatau i nga raruraru, hei whiu i nga hē. Ko te tohu tēnei o te mana o te tikanga, ko te whiwhi o te rōpū, o te tangata whakatakoto tikanga rānei i te mana whiu ina takahia taua tikanga. PREVIEW	***Describing***
	Ki etahi iwi ko te Kīngi te mana, ki ētahi ko te Hāhi, ki ētahi ko te huihuinga rangatira, ki ētahi ko te huihuinga o nga māngai o te iwi. DETAILS 1: Lawmakers	***Explaining***
	Kei raro i a ratou, e rongo ana ki a ratou whakahau, ko nga rōpū ringa kaha, hoia, pirihimana, ērā atu rōpū e kaha ana ki te whakatutuki i te mana o te ture. Ki te Maori, ko te rangatira te mana whakatakoto tikanga. I rongo tōna iwi ki tōna reo, a, ina takahia taua kupu ka whakatoro tōna ringa kaha ki te patu, ki te muru, ki te raupatu, ki te whakahaere i ērā atu tikanga e kitea ai te mana o tana kupu. DETAILS 2: Law Enforcement	
	Na ka mārama tātau, ko tēnei mea ko te ture, he tikanga na tētahi tangata whaimana, na tētahi rōpū whaimana rānei i whakatakoto, hei mea whaimana ki waenganui i te iwi. RESTATEMENT OF PART OF PREVIEW	***Describing***
	Ahakoa i te ture tangata, ahakoa i te ture Atua, kaore e mōhiotia te ture he ture ki te kore e whiu ina takahia te tikanga, e kiia ra he ture; mo te takahi i te ture tangata, ko te herehere, ko te rīpeka , ko te taonga riro mo te takahi i te ture Atua ko te whakamamae wairua, ko te ahi kāpura o te reinga, ko te teteatanga o nga niho. DETAILS 3: Penalties	***Explaining***

Rhetorical structure: Problem-Solution and/or Matching	***Information Report Text-type 2 -*** Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular **(PART 2 OF TEXT)**	***Genres: explaining; describing; arguing***
Problem	Na te aha ia na i ngaro ai te mana o nga rangatira Maori? Na te kore tuara mo a rātau kupu i roto i ēnei ra. Kua ngaro te ringa kaha i a rātau, hei whakaariari mai i muri o te kupu, e wehi ai te tangata. Kua hipokina e te ture Pākehā te kākahu ki runga i te iti, i te rahi, hei tauārai mo te ārita a te rangatira	***Arguing***
	E toe ana ko te whakaaro ki nga tōtō mai o te pō, ki ngā kauwhau mua, ka kukume i roto ko te aroha.	
Solution/ Response	Ko te mea hoki e kiia nei i tēnei ra he ture no Niu Tīreni, ko te tikanga i hangaia mai e nga rōpū e whaimana ana i tērā wa.	
	Koia tēnei kaupapa i tuhituhi ai, hei whakaatu: A. Ko wai aua Rōpū Whaimana? B. Ko wai ki te whakahaere i te ture? C. Pēhea ai ta rātau hanga i te ture? D. Na te aha te ture i whaimana ai?	***Explaining***
	SUMMARY: RETURN TO TOPIC IN MORE DETAIL (Kaa & Kaa 1996, pp. 113-114)	

Text 3 Te Rōmene nā Apirana Ngata

In this text, Ngata discusses the advantages of a particular breed of sheep – the Romney – and, on the basis of this, offers advice to those who are not fully experienced in sheep farming.

Here, following a *Topic* section (title), the initial structuring framework is that of *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*), with the *Preview* section being followed by *Details* in three parts (price and distribution; land and land preferences; cross-breeding). All of this then acts as the *Situation* in relation to a *Problem* (implied), a *Solution/Response* (*Solution/Response 1*), and *Evaluation* of that *Solution/Response*, a second *Solution* (*Solution 2*) and an *Evaluation of Solutions 1 and 2*. The Problem-Solution section (*arguing* genre) provides a rationale for the initial section (*describing* and *explaining* genres).

Rhetorical structure: Problem-Solution and/or Matching	*Information Report Text-type 3 - Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular*	*Genres: describing; explaining; arguing*
	Te Rōmene nā Apirana Ngata TOPIC	
Situation	Ko te momo tēnei e whakatupuria nuitia ana ki Aotearoa, a, kei te atetea e ia te nuinga o ērā atu momo.	*Describing*
	Ko tōna tinana, he pakari, he ora, he nui, ahakoa ki te whenua wai, ahakoa ki te whenua maroke ahakoa ki te whenua whai kai, ahakoa ki te whenua iti te kai. He tinana nui tōna: he pai nga kātua ki te whakawhānau kūao ki te rau hipi kātua o te kāhui. Ko tōna wūru, he māmā iho i to te Rikini, he taimaha ake i to te Hāwhe purere: wūru utu nui, e tauwhainga ana ōna utu ki o te hāwhe purere i ēnei tau e whitu kua taha ake nei ki te mākete o Ingarangi. PREVIEW	
	Ko nga hipi utu nui o tēnei motu, he Rōmene. I Wairarapa tae noa ki Waiapu, i Poneke tae noa ki Whanganui, i Opotiki, i Waikato, i te Rohe Potae, tae noa ki te nuinga o nga whenua whakanoho hou o te Taitokerau, ko te momo tēnei kei runga. DETAILS 1: Price and Distribution	
	E pai ana ki a ia ngā āhua whenua katoa. Ko tōna whenua i tupu mai i tāwāhi, he repo. Na reira, ka ora ki nga whenua mākū, nui te ua. Ka tino pai ki a ia nga whenua nui te kai, ka tino ora te tupu a ōna wūru, ka nunui ana kūao, ka hohoro te mōmona. DETAILS 2: Land & Land Preferences	
Problem, Solution/ Response 1/ Evaluation of Solution/ Response 1	Ko nga hipi uha e tino pai ana hei whakamoe ki nga tāne o ētahi atu momo, hei whakawhānau kūao mo nga whare whakamātao miiti. He mātāmua te whānau, he ora, he maha, he hohoro ki te mōmona. DETAILS 3: Cross Breeding	
	Ko ētahi tohunga whakatupu hipi e kī ana he pai kia whakamoea te Rōmene ki te Rikini, ina e kitea e māmā haere ana, e potopoto haere rānei te wūru o te Rōmene. Engari kia kotahi whakamoenga mai o te toto Rikini, ka whakahoki ai ano i te kāhui ki te Rōmene, kia mau ai te pakari o te tinana i te taha Rōmene.	*Explaining*
Solution/ Response 2	E tika ana au kia tohutohu ki nga Maori o ia wāhi e tīmata ana ki te whakanoho hipi ki runga o rātou whenua kia mau i tēnei momo.	
Evaluation of Solution/ Response 1 & 2	Kua maha ēnei tau e mau ana a Ngāti Porou i tēnei momo, e manaakitia ana e te tangata mātau ki te mahi hipi, e maukinotia ana e te tangata tino kūware, e kaha ana ki te kuhu i a ia i roto i te hē o nga whakahaere, i te wā e ako ana tona rangatira ki nga tikanga o te mahi hipi: a, ki te mahue noa atu i nga whenua whai karaihe hanga mīharo tōna ora, te pai o ōna wūru, te hua o ōna kūao.	*Arguing*
	Kaore ia au i te mea kaati ko tēnei momo hipi anake e whakatupu.	
	Tērā nga whenua e ora ai ano te Rōmene, otira e whai tikanga kē ake ano te Hāwhe purere. Tērā nga whenua e ora ai ano te Rōmene, otira e whai hua kē ake ano ko te Rikini.	
	Mo te nuinga ia o nga whenua kei Aotearoa nei, he iti iho te aituā e pā ina mauria ko te Rōmene hei momo.	
	E kī ana te tohunga o te Pākehā nāna te nuinga o ēnei kōrero i tohutohu ki au nui ake nga moni e puta mai i te kāhui kotahi mano hipi o te momo Rōmene, i nga moni e puta mai i te kāhui pērā ano te maha o ēra atu momo.	
	(Kaa & Kaa 1996, pp. 58-159)	

Text 4 Te Pāremata - Te Wāhi Pa mai ki te Iwi Maori nā Apirana Ngata
In this text, Ngata outlines the stages involved in the establishment of the government of New Zealand, including the beginning of Māori participation in Parliament and the appointment of Ministers to deal with Māori affairs.

The overall structure of this text is *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*) and *Problem-Solution*. The text begins with a *Preview* (title and Editor's note) and then provides *Details* that are organised chronologically and thematically. One of the *Details* sections (*Details 5*) is also a *Problem*, the *Solution/Response* to that *Problem* being expressed in further *Details* sections and the *Situation* relating to the *Problem* being expressed in the previous *Details* section (*Details 4*). The entire text is in the *explaining* genre.

Rhetorical structure: Problem-Solutio nand/or Matching	***Information Report Text-type 4 - Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular* (PART 1 OF TEXT)**	***explaining***
	Te Pāremata - Te Wāhi Pa mai ki te Iwi Maori nā Apirana Ngata He whakamārama: Te Pāremata me te kaupapa i uru atu ai te Maori ki roto. Nga Etita. PREVIEW No te 6 o nga ra o Pepuere, 1840, ka hangaia te Tiriti o Waitangi i waenganui i te Kuini o Ingarangi, ko Kāpene Wiremu Hopihona nei tōna māngai, me te iwi Maori, ko nga rangatira e 512 na rātau nei i waitohu a rātau tohu ki nga kape o tāua Tiriti, nga māngai o te iwi Maori. Kua whakamāramatia i te tatai kōrero mo te Tiriti, kua pānuitia nei i ērā marama ki ta tātou pepa, nga tikanga o ia rārangi, o ia rārangi o taua Tiriti. I kiia i reira na te rārangi tuatahi i tāpae ki te Kuini te Kāwanatanga, te mana rangatira, te mana hanga ture: a, ko tōna tinana e tu nei ko te Pāremata. Na, ko tēnei tātai kōrero e whai ake nei mo te Pāremata, mo tōna tīmatanga mai, mo te urunga o te iwi Maori ki roto ki te Pāremata, mo nga Minita i whakatūria o ia Kāwanatanga hei Minita mo te taha Maori. I muri tata iho o te whakaotinga o te Tiriti o Waitangi, arā, i te 21 o nga ra o Mei 1849, ka puta te pānui (Proclamation) a Kāpene Hopihona i tuhia ki Pēwhairangi, e whakaatu ana 'ki nga tāngata katoa kua taka te mana me te rangatiratanga o Aotearoa ki a Kuini Wikitōria me ana uri mo ake tonu atu' i raro i te Tiriti o Waitangi. DETAILS 1: Treaty of Waitangi & control over N. Island Kaore tēnei i pa ki te Waipounamu, ki nga motu rānei e piri ana ki tērā motu. Ehara i te Tiriti ēnā i whakataka ki raro ki te mana o Ingarangi, engari i kiia he whenua kite hou ērā, a uhia ana taua mana ki runga. DETAILS 2: Control over S. Island Na, ka tau nei te mana, arā, te Kāwanatanga o te Kuini ki runga ki tēnei motu, ka tīmata te Pākehā ki te hanga tinana, e kitea ai te kaipupuri, te kaiwhakahaere, te kaiwhakaū i taua mana. DETAILS 3: Establishment of a ruling body	***Explaining***

Rhetorical structure: Problem-Solution and/or Matching	*Information Report Text-type 4 - Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular* **(PART 2 OF TEXT)**	*Genre: explaining*
Situation	I te tuatahi i te Kāwana anake te mana, me tāna Kaunihera hei tohutohu i a ia. No te 10 o nga ra o Maehe 1848 ka wāhia kia rua nga takiwa o Niu Tīreni ko te Taiwhakararo (New Ulster), ko te Taiwhakarunga tae atu ki Te Waipounamu (New Munster). Ko te rohe tapahi i te ngutuawa o Pātea ka rere tika ki Te Tairāwhiti. He Kāwana raro to ia takiwa me tāna Kaunihera, ko te Kāwana nui ia te tino Kāwana o ia takiwa, o ia takiwa DETAILS 4: Division into two regions	*Explaining*
Problem	I tēnā wa kaore ano te iwi nui i whai māngai ki roto ki te rōpū hanga ture, arā, kaore ano te iwi i whaimana ki te pooti mema. Ko te Kāwana anake rātau ko ana Kaunihera ki te hanga i nga ture. DETAILS 5: Restricted access to rights of representation	
Solution/Response	No te 30 o nga ra o Hune 1852 ka hangaia e te Pāremata o Ingarangi te Ture Nui mo Niu Tīreni (Constitution Act), a, no te 17 o nga ra o Hanuere 1853 ka kahititia tēnā ture, a, ka whaimana ki Niu Tīreni. Na kona i homai te Whare Ariki, te Whare o Raro e tu nei, a, kātahi ka oti te tinana o te Pāremata ki Niu Tīreni. DETAILS 6: Constitution Act Otira he maha nga whakatikatikanga i te ture nei ko te Pāremata ano, ki te whakatikatika ki te kī kia mea te tokomaha o nga mema ki te whakatau, ko wai ma e whiwhi pooti, ko wai ma kaore, ki te whakarite i te maha o nga tau e tu ai nga mema ka pooti hou ai, ki te whakatikatika haere i nga rohe o nga takiwa pooti mema, me ērā atu āhua o te tinana o te Pāremata. Kaore e tau ana ki raro. I ara i konei ētahi pakanga maha a te iwi Pākehā i roto i te Pāremata, a, i te aroaro hoki o o rātau kaipooti. DETAILS 7: Revision of Constitution Act & associated issues Inakoa he roa te wa i kakari ai ka whakawhiwhia nga tāngata kore taonga ki te pooti. Na Hori Kerei (Sir George Grey) tēnā take i whakaū ki uta. He roa atu ano te wa ka whakawhiwhia nga wāhine ki te pooti. Na Te Hetana tēnā take i whakaoti. Ina tonu no te tau 1919 nei ka oti te ture e āhei ai kia whakahuatia nga wāhine hei mema mo te Pāremata. DETAILS 8: Resolution of associated issues I Kororareka te tūnga tuatahi o te Kāwanatanga o Niu Tīreni. No te tau 1842 ka nukuhia mai ki Akarana nei, a, ka noho i kona taea noatia mai te tau 1865. No te tau 1863 ka whakaritea kia tirotirohia i te taha o te whakawhititanga i Raukawa (Cook Strait) he wāhi pūmau hei tūnga mo te Kāwanatanga, mo te Pāremata me ana mahi katoa. A, ka poroakitia ki Ahiterēria ētahi Komihana tokotoru hei tirotiro, a, hei whakatau. Na rātau i whakatau ki Poneke, a, no Pepuere 1865 ka nukuhia mai te Kāwanatanga i Akarana ki Poneke, a, e noho nei. DETAILS 9: Seats of power (Kaa & Kaa 1996, pp. 101-102)	

Text 5 Te Kākāpō (Strigops habroptilus) nā Tīmoti Kāretu

Aspects of the New Zealand native parrot, the kākāpō are described in detail in this text along with a lament for the rapid loss of this native bird with the coming of the Pākehā.

The overall structure here is a combination of *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*), *Problem-Solution* and *Matching* (*Contrast*). The primary genre is *explaining*, but with short sections involving *describing*. Following the *Preview* (title), the *Details* section is organised in relation to different characteristics of the kākāpō. *Details 7* and *8* provide a *Matching* relation (*Matching Contrast*: comparing the fate of the kākāpō in pre- and post-Colonial times), with the second part (*Details 8*) taking the form of a *Problem* (*Problem 1*) in relation to which the following *Details* section (*Details 9*) provides a *Solution/Response* (*Solution/Response 1*) and a further *Problem* (*Problem 2*). The final sentence provides a *Solution/Response* to the second *Problem* (*Solution/Response 2*).

Rhetorical structure: Problem-Solution and/or Matching	***Information Report Text-type 5 - Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular* (PART 1 OF TEXT)**	***Genres: describing, explaining***
Situation	**Te Kākāpō (Strigops habroptilus) nā Tīmoti Kāretu** PREVIEW (1) Ahakoa huri koe ki hea i te ao nei, kāore e kitea he kākā nui ake i te kākāpō o Aotearoa. (2) He kaha tonu ōna ngutu, ā, he pewa te āhua, pērā tonu i te katoa o ngā momo kākā. Engari *ko te kanohi, he āhua rite ki tō te ruru* - ko te 'kākā-ruru' tonu tētahi o ōna ingoa ki te reo Pākehā. Waihoki, ko te tikanga o tōna ingoa pūtaiao, arā, o te Strigops habroptilus, ko te 'kanohi-ruru whai hune'. Ko te tae o ngā hune, e rite ana ki te pūkohu, ā, he kōrangorango te āhua. Nā konei i pai ai te noho huna o te kākāpō i te ao, i te pō. DETAILS 1: Physical (3) Kāore i mōhio ngā tohunga huaota o te ao Pākehā ki tēnei manu kia eke rawa ki te tau 1852. I taua tau ka tūpono atu ētahi tāngata o te kaipuke Acheron ki tētahi, engari nā ā rātou kurī kē i whakamataku te kākāpō, me te aha, puta ohorere mai ana i tōna rua, ā, koirā te kitenga tuatahitanga o te Pākehā i tēnei manu. DETAILS 2: First sighting (4) *He manu haere takitahi* te kākāpō, *kāore e haere takitini pērā* i te nuinga o ngā momo kākā. Ko tētahi atu āhuatanga ōna, ko tana rere-kore. Otirā, he āwhina tonu kei ōna parirau poto i a ia e oma ana, e piki ana rānei i tētahi mea. Tērā ka eke ki te 2.5 kirokaramu tōna taumaha, ā, he pōturi tana haere, ka mutu, he waewae mātotoru. He manu nguengue, engari he kaha tonu tōna kakara, ā, i te mea ko te mata tonu o Papatūānuku tana kāinga, he māmā noa iho ki te kurī te whaiwhai haere i tōna kakara, waihoki, kāore he tahuringa ake mō te kākāpō. Arā anō ētahi o ōna tino hoariri, ko te ngeru, me te toriura. DETAILS 3: Reason for threats (5) He kaiota te manu nei. Ko ētahi o āna tino kai, ko *ngā kākano, ngā rau, ngā tātā me ngā pakiaka o ētahi tipu.* Ka kaikainga ngā mea kākoa, me te ngongo i te pia o roto. Hei tango mai i ngā kākano i ngā pātītī, ka puritia ngā rau ki ngā waewae, me te whakamahi i ō rātou ngutu hei unu mai i ngā kākano. DETAILS 4: Food preferences (6) Mō te wāhi ki te whakaputa uri, kāore te kākāpō e mahi poka noa. He mōhio ia he pai ake te tau humi hei whakapakeke uri, nō reira ka tatari kia matomato rā anō te tupu o te kai, ā, hei reira tahuri ai ki te whakaipoipo. He mahi rerekē tonu tā ngā toa i tēnei wā. Ka taki whakamenomeno rātou me te whakataetae tahi hei whakawai i ngā uha. 7) Mai i te marama o Hakihea ki te marama o Poutū-te-rangi, rangona ai ō rātou reo karanga i ngā uha, engari he rerekē te āhua o te tangi, me kī he momo nguru, ko te hāona kaipuke tōna rite. Ka roa tonu rātou e pēnei ana, me te mātaki a ngā uha i tā rātou mahi. Nā wāi, nā wai, ka whiriwhiri tēnā me tēnā o ngā uha i tāna i pai ai, ā, he nui tonu ngā toa ka ngere. DETAILS 5: Mating i te mate; he maha rātou ka riro hei kai mā te hoariri. Ko te whakataukī pea hāngai ana ki te toa i tēnei wā, ko tēnei, 'Hoa piri ngahuru, taha	***Describing*** ***Explaining*** ***Describing*** ***Explaining***

Rhetorical structure: Problem-Solution and/or Matching	*Information Report Text-type 5 - Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular* **(PART 2 OF TEXT)**	*Genres: describing, explaining*
Situation (contd.)	kē raumati'. Arā, i noho tata mai i te wā i pai ki a ia, engari kia uaua nei, kei hea (8) Hanga kōwhanga ai ngā uha i ngā tumu rākau kua wharemoa, i raro rānei i te pātītī taranui, ā, e toru ngā hua ka whānau mai ki te nuinga. Kotahi marama te uha e awhi ana i ōna hua, kātahi ka pao mai ngā pīpī. Ka āhua whitu marama ngā pīpī e piri tahi ana ki tō rātou whāereere, ā, he mahi nui tonu te karo rā e ngaro ana? DETAILS 6: Nesting, hatching & growth Heoi anō, me huri pea tēnei kōrero kia hāngai ake ki ngā kaupeka whakaputa uri o te kākā, arā '*Hoa piri raumati, taha kē takurua'*. (Signals move to discussion of Problem later) (9) Ka āhua 6-8 tau te kākāpō e tipu haere ana, ā, ki te waiho kia mate hirinaki, tērā pea ka eke ki te 30 tau, te 40 tau rānei te pakeke. DETAILS 6: Nesting, hatching and growth (continued) Ko Aotearoa anake te kāinga tūturu o te kākāpō. I ngā rā o mua, nohoia ai ngā wāhi ngāherehere katoa o te motu e te kākāpō. Kei te mōhiotia tēnei i te mea kua kitea ngā whaipara o tēnei manu i ngā ruapara Māori o mua, huri i te motu. Mahia anō ai e ngā Māori o neherā ngā huruhuru o te kākāpō hei hanga kahu. DETAILS 7: Māori & the kākāpō	
Matching (Contrast) *Problem 1*	(10) Nō te taenga mai o Tauiwi ki Aotearoa, he maha tonu ngā kākāpō ka mate i ā rātou kurī, ā, ka kainga anō hoki e te Pākehā. Arā anō ētahi i tukuna atu ki ngā whare taonga o konei me tāwāhi. I te wā i a Kuini Wikitōria, tukuna atu ai ētahi kākāpō e 80 nei ki tētahi whare taonga kotahi nei i Vienna. I ngā tau o ngā 1890, i muri tonu i te taenga mai o ngā toriura ki Aotearoa, ka matemate haere ngā kākāpō. Nā wai, nā wai, ka āhua pai ake. Engari i ngā tau o ngā 1930 me ngā 1940, ka paheke anō. E whakapaetia ana nā te tere ngaro o ngā ngahere i tīmata anō ai te paheke o te kākāpō i tēnei wā. Ka ngaro atu tēnei waewae mātotoru i Te Ika a Māui, ā, i paku muri mai ka pērā anō i Te Waipounamu. Ko ngā mōrehu i kitea i Te Waipounamu, arā, i Piopiotahi, ka haria ake ki te Punanga Manu i Mount Bruce, engari ka mate mai ērā i te tahumaero. Kua kore i kitea he kākāpō i Te Ika me Te Waka a Māui i ngā tau o ngā 1990. (11) Mokori anō i rokohanga atu ētahi āhua kotahi rau nei i Rakiura i te tau 1977. Engari kāore i tino pai tā rātou noho He Papa Ararau e Toroa ai ngā Taonga o te Motu i reira, i te mea e noho tahi ana ki tērā o ngā hoariri, ki te ngeru. I roto i te wā poto kua heke tō rātou nui ki te 61 noa iho. I konei ka whakatauria me hari ēnei tino mōrehu ki tētahi moutere karekau he ngeru, he toriura i reira. DETAILS 8: Pākehā & the kākāpō	*Explaining (contd.)*
Solution/Response 1 *Problem 2* *Solution/Response 2*	(12) Ko Hauturu, ko Codfish me Maud ngā moutere i whiriwhiritia.Hei āwhina i ngā kākāpō, ka tahuri Te Papa Atawhai ki te hora kai papai mā rātou, pēnei i te hua rākau, i te natinati me ngā 'pōhā patahua', i runga i te tūmanako ka whakaae ngā manu nei kua eke anō te tau humi, ā, ka tahuri ki te whakaputa uri! I ēnei rā, ko tōna 50 noa iho ngā kākāpō e ora tonu ana i ēnei moutere. DETAILS 9: Conservation & the current position	
	(13) Ko wai kāore e tautoko i te whakaaro me āta tiaki tēnei puipuiaki kei ngaro i tēnei, tōna whenua ake, pērā tonu i te moa, i te hōkioi, me te tōtōrori? © Te Papa Tongarewa (He Muka Putanga 11(4) Koanga, 1998)	

Text 6 Te Arotakenga o Te Taura Whiri nā Tīmoti Kāretu

In this text, Kāretu outlines the aims and results of a recent evaluation of the Māori Language Commission. He describes the main aims of the evaluation as set down by the Minister of Māori Affairs. He also explains the government's aims for te reo Māori and the positive outcomes of the evaluation.

Here, the overall structure is that of *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*), with an introductory *Topic* (title). The first *Preview* (*Preview 1*) relates to the evaluation of

the Māori Language commission and its aims. This is followed by *Details* (*Details 1*) relating to these aims. The second *Preview* (*Preview 2*) relates to the outcomes of the evaluation, and this is followed by *Details* (*Details 2*) in the form of a list of outcomes. The text is largely in the *describing* genre but has short initial and final sections in the *explaining* genre.

Information Report Text-type 6 - Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular **(PART 1 OF TEXT)**	***Genres: describing, explaining***
Te Arotakenga o Te Taura Whiri nā Tīmoti Kāretu TOPIC No ēnei marama tata nei i arotakea ai Te Taura Whiri i runga i te whakahau a te Minita Māori kia āta tirohia tēnei whakahaere āna. Ko ngā whāinga mātāmua o te arotakenga, he kimi mai: PREVIEW 1 (i) pēhea rā te hāngai o ngā whāinga me ngā mahi a Te Taura Whiri ki ngā whāinga me ngā kaupapa o te Kāwanatanga e pā ana ki te whakaora ake i te reo Māori; (ii) he aha ētahi whāinga me ētahi mahi hou hei pīkau ma Te Taura Whiri e kaha ake ai tana whakatinana i ngā kaupapa here reo Māori a te Kāwanatanga; (iii) mehemea ko Te Taura Whiri te whakahaere tika hei kawe i ēnei mahi; (iv) mehemea e tika ana te hanga me te rahi o Te Taura Whiri, arā, he titiro mehemea e tutuki pai ana āna mahi o tēnei wa, ka tutuki pai rānei ngā mahi hou tēra ka ara ake hei pīkau māna a taihoa ake nei; (v) te wāhi ki ngā Kaiwhiri i roto i ngā mahi a Te Taura Whiri tae atu ki ngā mahi a ētahi atu whakahaere pēra i Te Māngai Pāho me Te Puni Kōkiri; (vi) te āhua o te noho haepapa a Te Taura Whiri ki te Minita Māori i ēnei ra , ā, kia pēhea ēnei āhuatanga i ngā rā kei te tū mai; (vii) he aha ngā pānga o tēnei arotakenga ki te whakamanatia ngā kōrero o roto ki te Ture Reo Māori 1987 me ngā wāhanga ōna e hāngai ana ki ngā whāinga me ngā mahi a Te Taura Whiri. Ko ngā whāinga reo Māori a te Kāwanatanga, he whakawhānui ake i ngā wāhi e akona ai, e whakamahia ai te reo Māori, he whai kia pakari ake, kia whānui ake te reo Māori, kia tāea ai e ōna kupu te whakaata ngā whakaaro o tēnei ao hou e noho nei tātou, he whai kia ngākau nui mai ngā tāngata katoa ki te reo Māori, kia horapa ai te whakaaro he taonga tonu te haere kotui o te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā i Aotearoa. DETAILS 1 He nui tonu ngā whakaaro i hua ake i te arotakenga, ā, anei ētahi o ngā whakatau matua: PREVIEW 2 (i) na te iti o Te Taura Whiri me te nui o ngā āhuatanga hou e pāpā mai ana ki a ia, kaore e tāea e ia te pīkau ngā mahi e tika ana mana. Me whakarerekē tēnei tuāhua kia tika ai tana āro atu ki ngā kaupapa hou e pihi ake ana, pēnei i te rautaki reo Māori hou; (ii) ka tirohia ano te kaupapa mātāmua a Te Taura Whiri ā kia riro ko ia te 'Kaitieki mo te Reo Māori'. Ki ta ngā kaiarotake, e whakaari ana tēnei i tā Te Taura Whiri rauhi i te reo Māori me tana tū hei kaihautū i roto i ngā mahi whakaora ake i tēnei taonga a tātou; (iii) kia kaha ake tana tahuri ki ngā mahi pēnei i te whakatakoto paeuru me te whakamātau i ngā tohungatanga reo Māori o te tangata te mahi ai i ngā mahi e tika ana kia kawea e ētahi atu. Ki te tīkina atu ngā kupu hou o te ao tari Kāwanatanga kua pēnei te kōrero i konei, me mutu tana whakapau kaha ki ngā mahi a te 'kaituku ratonga', me whai ki tā te 'kaihoko ratonga'; (iv) kia whakatōpuria ngā rauemi reo Māori. Arā kē te marara tonu te noho mai o ngā rawa, kaore e puta ngā hua e tika ana me puta. Engari ki te whakaemitia me te āta whakapau anō ki ngā tino kaupapa, inā noa ake te whai hua; (v) kia kaha ake te haere kōtui o ngā whakahaere me ngā kaupapa whakaora ake i te reo Māori, ka mutu, ma Te Taura Whiri e whakataki ēnei tuāhua; (vi) kia riro ma Te Taura Whiri e whakataki ngā mahi whakapakari ake, whakawhānui ake i te Reo Māori; (vii) mā Te Taura Whiri e whakataki i ngā mahi aroturuki i te hauora o te reo Māori, me te arotake i te whaihua o ngā mahi whakaora ake i te reo Māori;	***Explaining*** ***Describing***

Information Report Text-type 6 - ***Rhetorical Structure: General-Particular*** **(PART 2 OF TEXT)**	***Genres: describing, explaining***
viii) na te orokohanga ake o te rautaki reo Māori, me te rerekē o ngā mahi ka whakaritea hei whai mā Te Taura Whiri, me titiro anō ki ngā pūmanawa me ngā pūkenga e noho mai ana ki Te Taura Whiri. I tua atu i tō rātou matatau ki te reo Māori, e tika ana anō kia matatau ngā tāngata o roto i tēnei whakahaere ki te whakatakoto mahere reo ki te whakahaere rangahau, ki te āhua o te Kāwanatanga me ngā mātāpono mātauranga. Me mōhio anō ki te whakatakoto mahere rautaki, me te whakahaere i tētahi tari pakupaku he nui ōna āhuatanga matatini. (ix) kia maha ake, kia whai tikanga ake ngā mahi arotake i ngā hua i puta ake ana i ngā mahi a Te Taura Whiri. Atu i te titiro ki te hāngai o ngā hua e puta ake ana i ngā mahi ki ngā whāinga, ka whakamahia Te Taura Whiri ki te āta kimi i ngā whakaaro o ngā huihuinga tāngata e kaha whai wāhi mai ana ki ngā kaupapa whakaora ake i te reo Māori. Ka kaha ake te arotake i te taha puta me te taha whakahaere o ngā mahi ka whakatakotoria ano he mahere rautaki mo ia toru tau kei te heke mai, kia kitea ai e ahu pēhea ana te whakahaere, ā, pēhea ra te kaha tutuki o ngā whāinga i roto i te wā. (x) ki te whakaaetia te tūnga mai o Te Taura Whiri hei 'Kaitieki', tēra pea me tāpiri atu he wāhanga hou ki te Ture Reo Māori e whakamana ana i ngā kawenga hou ka riro māna e whakatutuki, e whakataki. DETAILS 2 Koinei ra ngā kōrero matua i puta ake i te arotakenga. Me mihi rā ki ngā kaiarotake, ki a Whaimutu Dewes rāua ko Robyn Bargh, nā rāua nei Te Taura Whiri i tirotiro, me te whakatakoto i tā rāua pūrongo mō ngā mahi a tēnei whakahaere. (He Muka Putanga 12 (1) Raumati, 1999)	***Describing (contd.)*** ***Explaining***

Rhetorical structure and the *information report text-type*: Some conclusions

Each of the texts of the *information report* type has an initial rhetorical organisation of the *General-Particular* (*Preview-Details*) type. In two cases (*Texts 1 & 6*), only the *General-Particular* rhetorical structure is in evidence. However, in the other four cases there is also evidence of *Problem-Solution* structuring, although in all cases the problem text segment does not appear until the text is well established. In two cases (*Texts 1 & 5*), there is also *Matching.* In one case (*Text 1*), the second part of the *Matching* (*Matching Contrast*) introduces a Problem section. In the other case (*Text 1*), the two *Preview-Details* sections are linked by *Matching* (*Matching Compatibility*). In all cases, the rhetorical progression is linear.

All six texts exhibit the *explaining* genre, and one of them (*Text 4*) is exclusively in this genre. In the other five cases, the *describing* genre also occurs. In one case (*Text 6*), *describing* outweighs *explaining*. In two cases (*Texts 2 & 3*), the *arguing* genre also occurs.

Rhetorical structure: Some conclusions

The analysis of the twelve authentic texts reveals a difference between the *argument* text-type and the *information report* text-type in terms of rhetorical structure. Although all three rhetorical types (General-Particular, Problem-Solution and Matching) may be present in examples of either of the two text-types, a combination of Problem-Solution and General-Particular (Preview-Details) is always present in the case of the *argument* texts, and Problem-Solution is always in evidence from the

beginning of the text. In the case of the *information report* text-type, General-Particular (Preview-Details) is always present and is always in evidence from the beginning of the text, although a movement into Problem-Solution is common.

In the case of *argument* texts, progression may be linear or cyclic or a combination of linear and cyclic. In the case of the *information report* text-type, linear progression is clearly preferred. The *argument* texts are all multi-generic, typically combining the *arguing* and *explaining* genres, with sections in the *explaining* genre most typically occurring in Preview sections preceding the main Problem section. In the case of *information report*, a combination of *explaining* and *describing* is typical, with the *explaining* genre being the dominant one. In one case, the entire text is in this genre.

Implications of the findings

These findings relating to text-types have, I believe, important implications for Māori-medium education in that they, together with the findings outlined in an earlier issue of this journal (Houia-Roberts, 2003, pp. 65-99) provide a firm empirical foundation for the creation of teaching resources designed to develop students' capacity to understand and produce written texts in Māori which are consistent with the textual practices of educated and highly competent users of the language. Working initially from textual exemplars, students can develop their own capacity to create texts that are both effective and authentic.

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Appendix 1: English translation of the six *argument* texts

Text 1: The Te Aute Newspaper - Apirana Ngata
My associate editor, Reweti Kohere, has been asked by his Pakeha friends to add the name of one of his grandfathers, that is, 'Mokena', to his name. They want his full name to be Reweti T. Mokena Kohere. They are suggesting that this be a symbol of remembrance to his grandparent. (SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1) So then, his friends should not mistakenly believe that Reweti Kohere is a different person than Reweti Mokena Kohere. (PROBLEM 1) We were very disappointed when we saw language that should not in fact be printed in our Maori papers. This offensive language appeared in a letter sent in to the paper but this letter was obviously not noticed by the editor. Friends, our papers are read by women and by children, so it is not right that this offensive language should be printed. This is something that could incur a Government summons and could result in the imprisonment of those concerned. (PROBLEM 2) Be cautious. (SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 2) The fault really lies with the printers who continue to print this distasteful language. (PROBLEM 3)

Text 2: Counter this Insult: 'Maori are Lazy' - Apirana Ngata
Because this insulting phrase 'Maori are lazy' is very frequently used in reference to Maori people, (SITUATION AND PROBLEM) the very first thing that needs to be done by your group, in fact by all similar groups likely to be established in the future within the electoral boundaries of te Tairawhiti, is to refute it. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE (general)) In my opinion, some courses of action that could be used to discount these claims could be to:

(a) explain the way Maori were prior to the time of land sales, they were an industrious people, and the work they were able to do during those times, were wheat growing, rearing pigs, buying ships among other things;
(b) explain the ways in which the Maori people have fallen on troubled times because of land sales, land leases, and Maori people were left to exist on the monetory gains, and soon they became accustomed to this way of life, and because it was an easy life, the people lost the motivation to work;
(c) explain the obstacles, the difficulties caused by the many parliamentary laws which resulted in the frustration of the Maori people, and those who wished to improve their land were unable to do so;
(d) collate all this information about the work being carried out in your areas:

(i) the beginnings, the administration and also include the work of sheep rearing in Ngati Porou, the numbers of sheep and other animals being reared by Maori people at this time, the values of improvements on those lands, the total acreage which has been improved.
(ii) the vigorous work that Maori people are carrying out on the land owned by Pākehā.

(e) following that, be resolute with the messages you convey with the main focus being on the working of the land, the labouring for your aim is that the Government support your ideas;
(f) the ideas you put forward should in fact be circulated to Pakeha newspapers throughout the colony so that Pakeha will hear a fresh perspective about Maori land, so that the ideas will be supported by the newspapers and so that they will in actual fact be the ones to support your new suggestions. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM)
(g) This collection of new explanations could constitute an important part of a petition this year, and could be useful in the removal of the use of this word 'lazy' in reference to the Maori people. (EVALUATION OF SOLUTION/RESPONSE)

Text 3: A Final Word - Apirana Ngata
There are many things I could say regarding our Maoritanga (Maori culture) but I will leave that with all of you, for you know that I was one who expended my energy so that the works of our ancestors may be retained as a possession for the future generations; the Maori language; the stories of our ancestors; the songs; the war dances; the carvings; Maori housing, the maintenance of the traditions of the marae, the maintenance of the prestige and the authority of the Maori people. (SITUATION)
I was censured, by some Pakeha for these actions, and it was claimed that I was encouraging the growth of tension between the two races. (PROBLEM) This was not the case. Indeed, it was my intention to unite Maori and Pakeha on their own cultural values. There will not be a meaningful unification if one

member of he union is repressed and left to face the crumbs on the table, left to gather the burnt offerings from the hangi, left as a lowly person, in the land of his/her ancestors. No, this should be a union such as that of warriors, the way that chiefs unite; so that the head is held high, so that the stance is erect, so that face to face interaction is possible.
This is an important stipulation in the Treaty of Waitangi, which is being distorted by those who are discussing its meaning without an understanding of the spirit of the Treaty. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM)
Thank you. It will be good if you are resolute and are prepared to discuss all the issues discussed here with a clear understanding. (EVALUATION OF SOLUTION/ RESPONSE)
From your servant over the years,
Apirana Ngata.

Text 4: The Year of the Elderly - Tīmoti Kāretu
The United Nations has recommended that in this coming year, The Year of the Elderly will be observed worldwide, that at least is my interpretation of the notice. (SITUATION) What concerns me is that they are looking at older people in general and not at the Māori interpretation of an elder. (PROBLEM 1) I have already written in another paper that in my youth, on the marae of Tuhoe, Waikaremoana and Ruatahuna, the elders were a group who modeled what was right and effective, they retained the customs, they were a skilful group, they spoke with one voice, they retained tribal knowledge, it is true that they were the fountains of knowledge. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1)
With things the way they are these days, the question as to what defines a kaumātua (Māori elder) is being asked, and the reason for the question is that it has been seen that within some tribes there are no kaumātua left. We have reached the stage when some elders have no knowledge of the language, the customs, or even the stories. Is one a kaumātua because one has reached another generation, or is there some other criteria?
The questions that are asked regularly by people concern the criteria for a kaumātua or what must a person do to be recognized as a kaumātua? If one has reached old age but has no knowledge about the customs, tribal stories, is one still regarded as a kaumātua? (PROBLEM 2)
The question should be left for the Māori people to answer, to examine, (SOLUTION/SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 2) but it is a question frequently asked by the younger generation. The type of kaumātua who were around when I was a teenager, in my opinion, are no longer around, or are difficult to find, (PROBLEM 3) but the kaumātua we have now, are the survivors, it is only right that they are respected and are looked on with fondness by the younger generations. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM)
The main reason I feel sympathy for the kaumātua is that, the Māori world of today no longer know how to speak to them or how to show them respect. Furthermore, the Māori world does not know how to listen to the elderly but instead insist on continually asking questions and not listening at all. That is a common feature which has entered the Māori world, and this is why the Māori world is not united, there is not the belief that kaumātua do indeed possess a special knowledge. (PROBLEM 4)
That aside, my message is that the elderly should be really supported whether or not they know the ways of the Māori world because the time will come when you, when all of us will be part of the group we are discussing today. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM)
According to our elders, 'Death moves around', so therefore, this really needs to be considered.
Perhaps this could be a concluding suggestion,
Youth, respect your elders;
Elders, feed the youth who hunger for the knowledge you possess. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS 2 – 4)
Thank you all, you who will take part in honouring and respecting our kaumātua during the year which has been designated as the year which will have a special focus for them.

Text 5: Wrong is Wrong - Tīmoti Kāretu
My ears and I have heard the claim "You are trampling on my self-esteem" being heard more often when the grammatical errors in the language of communication are corrected.
It is those who have little knowledge of the correct and appropriate structures of the language who are making the claim that their esteem is being 'trampled on'. (SITUATION & PROBLEM 1)
Those who are learning need to listen to the way in which fluent speakers structure their language SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1 because it is by following fluent speakers that those who are less fluent, those who are unsure, those who do not know, will learn. **(**EVALUATION OF SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1)

Who among us was not corrected by someone more fluent, no matter what the topic? Who? (SITUATION 2)
What purpose is served by being offended at being corrected by someone more fluent than you? Will the person who was corrected become more competent?
That is not likely, ignorance will continue to be his companion, because the ears did not pay attention in the first instance, because 'wheke kurī' will still be the guide in the second instance, grievance or ill-feeling will be a companion in the third instance but I must make it clear that if a person behaves in this way, he /she will never become fluent no matter what. (PROBLEM 2 (arising out of PROBLEM 1))
My own response to the claim regarding the undermining of self-esteem, is to say, "You are treating my language badly, you are killing my language. If you wish to have this as your language, make sure it is correct, listen to those who are fluent and their reminders 'it is said like this, or it is said like that' but don't become fretful, don't become angry".
To return to the statement, 'A mistake is still a mistake'. There is no question about this. **(**SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS 1 & 2)
Those of you who are learning, you who are aiming at pursuing our language so that it will not die, so that it may remain a living language, you must be congratulated but we must be aware of levels of proficiency, if these are not being attained, then make this attainment an objective, that is, listen carefully, say nothing except to seek clarification as to why it is like this, or like that. There is a time for talking, a time for silence, for holding back from talking.
We all need to know when or what to aim at. Once that is achieved, we are on the right path, on an enlightened path.
What is the benefit if one argues for the sake of argument? There is none. But if one argues for the purpose of gaining more knowledge, or to acquire what one desires, then there is a benefit.
So that aside, to return to what our elders say 'Wrong is wrong. Right is right'. (SOLUTION/RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS 1 & 2 (expanded))
Leave that matter here for the present so that the progress of language learners can be observed but should I hear the use of incorrect language, (PROBLEM 3) my reaction will be to say, 'This is the correct way to say that', (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 3) and if the reaction is 'You are trampling my esteem', PROBLEM 4 (involves restatement of PROBLEM 1 in hypothetical future context) my response will be, 'You are mistreating, you are violating my language'. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 4)
Let us finish here. Correct your language or speak English but stop the abuse, stop the violation. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEMS 1 – 4)

Text 6: Māori Education - Tīmoti Kāretu

An invitation from a mediation group on Māori Education, that I be a guest speaker at their annual conference in Waikawa, Te Wai Pounamu (The South Island), led me to reflect on a topic, despite the request that the topic should relate to some aspect of the language. I considered the matter for some time and the notion that perhaps it would be worthwhile to challenge the question (SITUATION) "What is this thing referred to as Māori Education'? Which one of these would fit the criteria? Is it education about the Māori world? Is it education through the medium of the Māori language? Is Māori education that education which is being pursued by Māori people? Is it teaching a person who claims or knows he/she is Māori? Which of these fit the criteria? Or is it all of these listed here.' (PROBLEM 1 (general))
So then let's turn to the ideas which have been set down and pursue these and perhaps a little clarity may emerge. (SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 1)
Should it involve knowledge relating to the Māori world? Undoubtedly, some will be quick to ask which world of the Māori? Ancient Māori, or modern Māori? If it is to be ancient Māori, which aspects should it be? Should this include prayers, songs, Māori society, the practice of revenge, information about the gods, knowledge of genealogy? And so it goes on, or should it include all of the above? Now, if it were in terms of today's world which aspects should be covered? Should this include living in the cities and the issues of why this is so, falling on troubled times and the reasons why, the fact that too many Māori smoke too much, smoke other things, and why this is so? The incidence of suicides, the physical abuse of women and the abuse of children and why this is so are also issues that occur in this context. Our young people, our youth now focus firmly on their kind of world, so that could perhaps be another focus for Māori Education. There is the question of the role of men, of women, for it has been suggested by some that these roles are not being correctly observed. Will education stop this or make it worse? If all these suggestions above were to be taught through the medium of Māori, does this become Māori Education? If Māori people are pursuing these topics, is

that Māori Education? If the learners were non-Māori, is this now not Māori Education? What then if it is not in Māori? If Māori people are taught a subject, no matter what, does this qualify as Māori Education? (PROBLEM 1 (specific))
Some people might say that this is simply an attempt at stirring, at agitating, and should be ignored. PROBLEM 2 It doesn't matter if that is the opinion, (RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 2) but my question remains 'What is Māori Education?' (EVALUATION OF SOLUTION/ RESPONSE TO PROBLEM 2/ RESTATEMENT OF PROBLEM 1)

Appendix 2: English translation of the six *information report* texts

Text 1: The Marae of the Maori People: Maoritanga - Apirana Ngata
Throughout the world, different peoples have different interpretations on the origin of man. Man is still seeking knowledge of his creation. Many believe that man was created by a great power, by some powerful authority, with an extraordinary power that they claim to be a God. We have been taught that Christianity is the superior teaching. (PREVIEW 1)
It has been written in the first book of Moses and of Genesis that Man was created from dust and it was God who breathed life through his nostrils and instilled within him a spirit and this was the *Oropohanga***,** the creation. The male species was created first and then the female for according to the word of God man should not be alone, but he should have a companion to nurture him.
There are many other explanations held by other peoples but this is the faith brought by the Pakeha to the Maori people of New Zealand and to the Islands of the Pacific. Although there were many denominations, their messages were similar with a few slight variations, the Bible was the printed word and this was translated into the languages of all the indigenous peoples. (DETAILS 1)
Ancient Maori had a similar belief about their creation, their origins, their development in ancient times. (PREVIEW 2) These beliefs and the customs of the Maori came from two sources. There was the knowledge that came from outside the *Whare Wananga* (Maori Schools of Learning) and the knowledge that originated from inside the *Whare Wananga.* Although the teachings from the various *Whare Wananga* were similar this was made available to anyone. It became common knowledge and was not regarded as sacred. The sacred teachings were kept secret within the school of learning. The teachings of Io were concealed there from the majority of people. Indeed, it was the Pakeha who acquired the stories of the Maori elders that related to the teachings of Io, the most sacred of gods to the Maori of old. Only a tohunga (priest) could refer to him and only in the right places and at the right times. Although the teachings were suppressed, it is possible that these were more widely taught in the Whare Wananga in Te Taitokerau (Northern tribes) and Te Taihauauru (Western Tribes). The tohunga, the survivors of the battles handed on what they knew to the students of the new generation, who by this time had learned to record the written word and that is why the story of Io has been passed on down to us.
Io Nui represents the most important god
Io Roa represents uprightness and permanence
Io Matua represents the father of the heavens, of all people and their existence
Io Matua Kore of no parentage
Io Matua te Taketake, the permanent resting place
Io te Wananga, the beginning of all things
Io te Toi o nga Rangi, the highest level of the heavens
Io te Matanui, those things visible to the naked eye
Io te Matangaro, those things not visible to the naked eye
Io te Matakakao te ra, the warmth, the flames of the fire
Io te Whiwhia, the stature of mankind
Io te Matatapu, the most sacred of all
The belief is that Io created the world from nothing, was not born, had no parentage, had no union with women, was childless, but nevertheless all things, including the world, were created by Io. (DETAILS 2)

Text 2: The Law, Its Structure, Its Execution - Apirana Ngata
An explanation: The ways in which laws are constructed. The Editors (TOPIC)

In order that the Maori people clearly understand these matters, the explanations should begin with a discussion about those who have the power to construct these laws. (RESTRICTION)
Throughout history, and throughout the world, there have been groups of people, or a specific person, or some group that comes together with the power to establish laws for society, to settle problems, to administer punishment for wrongdoings. This symbolised the authority of the law, and the power of the group, the power of that specific person was seen, if the law was broken. (PREVIEW)
In some societies, the power lies with the King, in others with the Parish, for some with a collection of chiefs, and for others a gathering of tribal representatives with the right to speak for that tribe.
(DETAILS 1: Lawmakers)
Next in line of descent of power, listening to their decisions, are the groups with lawful powers such as soldiers, policemen, or any other groups whose role was enforcing the power of the law. To the Maori, the chief had the authority to establish the law. His people listened to his decisions and if that word

was not respected, his authority gave him the power to kill, to plunder, to conquer, to carry out such acts so as to demonstrate the power of his word. (DETAILS 2: Law Enforcement)
So it is clear to us that the law is established, by someone or a group in a position of power, as a symbol of authority within the community. (RESTATEMENT OF PART OF PREVIEW)
The legality of laws will not be recognised as such if there is no penalty for the breaking of that law whether it involves the law of society or spiritual laws; the breaking of the laws of society has led to incarceration, crucifixion, repossession of goods, the breaking of the laws of God have resulted in spiritual penalties, the burning fires after death, the gnashing of teeth. (DETAILS 3: Penalties)
What then is the reason for the loss of the authority of the Maori chiefs? There is now, no way to enforce their word. The chiefs no longer have the influence to make clear the authority behind their words, to instil respect into people. Pakeha laws that have now been applied to everyone, serve as an obstacle to the wishes of a chief. All that is left is to think about what the night may bring, the lines of ancestry, and sadness wells within.
The system of laws, presently recognised as the laws of New Zealand, were established by those in power at that time. The reason for writing about this matter was to explain:

A . Who were these groups with this authority?
B . How did they construct laws?
C . Who implements those laws?
D . What is it that gives the law so much power? (SUMMARY: RETURN TO TOPIC IN MORE DETAIL)

Text 3: The Romney - Apirana Ngata (TOPIC)
This type of sheep is widely bred in New Zealand and is quite different from most other breeds.
This sheep is strong, it is healthy and large, it can survive on land with or without water, and it can survive where the grass is lush or sparse. The sheep are very big, they lamb very well, they are healthy and they produce a high percentage of lambs within the group. The wool is light compared with the Lincoln but weighs heavier than that of the Half-Breed. The wool fetches a good price and the prices have competed well with the Half-Breed, in the British markets over the last seven years. (PREVIEW)
The Romney Marsh is the highest priced sheep in the land. From Wairarapa over to Waiapu, from Poneke over to Whanganui, in Opotiki, in Waikato, in Te Rohe Potae and indeed in most of the areas of Te Taitokerau recently introduced to the rearing of sheep, this is the breed of sheep on the land. (DETAILS 1: Price & Distribution)
It likes any sort of land. The land overseas, in England from where it originated was swamp, therefore, it will survive on wet land or on land which gets a great deal of rain. It particularly likes land with lush grass, its wool grows very well, its lambs will be large and will fatten well.
The ewes cross breed well for the purpose of providing lambs for the freezing works. They give birth early, they are healthy, and they have many lambs that fatten quickly. (DETAILS 2: Land & Land Preferences)
Prominent breeders recommend that the Romney could be cross bred with the Lincoln to see if the breed will become lighter, or whether the wool will be shorter but there should only be one attempt at this, after which they should be returned to the Romney flock so that the strength of the Romney breed is retained. (DETAILS 3: Cross Breeding)
It is only right that I should advise our Maori people from each region, those who are starting out in the rearing of sheep on their lands, to keep to this breed. Ngati Porou has kept to this breed for many years, and the experienced sheep farmers are taking good care of them while the less experienced are not, and yet they survive, they fend for themselves despite their mismanagement at a time when their caretakers are still learning about sheep farming: and if this breed is left on land where the grass is lush, the sheep will be healthy, its wool will be of high quality and the lamb production rate will be good.
I am not stipulating that this be the only breed that should be reared. The lands suited to the Romney may also be suited to the Half-Breed. These lands may also be suitable for the Lincoln breed. On the whole there are fewer disasters on the lands in New Zealand here, where the Romney is the prominent breed.
According to the Pakeha experts through whose teachings I have gained this knowledge, there is a greater profit to be made from a flock of Romney than from an equivalent of most other breeds.

Parliament - The Aspects Pertaining to the Maori People - Apirana Ngata

Text 4: An Explanation: Parliament and the entry of Maori. The Editors (PREVIEW)

It was on the 6 February 1840 that the Treaty of Waitangi was established between the Queen of England, with Captain Hobson as her representative and the Maori people, 512 chiefs applied their marks to the copies of that Treaty as the representatives of the Maori people. The composition of the Treaty has been explained in various publications in our newspapers, over the last few months, including the meaning of each clause of that Treaty. It was stated in the explanation that Clause 1 gave the Queen the right of governance, the authority, the power to establish laws and the Parliament that stands here, is the main representative body. The information outlined here relates to the Parliament, its origins, the entry of Maori into Parliament, the ministers who were selected to stand for each Government, as representatives for Maori. Immediately following the settlement of the Treaty of Waitangi, that is, on the 21 May 1849, a proclamation was made by Captain Hobson at Pewhairangi notifying all persons that 'the authority over New Zealand was now permanently under the control of Queen Victoria and her descendents under the Treaty of Waitangi'. (DETAILS 1: Treaty of Waitangi & control over N. Island) This did not include the South Island or islands adjacent to the South Island. The Treaty of Waitangi did not bring these islands under the authority of England, but they were instead declared to be new lands and the authority imposed on them. (DETAILS 2: Control over S. Island)

Once this authority was recognised, that is the power of governance of the Queen over the land, Pākehā began to establish a ruling body so that the holders, the organisers, the enforcers of that authority would be apparent. Originally, the Governor alone had the sole authority with his Council to guide him. (DETAILS 3: Establishment of a ruling body)

On the 10th March 1848, New Zealand was divided into two regions-North (New Ulster) and South (New Munster). The division was marked by the mouth of the Patea River and ran straight across to the East. Each area was represented by a deputy governor and his council and was overseen by the Governor. (DETAILS 4: Division into two regions)

At that time, the Maori people did not have any representative in the law making body, that is the people had no right to vote for representative members. Only the Governor and his council had the authority for the construction of laws. (DETAILS 5: Restricted access to rights of representation) On the 30th June 1852, the Constitution Act was established by Parliament in England and on the 17th January 1853, the law was gazetted and became effective in New Zealand. As a result, a House of Lords was established, the Upper House as it stands now and so the governing body of New Zealand was complete. (DETAILS 6: Constitution Act) But there was a great deal of revision to the Constitution Act by Parliament which included the stipulation of such matters as the number of eligible members, who could vote and who could not, the decision of lengths of term for new members, adjustments to electoral regions, and all matters pertaining to Parliament. (DETAILS 7: Revision of Constitution Act & associated issues) It was still not settled. Many disputes arose here, raised by Pakeha in Parliament and with their voters. Indeed, the disputes lasted for some time before those people without property were entitled to vote. Sir George Grey successfully effected this. It was even longer before women were allowed to vote. Seddon achieved this. It was only in 1919 that the law allowing women to stand as Members of Parliament was passed. (DETAILS 8: Resolution of associated issues)

The first seat of the New Zealand Government was in Kororareka. It was shifted to Auckland in 1842 where it remained until 1865. The possibility of moving the seat of government, Parliament and all its responsibilities, to the shores of the Cook Strait was discussed in 1863. Three commissioners were sent from Australia to finalise this. It was decided that the move would be to Wellington. On February 1865, the seat of Government shifted from Auckland to Wellington where it stands to this day. (DETAILS 9: Seats of power)

Text 5: The Kākāpō - Tīmoti Kāretu (PREVIEW)

Nowhere else in the world is there a parrot larger than the New Zealand Kākāpō.

It has a strong hooked beak like other parrots. But the eyes are more like those of an owl. Another Pākehā name for this parrot is kākā-ruru (parrot-owl). However, its scientific name is Strigops habroptilus, 'the downy eyes of the owl'. The down is the colour of the mist, and is mottled in appearance. Because of this, the kākā can stay concealed at night. (DETAILS 1: Physical)

Pākehā scientists did not know about this bird until 1852. In was in that year that a group of sailors from the sailing vessel Acheson happened on one but it was their dog that startled the kākāpō and

caused it to emerge from its nest and that was the first sighting by Pākehā of this bird. DETAILS 2: First sighting The kākāpō is a lone bird, it does not move in groups like most other types of kākā. Another feature is that it is flightless, but its short wings are useful when it is running or when it is climbing trees. The Kākā can reach a weight of 2.5 kgs, it walks slowly and has thick legs. The kākā is placid, it exudes a strong smell and because this bird lives on Papatūanuku (Mother Earth), it becomes easy prey for dogs. Indeed, there is nowhere else that the kākāpō can turn. Its other enemies include cats and stoats. (DETAILS 3: Reason for threats) This bird eats fresh fruit. Other favourite foods include vegetables, seeds, leaves, stalks and roots of some plants. It eats fibrous plants and it sucks at the sap. In order to pull out the seeds and the grasses, the leaves are held by the feet and the beak is used to suck out the seeds. (DETAILS 4: Food preferences) With respect to mating, the kākāpō is quite systematic. It considers the seasons when there is an abundance of food, so important for the rearing of the chicks. The kākāpō, therefore, waits until the food sources are plentiful and that is the time that its attention turns to mating. The male behaves quite differently at this time. They have tendency to show off and to compete for the attention of the females. From December through to March, their calls to the females are heard, a different sort of call, like a groan, similar to a ship's horn. This continues for some time while the females watch the performances. After some time, each female decides which male she prefers and many of the males are passed over. (DETAILS 5: Mating) The females construct their nests around tree stumps and hollows or perhaps under the tussock grass. Most produce three eggs. The female sits on her eggs for a month and then the chicks hatch. The chicks remain with their mothers for about six months during which time the will face many dangers; many are lost to predators. The expression best applied to the dominant males at this time is 'A constant companion in the autumn, absent in the summer' which suggests that the male stays close by at his convenience but is not available in times of trouble. (DETAILS 6: Nesting, hatching & growth) However, this discussion should return to reproduction of the kākā and the expression 'A constant companion in the summer, absent in the winter'. (Signals move to discussion of Problem later) The kākāpō continues to grow for about 6-8 years and if it does survive to old age, it could live for 30-40 years. (DETAILS 6: Nesting, hatching & growth (continued)) New Zealand is the native home of the kākāpō. They once existed in all the forests of the land. This has been proven through the discovery of the remains of this bird on the sites of early Māori all over the land. Early Māori used the feathers of the kākāpō for the making of cloaks. (DETAILS 7: Māori & the kakapo) With the arrival of the Pākehā in New Zealand, many of the kākāpō were killed by their dogs and eaten by Pākehā. Some were sent to the museums here and overseas. During the reign of Queen Victoria, 80 birds were sent to the museum of Vienna. During the 1890's, shortly after the introduction of the stoat to New Zealand, the kākāpō rapidly died out. A slight improvement followed. But between 1930-40, there was another rapid decline. It was argued that this was because of the loss of the forests. This thick-legged creature was soon lost to the Wellington region and shortly after to the South Island. The survivors, found in the South Island, at Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) were moved to a bird reserve in Mount Bruce No kākāpō were found in the lower North Island regions in the 1990's. Fortunately, approximately 100 were found in Rakiura (Stewart Island) in 1977 but they were not considered safe there as one of its enemies, the cat, also inhabited the island. In a very short time their numbers were reduced to only 61. (DETAILS 8: Pākehā & the kakapo) It was decided then that these survivors must be taken to a place without cats and stoats. Hauturu, Codfish and Maud Islands were selected. In order to help the kākāpō, the Department of Conservation began to distribution of their favourite foods such as fruits, nuts and muesli bars in the hope that the kākāpō would be deceived into thinking that this was a season of abundance of food and would hopefully begin to breed. (DETAILS 9: Conservation & the current position) Today, only about 50 kākāpō have survived. Who then would not support the idea that this rare and precious bird must be protected lest it is lost forever to this, its native home, like the moa, the hokioi and the tōtōrori.

Text 6: The Evaluation of Te Taura Whiri (TOPIC) – **Tīmoti Kāretu**

The evaluation of Te Taura Whiri was undertaken in these recent months because the Māori Minister requested it in order to for the examine its organization.

The principal aims of the evaluation were to determine: (PREVIEW 1)

(i) how the aims and the organization of Te Taura Whiri align with those of the government with respect to the revival of the Māori language;
(ii) other aims and other new responsibilities to enable Te Taura Whiri to execute the government Māori language policies;
(iii) whether Te Taura Whiri is the most appropriate organization for the execution of this work;

(iv) whether Te Taura Whiri is suitable in terms of structure and size, in other words to examine whether its role is being fulfilled at this time, or whether it can cope well with new responsibilities which it may have to carry in the near future;
(v) the roles of the organizers in Te Taura Whiri and those of Te Māngai Pāho and Te Puni Kōkiri;
(vi) whether the links between Te Taura Whiri and the Minister of Māori Affairs are appropriate at this time, and how these factors will evolve in time to come;
(vii) the impact of this evaluation if the Māori Language Act 1987, and the relevant sections directly related to the aims and the organization of Te Taura Whiri are given effective recognition.

The government's aim for Māori language is to increase the places where the Māori language will be taught and will be spoken, an aim to strengthen, to spread the Māori language and make it possible to express the notions of this new world in which we live, so that everyone will be eager to learn the Māori language, so that the idea of te reo Māori and English being interwoven in New Zealand will be realised. (DETAILS 1)
Many ideas grew out of this evaluation, and these were some of the main findings:
(PREVIEW 2)

(i) because Te Taura Whiri is a small organization and the new roles are many, it is unable to fulfill its rightful responsibilities. This needs to be changed so that it can cope with the new roles confronting it, such as the new Māori language strategy;
(ii) the primary function of Te Taura Whiri is to be examined, so that it may become the 'Kaitieki mo te reo Māori' (Caretakers of the Māori language). According to the evaluators, this is a clear indication of the fostering of te reo Māori by Te Taura Whiri and indicates its stance in coordinating the work involved in the revival of this precious gift of ours;
(iii) it needs to concentrate more on the work such as the establishment of criteria, the examination of language proficiency, the undertaking of work which should rightly be undertaken by others. If one was to consider the new directives, it would read like this, it must cease to expend energy in the area of 'providing services', and aim at being a 'seller of services';
(iv) the Māori language resources will be centralized. These are spread far and wide, so the benefits, which should follow are not seen, but if they are held collectively and additional resources are relevant to the business at hand, the benefits will be far greater;
(v) there needs to be a closer interaction in matters of the organization and the policies for the of revitalization of the Māori language, and Te Taura Whiri will conduct these matters;
(vi) it will be the role of Te Taura Whiri to conduct the work of strengthening, of further enhancing, te Reo Māori;
(vii) Te Taura Whiri will monitor the status, the well-being of te reo Māori and will evaluate the benefits for the revival of te reo Māori;
(viii) with the new development of the Māori Language Strategy, and the different role that Te Taura Whiri will play, the talents and the skills within Te Taura Whiri need to be examined. Besides their competency in te reo Māori, the staff need to be competent in language planning, be capable of conducting research, and be aware of government trends, and the principles of education. They need to be competent in the establishing planning strategies and in the organization of a small department with many pursuits;
(ix) there needs to be more evaluation, more purposeful evaluation of the advantages resulting from the work of Te Taura Whiri. Besides examining the relevance of the work to the aims, Te Taura Whiri is responsible for surveying the opinions of the groups of people who are conscientiously pursuing the revival of te reo Māori. A careful evaluation will be made of
funding, and a greater emphasis on the output. The strategic plan will be outlined in future in a three yearly strategic plan and will look at how well the organization is functioning and how well the aims are being met within that period;
(x) if the role of Te Taura Whiri as the 'Kaitieki'(Caretaker) is confirmed, there should perhaps be a new clause added to the Māori Language Act to see this to its completion, to conduct and to authorize the new responsibilities. (DETAILS 2)

These then, are the important findings which resulted from the evaluation. Thanks must go to the evaluators Whaimutu Dewes and Robyn Bargh because it was they who undertook this examination and presented their report about the operation of this agency.

Māori Waiata: Discourse structuring, sub-genres and aesthetics

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Abstract
With particular reference to a discourse-based analysis of five *waiata tangi* from Ngāti Hauā, it is argued here that different types of Māori *waiata* (songs and chants) may be characterised by different types of overall discourse structuring. It is also suggested that discourse structuring may be a significant aspect of the aesthetics of Māori *waiata.*

Introduction

The word 'waiata' is used with reference to Māori songs and chants, both traditional and modern, the term 'waiata mōteatea' being reserved for the former. Using a range of criteria including theme, function and imagery, analysts such as Ngata (1959), McLean and Orbell (1975) and McLean (1996) have classified *waiata mōteatea* into types, including, for example, *waiata oriori* (lullabies); *waiata tangi* (laments); *waiata aroha* (love songs) and *waiata kaioraora* (abusive songs). August (2001) has argued that, in addition to other characteristic features, *waiata oriori* may be generally characterised by a particular type of rhetorical structure.

The analysis of the rhetorical structure of five *waiata tangi* (following) leads to my hypothesis that they, too, may have a prototypical rhetorical structure. All five of the *waiata tangi* analysed here belong to Ngāti Hauā (of the Tainui confederation of tribes). Further analyses of *waiata tangi* and other categories of *waiata* from Ngāti Hauā and other communities will be required before any definite claims can be made about the real significance of the rhetorical patterning identified.

The five waiata: A discourse-based perspective

The analytical framework: Rhetorical functions and interactive speech acts

Each of the five waiata included here is analysed in relation to three aspects of its discourse structure - rhetorical function (e.g. hortatory), interactive speech acts (e.g. informative) and semantic relationships (e.g. Reason-Result).

The *hortatory* rhetorical function is characterised by the occurrence of exhortation and the vocative form of address (direct address) (see, for example, August (2001)). Typically, it is associated with the speech acts *elicitation* and *directive*. Wherever the hortatory rhetorical function is in evidence, the discourse will also be vocative. However, vocative sections need not necessarily be hortatory. In other words, exhorting someone (or, metaphorically, something) to do something (hortatory) involves addressing it/them (vocative), whereas addressing someone/something directly (vocative) does not necessarily involve exhortation (hortatory).

The interactive speech acts, *informative* (providing information), *directive* (requesting/ requiring some sort of action) and *elicitation* (seeking a verbal response to questioning) are often expressed by the following moods: *declarative* (informative), *imperative* (directive) and *interrogative* (elicitation). However, these speech acts

(informative, elicitation, directive) do not necessarily occur with the moods with which they are most commonly associated (declarative, interrogative, imperative). For example, elicitation will not necessarily be expressed in interrogative mood. For discussion and application of interactive speech acts, see, for example, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975); Crombie (1985); August (2001).

Semantic relationships have been discussed by a number of linguists, including Beekman and Callow (1974), Houia (2001), Kehler (2002), Longacre (1968; 1972), and Winter (1977). Crombie (1987, pp.102-110) classifies semantic relationships into three main types in terms of the cognitive processes involved:

- associative (involving some aspect of contrast or comparison);
- logico-deductive (involving some aspect of cause and effect);
- tempero-contigual (involving relationships defined by temporal and spatial association).

Each of the three types of cognitive process has a number of semantic relationships associated with it. Those relations that are associated with the logico-deductive process are outlined in *Table 1* below. Note that Grounds-Conclusion differs from Reason-Result in that the second part of the relation is presented as a deduction rather than as a fact. The members of each relation may occur in the order indicated in the table (e.g., Reason-Result) or in reverse order (e.g. Result-Reason). Definitions and examples of semantic relations, including those associated with the associative and tempero-contigual processes, are provided in Roa (2003).

Table 1: **The logico-deductive process and associated semantic relations with examples**

Logico-deductive semantic relations with examples from English	
Condition-Consequence	If he had told me to be careful, I would have avoided the swamp.
Means-Purpose	He composed in order to honour the departed.
Reason-Result	He was dishonoured because he had been defeated in battle.
Means-Result	He honoured them by composing a waiata.
Grounds-Conclusion	He is wearing the cloak so he must be the leader.

The five *waiata tangi* that are discussed below are: *Ka Mahuta, Tērā te marama, Tērā te marama ka kowhiti, E rere e te ao*, and *Tākiri ko te ata.* Translations of these waiata (along with a numbering system to help readers to relate the original and translated versions) are provided for readers who are not fluent in Māori. For a discussion of these translations, see Roa (2003). The analyses that follow are, however, based directly on the Māori.

Ka Mahuta

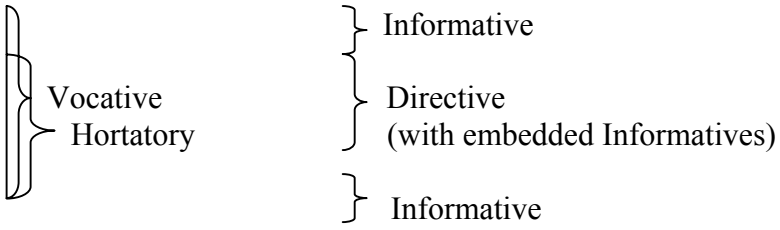
Source text	Translation	Discourse segments	Interactive speech acts	Logico-deductive semantic relations
1. Tērā te marama ka mahuta i te pae o Tahu e tama e	1. Beyond Tahu's horizon the moon rises, oh son	Vocative	Informative	
2. E tū ai koe te kura tātai puni te kawau mārō e i	2. Where you stand, the beloved one whose genealogy is borne within the swoop of the cormorant.			
3. Haere rā koutou i te apuhau, i te apu a Pawa, i te tira wairua e i	3. I bid you farewell as you take your journey with the gathering winds and the questing souls to join the spirit people			Means-Purpose
4. Takahia e koe ngā toka taniwharau, ka tere, rua mano e	4. Tread Ngā Toka Taniwharau, take wing amongst two thousand	Hortatory	Informative	
5. Ka pāea kei uta kei te whakahekea iho ko te Wairua Tapu e	5. Cast ashore, the holy spirit descends upon you		Directive	Means-Purpose
6. Hei ara mōhou e uia mai koe māu e kī atu nō Wharekura toetoe ngā nunui e	6. To guide you. If you should be asked, say that you are from Wharekura, from the remnants of the multitudes			Condition-Consequence
7. Tēnei anō rā ngā whakataukī i waiho ake ai e hahu (hau) e tonga e i, he taonga kākaho e…	7. These are the ancient sayings handed down for you to use, a precious lattice work…		Informative	Means-Purpose

In *Ka Mahuta*, the entire waiata is vocative – directly addressed to the deceased (*e tama*) - and the entire second section, with the exception of the final sentence, is hortatory, an exhortation to the deceased to depart on the journey to the spirit world armed with knowledge of the ancient sayings and the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The initial section (Lines 1-3 "Tērā te marama . . . i te tira wairua e i") is Informative. This is followed by a Directive ("Takahia e koe ngā toka taniwharau . . . he taonga kākaho e…") which includes two embedded Informatives, one in the middle section ("Ka paea kei uta kei te whakahekea iho ko te wairua tapu e"), and one at the end ("Tēnei anō rā ngā whakataukī i waiho ake ai e hahu (hau) e tonga e i, he taonga kākaho e…").

In terms of semantic relations, what is immediately apparent is the centrality of the logico-deductive relation of Means-Purpose which appears just before the hortatory section, where it refers to the purpose of the journey ("haere ra koutou i te apu hau i te apu a Pawa i te tira wairua e"), and twice in the hortatory section where it refers to the purpose for which the Holy Spirit descends and the purpose of the ancient sayings ("Hei ara mōhou māu e ki atu...").

The overall discourse structure (excluding semantic relations) is represented below:



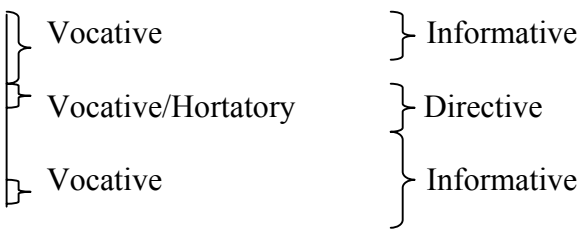
Tērā te marama

Source text	Translation	Discourse segments	Interactive speech acts	Logico-deductive semantic relations
1. Tērā te marama hohoro te kake mai kia mihi atu au	1. Behold the moon swiftly rising so that as I greet it	Vocative	Informative	
2. Kia tangi atu au kātahi te aroha	2. I mourn and express my love			
3. Ka āta rangona iho me te ngau Atua	3. My senses bemused, feeling the wrath of God -			
4. Te pānga ki ahau he kino koutou ki te noho mai	4. Upon me. You were wrong to stay behind.			
5. Ka motu koe ki tawhiti ka nui taku aroha	5. You are cut off, far away, great is my sorrow			Reason-Result
6. E rere e te ao haria he kōrero kia whakarongo mai aku hoa i te mate	6. Soar onward oh clouds. Take these words so they may be heard by my friends who have passed away.	Hortatory/ Vocative	Directive	Means-Purpose
7. Tēnei hoki au kei te karangi noa he nui nō te aroha ki te iwi kua ngaro	7. Here am I restless, unsettled. Great is my sorrow for those departed.			Result-Reason
8. Ārohirohi ana taku nei titiro ngā rae ka wero	8. My vision is blurred, then the headlands pierced			
9. A ko tāku i waho, pā tata rawa mai Te puia i Whakaari mei ata kite atu	9. And my view beyond is of White Island, it seems so close, if I could only clearly see		Informative	
10. I maro tiri ra ia ki te wā i huri atu ki te tini o te hunga e kore ra e hoki mai	10. He was at Marotiri when he joined the myriad who will never return			
11. Kua oti atu koutou whakangaro i te ao na	11. You the deceased are lost to us in the underworld	Vocative		

In *Tērā te marama,* the initial two sections and the final section are vocative. The first and last of the vocative sections are addressed to the deceased. The remaining vocative section, a section which is also hortatory and directive, is addressed to the clouds. The remainder of the waiata is informative.

The final section of the initial vocative contains an implicit Reason-Result relation, the first section of the informative section contains a further implicit Reason-Result relation (inverted) and the hortatory section contains a Means-Purpose relation.

The overall discourse structure (excluding semantic relations) is represented below:



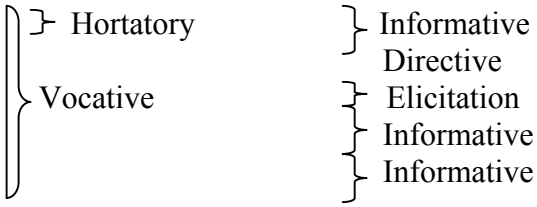
Tērā te marama ka kowhiti

Source text	Translation	Discourse segments	Interactive speech acts	Logico-deductive semantic relations
1. Tērā te marama ka kowhiti kei runga	1. Behold the new moon appears	Hortatory	Informative	
2. E ngia e te ihu tēnei ka ora mai	2. Bringing the breath of life			
3. Hoki mai e hoa ki a tirohia iho	3. Return friend and let us gaze upon		Directive	
4. Tō kiri rauwhero, tō mata rauiti	4. Your dusky skin and fine features			
5. Tama tā iho ki te wai mātao, ka heru ka pai ka puta ki waho ra	5. A son cleansed in the cold waters, groomed then emerged			
6. Ko wai ra te Atua i whiua ai koe?	6. What God would forsake you?	Vocative	Elicitation	Result-Reason
7. I herea mai koe, te here taurarua	7. You were bound with the double stranded ties		Informative	
8. Nei kua unuhia i waenga i te hono	8. Now severed in the midst of the joining			
9. Karekare kau ana ngā hau o te rangi	9. The winds in the sky howl			Result-Reason
10. Aumihi kau ana ngā wai o te awa	10. The waters of the river embrace			
11. Kāore ia nei ko te tohu o te mate	11. Behold 'tis a sign of death			
12. Ka whati ra e te kāwai rangi ora	12.Vital genealogical links destroyed			
13. Kua ngaro ra e taku piki kōtuku	13. Lost is my piki kōtuku			
14. Taku whakamarumaru ki te nōhanga nei	14. My beloved protector in this life			
15. Ehara e hoa (e) waiho ana koe	15. Behold friend you leave behind			
16. I te whana ka tatangi kei o teina	16. The melodic sounds of the whana with your younger cousins		Informative	
17. Mā tō tupuna ra māna e kōrero	17.Your ancestor should speak			Conclusion-Grounds
18. He moenga rangatira ki runga o Hikurangi	18. A noble marriage atop Hikurangi Mountain			
19. Ehara koe (i) te tangata he kuru tonga rerewa	19. You are not a mere person, you are a kuru tonga rerewa			
20. He Toroa whakakoko ki runga (i) te taumata nei	20. You are as the Albatross weeping as it soars above			

In *Tērā te marama ka kowhiti,* the entire discourse is addressed to the deceased (vocative). The waiata begins with a hortatory section in which the deceased is exhorted to behold the rising of the moon and return. The remainder of the waiata is largely informative although there is one elicitation. The elicitation ("Ko wai ra te Atua i whiua ai koe?") may be intended to function as a rhetorical question. If so, the implication is that God would not forsake the deceased. Whether or not the question is a rhetorical one, the following line appears to be a reason (either for the question

itself or, if it is rhetorical, for the implication carried by the question). The first informative section contains a Reason-Result relation (inverted) and the second informative section contains a Grounds-Conclusion relation (inverted).

The overall discourse structure (excluding semantic relations) is represented below:

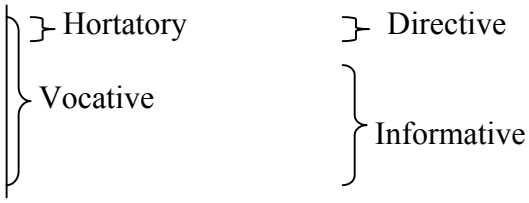


E rere e te ao

Source text	Translation	Discourse segments	Interactive speech acts	Logico-deductive semantic relations
1. E rere e te ao, ahu tonu mai uta ee	1. Take flight, oh cloud, from inland	Hortatory/ Vocative	Directive	
2. Rere tika mai runga, tika tonu ki raro ra ee	2. Soar high above and descend			
3. Ki te ao pouri, te rerenga wairua ee	3. Into the depths of darkness, the dwelling of the spirits,			
4. Ko te ara tēnā, i haere atu ai ee	4. 'Tis the pathway travelled			
5. Aku kurupounamu, aku ipo kahurangi ee	5. My precious ornaments, my beloved treasures	Vocative	Informative	
6. Nāku i tuku atu, i te kaha o te mate ee	6. I let you go, the pain is too great			Reason-Result
7. Kā ti ko te aroha, e kai nei i a hau nā	7. And now my love gnaws at me			Reason- Result
8. Homai kia mihia ngā mate tuatahi ee	8. Causing me to mourn, the first deaths…			
9. Ngā mate tuarua, tēnei mātou ee	9. And mourn too the second deaths. Here are we			
10. Te hari aroha mai ka hua te ngākau ee	10. Bringing our love, our hearts frustrated			
11. Te noho wairangi nei kua hoki rawa ki te kore ee	11. Without hope, eventually returning to nothing			
12. Te riri a te Atua, kāore ia nei ee	12. The wrath of God, no blame can be laid there –			
13. He tīkaro manawa, tokomaha i te matenga ee	13. A wrenching of our hearts, so many of you having died			Result-Reason
14. I te tau kotahi tēnā koutou ee	14. In one year, and we acknowledge you all			Result-Reason
15. E arohatia nei, te waihotanga ake ee	15. Such is the love of those left behind			
16. A ngā kaumātua a te iwi kua ngaro nā ii	16. Of the elders, for those who are lost to us…			

In *E rere e te ao,* almost the entire discourse is addressed to the deceased (vocative/informative). The first section is, however, not only vocative but also hortatory. It is addressed to the cloud (symbolising the journey of the deceased to their resting place), exhorting it to take flight, to soar and descend, travelling the pathway to the dwelling place of the spirits. There are several Reason-Result relations, all of which co-occur with informative. The final Reason-Result relationship is particularly interesting in that it appears to relate not only to the content of the waiata, but also to the reason for its composition ("E arohatia nei, te waihotanga ake ee/ A ngā kaumātua a te iwi kua ngaro nā ii").

The overall discourse structure (excluding semantic relations) is represented below:

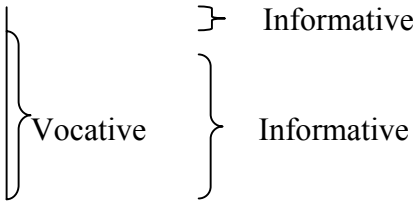


Tākiri ko te ata

Source text	Translation	Discourse segments	Interactive speech acts	Logico-deductive semantic relations
1. Tākiri ko te ata	1. With the quivering of the dawn's light	Vocative	Informative	
2. I haere ai te makau haere ra e hoa	2. My dear one departed, farewell beloved one			
3. I te ata hāpara e kāre kau atu nei	3. As the dawn breaks, I am lost, alone on this morning		Informative	Reason-Result
4. Te tau o taku ate, kīhai i whītikia	4. Severed is the bond we once shared my love -			
5. Te tau o Kaitangata	5. Treasured of the Consumer-of-passions			
6. Hei ata mōhoku, hei ata ki te mate	6. As a shadow for me, a shadow of death			
7. Māku e mihi noa	7. All I can do is acknowledge you			
8. Ki o haerenga nei māku e tangi noa	8. Weep for the places we visited			
9. Ki o nohanga nei tangi tīkapa ai	9. Lament inconsolably the places we dwelt			
10. Ko te puni wahine e waiho ana koe	10. You leave behind a group of woman			Means-Purpose
11. Hei ranga i te iwi, i te nui o –'Ti-Hau'	11. To unite the people, to bind the masses of 'Ti-Hau'			
12. I te rahi (o) Waikato	12. To bring together the multitudes of Waikato.			
13. Ka whati ra ia te tara o te marama	13. Displaced is the horn of the moon			
14. Taku pākai hau, ehara i te tangata, he herenga tōtara	14. My protector - not merely a person, but a sheltering totara			
15. Ka turaki ki te mate	15. Cut down in death			

In *Tākiri ko te ata,* all except the initial section (which is informative) is vocative *and* informative. There are two logico-deductive semantic relations. The second of these – Means-Purpose – may be intended to signal that there is some consolation for the women left behind in that they have a task to perform ("Hei ranga i te iwi, i te nui o – 'Ti-Hau'/ I te rahi (o) Waikato").

The overall discourse structure (excluding semantic relations) is represented below:



Discussion

All five of the waiata tangi analysed above include vocative sections (sections involving direct address) and four of the five also include *hortatory* sections (sections involving exhortation/encouragement). In two cases – *Ka Mahuta* and *Tērā te marama ka kowhiti* – the deceased is encouraged on the journey. There is, however, a major difference. Whereas in *Ka Mahuta* – a *waiata tangi* relating to a warrior killed in battle – the deceased is encouraged on his journey to the spirit world, in *Tērā te marama ka kowhiti* – a *waiata tangi* relating to the death of a husband – the deceased is encouraged to return to the world of the living. In *Tērā te marama* the moon is exhorted to action; in *E rere e te ao*, the clouds are exhorted to action. In the first case - *Tērā te marama* – the moon is explicitly exhorted to carry the words of the living to the spirit world. In the second case - *E rere e te ao* – the clouds are exhorted to soar and then descend into the place of the spirits. Although there is here no explicit reference to the fact that the clouds are to carry the words of the living with them, this is an inference that, on the basis of comparison with *Tērā te marama*, we may suppose listeners would have made.

In *Tākiri ko te ata*, there is no hortatory section. However, there is in this waiata, as in all of the others, a vocative section.

In four of the five waiata, the deceased is directly addressed. In one case however, - *Tērā te marama* - it appears that the composer is addressing distant whanau rather than the deceased. Even so, on the basis of this analysis of these five *waiata tangi*, it appears that invocation (vocative) and/or exhortation (hortatory) are characteristic features. In none of the five waiata is there the clear bi-partite structure (vocative/ hortatory involving elicitation and directive followed by informative involving logico-deducative relations) that August (2001) proposed as being typical of *waiata oriori*. Instead, the most characteristic feature appears to be the occurrence vocative or a combination of vocative and hortatory throughout.

Of the five waiata, one stands apart from the others. This is *Ka Mahuta*, a waiata that is clearly concerned with death in battle (as indicated in a number of ways, including the possible reference to a cormorant-like battle formation). Whereas the other four waiata include reference to the personal sense of loss of the composer, there is no such reference in *Ka Mahuta.* Furthermore, there is a unity of vision in *Ka Mahuta*

that is not present in the others. This waiata is hortatory and vocative throughout. It is addressed exclusively to the deceased, urging him on his way to the spirit world and making reference to genealogy and to the ancient sayings that are to be his support. The omens are good for a safe journey. The warrior died a noble death. This is a waiata of acceptance of the rightness of things.

If hortatory and vocative focus are characteristic of waiata tangi, then perhaps the ability to maintain that focus throughout, to provide a context for the journey towards the spirit world that is related, through appropriate cultural symbols, to the continuity of all things, is a signal of true artistry. Within this context, the measured tones of the language itself are highlighted. This could provide a starting point for a detailed examination of the artistry of waiata tangi, an examination that would necessarily involve careful attention to the metrical and musical qualities of the composition and more detailed attention to linguistic selection.

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Traittore; Traduttore: Cultural integrity and translation involving Māori and other indigenous languages

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Abstract

Traittore; Traduttore is Italian for *Traitor; Translator*. I argue here that translation from or into an indigenous language such as Māori is always, whatever the content and function of the source text, a political act and that, therefore, a Code of Ethics grounded in indigenous perspectives is essential if the ever-present danger of cultural betrayal is to be avoided.

Introduction

Is the translator a cultural intermediary, or a cultural traitor? *In the Tītohu Whakamāori* programme at the University of Waikato, this is a question that students are expected to take seriously. What is their purpose in training to become translators? Why do they want to translate? What is in it for them? In a personal as well as in a professional sense, a translator is a cultural mediator, bridging two worlds. We teach that our language and our well-springs in our culture are *taonga*, precious gifts to us that demand our respect. These teachings need to be reflected in a Code of Ethics that is specific to the context in which Māori-English and English-Māori translators operate in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Concepts of translation and cultural embedding

Translation can be conceptualised in a variety of different ways. The word 'translate' is derived from the Latin meaning to 'carry across' – a 'spatial' concept. In Sanskrit, however, the term 'anduvar', means 'to say again' – a 'temporal' notion. Newmark (1996, pp. 4-5) states that "translation is the transfer of the meaning of a text . . . from one language to another for a new readership . . . as accurately as possible". Houbert (1998, p. 1) asserts that the translator is primarily a "message conveyor . . . whose work essentially consists of conveying the meaning expressed by the original writer". In these approaches to translation, both Houbert (French) and Newmark (English) reflect the cultural foundations of their own linguistic heritage. In Māori, the word 'whakamāori' (to cause to be Māori) is used with reference to translation into Māori, and 'whakapākehā' (to cause to be English) is used with reference to translation from Māori into English. The prefix *whaka-* contains the idea of a creative process, its use signalling the recognition that the processes involved in translation are as important as the product. Translation involves something more than a transfer in space and/or time.

Translation and colonisation

With reference to the use of translation as a colonising tool in the Indian-British context, Niranjana (1992, p. 186) points out that "our search should not be for origins or essences but for richer complexity, a complication of our notions of the 'self', a more densely textured understanding of who 'we' are".

A classic example of the disruptive use of translation in the colonial context is that of Sir George Grey's late nineteenth century treatment of the attempt by Māui (a Māori demi-god) to outwit and overcome Hine-nui-te-pō (the female *atua*[1] of Death) (Grey & Williams, 1971). What was involved here was recreation rather than creation. Victorian England had a taste for the quaint and the exotic. It did not, however, respond positively to overt sexual references. Thus, Grey presents Māui as entering Hine-nui-te-pō via her mouth, misrepresenting the Māori metaphor that illustrates how the male infant struggles to break free of the female cocoon, only to struggle mightily to return via the same passage in adulthood.

In English literature, Shakespeare is dubbed 'The Bard'. There is no other as celebrated as he. In the early 20th Century, eminent Māori leader, lawyer, politician, scholar and poet in his own right, Sir Āpirana Ngata (1959) collected Māori Song-Poetry, asserting that therein lay the equal of anything 'The Bard' could produce. He then translated the song-poems into English, collaborating later with another Māori intellectual of note, Pei te Hurinui Jones (Ngata, 1961; 1980). These translations sometimes gloss over aspects of the source text. One example of this is Ngata's translation of *Poia atu taku poi* by Erenora Taratoa of Ngāti Raukawa (Ngata, 1959, p. 143). Here, Ngata glosses over explicit mention of matters of the female form.[2] To the discriminating Māori audience, a key point is lost. The song was composed in response to the jealous accusations of other women that the author, Erenora, was a base woman of ill repute, guilty of gross misbehaviour. Erenora makes specific mention of those parts of her toward which men felt particularly attracted, parading an enormous pride in her femininity. She outlines also her noble birth and background, tracing her lineage, again through that most essential female part, to the Māori aristocracies of the time. She is proud of her ability to attract the opposite sex. She has no shame in relation to behaviour that is intended to maintain their attention.

I have indicated that Ngata sometimes 'glossed over' certain matters. In saying this, I do not intend to suggest that this was a result of any lack of skill as a translator. On the contrary, Ngata's decision to do so demonstrates an awareness of audience and purpose. Precisely because he took account of the sensitivities of the time, he was able to provide a non-Māori audience with a window through which they could view something of the beauty of his Māori world. To upset their sensibilities would have been counter-productive. Could the same be said of Grey? I think not. Certainly he took account of the sensitivities of the time but the ways in which he did so were very different. He recreated rather than glossed over aspects of the source text and, furthermore, relegated female *atua* to the role of 'bit players'. In doing so, he revealed a profound lack of understanding of Māori culture and spirituality and demonstrated a type of plagiarism and eurocentricism that were characteristic of the time.

Translation as celebration of Self, Other and Self-as-Other

In an attempt to bring to a Māori audience a sense of Shakespeare's genius, Te Hurinui Jones (Shakespeare & Jones, 1946) translated *The Merchant Of Venice* into Māori. The first live performance in Māori was in 1984. In 2002, the play was made into a film – *Te Tangata Whai Rawa O Weniti* (The Māori Merchant Of Venice). In this production, we experience that "complication of our notions of the 'self'", that "densely textured understanding of who 'we' are" referred to by Niranjana (1992, p. 186). The costumes, the settings, the scenes, the actions are essentially the Venetian

vision of the Elizabethan Shakespeare; the language, the cultural nuances, the music are essentially Māori. Scenes in which Shylock sharpens his blade in anticipation of the Ducal favour which will allow him to take a pound of Antonio's flesh may have appealed to the anti-Semitic sentiments of an English Elizabethan audience. A Māori audience is, however, likely to find itself espousing the cause of the Jewish minority. When Portia succeeds in thwarting Shylock's purpose where the cleverest of males has failed, she turns the tables on male machismo in a way that clearly appeals to a Māori audience. These possible readings of aspects of the play are certainly not absent from the source text. However, the fact that they appear to become more salient in *Te Tangata Whai Rawa O Weniti* relates not only to what is said, but also to the fact that it is expressed in a language which has come to be associated with cultural oppression. Our indigenous selves celebrate the variety in being *Other*. Our indigenous world, hidden in its essence from the 'mainstream', is *kokonga ngākau*[3] and hence, precious. It teaches us to value Self, Other and Self-as-Other.

Translation in the modern world: two examples

In translating from English into Māori a document outlining national achievement standards in Graphics at the Year 12 Level, I came across the term 'negative space'. Having no concept of what was meant by 'negative space', I turned to cousins (*whanaunga*) involved in teaching. They suggested I meet (*hui*) with some of their colleagues who were involved teaching graphics, art and technology and talk through (*whakawhitiwhiti kōrero*) this idea of 'negative space'. Through this *hui* and *kōrero*, I discovered that in order to make a plaster or metal model of something, one should first make a cast. The 'negative space' of the cast produces the positive image, something like the negative in a photograph. I then sought terms in Māori that could express this concept. Dictionaries were of no help. Putting Māori words for 'negative' and 'space' together produced a result that seemed to have no bearing whatsoever on the concept to which I had been introduced. It was clear that I would have to return to my Māori roots (*tikanga Māori)* - but I had to move quickly in order to complete the assignment in the required time (*wā tika*). There is in Māori a word - *whaitua* (region/space) – that refers to a space beyond the conventional concept of space, a space that shapes the conventional concept of space. This word is made up of the roots *whai* (to win/possess/have/own) and *tua* (beyond). There is also in Māori the word *ngaro* which refers to something that is hidden from normal visual perception. These concepts provided a possible base from which I worked in coming up with *whaitua ngaro* as a translation of 'negative space'. Before I submitted the translation, I consulted other colleagues (*whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro*). Although their suggestions for alternative translations were not always particularly helpful,[4] they did provide me with an opportunity to attempt to justify (*whakarite*) my position, and provided a very useful critical assessment (*whakatau*) of the translation itself and of that justification. Having verified (*whakatika*) the translation with my colleagues, I passed it on to my clients who, no doubt, had their own verification criteria (*whakamātau*). In the event, the translation was accepted and the term *whaitua ngaro* is now frequently used to refer to 'negative space'.

The earliest computers were little more than counting machines, so the English word 'computer' (borrowed from the Latin root meaning 'to count') was originally more appropriate than it is now. In Māori, computers are referred to as *rorohiko* - literally 'electric brain' – derived from the Māori root words '*roro*' (physical brain) and '*hiko*' (common usage: electric) (Māori Language Commission, 1996, p. 230). The

translation reflects the fact that sophisticated technology is now involved in computers.

Translation, ethics and indigenous perspectives

The word *rorohiko* demonstrates the appropriate use of creativity in translation. However not all forms of creativity are equally appropriate, particularly where individual creativity replaces consultation and community agreement.

The skills of the translator have been increasingly sought after in Aotearoa/New Zealand since Māori became an official language (The Māori Language Act 1987). The fact that many organisations, including Government Departments, now require documents to be translated from English into Māori means that English-Māori translators can now earn very respectable incomes. Although this is a good thing in itself, it carries with it a range of potential dangers, especially where translators who are obliged to work to deadlines may be tempted to substitute individual creativity for culturally appropriate processes that involve consultation and discussion. In such a context, a Code of Ethics is essential in order to ensure that both the needs of the client and the integrity of the languages and cultures involved are respected.

The Code of Ethics of the Australian Institute of Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT, 2000) is useful in providing guidance on professional practice. What it does not do is provide guidance on issues that are specific to translation involving indigenous languages. What it cannot do is address those issues that are specific to English-Māori translators. What is needed is a Code of Ethics that takes full account of the particular issues that face those whose translation involves indigenous languages and, in particular, those who are involved in translating English into Māori. Any such Code would need to be firmly founded in indigenous bases. In the absence of such a Code, too much reliance is placed on the training and personal integrity of individuals, and the potential for the transformation of *Traduttore* into *Traittore* is ever-present.

Any Code of Ethics that was developed with the needs of Māori-English and English-Māori translators in mind would need to take full account of processes that are culturally appropriate, processes that involve traditional problem-solving behaviours, *puna*[5] from which culturally appropriate translation processes can be developed. These would inevitably include each of the following: *tikanga* (lore), *wā tika* (appropriate use of time), *whanaungatanga* (relationships), *tungāne-tuahine* (female-male roles), *tuākana-tēina* (senior-junior roles), *pakeke* (elder roles), *hui* (meet), *whakawhitiwhiti kōrero* (discussion), *whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro* (express opinion), *whakarite* (justification through cultural mores), *whakatau* (settled assessment).[6]

Endnotes

[1] Elemental Spirit, Goddess.

[2] 'Ka rawe rā māua ko taku tara ki te hāpai ewe ki ngā whenua …' Literally: My genitals and I are enticing and [well able to] carry my womb across the lands. Ngata's translation: 'But see now how well with my feminine allure I fly carefree to distant lands …' Interestingly, in 1994, Te Ahukaramū Royal of Ngāti Raukawa provides this translation: 'Yet see how I fly carefree to distant lands …' (Royal, 1994, p.33).

[3] '*He kokonga whare e taea te kite, he kokonga ngākau – e kore!'* 'One can see the corner of a house, but not the corners of the heart'.

[4] One suggestion was that I use 'te kore', the void before time began.

[5] Wellsprings.

[6] The English translations provided here are intended simply to give readers a general sense of each of these concepts.

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Prototype theory and the concept of *taonga:* Implications for Treaty-related issues such as the display and conservation of *taonga Māori*

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Abstract

This paper examines, in the context of prototype theory, issues and problems associated with the concept of *taonga*, the specific aim being to provide an approach that could assist those who are concerned with the interpretation of Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi and Treaty-related issues such as the appropriate display and conservation of *taonga Māori*.

Introduction

Ko te hā o taku maunga, ko taku manawa
(The breath of my mountain is my heartbeat)
(Te Heuheu Tukino IV, Horonuku, 1886)

For the purposes of initiating this discussion, the word 'taonga' is loosely translated as 'culturally-relevant treasure/s'. It will, however, become clear as the argument unfolds that the word 'taonga' can have different meanings and values in different contexts and that, therefore, any attempt at translation can, at best, provide a starting point from which to investigate further.

My particular interest in *taonga Māori* arises out of my personal involvement (as curator and conservator) with *taonga Māori*, and my association with tribal groups wishing to establish *iwi* museums, libraries and/or archives to house, protect, preserve, conserve, restore and display tribal *taonga*. In some cases these *taonga* are currently held overseas. For example, Heintze (1990, p. 87) notes that:

> The taonga Māori collection of the Ubersee Museum [Bremen] is an accident of history. . . . None of the museum's taonga Māori specimens have been acquired, on the part of the museum, by persons having expert knowledge of, or being involved in serious research in Māori culture.

Māori cultural values, together with the spiritual connections that Māori have with their treasures, have often been given very little or no recognition. *Taonga Māori* held by national and international museums, galleries and libraries have been displayed, viewed and appreciated by many for generations. Many more of these *taonga* have, however, remained 'mute' in the storage rooms and basements of these institutions. In 1994, I was a member of a group taken into the basement of a New Zealand museum to view some Māori artefacts. Unfortunately, the curator in charge of the *taonga Māori* section was unable to tell us anything about the nature or function of these artefacts. They were effectively 'mute': even within the context of a New Zealand museum, their meaning and value were treated as being of no real

significance. It is of serious concern to Māori that their cultural and spiritual treasures are often not being given the respect and treatment they deserve. The *iwi* (tribal groups) to whom these *taonga* mean the most have often not had adequate access to them, let alone a say in how they should be cared for.

The notion of tribal institutions dealing with their own *taonga* was first mooted decades ago. Research undertaken by Māori archivists, librarians, museum and gallery workers has prompted a determination to explore the possibility of making the notion a reality. It is hoped that the care, display and sharing of *taonga* prestige, spiritual protection and narratives will, in due course, be under the control of *iwi* and/or *hapū* whose people will take full responsibility for the management and interpretation of their own *taonga*. If this is to happen, the term 'taonga' itself must be critically analysed. Otherwise, boundary disputes (disputes about what can or should be treated as *taonga Māori*) are likely. For example, in 1999, I was privy to a joint project between a Local Authority and the Tangata Whenua (the local iwi) to establish a local Heritage, Art and Cultural Centre. The initial understanding was that there would be two entities sharing equally in the establishment and operation of the Centre which was to be headed by the Mayor of the town and the Chief of the district. However, as meetings progressed, it became clear that there had been some misunderstanding. It was suggested not only that tribal *taonga* be made available for display in the Centre, but that local carved meeting houses should also be made accessible. Only then would the Māori contribution be seen as being equivalent to the contributions made by renowned local potters and painters. The iwi representative drew the attention of those present to the view from the window, saying:

> This is the heritage and art that I offer you: That mountain which gives me my breath; that lake and this land which gives me sustenance; that which was handed down (*he taonga tuku iho*); that which will be handed on (*he taonga tuku iho*) through the generations to come. For as long as they have existed, how well do you know and understand their history?

From time immemorial, land features have been cared for and interpreted in appropriate contexts by those who understand them. That is the point the iwi representative was making. The type of misunderstanding to which he was responding is of very real concern to many Māori: their cultural and spiritual treasures are either not being recognised at all or are not being given the respect and treatment they deserve. As Hakiwai (1990, p. 16) states: "Māori culture has been distorted, stretched and squeezed to fit the theories and practices of western-trained scholars". He adds: "Māori culture history is a . . . conception of who the Māori people are, where the Māori people have come from and what Māori culture is all about. [Taonga] are not just wooden objects or aesthetic heirlooms, they speak and represent our origins, our beliefs, our very foundation on which we order our lives".

Categorisation and prototype theory

In this section, I examine literature on prototype theory with a view to identifying a principled way of understanding the complex nature of the word 'taonga'. The section begins with an introduction to Wittgenstein's approach to categorisation and family resemblance. This leads into a discussion of empirical work conducted by Elenor Rosche and her associates in the context of prototype theory. This is followed

by a brief discussion of the potential significance of prototype theory in relation to debates relating to culturally significant concepts such as *taonga Māori.*

Categorisation and family resemblance

Prototype theory, categorisation, meanings, and perceptual prototypes are areas which have seen considerable debate within cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics (see, for example Taylor, 1995; Tsohatzidis, 1990). Prototype theory arose out of an increasing body of evidence that seriously undermined the foundations of what has come to be known as the 'classical, Aristotlelian theory' of categorisation (Taylor, 1995, p. 38). The 'classical theory' of categorisation evolved in such a way as to include each of the following:

- categories are defined in terms of a conjunction of necessary and sufficient features;
- features are binary;
- categories have clear boundaries;
- all members of a category have equal status (pp. 23-4).

In a highly significant passage of *Philosophical Investigations*, Wittgenstein (1968) indirectly questions the fundamental tenets of the 'classical theory' of categorisation. With reference to the word *Spiel* (game), he develops the concept of 'family resemblance'. In considering the meaning of 'game' and with reference to board-games, card-games, ball-games, Olympic games, and so on, he asks:

> What is common to all of them? - Don't say: "There *must* be something common, or they would not be called 'games'" – but *look* and *see* whether there is anything common to all. – For if you look at them you will not see something that is common at *all*, but similarities, relationships, and a whole series of them at that.

To this simple statement he adds the following argument, fleshing out the notion of 'game' and its complexities:

> To repeat: don't think, but look! – Look for example at board-games, with their multifarious relationships. Now pass to card-games; here you may find many correspondences with the first group, but many common features drop out, and others appear. When we pass next to ball-games, much that is common is retained, but much is lost. – Are they all 'amusing'? Compare chess with noughts and crosses. Or is there always winning and losing, or competition between players? Think of patience. In ball games there is winning and losing; but when a child throws his ball at the wall and catches it again, this feature has disappeared. Look at the parts played by skill and luck; and at the difference between skill in chess and skill in tennis. Think now of games like ring-a-ring-a-roses; here is the element of amusement, but how many other characteristic features have disappeared! And we can go through the many, many other groups of games in the same way; can we see how similarities crop up and disappear.

He concludes that this type of examination reveals "a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing; sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of details", noting that he "can think of no better expression to

characterise these similarities than 'family resemblances'; for the various resemblances between members of a family; build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc. overlap and criss-cross in the same way. – And I shall say: 'games' form a family" (pp. 31-2). To this he later adds, "one might say that the concept of 'game' is a concept with blurred edges" (p. 34).

In acknowledging that open-endedness is a characteristic of the meaning of a word such as 'Spiel' (game), Wittgenstein challenges the very principles of the 'classical approach' to categorisation: a category such as 'game' cannot be "learnt as a conjunction of those critical features which uniquely distinguish games from non-games. Rather, the category has to be learnt on the basis of exemplars" (Taylor, 1995, p. 39). This can be seen in Wittgenstein's discussion of how we might explain what a game is: "I imagine that we should describe *games* to him [sic], and we might add: 'this *and similar things* are called 'games'" (Wittgenstein, 1968, p. 33). Wittgenstein does not, unfortunately, discuss this matter in further detail. This issue has, however, been taken up by others.

Categorisation and prototype

Wittgenstein's insights in relation to 'family resemblance' and the notion of a central or prototypical membership were the basis for the empirical work conducted by Eleanor Rosch, an American psychologist, and her associates in the late 1960s and 1970s. This research on 'prototypical membership' and categorisation began with colour categorisation experiments and with the evidence for colour universality provided by Berlin and Kay (1969). Some of the experiments conducted by Rosch involved the Dani (an indigenous tribe in the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya on the island of New Guinea) whose language has only two colour terms based on brightness rather than hue (*mili* (roughly 'dark') and *mola* (roughly 'light')). Rosch (then using the name Eleanor Heider) found that Berlin and Kay's (1969) results meshed with her research on the Dani. There appeared to be 'focal points' (best examples) that were universal and visually salient across cultures (Heider, 1971; Heider, 1972; Heider & Oliver, 1972). It was found, for example, that children chose focal colours more frequently than non-focal ones and were able to match focal colours better than non-focal ones. This appeared to demonstrate that "focal colour areas as a whole were more salient to young children and more likely to be used to represent the basic colour name than were other areas of the colour space" (Heider, 1971, p. 455). Furthermore, focal colours were given the shortest names and were identified by name more rapidly across languages. They were the most accurately recognised by both English and Dani speakers; and they could be paired with names with the fewest errors (Heider, 1972). There appeared, then, to be 'natural prototypes' (based on colour) to which subjects responded irrespective of whether their own languages made direct use of them in categorising and naming colour. Was this also true in other areas, areas that were not directly related to visual perception?

Rosch investigated the possibility that other domains were also organised in terms of more and less prototypical examples, conducting two very significant experiments relating to other semantic categories (Rosch, 1973). The first experiment involved subjects selecting from six choices the 'best example' of a category, the categories being *fruit, science, sport, bird, vehicle, crime, disease,* and *vegetable*. The second experiment involved reaction time and judgement in relation to twenty-four pairs of words (two from each category - one a 'good example' of a category; the other a 'not

so good example'). Here the categories involved were: *toy, bird, fruit, sickness, relative, metal, crime, sport, vehicle, science, vegetable*, and *part of the body*. The exemplariness of instances was related to (a) adult and child speed of judgement for category membership, and (b) child errors in judgement. The results indicated that subjects could easily rate how exemplary a category member was. Furthermore, there was general agreement amongst subjects. It was concluded that a 'best example' or 'natural prototype' may be "processed in terms of . . . internal structure rather than in terms of attributes of . . . formal meaning" (p. 142). On the basis of these and other related experiments, Rosch and her colleagues concluded that human beings learn and use language in a way that reflects a tendency to classify the world in terms of 'family resemblance', in terms of examples (more prototypical examples and less prototypical ones) rather than in terms of binary values (Rosch & Mervis, 1975). Thus, there are prototypical examples of, for example, a category such as 'chair' and less prototypical ones. In some cultures, a 'chair' might prototypically be something that has four legs and a seat and has a particular function. However, the absence of four legs – even the absence of legs altogether – does not necessarily mean that something cannot be classified as a chair. In fact, it is quite possible to conceive of a chair that is not designed for sitting on. Definitions of words are often, therefore, little more than approximations.

The research of Rosch and her colleagues on prototype-related categorisation provides empirical support for the notion that the meaning of words is not a simple matter of inclusive/exclusive category membership. Thus:

> [Elements] are assigned to a category not because they exemplify properties that are absolutely required of each one of its members, but because they exhibit to a greater or lesser extent (or are simply *expected* to exhibit to a greater or lesser extent) certain types of similarity with a particular category member that has been (naturally or culturally) established as the *best example* (or prototype) of its kind (Tsohatzidis, 1990, p. 1).

Although the central members of a category (prototypical examples) share a large number of common attributes (in line with the more 'classical approach' to categorisation), a prototype approach also allows membership to entities that share only a few attributes with the more central members.

The relevance of prototype theory to the understanding of culturally-embedded concepts such as taonga

I have attempted to indicate how and why Wittgenstein, Rosch and others have argued for an approach to human perception, cognition and categorisation that involves prototypical and non-prototypical instances, asserting that categories can be open-ended (or fuzzy-edged). This provides a principled way of arguing for different approaches to concepts such as 'taonga' in different contexts of use, some of these being more 'prototypical' than others. The further removed we are from 'core' meaning (prototypical examples), the more 'fuzzy edged' the concept becomes and the less agreement there is likely to be about whether a particular object belongs or does not belong to the category in question.

***Taonga*: Dictionary-based definitions**

My primary aim in this section is to demonstrate the dangers that can be associated with simplistic and unitary interpretations (and translations) of culturally significant

concepts such as 'taonga'. In the search for an understanding of the concept of 'taonga' that takes account of prototype theory, I begin by examining a range of dictionary definitions.

Bilingual (Māori-English) dictionary definitions of 'taonga'

The *Te Reo Tupu* electronic database contains full text versions of dictionaries by Williams (1971), Ngata (1993) and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori (1996) as well as a number of smaller more specialised topic dictionaries covering areas such as legal terms, flora and fauna and Kai Tahu (dialect) words. It is, therefore, a useful starting point for an exploration of the concept of 'taonga'. There were, in total, 72 query hits for 'taonga' on *Te Reo Tupu* (see *Appendix 1* for a list of these along with collocations, that is, along with phrases or groups that include the word 'taonga').

In the following tables, a comparison of different dictionary definitions of 'taonga' is provided. Because Williams' *Dictionary of the Māori language is* generally regarded as the most significant Māori-English dictionary, the definition provided there is selected as the base-line one, all other definitions being compared with it in relation to similarities and/or differences. The entry for 'taonga' (see A.16 in *Appendix 1*)[1] in the Williams dictionary (Williams, 1971, p. 381) is as follows:

> *Taonga* (noun): Property, anything highly prized
> '*Ko te whiwhi i te taurekareka, i te taonga, i te rawa rānei o te pā horo*.'
> '*Ko to te tangata Māori taonga nui tēnei (te haka) mo te manuhiri*.'
> '*Kīhai i wareware ki tana mea i kitea ai hei taonga mōna, arā, hei whakakite mai ki ia tangata, ki ia tangata'*.

Table 1: **A comparison of features of the definition of 'taonga' in Williams' *Dictionary of the Māori language* with features of definitions that occur in other bilingual dictionaries**

Reference Number	Property	Anything highly prized	Other
A2 Taonga	✓	×	Goods
A13 Taonga	✓	x	-
A14 Taonga	✓	✓	Valuable
A16 Taonga	✓	✓	-
A46 Taonga	x	✓	Treasure
A47 Taonga	✓	x	Goods
A48 Taonga	x	✓	Possession
A49 Taonga	✓	x	Effects
A50 Taonga	x	✓	Substance
A51 Taonga	✓	x	Tool
A52 Taonga	✓	x	Gear
A53 Taonga	✓	✓	Asset
A54 Taonga	✓	x	Belongings
A55 Taonga	✓	x	Chattel
A56 Taonga	x	✓	Instrument
A57 Taonga	✓	x	Utensil
A58 Taonga	x	✓	Wares
A60 Taonga	x	✓	Gadget
A61 Taonga	✓	x	Stock

Table 2*: An indication of the extent to which dictionary definitions of collocations involving the word 'taonga' reflect the definition of 'taonga' in Williams' *Dictionary of the Māori language

Reference Number		Property	Anything highly prized	Other
A1	Hakari taonga	✓	x	Gift Giving
A3	Hoko taonga ā-karere	x	x	Mail order
A4	Hoko taonga	x	x	Commerce
A5	Kāpata taonga	x	x	Cabinet
A6	Taonga kōpaki	x	✓	Present
A8	Moumou taonga	x	x	Prodigal
A9	Taonga tuku iho	✓	✓	Inheritance
A10	Pouaka taonga	x	x	Safe
A11	Whai taonga	x	x	Rich
A12	Rārangi taonga	x	x	Inventory
A15	Taonga taketake	✓	x	Raw material
A17	Taonga ā whare	✓	x	Furnishings
A18	Taonga ā whare	✓	x	Furniture
A19	Taonga ake	✓	x	Effects, Personal
A20	Taonga ake	✓	x	Personal effects
A21	Taonga hoko	x	x	Commodity
A22	Taonga hokohoko	✓	x	Merchandise
A23	Taonga horomata	x	x	Virtue
A24	Taonga mahi	✓	x	Implement
A25	Taonga mahi	x	x	Apparatus
A26	Taonga manatunga	x	✓	Souvenir
A27	Taonga māpuna	✓	✓	Prized possession
A28	Taonga nguture	x	x	Second-hand goods
A29	Taonga pūoro	x	✓	Musical instrument
A30	Taonga tākaro	x	x	Toy
A31	Taonga tāpui	x	x	Trade in
A32	Taonga tauhokohoko	x	x	Commerce
A33	Taonga tauware	✓	x	Unsolicited goods
A34	Taonga tōrōkiri	✓	x	Faulty goods
A35	Taonga tuauki	✓	✓	Antique
A36	Taonga tuhituhi	✓	x	Stationery
A37	Taonga tuku iho	✓	✓	Heritage
A38	Taonga tuku iho	✓	x	Patrimony
A39	Taonga tuku	x	✓	Legacy
A40	Taonga waimārie	✓	x	Mascot
A41	Taonga whakaahuru	x	x	Amenities
A42	Taonga whakahī	x	x	Pride
A43	Taonga whakahirahira	x	✓	Masterpiece
A44	Taonga whakapaoho	x	x	Organ
A45	Taonga whītiki	✓	x	Prize
A59	Taonga mārō	✓	x	Hardware
A62	Taonga tauware	✓	✓	Reciprocal gift
A63	Te Ture Taonga Tauware	x	x	Unsolicited Goods and Services Act
A64	Tino taonga	x	x	Indispensable
A65	Tino taonga	x	x	Indispensable
A66	Tino taonga	x	✓	Invaluable
A67	Tino taonga	x	✓	Valuable
A68	Wāhi hoko taonga	x	x	Book shop
A69	Whai taonga	x	✓	Wealthy
A70	Whai taonga	x	x	Furnished
A71	Whakahoki taonga kāore e ea	✓	x	Voluntary repossession
A72	Whare taonga	x	x	Museum

As is indicated in the *Table 1* above, different dictionaries approach the definition of 'taonga' in different ways. Some – see, for example, A51, A52, A57, A58 and A60 - depart substantially from Williams' definition. This should alert readers to the dangers of turning to bilingual dictionaries in order to address issues relating to words that are of cultural or political significance.

Many of the collocations of 'taonga' recorded in the dictionary database (see *Table 2*) appear to be recent ones created by the *Taura Whiri* (Māori Language Commission) in response to the need to deal with contemporary contexts. Examples of these are: *hoko taonga ā-karere; pouaka taonga* and *taonga nguture*. Neither the first nor the third of these involves the concept of 'highly prized'. The second does so - but indirectly. Of course, meaning change is a characteristic of all languages. Nevertheless, what we see here is not a natural language process of word creation, but an artificial one, that is, the creation of words by a group whose role is to ensure that the Māori language is sufficiently flexible to deal with contemporary life. So long as this is fully recognised, this need not present a problem. What is important to bear in mind, however, is that neither naturally occurring nor artificially created collocations will necessarily retain the core meanings of their constituent parts. The fact, therefore, that some of the collocations listed above have little or nothing to do with possession and/or value does not mean that both are not in some sense fundamental to the prototype.

In defining 'taonga' as 'property, anything highly prized', Williams is as inclusive as possible. At first sight, the inclusion of the word 'property' might suggest to those who are unfamiliar with Māori culture that the concept of *taonga* does not extend to physical features of the landscape such as rives, lakes and mountains. Any such interpretation would be inconsistent with the Māori concept of 'property' which is one that includes that which belongs by virtue of *whakapapa*, that is, by virtue of genealogical links, links not only to people but to everything that is conceived of as being imbued with life force.

Taonga: Context-centred understanding

Taonga and Taonga Māori: Exploring the outer edges

At an early age, I was given *mako* (shark tooth earrings) as special 'taonga' that belonged to my *kuia* (grandmother). Later, on achieving a secondary school scholarship, I was presented with a sterling silver wristwatch by my father's parents. I was told that this also was a special 'taonga'. When I questioned my grandparents about why such different things could both be called 'taonga', I was told that everything that is precious to you is a 'taonga', as is everything created by Rangi and Papa. All of these things live on through time and generations.

In every-day usage, the word 'taonga' has an inclusive sense. For the individual, anything that has significance may be described as a 'taonga'. Even so, irrespective of what these two items – the wristwatch and the *mako* - mean to me personally, there is a significant difference between them. The first is, in the broadest sense, a *taonga*; the second is a *taonga Māori*, something that has particular significance within the context of Māori cultural life. Both have very real significance for me. The second has the added significance of being 'tuku iho' (handed down from the ancestors). Even so, it is not, as I shall attempt to demonstrate, a *taonga* in the prototypical sense - and it is the prototypical sense of the word *taonga* that is central to an understanding

of what the *Treaty of Waitangi* meant – and means – to Māori and, by extension, to an understanding of what the guardianship of *taonga Māori* should entail.

Towards understanding of the prototype: Taonga Māori in the context of the Treaty/ Treaties of Waitangi

In 1840, many Māori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi. The second Article of the English version of the Treaty guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof "the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession". The Māori version refers explicitly to *taonga*:

> Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu – ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa.

For the Treaty in English and Māori, see Orange (1987).

There has been considerable debate about the way in which Article 2 of the Treaty should be interpreted. It is now much more widely understood than it was in 1840 that translation is an art rather than a science. The fact is that culturally-embedded concepts such as, for example, *property* and *possession* in English and *taonga* in Māori have no direct translation equivalents. Even so, it is clear from the English version of the Treaty that concepts of property and possession extended beyond movable objects (to include lands and estates, forests and fisheries) - just as did the concept of *taonga.* Why, then, has so much debate about the Treaty centred on the word 'taonga'? One reason may be a failure to distinguish between the every-day, inclusive sense of the word, and the more central (prototypical) sense that is associated with formal contexts of use. The exploration and clarification of the prototypical meaning of *taonga* is, therefore, of considerable significance in the context of debates about the interpretation of the Treaty.

Tapsell (1998) notes that "since its inception in 1975, the [Waitangi] Tribunal[2] has heard . . . under the Treaty reference to 'taonga', Māori claims relating to rivers, harbours, lands, fisheries, forests, sacred sites, mountains, underground resources, carvings, airwaves, and language", adding that "even the Treaty itself, in which the word is enshrined, is considered by Māori to be a document of great sacredness and is today referred to as a 'taonga'" (p. 11). What characterises each of the claims to which Tapsell refers is that it relates not to *taonga* in the broad sense, but to what may be referred to as 'taonga tuku iho', that is, to "that which has been handed down from the ancestors" (Mead, 1984, p. 21). This can include the intangible as well as the tangible.

In 1986, the 'te reo Māori' claim lodged by Huirangi Waikerepuru and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Incorporated Society, was heard by the Waitangi Tribunal. The following is included in the Tribunal's report:

> The claimants called Professor Hirini Moko Mead of Victoria University of Wellington who produced for us a carefully prepared submission on the meaning of Article II and Article III of the Treaty. The general thrust of his

> view of the treaty so far as Article II is concerned is that the phrase "O ratou taonga katoa" covers both tangible and intangible things and can best be translated by the expression "all their valued *customs* and possessions." This is in accordance with the conclusion we have already reached in the Kaituna River Finding (para. 4.7) where we accepted the phrase to mean "all things highly prized", and the Motunui Finding to the same effect. In the Manukau Harbour case we reached the conclusion that "taonga" in the context of the Treaty means more than objects of tangible value (Section 4.2.3) [Italics added].

To this, the report added the following in relation to te reo Māori as a 'taonga':

> When the question for decision is whether te reo Maori is a 'taonga' which the Crown is obliged to recognise we conclude that there can be only one answer. It is plain that the language is an essential part of the culture and must be regarded as "a valued possession". The claim itself illustrates that fact, and the wide representation from all corners of Maoridom in support of it underlines and emphasises the point (Section 4.2.4).

In 1987, following the recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal, the *Māori Language Act 1987* was passed. The Act declared Māori an official language and established *Te Kōmihana mō Te Reo Māori*, now known as *Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* (Māori Language Commission).

With reference to the Waitangi Tribunal finding in relation to the Māori language, Kawharu (1989, p. 321 fn.8) notes that "'taonga' refers to all dimensions of a tribal group's estate, material and non-material – heirlooms and wāhi tapu, ancestral lore and whakapapa, etc". That this has been generally acknowledged is evident in a range of government publications. For example, the *New Zealand Curriculum Framework* (Ministry of Education, 1993) states that "Maori is the language of the tangata whenua of New Zealand. It is a taonga under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi and is an official language of New Zealand (p. 10)".

All of those things that are specifically listed in Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi (e.g. lands and estates) can be regarded not only as *taonga*, but also as *taonga tuku iho*, as can the Māori language. However, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the prototypical sense of *taonga*, it is useful to turn to another context, that of display and conservation.

Towards fuller understanding of the prototype: Taonga Māori and the Western concept of artwork

Tapsell (2000, p. 13), a Māori scholar and museum Director, discusses *taonga Māori* in the following terms:

> A taonga . . . represents a Māori kin group's (whānau, hapū, iwi) ancestral identity with their particular land and resource. Taonga can be tangible, like a greenstone pendant, a geo-thermal hot pool, or a meeting house, or they can be intangible, like the knowledge to weave, to recite genealogy, or even the briefest of proverbs. All taonga possess . . . the elements of ancestral prestige (mana), spiritual protection (tapu), and

> genealogically ordered narratives (kōrero). Taonga are protected through rituals and incantation (karakia), which invokes the element of tapu and ensures they are treated with due reverence. They are seen as the spiritual personifications of particular ancestors, either as direct images or through association. . . . Thus taonga are time travellers, bridging the generations, allowing descendants to ritually meet their ancestors, face to face. . . . taonga are vital threads from the past, acting as guides . . . to interpreting the past.

In a keynote address to a Taonga Māori Conference which centred on the conservation of artefacts, Kaeppler (1990) noted that "taonga are not lifeless things". They convey information "but often in a language not everyone can understand". They are "entwined with people and their histories – the material manifestations of social relationships and societal transformations". They are "part of the integrally related verbal, visual, special, sound, and movement systems that distinguish Māori culture from all others" (p. 11). They are, therefore, crucial keys for understanding Māori society and culture.

At the same conference, Mead (1990) argued that two concepts – *kōrero* and *whakairo* – were fundamental to a proper understanding of *taonga*. *Kōrero* (the stories and explanations associated with *taonga*) give them "meaning and cultural significance", enriching and enhancing them by linking them historically to "a particular social group such as whānau, hapū or iwi who have cultural rights not only to the kōrero but also the taonga itself". *Whakairo* is the "process of transforming something natural [i.e., wood etc.], into something culturally called a taonga (highly valued object of culture)". Thus a 'taonga whakairo' – which may be a natural part of a living culture, such as, for example, a mountain or a creation such as a wharepuni (carved house) - is anything to which the transforming process has been applied.

To the two concepts to which reference has already been made - *kōrero* and *whakairo* - Mead adds a number of others which, he argues, can be useful in determining whether a particular *taonga* could be conceptualised in a way that is similar to the conceptualisation of works of art in Western terms. First, there is 'tuku iho' (passing down from one generation to the next): "the more generations involved in the handing down the greater the mana (prestige)" in that "antiquity is valued because it implies association with the ancestors who form the foundation of Māori identity". Thus, "the living descendents are trustees of the taonga by right of whakapapa or genealogical decent" (p. 166). Secondly, there is 'taha wairua', the property of 'spiritual essence or force'. This is the quality "which is described in the kōrero associated with the taonga and which one accepts or rejects according to one's experience and faith". It is the "spiritual aspect . . . generally acknowledged [as the] major difference between 'artefact' and 'taonga'". A taonga that "[represents] an ancestor who is related by whakapapa (genealogy) to a group of descendents" has particularly high spiritual significance. For living relatives such a taonga "is more than a representation of their ancestor". It actually is "their ancestor" and "woe betide anyone who acts indifferently to their tipuna (ancestor)".

Any discussion of *taha wairua* inevitably involves *mana* and *tapu*. Mead argues that "when a taonga has high mana . . . it is a powerful taonga of great prestige; it is also very tapu, that is, sacred and charged with spiritual power". However, a taonga with

"low mana also has a low level of tapu associated with it. Thus, taonga differ in the level of mana and tapu accorded to each one" (p. 166). There are, as Mead suggests, a number of variables associated with the differences in these levels (pp. 166-8):

- The correlation between the 'mana' of the 'taonga' and the 'mana' of the owning tribe or iwi;
- The closeness associated with death and burial customs;
- 'Whakapapa' and the connection to the owner and the creators of the taonga;
- Antiquity;
- 'Ihi', 'wehi' and 'wana' (the power, the awesomeness and the authority) of the created work; and
- Other variables such as size and material (i.e., pounamu (greenstone), etc).

Mead is attempting here to make a distinction between *taonga* in a general sense and *taonga* that could be conceptualised in a way that is similar to the conceptualisation of works of art in Western terms. This is a particularly difficult task in that the concept of artwork has little direct relevance within Māori culture. Even so, Mead's attempt is an interesting one, and one that identifies a range of characteristics that appear – particularly when they are extended beyond the realm of artefacts - to be prototypical.

Tapsell (1998), in discussing *taonga* from a Te Arawa perspective, focuses on *whakapapa, mana, tapu* and *kōrero.* In his discussion of *whakapapa*, Tapsell refers not just to genealogy in the Western sense, but to "genealogical descent lines connecting gods with all things" (p. 12), noting that when *whakapapa* is "recited by elders in chant-like form", we have "the philosophical context in which *taonga* can be understood from a Māori perspective", a perspective that allows for the "sequencing of the universe by tying *all things* into a genealogical order" [italics added].

For Tapsell, *mana, tapu* and *kōrero* are all essential aspects of taonga. He defines *mana* as "authority; power; prestige; status; integrity; self-esteem; source of energy from the gods transmitted through ancestors; ancestral power embracing people and their estates" (p. 12). To maintain the *mana* of a *taonga* "demands the complementary presence of 'tapu' [the second element], so that the ancestral sanctity of such items can be properly preserved for the benefit of descendents who have yet to be born" (p. 13). Tapsell defines *tapu* as "protect[ion]; sacred; prohibition, [being] set apart; [indicating] presence of ancestors". He notes that "[if] transgressed [it] can inflict ill fortune" and that "[the] balancing state to tapu is 'noa' or profane, common, everyday, free of ancestral influence" (p. 13). Thus:

> Tapu acts as a social controlling agent preventing an item's mana, or power, from being transgressed by the state of noa. The greater the mana of a taonga, the greater its tapu, demanding careful trustee-like management (p.13).

The management of *tapu* is generally in the hands of senior elders and their families "who are not only responsible for each taonga's long-term care under the strict controls of tapu, but also its proper exhibition to the wider kin group during life-crises", such as death rituals (tangi) etc. which occur on the kin group's marae (p.13).

According to Tapsell, *kōrero* is the "most important element contained within taonga" (p. 14). He defines *kōrero* as "verbal discourse; orally transmitted knowledge; true

account of the past; historical utterance; narratives associated with the ancestors" (p. 14). Without narratives, a *taonga* "ceases to be recognised as representing a specific genealogical position for its descendents" and this may "undermine the ongoing trusteeship of the item and its associated mana and tapu". There are two types of *kōrero*, the first – the primary form – is used as "the customary medium of transporting all lore and knowledge"; the second - the pure form – includes the ancient form of karakia (incantations or highly ritualised prayer). All *taonga tuku iho* are imbued with ancient *karakia* which is "essential to ensuring that the mana, tapu, and kōrero of their kin group's ancestral items remain intact". Furthermore, "karakia serve as a channel of communication with the atua who control the power to nourish or destroy the mauri [life force] contained within all existing things" (p. 14). After creation of a 'taonga', "ritual recitations of karakia . . . [envelop] it in a state of tapu. This protects the mauri and thereby ensures that the item's inherent mana, tapu and kōrero is secured" (p. 15).

Tapsell lists the following as examples of *taonga whakairo* which exist today, (p. 19):

> Fine cloaks (kaitaka, korowai, kakahu), mats (whariki), and wall panels (tukutuku) woven from flax; canoes, houses, gateways, posts and long-handled weapons (taiaha, tewhatewha) sculpted from wood; flutes, fish hooks, and club-like weapons (wahaika, patu paraoa) carved from human or whale bone; and effigies for protecting resources, sinkers, club-like weapons (mere, patu onewa) and personal adornments (such as hei tiki) made from various kinds of stone including basalt (onewa), nephrite (pounamu) and bowenite (tangiwai).

Taonga as prototype

Dictionaries are useful in providing definitions of concepts that are sufficiently inclusive to encompass their 'fuzzy edges' They do not, however, generally provide much guidance in relation to the prototypical senses of culturally-embedded concepts, and it is these prototypical senses which may provide an important key to understanding. It is only from the perspective of the prototypical sense of *taonga* that we can make sense of the words of the iwi representative quoted at the beginning of this article:

> This is the heritage and art that I offer you: That mountain which gives me my breath; that lake and this land which gives me sustenance; that which was handed down (*he taonga tuku iho*); that which will be handed on (*he taonga tuku iho*) through the generations to come. For as long as they have existed, how well do you know and understand their history?

It is only from this perspective that we can begin to understand the resonances of the word *taonga* in the Treaty of Waitangi. It is only from this perspective that we can begin to have meaningful discussion about *taonga* with those whose perception of art and artwork is essentially European. *Taonga* are *taonga* by virtue of culture and context. They cannot be separated from the place to which they belong and the people to whom they belong - from their *kōrero*, their *whakapapa*, their *mana*, and their *tapu* - without being violated.

Endnotes

1. The first edition of this dictionary was compiled by a missionary, Bishop William Williams, and published in 1844 (although completed 6 years earlier) by the Mission Press at Pahia. Now in its seventh edition (Williams, 1971), this dictionary focuses on traditional vocabulary, the headwords often being contextualised in one or more sentences (usually taken from an older manuscript) following each entry.
2. The passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 established the Waitangi Tribunal as a forum for the investigation of Treaty grievances by Māori against the Crown.

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Appendix 1: References to 'taonga' - *Te Reo Tupu* database

The query hits have been organised alphabetically and assigned a reference number. Where 'rd' occurs, it refers to the record number on the 'Status Line' of *Te Reo Tupu*.

A.1	*Hakari taonga*: A formal ceremony of giving gifts to the dead of high rank (Te Reo Tupu, rd 173289).
A.2	*Hautaonga = taonga* (noun): Goods, property '*Kei tutuki to waewae i a Rawiri, he hautaonga nui, kei a Tuku-a hika'*. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 6335).
A.3	*Hoko taonga ā-karere*: Mail order (Te Reo Tupu, rd 171685).
A.4	*Hoko taonga, Tauhokohoko:* Commerce (Te Reo Tupu, rd 170863).
A.5	*Kāpata taonga*: Cabinet '*Na Pāpā i hoatu he kāpata taonga ma Mere, hei pupuri i ana taputapu.* Father gave Mary a cabinet to keep her possessions in'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 67961).
A.6	*Kōpaki* A present made to the relatives of a deceased person in token of respect. Also called 'taonga kōpaki'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 17737).
A.7	*Mea, Taonga*: Object *'He aha tērā mea i te taha o te taiapa?* What is that object by the fence?' (Te Reo Tupu, rd 104452).
A.8	*Moumou taonga, Tōtōā*: Prodigal *'Kua hoki mai te tama moumou taonga:* The prodigal son has returned'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 112142).
A.9	*Oha, Manatunga*, Taonga tuku iho: Inheritance *'E waiho ana te tangata pai i te oha ma āna uri:* A good man leaves an inheritance for his descendants'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 94420).
A.10	*Pouaka taonga*: Safe *'I rakaina ngā moni ki roto i te pouaka taonga:* The cash was locked up in the safe'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 118994).
A.11	*Rangatira, Whai taonga*: Rich *'He hara tērā e whiua ai ma te mate, ahakoa rangatira te kaikōhuru, ware rānei:* That was a crime punishable by death, whether the murderer was rich or poor'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 117535).
A.12	*Rārangi taonga:* Inventory *'I whakainea te rārangi taonga ki ngā whatanga, ā, i kitea kei te tika*: The inventory of goods was checked against the shelves, and was sound to be correct'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 95601).
A.13	*Rawa, Taonga, Taputapu, Utauta*: Property *'Ko ia tangata e whai tika ana kia whiwhi ki te rawa mōna ake, āpiti atu rānei ki ētahi atu tāngata:* Everyone has the right to own property, alone as well as in association with others'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 112582).
A.14	*Rei, Kura, Taonga*: Valuable *'Hei moenga mo aku rei taku kete:* My kit is the bed for my valuables'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 135997).
A.15	*Take waihanga, Taonga taketake*: Raw Material *'He harakeke te take waihanga mo te mahi kete:* The raw material for making kits is flax'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 114662).

A.16	*Taonga* (noun): Property, anything highly prized '*Ko te whiwhi i te taurekareka, i te taonga, i te rawa rānei o te pā horo*.' '*Ko to te tangata Māori taonga nui tēnei (te haka) mo te manuhiri*.' '*Kīhai i wareware ki tana mea i kitea ai hei taonga mōna, arā, hei whakakite mai ki ia tangata, ki ia tangata'*. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 47146).
A.17	*Taonga ā whare*: Furnishings *'He tino pai rawa atu ngā taonga ā whare*: The furnishings are in good condition'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 85855).
A.18	*Taonga ā whare*: Furniture *'I hokona mai e māua he taonga ā whare mo tō māua whare hou*: We bought furniture for our new house'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 85859).
A.19	*Taonga ake* (noun): Effects, Personal taonga: 'goods, property' ake: 'self'' (Te Reo Tupu, rd 159328).
A.20	*Taonga ake* (noun): Personal effects *taonga:* 'goods, property' *ake:* 'self'' (Te Reo Tupu, rd 149980).
A.21	*Taonga hoko:* Commodity *'He taonga hoko nga kai mo te kāinga*: Groceries for the household are commodities'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 70358).
A.22	*Taonga hokohoko*: Merchandise *'He kura ngā taonga hokohoko i roto i to rātau toa*: They have valuable merchandise in their shop'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 100791).
A.23	*Taonga horomata*: Virtue *'He taonga horomata te tika me te atawhai:* Justice and kindness are virtues'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 136563).
A.24	*Taonga mahi, Taputapu*: Implement 'Kai nga tohunga mahi anō a rātau ake taonga mahi –he kāheru mo te kari, he hama, me ētahi atu: Tradespeople have their own special implements – spades for digging, hammers, and so on'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 93020).
A.25	*Taonga mahi*: Apparatus '*Pau katoa te ata ki te whakatikatika i nga taonga mahi hai whakamātau i te wai*: It took all morning to set up the apparatus to test the water'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 63410).
A.26	*Taonga manatunga*: Souvenir *'Ka kitea katoatia rātau e au i waenganui i aku taonga manatunga:* I find them all amongst my souvenirs'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 123937).
A.27	*Taonga māpuna, Kahurangi, Matahiapō*: Prized possession *'He taonga māpuna na te iwi:* A prized possession of the people'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 112011).
A.28	*Taonga nguture*: Second-hand goods (Te Reo Tupu, rd 172428).
A.29	*Taonga pūoro* (noun): Musical instrument *taonga:* 'property, anything highly prized' *pūoro:* 'music' (Te Reo Tupu, rd 149983).
A.30	*Taonga tākaro, Kaupeka, Toi*: Toy *'He pai ki te tamariki ngā taonga tākaro:* Children like toys'.(Te Reo Tupu, rd 132175).
A.31	*Taonga tāpui*: Trade-in (Te Reo Tupu, rd 172757).
A.32	*Taonga tauhokohoko* (noun): Medium of exchange *taonga:* 'property, anything highly prized' *tauhokohoko:* 'commerce'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 149986).

A.33	*Taonga tauware*: Unsolicited goods (Te Reo Tupu, rd 172834).
A.34	*Taonga tōrōkiri*: Faulty goods (Te Reo Tupu, rd 171222).
A.35	*Taonga tuauki*: Antique '*Kaore he taonga tuaki i roto i nga mahi pūkenga Maori – kai te mau tonu te mauri ora o nga taonga a nga tīpuna*: The are no antiques in Maori art – each piece is the living work of ancestors'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 63283).
A.36	*Taonga tuhituhi:* Stationery *'He nui te hua ki te kura mo te hokohoko taonga tuhituhi:* The school made a profit selling stationery'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 125470).
A.37	*Taonga tuku iho, koha, taonga pūmau*: Heritage *'Ko ngā tikanga whai hua o to tātau Māoritanga, ko ngā mea no kōnei no tēnei whenua kura, he taonga tuku iho ki ā tātau tamariki:* The worthwhile elements of our culture, the things which belong to this beautiful land, are our children's heritage'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 907151).
A.38	*Taonga tuku iho*: Patrimony *'He taonga tuku iho ēnei whenua ki a mātau*: These lands were our patrimony'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 108005).
A.39	*Taonga tuku, Taonga tāpae, Whakawhiwhinga:* Legacy *'Ko te taonga tuku tēnā i waiho iho e o tātau tūpuna*: That is the legacy our forefathers bequeathed'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 97776).
A.40	*Taonga Waimārie*: Mascot *'Ko te taonga waimārie a te tīma poitarawhiti he kiwi kerehunga nui*: The netball team had a large fluffy kiwi as its mascot'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 100124).
A.41	*Taonga whakaahuru*: Amenities '*He tino pai nga taonga whakaahuru o tēnei marae*: The amenities of this marae are suburb'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 49977).
A.42	*Taonga whakahī*: Pride *'Ko tana pōtiki tana taonga whakahī:* Her youngest child was her pride'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 111815).
A.43	*Taonga whakahirahira*: Masterpiece *'He taonga whakahirahira te whakairo:* The carving was a masterpiece'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 100196).
A.44	*Taonga whakapaoho*: Organ *'Ko te nūpepa hei taonga whakapaoho i ngā pitopito kōrero o te wā:* The newspaper is an organ for the dissemination of news'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 105683).
A.45	*Taonga whītiki, Paraihe*: Prize *'Kua hipa a ia i ngā tino taonga whītiki katoa o te koiora*: He missed all the great prizes of life'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 112001).
A.46	*Taonga, Kahurangi, Mounga*: Treasure *'A muri ake nei i a au, tiakina aku taonga:* After me, take care of my treasures'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 132783).
A.47	*Taonga, Rawa, Taputapu*: Goods *'Ka hoatu e ia te wāhi rua o āna taonga ki te hunga rawakore*: He gave half of his goods to the poor'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 87736).
A.48	*Taonga, Rawa, Taputapu*: Possession *'Ka waiho koutou hei taonga māku:* You shall be my own possession'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 110828).
A.49	*Taonga, rawa*: Effects *'Ka waiho e au katoa o aku taonga ā whare ki taku tamāhine*: I leave my household effects to my daughter'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 78515).

A.50	*Taonga, Rawa:* Substance *'Ka kitea e tātau ngā taonga utu nui katoa, ka whakakiia o tātau whare ki te parakete:* We shall find all precious substance; we shall fill our houses with spoil'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 127106).
A.51	*Taonga, Taputapu*: Tool *'Ka taea noa e te kaiwhakairo te kawe i āna taonga mahi:* A carver can usually carry his tools with him'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 131734).
A.52	*Taonga, Tueke*: Gear *'Kua whakatākupetia e koe ngā taonga hōpuni?* Have you packed the camping gear?' (Te Reo Tupu, rd 86339).
A.53	*Taonga*: Asset '*He tino taonga te mōhio ki te reo Māori ki ia tangata o Aotearoa*: A good grasp of the Māori language is a great asset to any New Zealander'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 64113).
A.54	*Taonga*: Belongings (Te Reo Tupu, rd 65741).
A.55	*Taonga:* Chattel *'Mo te hoko ngā taonga o te whare*: The household chattels are for sale'. Te Reo Tupu, rd 69143)
A.56	*Taonga*: Instrument *'He wheua manu ngā taonga a te tohunga mo te tā i te moko*: The artist used instruments of bird bone in forming the moko'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 94944).
A.57	*Taonga*: Utensil *'Mauria mai he taonga tahu mo te haere*: Bring cooking utensils on the trip'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 135850).
A.58	*Taonga*: Wares *'Whakaaturia o taonga hei hoko:* Display your wares for sale'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 137072).
A.59	*Taputapu mārō, Taonga mārō*: Hardware *'Tikina atu he nēra i te toa hoko taputapu mārō*: Get some nails from the hardware shop'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 89655).
A.60	*Taputapu, Taonga*: Gadget *'Anei taku taputapu hei tango mai i ngā tēpara i ngā pepa*: I have a gadget here for removing staples from papers'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 85971).
A.61	*Taputapu, Taonga*: Stock *'Kua pau ngā taputapu o te toa:* The shop has run out of stock'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 125988).
A.62	*Tauware* (adjective): Unrequited, not paid for. *Taonga tauware*: gifts for which an equivalent return will be expected. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 49977).
A.63	*Te Ture Taonga Tauware*: Unsolicited Goods and Services Act (Te Reo Tupu, rd 172836).
A.64	*Tino taonga* (adjective): Indispensable *tino:* 'veritable, very' *taonga:* 'anything highly prized', '*He tino taonga taua* wahine: That woman is indispensable.' (Te Reo Tupu, rd 151180).
A.65	*Tino taonga* (adjective): Indispensable (Te Reo Tupu, rd 64113).
A.66	*Tino taonga* (adjective): Invaluable *tino:* 'veritable, very' *taonga:* 'anything highly prized', '*He tino taonga* tana *āwhina mai:* His assistance was invaluable.' (Te Reo Tupu, rd 151183).
A.67	*Tino taonga* (adjective): Valuable *tino:* 'veritable, very' *taonga:* 'anything highly prized', e.g. '*He tino taonga āna kōrero:* Her comments were most valuable.' (Te Reo Tupu, rd 151177).
A.68	*Wāhi hoko taonga*: Book shop (Te Reo Tupu, rd 170624).

A.69	*Whai taonga, Rangatira, Whai rawa*: Wealthy *'He whai taonga i ngā rawa o te ao nei:* Wealthy in the goods of the world'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 137384).
A.70	*Whai taonga*: Furnished *'He whare noho whai taonga*: It's a furnished flat'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 85851).
A.71	*Whakahoki taonga kāore e ea*: Voluntary repossession (Te Reo Tupu, rd 172865).
A.72	*Whare taonga, Whare tongarewa*: Museum *'He nui ngā taonga Māori kei te Whare Taonga o Ākarana*: There are many Māori artefacts at the Auckland Museum'. (Te Reo Tupu, rd 102887).

Joe Gillayley: A Model of Cultural Hybridity in Keri Hulme's Novel *The Bone People*

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Abstract

Born and raised at the confluence of two cultures, Western and Maori, the New Zealand author Keri Hulme crafts in her 1983 novel, *The Bone People,* a vigorous literary discourse whose integrity and realism often topple consecrated stereotyping colonial theories. Joe Gillayley displays complex mechanisms of cultural hybridity in major areas of his private and social life. His initially ambivalent attitude towards both his Western and his Maori heritage are evident in his personal, social and economic life - in his interactions with his family, his semi-adopted son Simon/ Himi, his friend Kerewin, his work, school authorities, and tribal figures such as the mysterious prophet Tiaki Mira. Post-colonial scholarship provides the context in which the analysis provided here is conducted, an analysis that highlights the futility of colonial theories that are based on distorted, stereotypical images of both Western and indigenous life and values.

Introduction

Any successful attempt to produce an in-depth interpretation of the intricate psychological and social patterns that converge in the character of Joe Gillayley in Keri Hulme's novel *The Bone People* should go beyond a universalistic concept of human nature. Such an approach might, in Herder's words, "allow us instinctively to recognize the 'other' as one of us", but it lacks the necessary depth to "make the particular life-ways of the other commensurable with our own" (cited in Pagden, 1995, p. 145). Joe's interest in his Maori roots is not, as Jennifer Daryl Slack (1992, p. 578) would have it, proof of his affiliation to a *subculture* (a term which implies secondary cultural status). Such has been the influence of globalization that being part of any culture whatsoever entails a cultural blend: "The location of culture today," points out Homi Bhabha, "is not in some pure core inherited from tradition, but at the edges of contact between civilizations where new, in-between, or hybrid identities are being forged" (1997, p. 1). Since "the very concepts of homogenous national cultures . . . or 'organic' ethnic communities . . . are in a profound process of redefinition" (Bhabha, 1997, p. 1), there is no longer the clear-cut distinction between the indigenous and the colonial which, for Diderot, characterized the eighteenth century for Joe, achieving peace and harmony involves accepting that being bicultural is being himself. He can be bicultural *and* authentically Maori.

Despite the fact that "Keri Hulme has chosen to be Maori [and] declared herself as such, although only one grandmother was Maori" (Bardolph, 1990, p. 5), she does not, in *The Bone People*, unthinkingly dismiss everything European.[1] Tiaki Mira (the mysterious Maori prophet) is pleased that Joe - who is destined to fulfill a special prophesy - is Maori, not because it *must* be so, but because it is easier: "I am glad you're Maori. It would be very hard to explain things if you were a European" (Hulme, 1983, p. 345). It is a European (Mira's solicitor) who is charged with the task of ensuring that Mira's wishes are honoured. It is he who stands with Joe at Mira's grave (p. 377). He and his wife offer Joe unconditional understanding and

respect (Hulme, 1983, pp. 377-378). Even so, neither Western nor Maori culture is accepted unquestioningly.

Aspects of both cultures (Western and Maori) impinge on the major areas of Joe Gillayley's life. He is not just a representative of humanity at large, but a culturally hybrid individual caught between Western economic and social structures and his Maori background, his "emotional and cultural commitment to tribal community" as Karen P. Sinclair puts it (1992, p. 250). Joe initially vacillates between Western values and his affiliation to Maori cultural values. We see this, for example, in his attitude toward the healing properties of the potions that are given to him by Tiaki Mira (Hulme, 1983, p. 349), in his approach to Mira's interpretation of his dreams (pp. 353-355), and, above all, in his attitude towards the *mauri* (life principle) of Aotearoa, and toward assuming guardianship of it (pp. 363-364).

Joe is "a sick man, a broken man" but, as Mira puts it towards the end of the novel, "now is the time for [him] to heal, to be whole". On a physical level, that healing involves both Maori and Western medicine: "You could call this bush lotion. Or Maori ointment. It heals well, whatever the name given to it" (Hulme, 1983, p. 349)/ "This is medicine . . . . Not a concoction of manuka bark or anything so interesting, e kare, but a modern medicine that brings sleep" (p. 350). Healing involves acceptance - acceptance of the task of guardianship ("I will look after it until it tells me otherwise" (p. 365)), acceptance of different ways of being ("[Now] I can see other . . . ways" (p. 381)), acceptance of his adopted son Simon (of European descent) as he is. At the end of the novel, Joe is no longer "ashamed of [Simon]". He no longer "[resents] his difference" (p. 381). Acceptance is, however, above all else, acceptance of self. What Joe learns is to accept himself and what he has done: "I am very sorry for it, but it's past. It's all over now" (p. 444). That final acceptance of himself in all his complex hybridity is prefigured in his response to Mira's question: "[What] is your name and who are your people?" Included in that response is not only Joe's Maori name, but also his Western one:

> I am Joseph Ngakaukawa Gillayley, and I am Ngati Kahungunu" (p. 357).

In this acceptance of hybrid selfhood lies the future not only of the characters, but also of the country: "The mauri [life principle], set down, sunk itself into the hard ground. Or maybe the earth turned willing water beneath its touch. It vanished completely. But we all came back to it . . . and each of us can feel where it is resting" (p. 445).[2]

Maori Roots: The Old Man, the Tainuis and the importance of land and family

Although *The Bone People* is not wholly dismissive of European culture or wholly uncritical of aspects of Maori culture, Joe's experience with the mysterious old man, Tiaki Mira, is one of several strands that weights the novel in favour of Maori culture, which Joe seems to be predestined to revive.[3] Mira appears as a timeless figure, "the last of the cannibals" (Hulme, 1983, p. 379), who perfectly fits into Keri Hulme's patterns of "esoteric objects and signs" (Bardolph, 1990, p. 5). Levine's concept of 'sacred inarticulateness' - "people's inability to explain their most sacred institutions" (cited in Fiske, 1992, p. 158) - comes alive in the old man's struggle to explain the nature of the prophesy which Joe is destined to fulfill. However, Joe's hybridity is not a barrier to his acceptance *as* Maori by the old man. Affiliation and initiation give Joe

access to what Diderot sees as other "mental worlds" (Diderot cited in Pagden, 1995, p. 132).

Mira's encounter with Joe is a fulfillment of a Maori prophecy: "And yet, forty years after the death of my grandmother, I am visited by the person who bears in his heart two of the people my grandmother foretold. And he is the broken man . . ." (Hulme, 1983, p. 361).[4] Like Hemi, the father figure in *Potiki,* Joe comes to believe that "Everything was meant . . . But if you missed the signs, or let yourself be side-tracked, you could lose out. Everything was meant but you had to do your bit too" (Grace, 1986, p. 61). In bequeathing to Joe the house, the land, the canoe, and the task of guardianship, Mira places in his hands the very spirit of a people and a country:

> You will have to take the land . . . . I was taught that it was the old people's belief that this country and our people are different and special. That something very great had allied itself with some of us, had given itself to us. But we changed. We ceased to nurture the land. We fought among ourselves. We were overcome by those white people in their hordes. We were broken and diminished. We forgot what we could have been, that Aotearoa was the shining land. Maybe it will be again . . . . (Hulme, 1983, p. 364).

Land ownership will endorse Joe's acceptance of and into his tribal family while ensuring the clan's perpetuation. But Joe is no longer Maori only, and the evocation of Aotearoa implies the emergence of a hybrid nation made up of hybrid individuals like Joe. In his dissertation 'Unsettling the empire: post-colonialism and the troubled identities of settler nations', O'Neill acknowledges the hybrid identity of Aotearoa:

> Hulme's text is not about New Zealand. It is about another object – Aotearoa. And Aotearoa is a strange object indeed: part Maori, part European, full of numerous discourses – Maori myths and traditions, akido, Eastern religions, fragments of stylistic debts to a range of Western literature (Tolkein and Joyce, for example), and fantastic cures for cancer. Aotearoa, as a postcolonial realm, is without a unified or progressive history because its narrative is one of fragmentation and violence (1993, pp. 231-232).

Joe accepts his inheritance but fears that he may be inadequate to the task of watcher (p. 377). In this, he is not so very different from so many others who have battled, often against almost impossible odds, to retain their continuity and spiritual connection with the land and their guardianship of it, and through these, their links with the past and the future. As Ihimaera notes in his novel *Whanau*, the land is a critical aspect of identity and family: "[It] is a way of holding them together. . . . It is their pride and livelihood and their heritage for the future" (1974, p. 110-11).

The solicitor explains that Joe's inheritance has little economic value: "You will . . . own 796 acres of pikihi and private sea beaches. The land itself is nearly worthless unless you care to develop it. If you spend a million dollars and half a century, for instance, you might make a farm out of it" (Hulme, 1983, p. 376). The land itself may be nearly worthless to Joe in economic terms, but it offers a potential home and the beginning of a belief in the future. Now "what he needs" is not just bedding, food and

clothing, but also creativity - a set of wood chisels [with which to carve] and a guitar [with which to make music] (p. 378).

Karen P. Sinclair notes that although "traditional Maori society had been stratified according to principles of genealogical seniority, rank, and gender", colonisation has resulted in a "departure from traditional sources of hierarchy" (1992, p. 241). Yet the undermining of hierarchical structures need not mean the loss of family values such as solidarity and mutual assistance. Joe is the beneficiary of the love and support of his Maori family who frequently offer to take care of his son and counsel him against parental violence. His family is appalled by the abuse Simon has to endure. At the same time, they try to understand Joe, try to discover the deep causes that drive him to violence:

> And we couldn't do anything, because you feel sorry for Joe being alone and all . . . but that poor kid! God, sometimes, he could hardly walk . . . I'd never treat one of mine that way. . . . Sometimes I could have scratched that bastard's eyes out (Hulme, 1983, p. 286).

The novel deconstructs the myth that Maori families will adopt and care only for their own offspring (Harré, 1966, p. 131). Simon, of Irish and French ancestry, is accepted and loved by Joe's family and Joe proudly claims a strong physical bond to this adopted son, whose life he has saved by mouth-to-mouth respiration: "He has got that of me, I suppose. My breath . . . " (Hulme, 1983, p. 85). The process of hybridisation is under way. The boy is sometimes referred to as Simon, sometimes as Himi. He understands both English and Maori and is exposed to both Western influences (the educational and health systems) and Maori influences (Joe's family).

Family is at the very core of being Maori. It is also the very core of Joe's being. As he confesses to Kerewin, what he wants most of all is "a good big family group, to help me, for Himi to grow up straight in. With you" (Hulme, 1983, p. 262). He and his relations have difficulty in coming to terms with commitment that is not firmly located within the family. When Kerewin says that Joe is no longer alone, Lynn immediately makes an assumption: "[Did] you mean you and Joe're getting married soon" (p. 287). Kerewin's initial response is anger ("She goes from boast to being coldly angry in a second" (p. 287)). It is, paradoxically, only when Joe is capable of accepting different ways of being and relating ("I was trying to make her fit my idea of what a friend, a partner was. . . . Now I can see other ways, other possibilities . . . (p. 381)), that Kerewin is able to offer her name ("So she had offered them both that unlikely gift, her name. An umbrella as shelter, not as a binding" (p. 444)), and turn the tower where she seeks to escape from contact ("Perhaps I could hide and they'll go away" (p. 45 into a place where family, her own and Joes's, is welcome (pp. 441ff). First, however, she must accept the importance of community, as she does when she, with the help of others, restores a Maori hall into a place where people can be together (p. 431ff.). Only when she knows that she has options and that her right to choose is respected can she offer genuine commitment. Identity for the hybrid individual involves choice rather than cultural imperatives.

Relationship and cultural affiliation

Jacqueline Bardolph claims that there are many reasons for interracial marriages in New Zealand – "tactical, economic, religious, and even sheer mutual attraction" – and

that it is Maori who marry Europeans who are often eager to erase "traces of their own language and customs, which were obsolete in their own eyes" (1990, p. 2). It may be that there still are Maori who regard their own heritage language and culture as obsolete and it may also be that those who do are more likely to marry Europeans. Such general claims must, however, be treated with caution. What *is* clear is that there has been a resurgence of interest in Maori language and culture, an interest that is not confined to those who identify as Maori. What is also clear is that the relationship between Joe and Kerewin is not economic in nature: Joe is not in the least interested in climbing the socio-economic ladder through Kerewin. Nor is their relationship based on mutual attraction in any sexual sense: Kerewin sees herself as being essentially asexual, rejecting any form of physical contact. Emotionally, she is stereotypically the Western woman – jealously guarding her privacy as well as her virginity: "Berloody cheeky mate," grumbles Kerewin. "First send the kid here, and then expect tea again - there's limits to tribal affinities" (Hulme, 1983, p. 74). Furthermore, although Joe wants to provide a secure family environment for Simon, for Kerewin, Simon represents, initially at least, little more than an interesting detective-story and psychic case. What Joe and Kerewin *do* have in common, however, is the Maori language (which both speak) and an affinity with Maori cultural values. Both are hybrid – both live in a world that has been influenced by both Maori and European cultures and both have genealogical links to both cultures. Joe says: "My father's father was English so I'm not yer 100% pure. But I'm Maori. And that's the way I feel too, the way you said, that the Maoritanga has got lost in the way I live" (p. 62). However, whereas Joe looks Maori, Kerewin does not. Although she is "but an eighth Maori," she confesses that "by heart, spirit, and inclination, I feel all Maori. Or . . . I used to. Now it feels like the best part of me has got lost in the way I live" (Hulme, 1983, p. 62). Kerewin's dilemma is a common one in contemporary New Zealand where the right to identify as Maori – and to be accepted as Maori – is something for which people, particularly those who do not look Maori, have had to fight.

At times, both Joe and Kerewin resist their entrapment in Western structures. Both have issues of identity to resolve before they can unite. In both cases, they come to terms with themselves through the intervention of mysterious and symbolic figures who not only save their lives in a literal sense, but also rescue them from spiritual breakdown. Healed, both Joe and Kerewin are free to be themselves. Athough they live in a world of prejudice and suspicion ". . . they get round with bloody Mahries and behave worse than they do" (Hulme, 1983, p. 293), they both demonstrate what John Harré in *Maori and Pakeha: A Study of Mixed Marriages in New Zealand* describes as "the qualities of the individual [that] are able to override the prejudice which often prevails in a generalized form" (1966, p. 66). Their relationship is not, of course, in any strict sense, a relationship between members of two quite different ethnic groups. However, prejudice is a phenomenon that relates to surfaces: they *look* different. Furthermore, they *are* different in terms of educational background and economic status. Lurking in the background are the types of issue that are to the fore in Ihimaera's novel *Whanau:*

> For Josephine is a Pakeha girl. To make things worse, she's brainier than Andrew and her father is rich. What possible chance has he got? His own dad is poor, and Andrew himself, though intelligent, is just not in the same class as Josephine. And of course, he's Maori. No matter that their aspirations and

> outlook are the same, he is Maori. No matter that they both aim at university, he is Maori. Not much use even beginning a relationship when you considered it. No, not much use at all (Ihimaera, 1974, p. 66).

As Andrew struggles with his cultural identity, he faces challenges that are different from those faced by his father's generation: "But I don't know who I am, Andrew says. Sometimes I'm Maori, sometimes I'm Pakeha, sometimes I'm half and half. You just don't understand, Dad" (Ihimaera, 1974, p. 68). His father's advice prefigures an individual at peace with his cultural hybridity, very similar to Joe at the end of *The Bone People*: "You have to make your own decision about who and what you are. Maybe you'll be able to live in both worlds without feeling a stranger in any…" (p. 68).[5]

Although Kerewin exhibits characteristics such as emotional distance that could be said to be stereotypically Western, she behaves, at the end of the novel, in a way that is fits a stereotype of the Maori woman. David Ausubel observes "Maori women generally constitute a more cohesive and responsible influence than Maori men in family and community life" (1961, p. 74). It is Kerewin who brings Joe's family and her own together. It is she who takes responsibility, offering her name as "umbrella, as shelter. . . . No sentiment about it, says Kerewin, just good legal sense" (Hulme, 1983, p. 444). It is Kerewin's emotional support that Joe seeks - not her money. She can finally provide that support precisely because she is able to understand the destabilising effects of the attempt to forge identity out of brokenness. As Bhabha notes, "[the] great connective narratives of capitalism and class may drive the engines of social reproduction, but they do not, in themselves, provide a foundational frame for those modes of cultural identification that form around issues of sexuality [and] race" (1997, p. 2).

Dating and sex

The relationship between Joe and Kerewin is not one that conforms to stereotypical dating patterns. Harré, writing in 1966, notes some of the ways in which the male typically assumes dominance during courtship: "[In] the summer months, a date is often centered round a visit to a beach for a swim or a picnic" for which the male is usually the owner of the jeep that takes the woman there or of the vacation home where they lodge (Harré, 1966, p. 60). It is, however, Kerewin who invites Joe and Simon to visit the beach. The visit takes place in winter. They travel in Kerewin's car and they stay on property belonging to Kerewin's family. Even so, Joe does not allow himself to be intimidated by Kerewin's economic superiority. It is often he who supplies food, drink, and transport.

Diderot has asserted that sex "is the only mode of understanding that can pass between distant and incommensurable cultures", and that intermarriage is "the only means to bring into being the new society that alone can resolve the conflicts that . . . misconceived empires have created" (as cited in Pagden, 1995, p. 146). For Joe and Kerewin, however, understanding must precede, not follow, sex and marriage. Hybridity may be part of the solution to the conflicts that misconceived empires have created, but it is also, in itself, a problem that requires resolution.

Harré has noted that "Maoris, both men and women, tend to treat sex in a much freer way than do Pakehas" (Harré, 1966, p. 61). Whether or not this remains true today,

Joe and Kerewin appear to have attitudes to sex and sexuality that reflect cultural differences. Joe's attitude to sex is straightforward. It is "hell of an enjoyable but not the be-all and end-all of things" (Hulme, 1983, p. 266), and it has an important spiritual dimension: "I had it best in my life with Hana my wife . . . because we learned to know each other with more than our bodies, sharing more than our physical excitement" (p. 266). Joe practices what he preaches. As long as he feels that her mind and soul are not ready for a sexual union, he would rather not get sexually involved with Kerewin. On the first night he spends with her, he assures her: "I'm not intending to take advantage of you in any way" (Hulme, 1983, p. 83), and frequently insists that he is willing and able to wait for her, because "she is well worth waiting for" (p. 267).

Harré has claimed that the unpredictability of white girls, as opposed to the emotional openness of Maori girls, is considered "a positive incentive," and consequently, many Maori men claim "sexual curiosity as a motive in their affairs with Pakeha girls" (1966, p. 60). In Joe's case, there is certainly curiosity, but that curiosity seems to be more driven by the desire to understand than the desire to conquer. Joe does not dismiss Kerewin because of what she sees as her asexuality. He cannot, however, accept it as natural and assumes that she may have been a victim of abuse. Of his former wife he says: "Yet Hana was as ready as me, strong for love at any time, right to the night they took her away from me…" (Hulme, 1983, p. 174). He is certainly curious about the difference in this respect between Hana and Kerewin, but it is a curiosity that extends beyond sex:

> God, what makes her tick? She must feel like this sometimes…but she never shows it. She's as distant as stone. I've never seen her excited by anything except odd colors and archaic words…and she hates touching. She even avoids Haimona's hugs and kisses, and as for mine…hai!" (Hulme, 1983, p. 174).

In the area of sex and sexuality, Joe is not the stereotypical Maori male described by Harré. Certainly he has a healthy and straightforward attitude to sex. Equally certainly, he is curious. However, he feels no need to assert his masculinity through sexual conquest. In this area, his own hybridity may be his strength.

Parenting and the economics of disadvantage

When Kerewin visits his home, Joe shows no sign of being embarrassed by the fact that it lacks those comforts that are associated with a Western sense of security. He does, after all, own his home and it is scrupulously clean. Joe's kitchen is "bare, almost institutional in its unadorned plainness" (Hulme, 1983, p. 76), the bedroom is "antiseptically clean" and "sparcely furnished", the bathroom displays a "spruce, clean tiled floor - hellishing cold on these winter mornings because there is not a bathmat in sight" (p. 79). Kerewin struggles to understand her own reaction: "What's strange? No pictures, no flowers, no knickknacks I can see? Maybe, but not all homes have that sort of thing. Is it the barren cleanliness, the look of almost poverty? Contrast that with the brandnew 750 c.c. bike he's got and this wine. . . liebfraumilch doesn't come cheap" (Hulme, 1983, p. 78). It is with a Western eye that she scrutinizes Joe's house although there is no evidence that she makes the same type of judgment as does Hana Walker, a character in Ihimaera's novel *Whanau*, who equates cleanliness with Western cultural values: "Clean. Perfect. Just like a Pakeha house"

(Ihimaera, 1974, p. 31). In this hybrid world where different values frequently collide, individuals must find their own way, must make their own choices. There are no certainties.

Ausubel, writing in the early 1960s, refers to a common prejudice against Maori - that they are only "fit for road work, tractor driving, shearing, fencing and freezing; any other work involving sustained effort, initiative or intellectual ability is thought to be beyond their capacity" (Ausubel, 1961, p. 43). Joe's socio-economic status is best depicted in one of his confessions to Kerewin. He complains that the worst about his work is:

> But I work in a factory, work in a factory, work in a factory. . . . being a puppet in someone else's play. Not having any say. . . . It has its compensations, I suppose. I've paid off the house, and I've got some money in the bank. We're clothed and we eat. All the good old pakeha standbys and justifications. Though it's hard hours. I start at seven and I never get home before five. . . . Too long to be away from Haimona, eh"? (Hulme, 1983, p. 89).

Even now, Maori are seriously under-represented in higher education: "Maori continue to have lower levels of educational attainment [and] higher school dropout rates . . . than their Pakeha counterparts" (Sinclair, 1992, p. 239). In the 1970s, even fewer Maori were involved in higher education than is the case now. However, Joe has been to college – it was there that he learned to play chess before he quit (Hulme, 1983, p. 58). He is clearly capable of intellectually challenging work and the frustration he experiences in the face of monotony and long hours of work is no doubt exacerbated by the lack of intellectual satisfaction, something for which "pakeha standbys and justifications" can offer little compensation. Joe works hard and keeps his home spotless. He does not fit the stereotypical representation of Maori that was so common in the 1960s and 1970s and still stubbornly persists in some quarters even now – the "lazy, shiftless, unreliable, improvident, happy-go-lucky individual with no other ambition than to booze, sit in the sun and sponge off the Government" (Ausubel, 1961, p. 43). He drinks, and his drinking represents a serious danger to himself and to his child, but his drinking may be a reflection of his despair, a despair that is characteristic of a no-win situation that is similar to that of those urban Maori to whom Ihimaera refers in *Whanau*:

> And it seems you need more money to live on these days. There is security in having and keeping one job, in having permanent employment. And living in the cities is nothing but an attractive trap. It binds you to itself with contracts: with high mortgages or steep rents, with hire purchase payments and threats of repossession. And it asks more of you: more of your money and more and more things for things you did not really want. A Venus flytrap. And once you're caught, you can never escape. You must keep working and keep working to keep up the next payment. You can't afford to take a week or two off for something as ridiculous as the family planting (1974, p. 53).

Joe does not live in a city, he has paid off his home and even succeeded in saving some money, and he is clearly able to resist the attractions of consumerism. In the context of the time when Hulme was writing, Joe is, in comparative economic terms, a

success. He lives in a decent, though modest house - "the pattern typical older State house" (Hulme, 1983, p. 79) – at a time when, in general terms, "only relatively few [Maori] families – those fortunate enough to have obtained a Maori Affairs Department housing loan – [lived] in homes that could be described as reasonably satisfactory or on a par with homes occupied by Europeans in similar economic circumstances" (Ausubel, 1961, p. 42).

Given the limitations on the type of work that were available to Maori in the past - and, to lesser but significant extent, even now – Austubel's claim that Maori regarded work as simply a means to "supply the necessities of life", not necessarily as "a badge of respectability or as a means of getting on in the world" (1961, p. 71) seems unsurprising. The only possible satisfaction that Joe's employment can offer him is the ability to meet his expenses and provide some security for his son. When, therefore, Simon's actions not only threaten his friendship with Kerewin but also threaten to destroy that financial security for which he has had to sacrifice so much, the outcome seems almost inevitable. This time, he cannot even attempt to conceal his beating of his son. This time, he must face the consequences.

Fiske observes that relationships are dependent on social structures (1992, p. 162) and Malchiodi argues that "societal violence . . . cannot be viewed in isolation from society" (1997, p. 2). It may be, therefore, that the physical violence that Joe inflicts on his son can be attributed, in part, to his circumstances. However, even in the early stages of the novel, Joe resists the possible justifications that are open to him: "hassles with Himi aren't because of lack of sex. I was celibate for that year before I met Hana, and anyway, I can get it now when I like . . . not that enjoyable, just bodymeeting, but it shouldn't make me cruel. I was never cruel to anyone then" (Hulme, 1983, p. 174). Later, Kerewin asks Joe whether he has explained the "real background" to his lawyer: "Being both parents to him, helping him over his bad dreams, picking him up from all round the countryside, going along to school to find out what the matter is *this* time . . . .". Joe's response is simply: "I told him a bit" (p. 325). Even so, he does come to understand that the so-called compensations of working 'pakeha fashion' can be worth almost nothing:

> If I could start from the beginning – not my beginning, but from the time we became just me and him, when Hana and Tīmoti died – you know what I'd do? I'd stop work. Stay home most of the time. I was thinking yesterday, what a waste it all was. . . . I'd worked hard, pakeha fashion, for nearly six solid years, making money to make a home. And the one thing I never made was a home (Hulme, 1983, p. 324).

Joe's parenting is certainly not all bad. He has a strong sense of love for Simon. He frequently appears ruffling his hair, holding, hugging and kissing him, giving him a bath, and watching him sleep. Kerewin observes: "I've been fascinated by you two these past few months. You've got, you had genuine love between you. You've given him a solid base of love to grow from" (Hulme, 1983, p. 325). At the end of the novel, Joe is seen again hugging and holding his son - "aching with love to give, smothered by love in return" (p. 443). In the end, this mutual love outweighs for Simon the fact that Joe has "taken away his music" (p. 443), leaving him even more disabled than before, and denying to him of a major means of expressing himself (Malchiodi, 1997, p. 9).

Joe's parental relationship to Simon is complicated by Simon's disability. The child exhibits from the beginning all the symptoms of an autistic child - poor social skills, strange fixations, screaming, anger and aggressive acts (Freedman, 1996). The fact that the school reacts to this behaviour in an inappropriate way intensifies the boy's problems – and Joe's:

> So, this year, they shoved him in the special class to begin with, all the slow learners and near nuts and that. Patently ridiculous, because he can read and write as competently as kids twice his age. . . . he's bright. He can understand anything you put to him, Kerewin. He doesn't need special care and attention. He just needs people to accept him (Hulme, 1983, p. 50)

Joe's own response to Simon's failure to speak and his erratic behaviour is, like so many other aspects of his life, marked by inconsistency and uncertainty. He not only lacks experience in dealing with a child with serious disabilities, but is also lacking in experience of basic child care. He allows Simon to smoke and to drink alcohol. His way of coping with Simon's nightmares is to give him an aggressive drug (richloral). He is unable to coax him to have his hair cut. However, apart from the help his family offers, there is little sign of any other source of help. Pakeha structures, such as Joe's school, impose requirements without apparently offering any assistance in meeting these requirements. It is often precisely because of his failure to get Simon to conform to the expectations of the Pakeha world - when he steals, skips school, visits a pederast, runs away from home and breaks plates - that Joe feels impelled to punish him. Joe resists Simon's tendency to skip school although he is not so convinced of the value of Western-style education as is, for example, Hepa Walker in Ihimaera's novel, *Whanau*, who believes that the salvation of the whole Maori race "is in education" (1974, p. 36), or Maori parents like Huia who places her children "nearer to the schools, nearer to the library and away from the no-hopers of the village" because "[she] wasn't going to see *her* kids going to the pack and growing wild, not on your life! No, her kids were going to get the best – whatever that was – and be nearer to civilization" (1974, p. 48). Seven years after the publication of *The Bone People*, Beth Heke in Alan Duff's novel *Once Were Warriors* ponders on Maori educational disadvantage: "Why are Maoris not interested in books? Well, they didn't have a written language before the white man arrived, maybe that was it. . . . [A] bookless society didn't stand a show in this modern world, not a damn show" (1990, p. 4).

Joe's response to Simon, including the fact that he values but does not appear to over-value Western-style education, is in many ways enlightened. He concludes that Simon's stealing is a way of asserting his own personality and emotional needs rather than a type of play or the desire to take from others: "disregarding his background, his handicap, he's had reason to go round pinching stuff to show people, 'Hey, here I am, I want you to help me.' But that doesn't tie in with no playing, and not owning stuff. I don't think so, anyway" (Hulme, 1983, p. 206).

Acceptance that children such as Simon have the same rights as others and should, wherever possible, be integrated into society did not happen until comparatively recently in the West. In the United States of America, for example, it was not until the 1970s that the disability rights movement began to be taken seriously. However, the option of 'hiding away' children or adults with disabilities is not one that is

available in traditional, community-centred cultures. Just three years after the *The Bone People* appeared, Patricia Grace published *Potiki* in which readers are introduced to a Maori community which surrounds the wheelchair-bound child Toko with love, care and protection (Grace, 1986). Like the community surrounding Toko, Joe's family offers love and assistance. What is absent, however, is the constant and ongoing care that a traditionally structured Maori community – one centred on communal living and working – could have supplied.

Both Joe and Kerewin respect traditional ways of healing. Joe, in particular, has good reason in that he was cured of polio as a child by traditional methods. When he considers possible alternatives to trichloral for Simon, he immediately thinks of traditional healing, regretting his own lack of understanding of it: ". . . if I was proper Maori I'd. . . . Maybe take him to people who'd know what to do, to keep off ghosts in dreams" (Hulme, 1983, p. 61). The ambiguities and confusion that underlie much of Joe's behaviour are again evident here. On the one hand, he inflicts pain on Simon. On the other, he is anxious to heal Simon's pain. Joe's ambivalent attitude to Simon is reflected in the figure of Simon himself. He is, in spite of all that he has suffered, a survivor, a constant reminder of both the power of violence and the power of forgiveness. Joe has mutilated Simon's body through repeated beatings – particularly the last ferocious attack that leaves him with a "crooked face" (p. 443). Whereas the village carver in *Potiki* devotes his life to "seeking out and exposing the figures that were hidden" in the wood (Grace, 1986, p. 7), Joe carves out his son's face with strokes of violence in what could be considered a grotesque parody of a traditional moko (a tattoo that conveys aspects of the wearer's genealogy and identity). In Duff's novel, *Once Were Warriors*, Nig Heke has his face tattooed as an initiation ritual into his ghetto gang. The old fighting virtues have been there converted into nothing more than a "show [of] toughness" (Duff, 1990, p. 176). In both cases, we could be said to have a postcolonial distorted version of a native custom. However, Simon's crooked face *does* represent something of the truth of his past and of his identity. Furthermore, he is, in a sense, a true warrior who carries his triumph over adversity in his own face. This is, in one sense, the hybrid face of post-colonial New Zealand.

Conclusion

In all of the major areas of his life, Joe Gillayley displays evidences of cultural hybridization. Finally, however, through a painful process that leads him to reach understanding and acceptance of himself and others, Joe is able to achieve a sense of authentic selfhood. So it is that "the mauri waits, and spins its magic in deep silence" (p. 441) and what might, for Joe and for his country, have simply been *the end* is *the end or the beginning*:

"TE MUTUNGA – RANEI TE TAKE" (p. 445)[6].

Endnotes

1. In 1985, C. K. Stead objected to the fact that the 1984 Pegassus Award for Maori Literature was conferred on an author who had only one Maori great-grandparent and whose native language was not Maori (Fee, 1989, p. 11). Margery Fee, however, argued that Maori affiliation could be claimed not so much on the basis of genetic heritage or linguistic background, but by spiritual affiliation. Like her heroine, Kerewin Holmes, Keri Hulme absorbs Maoriness and is accepted by the Maori community (1989, p. 16). Due to the prevailing socio-political circumstances in New Zealand, many acknowledged Maori writers, such as Witi Ihimaera and Patricia Grace, also grew up speaking English, but they, like Hulme, celebrate their Maori heritage, often incorporating untranslated Maori words into their novels (1989, p. 17).

2. When analyzing the positive ending of Joe's struggles with his Maori and Pakeha identities into a peaceful, balanced hybrid self, it is essential to consider Hulme's vision of a possible cultural cohesion for New Zealand as M. Williams noted in his book 'The novel as national epic: Wilson Harris, Salman Rushdie, Keri Hulme'. According to Williams, The Bone People belongs to "a species of epic that has emerged in the period since 1945 out of the colonial legacy of brokenness and of the desire for a reconstituted sense of cultural and national belonging. . . . Hulme seeks compulsively and self-consciously to find some means of countering that brokenness. . . . [The Bone People] contains a journey to the heart of the country by a protagonist in search of a desirable national identity. It totalizes the society and teaches desirable values. Hulme's novel is a national epic, with the inclusiveness and the didactic, celebratory purpose that goes with the genre" (1991, pp. 187-189).

3. As Keown observes, "it is impossible to for any colonized culture to return to a pure 'pre-colonial' identity (1996, p. 66). Unlike Patricia Grace, for instance, Hulme does not advocate a return to a pure pre-colonial identity, but envisions a hybrid identity - but one that takes full account of Maori culture.

4. Images of Maori as "a broken race" reappear in Patricia Grace's 1986 novel, Potiki, as a Pakeha perception of Maori (p. 102).

5. In 1975, Witi Ihimaera had already acknowledged the unavoidability of hybrid cultural patterns in post-colonial New Zealand: "There are two cultural maps of my country, the Maori and the Pakeha. The Pakeha map is dominant, its contours so firmly established that all New Zealanders including Maori are shaped by it. The Maori map has eroded and, although its emotional landscape is still to all intents and purposes intact, has been unable to shape all New Zealanders including Pakeha. Although the situation is improving, the erosion lessening, most New Zealanders remain unaware that they have a dual cultural heritage and not a single one. Their attitude is still predominantly separatist, which is surprising for a country which prides itself for its amicable record of race relations" (cited in Lee & Johnston, 1990, p. 18).

6. According to Mark Williams (1991), "Hulme sees the evils of the present, but discovers a wholeness and healing in the past which she offers as a positive and achievable model for the future. . . . Thus reshaped in Maori terms, the 'Pakeha' . . . and modern Maori themselves are pointed towards a reformulated, purged and spiritualized version of their being as New Zealanders. The novel's deliberate blending of past and present and of various cultural elements is intended as a metaphor for national regeneration" (p. 190). In 1986, three years after The Bone People, Patricia Grace chose to end her novel Potiki with a similar confidence in the regeneration powers of the Maori race: "Good can come from what is not good, good can come from sorrow, new life from old," contemplates Roimata in the end of Potiki (Grace, p. 159).

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TE WHARE WĀNANGA O WAIKATO

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
THE SCHOOL OF MAORI AND PACIFIC DEVELOPMENT

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Dean's Welcome

Nau mai haere mai

Te Pua Wānanga Ki Te Ao (The School of Maori 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.

Dr. Aroha Yates-Smith
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

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.

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

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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Acknowledgments

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